THE DEATHS AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF OTTOMAN SULTANS (FROM SULTAN MAHMUD II TO SULTAN MEHMED VI VAHİDEDDİN)

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Abstract of the Thesis of Servet Yanatma

"The Deaths and Funeral Ceremonies of Ottoman Sultans
(From Sultan Mahmud II to Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin)"

Death and funeral ceremonies are important means of understanding the cultures of communities and states. This study firstly aims to describe the demise and funeral ceremonies of the last seven Ottoman sultans (from Sultan Mahmud II to Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin) in detail. Determining the similarities and differences by analyzing the subject and gaining a deeper understanding of them is another significant goal of this study. Moreover, the common features of the funeral ceremonies of Ottoman sultans from the early period to *Tanzîmât* era are explained, and they are compared with the later period. An effort is made to examine the place of funerals under study within general process, and to reveal the continuing, extinct and "invented" funeral rituals.

While exaggerated grief is seen in the mourning shows, funeral prayers and *techîz* (equipping) are in accordance with Islam. This study underlines that there was no respect for the personality and testament of the deceased sultan, and points out that the new sultan was the only *efendi* who could determine the burial place. In addition, it is explained that changes in the administrative structure- the "*ekber-erşâd*" system, the increasing influence of the Committee of Union and Progress, and constitutional monarchy affected the practice of funeral ceremonies. Another significant emphasis of this study is that Westernization, which was frequently discussed in the last century of the Ottoman Empire, also affected the funeral ceremonies, and some Western elements were added in this process.

ÖZET

Cenaze-i Hümâyûn: Osmanlı Sultanlarının Vefatları ve Cenaze Merasimleri
(Sultan II. Mahmud'dan Sultan VI. Mehmed Vahideddin'e)

Vefat ve cenaze merasimleri toplum ve devlet yapısını anlamanın önemli araçlarındandır. Bu çalışma ilk olarak, ele aldığı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yedi padişahının (Sultan Mahmud'dan Sultan Vahideddin'e) vefatlarını ve ağırlıklı olarak cenaze merasimlerini teferruatlarıyla anlatmayı amaçlıyor. Tasvir edilen konunun analiz edilerek, ortak ve ayrışan noktaların tespiti ve bunların anlamlandırılması çalışmanın diğer önemli bir safhasını oluşturuyor. Ayrıca, son döneme kadar olan Osmanlı sultanlarının cenaze merasimlerinin temel özellikleriyle ortaya konularak, bunların Tanzîmât sonrası dönemle karşılaştırılması da yapılıyor. Bu çaba, incelenen dönemin genel süreç içindeki yerini değerlendirek devam eden hususları ve kopuşları ortaya çıkarıyor.

Yas gösterilerinde abartılı üzüntüler göze çarparken, cenaze namazı ve "techîz" işleminin büyük ölçüde İslâm'a uygun biçimde gerçekleştiği görülüyor. Çalışmada, Osmanlı sultanlarının şahsına ve vasiyetine önem verilmediği vurgulanırken, vefat eden sultanın defin yerini belirlemeye kudretinin olmadığı ve selefinin tek efendi olduğuna dikkat çekiliyor.Sultanın "ekber-erşâd" sistemiyle belirlenmesi ve meşrutiyet yönetimine geçişle birlikte İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin etkisinin artmasıyla yönetim yapısında görülen değişikliklerin cenaze merasimlerin yapısını ve uygulamaları etkilediği de çalışmada anlatılıyor. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son asrında sıkça tartışılan Batılılaşma'nın cenaze merasimlerini de doğal olarak etkilediği ve uygulamalarda tamamen Batılı unsurların da görülmeye başlandığı bu çalışmanın ortaya attığı önemli tezlerden birisi.

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-I-

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Librarians of Atatürk Kitaplığı and the National Library helped me to get the copies of the newspapers. I thank all of them.

-II-

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Nearly one century has elapsed since the forefather of "*histoire des mentalités*" Lucien Febvre willed that the history of death be written. The French historian had regretted that humanity did not have a "history of love, death, pity, oppression and joy."[1] Answering the call from Lucien Febvre, historians, especially French ones, increasingly studied on the issue of death. Similar studies on the subject of death were carried out in other European countries where the mentality of Western historiography was prevalent. Turkish historians had no intention of studying the issue of death, despite the long history of the Ottoman dynasty and its thirty-six sultans. There were a few studies which focused on how the Ottoman sultans had passed away, but the subject of funeral ceremonies was not referred to in them.

The studies about graveyards and tombstones in Turkey constitute the pioneering studies on the subject of death.[2] The first direct researches on death and funeral ceremonies in Turkey and in the Ottoman Empire date back to the mid-1990s. The titles of the studies are *Osmanlı Devleti'nde 16. yy. Cülus ve Cenaze Törenleri*

[1] Gilles Veinstein. "Önsöz," in: Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin. (éd) *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations*, (Leiden-New York-Köln: E.J. Brill, 1996), p. 2. I used the Turkish translation of the book. The translation has not been published yet. Prof. Edhem Eldem, who checked the translation, enabled his students to use the draft. I hope that the book will be published within Turkish in this year.

[2] Studies about tombstones began to be seen especially after the 1970's. Here are some examples: Zeki Başar. *Erzurum'da Eski Mezarlıklar ve Resimli Mezar Taşları*, (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1973); Metin Haseki. *Plâstik Açıdan Türk Mezar Taşları*, (İstanbul: 1978); Musa Seyirci. *Afyonkarahisar Yöresi Türkmen Mezar Taşları*, (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1985).

(Enthronement and Funeral Ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th Century)[3] and *Türklerde Defin Merasimi (*The Burial Ceremonies among Turks*).*[4] Western historians who were interested in the Ottoman Empire began to field comprehensive studies on the subject of death. The book, *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations* (The Ottomans and Death: Permanences and Changes)[5] edited by Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein is a significant work about death and the ensuing incidents in Turkey and the Ottoman Empire. Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein developed their studies with their book, *Le Serail Ébranlé: Essai sur les Morts, Dépositions et Avènements des Sultans Ottomans XIVe-XIXe siecle* (The Shaken Palace: Essays for the Deaths, Dethronement and Enthronement of Ottoman Sultans in XIV-XIX. Centuries).[6] Prof. Edhem Eldem with his valuable book *Death in İstanbul: Death and Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Culture*[7] extended the subject and the period.

Ceremonies are one of the significant means to comprehend the culture of a community and of a state. The death of the Ottoman sultans and the ensuing funeral ceremonies are an important segment of the culture of the Ottoman dynasty. Thus, the funerals endow researchers with valuable clues about the structure of the Ottoman

[3] Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde 16. yy. Cülus ve Cenaze Törenleri*, (Ph. D. diss. İstanbul University, 1995).

[4] Firdevs Güneş. *Türklerde Defin Merasimi*, (Ph. D. diss. Erciyes University, 1995).

[5] Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin (éd.). *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations*, (Leiden-New York-Köln: E.J. Brill, 1996).

[6] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. *Le Serail Ébranlé: Essai sur les Morts, Dépositions et Avènements des Sultans Ottomans (XIVe-XIXe siecle)*, (France : Fayard, 2003). The focus of the book is the change at the Ottoman throne and transfer of power. For a review of the book, see: Ayşe Kayapınar, "N i c o l a s Vat i n - G i l l e s V e i n s t e i n: Le Sérail ébranlé, Essai sur les morts, dépositions et avénements des sultans Ottomans, XIVe-XIXe siècle," *Belleten*, Cilt: 68 - Sayı: 253 , 2004 Aralık, pp. 741-746.

[7] Edhem Eldem. *Death in İstanbul: Death and its Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Culture*, (İstanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005).

dynasty. Although there are some partial studies on the demise of the Ottoman sultans, the researchers rarely focused on the death and funerals of the sultans as a whole.

I had not thought about the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans until I took the course, "Death in the Ottoman Empire, Funerals and Tombstones" from Prof. Edhem Eldem in 2004. While taking the course, I had the opportunity of reading the studies of Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin, who took up the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans from Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror to Sultan Ahmet I. I also to read the thesis of Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, who studied the funerals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I was surprised that there was no study on the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans after the *Tanzîmât*[8] period of the Ottoman Empire. I carried out a draft study on the issue thanks to my personal interest as well as to the obligation to compile a term paper. The lack of an academic study on the era I studied encouraged me to prepare my master's thesis on the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans during the last period of the Ottoman Empire.

I sincerely confess that the existence and easy accessibility of the abundant resources on the Ottoman sultans was a major reason in leading me to prepare my thesis on post-*Tanzîmât* period. My interest in the last period of the Ottoman Empire and the existence of resources on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries determined my choice of that era. It will be an interesting experience to assess the influence of the *Tanzîmât* period and of the pro-Western reforms on the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans. Nevertheless, my basic intention was not to focus on the impact of the *Tanzîmât* on the funerals of the Ottoman sultans. There was not a single monographic study on the

[8] *Fermân* in which legislative power in the Ottoman Empire was delegated to a semi-constitutional advisory committee and the first steps were taken towards the separation of the legislative, executive and judiciary powers, as well as the transition towards a modern parliamentary system.

funeral ceremonies of the post-*Tanzîmât* era. For that reason I close to write on the death and funeral ceremonies of the last seven Ottoman sultans. The respect people showed to the funeral of Sultan Mahmud II who implemented great reforms in the Ottoman Empire; Western practices in the ceremony of Sultan Abdülmecid in whose reign the *Tanzîmât* Edict of 1839 was declared; the still mooted demise of Sultan Abdülaziz, whether he committed suicide or was assassinated; the death of Sultan Murad V after 28 years of captivity; the dethroning of Sultan Abdülhamid II who is deemed to be "the last real sultan"; the death of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad; as well as the scandalous funeral of the last Ottoman sultan, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, were the important elements of the last period. I have to add that I had not intended to look at just the influence of Westernization on the funeral ceremonies of Ottoman sultans. It was just a part of my study.

My thesis on the death and funeral ceremonies of the last seven Ottoman sultans consists of five chapters. After the introduction, in the second and most comprehensive section, I focus in detail on the final moments of the sultans, on their deaths and overwhelmingly on the funeral processes. Although the final days of the Ottoman sultans and the causes of their demise are not my basic subject, an overview of the sultans' final days and the conditions of the time will contribute to the comprehension of the subject. Thus, I preferred to recount the conditions during the deaths of the sultans before I covered the funeral processes. I could not describe all the parts of the funeral processes as I would have liked to do. I could not find the accounts, for example, on how the deaths of the sultans were declared and how the public reacted and offered their condolences for all my subjects. But, I tried to reveal some of them so that we could form an idea for the others. Thus, I mainly focused on the conditions and description of

the final days of the Ottoman sultans in the second chapter to lowlight on their deaths and funerals.

In the third chapter, I tried to comprehend, evaluate and contextualize the funeral ceremonies, looking at ceremonial features such as the mourning rituals, the washing of the corpse, the *techîz* (equipping), the funeral prayers, the burial place, the clothes of the mourners, and the burial process. The mourning ritual section aims to demonstrate the mourning atmosphere among the dynasty members and to demonstrate the reaction of the people to the demise of the sultan, to reveal whether the people showed reverence to the demise or not. The section of equipping also describes to what extent the corpses of the sultans were cleaned and shrouded in line with Islamic principles. The section on prayers discusses where and under which conditions the funeral prayers took place, and whether the incoming sultan participated in the funeral prayers and the reasons behind the participation. The section on the burial process shows that the will of the deceased sultan was not always taken into account regarding the burial place. This section also shows the procedure which in the end determined the burial place. While assessing the attendants of the funeral ceremony, the sultans' non-attendance to the funerals of their predecessors and Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's decision to attend the funeral ceremony of his predecessor constitute the significant debates. In the final section, the processes from the death to the burial of the demised sultans are taken up.

What was the place of funeral ceremonies in the history of the Ottoman Empire from its foundation to its fall? What were the continuing traditions and implementations, which ones had vanished out of the pages of history? What were the "invented

traditions"[9] in the same process? How did the transformation of the dynastic traditions affect the funeral ceremonies? I tried to find answers to these questions in the fourth chapter. Despite the fact that the main focus of my thesis was the last seven Ottoman sultans, it was naturally necessary to examine the funeral ceremonies from the foundation period to the *Tanzîmât* period of the Ottoman Empire to allow a rough comparison. I detected the basic characteristics of the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans, starting from a brief analysis of the funeral ceremony of the first Ottoman sultan, Osman Bey, to the sultans of the eighteenth century. I refrained from putting forward assertive convictions and arguments on the period preceding the era I studied due to the fact that there were limited studies on the funeral ceremonies of this period. I later evaluated the similarities, differences, inventions and the disappearance of rituals, comparing them with the funeral ceremonies of the post-*Tanzîmât* period of the Ottoman Empire. Although I made partial comparisons in the third chapter, my intention in the fourth chapter was to focus on the continuing rituals and the extinct funeral rituals.

What was the influence of the *Tanzîmât* era and of the pro-Western reforms on the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans? To what extent could we talk about a Western influence on the funeral ceremonies of that era? What were the practices added to the funeral ceremonies in the post-*Tanzîmât* era of the Ottoman Empire due to these Westernization efforts? I mainly focused on these questions in the fourth chapter, discussing the influence of Westernization on the funerals.

In terms of the sources, newspapers had begun to circulate in the Ottoman Empire in the period I studied. The newspapers disseminated important information on some of the sultans while they preferred not to reveal any information about some

[9] I borrow the concept from: Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London, New York: Verso, 1991).

others. The papers had begun to gain prevalence in the era of Sultan Abdülaziz. Unfortunately, the newspapers mainly focused on the death of Sultan Abdülaziz and preferred not to cover the funeral ceremony of the sultan due to his suspicious death and swift burial. The newspapers generally questioned whether it was a "suicide" or an "assassination". The death of Sultan Murad V and his funeral ceremony was reported only with a short obituary and Sultan Abdülhamid II strongly censured the news of his death and funeral. The dailies provide valuable information on the funeral ceremonies of Sultan Abdülhamid II and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, describing the ceremonies in detail. While the reports which appeared in the Italian media on the death of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin were largely employed by the Turkish press, the focal point of the reports was the departure of "traitor" Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin from the country and the acquisitions of the Turkish Republic.

I could not trace any information on the funeral ceremonies of Sultan Abdülaziz and Sultan Murat V in the *teşrîfât defterleri* (protocol notebooks) of the Ottoman Empire. The controversial death and swift burial of Sultan Abdülaziz and the swift burial of the sultan and the tough attitude of Sultan Abdülhamid II to his predecessor Sultan Murad V seem to be the main reasons behind the lack of information on their funeral ceremonies. As the protocol notebooks provide detailed information on the deaths and funerals of Sultan Mahmud II, Sultan Abdülhamid II and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, it was possible to find information on the protocol line of the attendants in these funeral ceremonies and on the funeral proceedings. There were no protocol notebooks due to the fact that the Ottoman Empire disappeared when the last Ottoman sultan, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin passed away. The most comprehensive description of the burial ceremony of Sultan Abdülhamid II was provided by historiographer Ahmed

Refik despite the fact that there was information in the newspapers and protocol notebooks about the occasion.[10] Ahmed Refik, who was then unaware of the death of the sultan, understood that the sultan had passed away after seeing the unusual mobilization of the municipal police who were wearing black clothes. From then on, Ahmed Refik covered the ceremony in detail.

The illustrations published in the journals and a few black and white photographs provide valuable information to the researchers. The formation of the funeral cortege and the state ceremony can be seen in the illustrations and the photographs. However, the credibility of the illustrations of the funeral ceremonies which appeared in Western magazines should also be discussed. We have the opportunity to make a comparison as we have two separate illustrations of the funeral ceremony of Sultan Abdülaziz. Remarkable differences between the illustrations can be detected with immediate effect when compared. The illustration published in *The Graphic*[11] shows five persons standing side by side in thirty rows in front of the coffin, while the illustration in *Le Monde Illustre*[12] shows a brass band along with ten marching cavaliers in front of the funeral cortege. *Le Monde Illustre* portrays several women watching the funeral cortege in a manner akin to watching a fair rather than a funeral. It should be said that the veiled women with umbrellas were drawn with an Orientalist perspective.

[10] Ahmed Refik. "Sultan Abdülhamid'in Na'şı Önünde," *Tarih Dünyası*, no. 3, (15 Mayıs 1950), pp. 95-99.

[11] Necdet Sakaoğlu. "Abdülaziz," *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, v. 1, (İstanbul: YKY, 1984), p. 37. Figure: 1

[12] I could not determine the number of the journal in which this picture of a single, full page was published. I obtained it from *sahaf*s (bouquiniste). Figure: 2

CHAPTER II

NARRATIVES OF THE DEATHS AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF OTTOMAN SULTANS IN THE LATE ERA

Sultan Mahmud II

Debates concerning his illness

Sultan Mahmud II, who ruled from 1808 to 1839 for 31 years, carried out significant reforms in the Ottoman Empire. West-minded reforms in the state structure and social life had been largely initiated before the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. However, the classical transformation and prevalence of the apparent Westernization in the Ottoman Empire coincided with the era of Sultan Mahmud II. Despite the fact that the young Sultan Mahmud II took over the throne at the age of twenty-three during a turmoil period, he managed to seize control of the empire.

The reformist sultan suffered from tuberculosis during the last years of his reign. The doctors were aware of the fact that the health condition of Sultan Mahmud II had deteriorated severely and his days were counted. Doctors preferred to identify the illness as “lung inflammation” instead of revealing it as “tuberculosis,” an illness generally

attributed to the poor.[13] The fatal illness, which was the cost of irresolvable political and military problems with which the Sultan had struggled under hardships and obstacles, can be labeled as "an honorable end for a Sultan" to quote the words of Necdet Sakaoğlu. [14]

Doctors had different opinions about the illness and death of Sultan Mahmud II. Having written pamphlets about his death, these doctors tried to defend their views and to accuse their colleagues. The debate arose when Ed. de Cadalvene and E. Barrault put forward certain claims on the sultan's death in a book titled *Deux Annees de l'Histoire d'Orient 1839-1840* (Two Years of the History of Orient 1839-1940). The accused doctors J. W. Mac Carthy and Konstantin Kara Todori not only responded to the accusations but also unveiled their views on his death with a pamphlet, *Relation Officielle de la Maladie et de la Mort du Sultan Mahmud II* (Official Relation of the Ilness and the Death of Sultan Mahmud II). Again, we can discover the views and diagnosis of under-fire Austrian doctor Neuner from the reports sent to the Austrian government from İstanbul then. It is also possible to detect the views of *Hekimbaşı* (the Chief Doctor) Abdülhak Molla from his unfinished pamphlet.[15]

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[13] Necdet Sakaoğlu. *Bu Mülkün Sultanları*, (İstanbul: Oğlak, 2000), p. 482.
[14] *ibid*., p. 482.

[15] Ali Akyıldız, "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Hastalığı ve Ölümü," *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no. 4, (2001), pp. 49-84. I extend my thanks to Prof. Ali Akyıldız for his interest and help in reaching the copy of his valuable study on the details of Sultan II. Mahmud's illness and death. The article of Arslan Terzioğlu also provides significant information on the issue: Arslan Terzioğlu. "II. Mahmud'un Son Hastalığı ile İlgili Raporlar ve Galatasaray Tıbbiyesi'nin 17 Şubat 1839'da Açılışı," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 83, (Kasım 1990), pp. 38-43.

The other studies on the same issue are as follows: Arslan Terzioğlu. "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Son Hastalığı ile İlgili Dr. K. A. Bernard'ın Viyana'ya Gönderdiği Raporlar ve Galatasaray'da Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhane'nin 17 February 1839'da Açıldığına Dair Diğer Belgeler," *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara, (5-9 September 1990), Ankara 1994, IV, pp. 1579-1597; Metine Belger, "II. Mahmud'un Ölümü Hakkında Mütalalar", *Türk Tip Tarihi Arkivi*, no. 10, (1938), pp. 68-71; Rengin Dramur, "Abdülhak Molla'nın Sultan II. Mahmud'a Yazdığı Reçeteler", *Tıp Dünyası*, 59/3, (Mayıs/Haziran 1986), pp. 65-74.

His Death

Sultan Mahmud II suffered from more than a single illness. He was definitely afflicted with the lung tuberculosis as well as pleura and ampiem disease, the culmination of inflammation in the chest box. Excretion of sanguinary urine, which is a symptom of the illness, proves the existence of general tuberculosis which had infected all the internal organs. Blood vomiting (*hemoptizi*) and sanguinary hemorrhoids (*hemoroid*) induced anemia for him. Briefly, the valid diagnosis modern medicine could make for the illness of Sultan Mahmud II was that he died of lung tuberculosis complications.[16]

One of the main reasons why the doctors failed to treat the illness was that Sultan Mahmud II rejected the illness and refused to acknowledge it, not following the treatment and diet advised by the doctors. His fixed stance and his effort to conceal his illness hampered the efforts of the doctors. Additionally, his refusal not to give up alcohol, which was a negative factor for his health, speeded up the deterioration of his health and body.

Meanwhile, as shown by Prof. Ali Akyıldız, Sultan Mahmud II's doctors did not trust each other's treatment methods. Indeed, Dr. Bernard mentioned that the Chief Doctor did not implement the decisions taken at the consultation before 18 June 1889, and that the Chief Doctor, relying on his authority, used certain herbs which were not good for the sultan's health, and inflamed the illness even more. According to Dr.

[16] Ali Akyıldız, "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Hastalığı ve Ölümü," p. 65.

Bernard, the servants around Sultan Mahmud II did their best to keep Dr. Neuner away from the sultan. Abdülhak Molla accused an unnamed doctor with treason for opposing his treatment methods.[17] What should be induced from these is that the struggle among the different schools of medicine just shortened the path to death for Sultan Mahmud II.

At the advice of the Chief Doctor and others, Sultan Mahmud II, before his death, moved to the summerhouse of his sister Esma Sultan at Çamlıca, which was famous for its fresh air, for fresh air treatment.[18] However, Sultan Mahmud II could not recover from his illness and passed away at around 10:00 Am on Monday, 2 July 1839 (19 *Rebiyyülâhir* 1255) in the summerhouse of his sister Esma Sultan, situated in Sarıkaya, Bulgurlu.[19]

Certain foreign sources, on the other hand, claim that Sultan Mahmud II passed away before 2 July 1839 (19 *Rebiyyülâhir* 1255) and that his death was hidden from the public for a while. In his book-the preface is dated August 1839- Ernst Munch claims that Hüsrev and Damad Halil *paşa*s, fearing a public uprising due to the unwelcome

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[17] *ibid*., p. 66.

[18] Ahmet Lütfi Efendi. *Va'kanüvis Ahmed Lütfi Tarihi*, vol. 6-7-8, (İstanbul: Yapı KrediYayınları, 1999), p. 1007.

[19] Due to the different methods of transforming the Muslim calendar into the Roman calendar, there are contradictory dates for the death. Surely, the date of the death is Monday, 19 *Rebiyyülâhir* 1255. This information was cited in the protocol (*teşrifat*) record about the death of Sultan Mahmud II and his funeral, and accession of Sultan Abdülmecid: BOA, Bâbıâlî Evrak Odası (BEO), *Sadaret Defteri*, no. 365, p. 91. Va'kanüvis Ahmed Lütfi also gives same the date: Ahmet Lütfi Efendi. *Va'kanüvis Ahmed Lütfi Tarihi*, p. 1007.

Ali Akyıldız insists that the date is 1 July 1839. The letters of the foreign missions to their home countries set the date of death as 1 July 1839. In our date transformation program, 19 *Rebiülâhir* 1255 is equivalent to 2 July 1839. There are other sources which accept 2 July 1839 as the date of the death: Bedi. N. Şehsuvaroğlu. "Osmanlı Padişahlarının Akıbetleri ve Ölüm Sebepleri Hakkında Tıp Tarihi Bakımından Bir İnceleme", *V. Türk Tarih Kongresi: 12-17 Nisan 1956*, (Ankara: 1960), p. 402. The transcript writer of *Va'kanüvis Ahmed Lütfi Tarihi* also set 2 July 1839 as death date. Ali Akyıldız, who insists on 1 July 1839, transformed the date of the newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* of 28 *Rebiyyülâhir* 1255 as 11 July 1839. According to his calculation, 19 *Rabiülâhir* 1255 should be equal to 2 July 1839.

Meanwhile, I should add that in our date transformation program, 2 July 1839 refers to Tuesday. However, the archive documents and primary sources set the date of the death as Monday.

reforms, kept the death secret for a while although Sultan Mahmud II had passed away on 28 June 1839. The statesmen in question deployed military forces in the strategic places of the city as a security measure and then announced the death.[20] G. Rosen, who also marks 30 June 1839 as death date, argues similar claims.[21] Taking into consideration the reforms and developments during the tenure of Sultan Mahmud II, these claims seem plausible. The death of Ottoman sultans had been hidden from the public in the past.[22] On the other hand, the next sultan who would succeed Sultan II Mahmud was already determined and it was not reasonable to expect military preparations of three or four days, so claims of the foreign sources are not reasonable. There is no evidence at all in the archives or other sources to prove such claims.

Şehzâde (prince) Abdülmecid immediately went to the imperial Topkapı Palace after hearing of the death of Sultan Mahmud II. The B*âbıâlî* was also informed about the occasion. The notables of the state were informed and were told to come to the palace. The throne was prepared; viziers, scholars, notables and high commanders were present for the ceremony as the in case of festival ceremonies. *Veliaht* Abdülmecid took the throne among applause; the attendants voiced their loyalty.[23]

The Burial Ceremony

[20] Ernest Münch. *Mahmud II. Padischah der Osmanen*, (Stuttgart: n.p., 1839), pp. 215-216. From: Ali Akyıldız, "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Hastalığı ve Ölümü," pp. 66-67.

[21] Goerg Rosen. *Geschichte Der Türkei*, (Leipzig: 1866) p. 299-300. From: Ali Akyıldız. "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Hastalığı ve Ölümü", p. 67.

[22] I will refer to some examples in the next chapters and will explain why it was unnecessary to keep the death a secret.

[23] BOA, BEO, *Sadaret Defteri*, no. 365, p. 91.

The body of Sultan Mahmud II was brought in a coach to Haydarpaşa wharf in the morning by former chief deputy assistant Mustafa Kâni Beyefendi. The corpse placed in seven double boats, was sailed to the other side of the Boshporus with the accompaniment of crowded caiques. The body of the deceased sultan, which arrived at the Topkapı Palace in the afternoon, was placed before the water fountain in the quarter of *Hırka-i Sâadet*. It was cleaned and shrouded by Ayasofya (Hagia Sophia) *şeyhi* (spiritual leader) Yusuf Efendi, Sultanahmet Mosque spiritual leader (The Blue Mosque) Murad Efendi, the *imâm* of Süleymaniye Mosque and *İmâm-ı Evvel-i Hazret-i Şehriyârî* (Sultan's First İmâm) Nuri Efendi. The body was later taken to the funeral praying altar before *Bâbü's-saâde.* The sultan's first *imâm* Nuri Efendi led the funeral prayers. Treasury servants opened the thurible and the treasury chief distributed money.[24]

The funeral cortege left Topkapı Palace at around five o'clock to reach the Divanyolu where Sultan Mahmud II had willed to be buried, in the land of his sister Esma Sultan. All Muslims, Jews and Christians were lined up the streets to pay their final respecrs to the deceased sultan. Women and children were standing on one side of the road while the men were on the other side. Thousands of people rushed to carry the coffin for a few meters. The sultan's sword, signs and his fez ornamented with diamond crest and feather of heron were placed on the cover of the coffin. Historian *Vak'anüvis* Lütfi Efendi, who personally participated in the funeral, recounts the funeral as:

> My friend Hoca Cemâl Efendi and I went around to the Ayasofya that day. Men and women from every segment of society had filled all the streets in Sultanahmed and Ayasofya, Topkapı Palace. Mourning and sorrow were prevalent among the people. Perplexed people chanted verses from the Holy Koran (Allah is the greatest and Mohammed is His messenger): It had been exactly 47 years since I

[24] BOA, BEO, *Sadaret Defteri*, no. 365, p. 91; Ahmet Lütfi Efendi. *Va'kanüvis Ahmed Lütfi Tarihi*, p. 1007; Ernest Münch. *Mahmud II. Padischah der Osmanen*, pp. 215-216. From: Ali Akyıldız. "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Hastalığı ve Ölümü," p. 69.

> witnessed such consternation as the coffin was taken out of the sultan's palace. Thousands of people were sobbing and crying loudly, saying, "You left us, our Sultan. Do not leave us."[25]

The coffin of Sultan Mahmud II was taken to the land of Esma Sultan in Divanyolu on a rainy day with the participation of crowds of people. It was buried among the prayers of state notables and the people. Feldmerashel Moltke, who visited the grave, cites that a tent was set up over the grave until a tomb was erected.[26] After the burial process, *Ebniye-i Hassa* Director Abdülhalim Efendi was appointed to build a tomb and he fulfilled the mission shortly after. The tomb was opened to visits on 11 November 1840. Special attention was paid to the tomb; the tomb and the roads leading to it were renovated and restored in 1853, 1871, 1876, and 1887.[27]

Meanwhile, the death of the former sultan and the enthronement of the new one were announced to the domestic and foreign public. In line with tradition, the death of sultan Mahmud II was announced to the people of İstanbul on the day of his death by the common criers. The common criers were awarded by the prime ministerial treasury.[28] Sultan Abdülmecid also issued an imperial edict informing the rural areas about the

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[25] Ahmet Lütfi Efendi. *Va'kanüvis Ahmed Lütfi Tarihi*, p. 1007.

[26] Helmuth von Molkte. *Moltke'nin Türkiye Mektupları*, Translated by Hayrullah Örs, (İstanbul: Remzi, 1969), p. 277.

As Prof. Ali Akyıldız has pointed out, this was a tradition followed at the death of sultans. Stephan Gerlach (1546-1612), who visited İstanbul along with the German mission and was present in İstanbul during the death of Sultan Selim II, says that the deceased Sultan was placed under a tent as the tomb was not prepared. According to Gerlach's account, the coffin covered by precious shawls was under a beautiful pavilion. There were an abundance of candles, low reading stands and flowers in the pavilion. For more see: Ali Akyıldız, "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Hastalığı ve Ölümü," p. 70. For the account of German Gerlach, See: Kemal Beydilli, "Stephan Gerlach'ın *Rûznamesi*'nde İstanbul," *Tarih Boyunca İstanbul Semineri, 29 Mayıs-1 Haziran 1988: Bildiriler*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi**,** 1989)

[27] BOA, İ..MVL., Dosya: 258, Gömlek: 9638, 17/Ra/1269; BOA, Dosya: 639, Gömlek:44407, 12/B/1288; BOA, İ..DH.., Dosya: 728, Gömlek: 50791, 27/B /1293; BOA, DH.MKT., Dosya: 1407, Dosya Gömlek: 10, 29/C /1304.

[28] BOA, BEO, *Sadaret Defteri*, no. 365, p. 91.

death of the former sultan. It was cited in the edict that "He (Abdülmecid) was enthroned with the full support of grand viziers and viziers, scholars, and with the full loyalty of the prominent members of the public." The new sultan also demanded people to be fully informed about the content of the edict and the organization of festivals, cannon shooting and praying for him.[29] The news of the death of the former sultan was also posted in the official gazette of the Ottoman Empire, *Takvim-i Vekâyi*, nine days later.[30]

The approved copies of the imperial edict were mailed to all the towns for execution after having been received by the officials in the states and provinces. It was procedural for the *kadı* (judges) to ensure that the content and orders of the imperial edict were put into practice. In the response to the edict, it was stated that the imperial edict was read to *imâm*s, scholars, notables and the public in the towns, prayers were chanted for the sultan, and "a gun festival was executed."[31] There is no expression of sorrow for the death of Sultan Mahmud II either in the imperial edict or in the responses. On the contrary, the edict ordered cannon shooting and festivals while the local authorities in response organized festivals and gun shooting.[32]

It was traditional to announce the happy and sad family affairs of the sultan such as the death of a member of the sultan's family, the birth of a new child, or the marriage

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[29] BOA, Cevdet, Saray, no. 2670.

[30] Erike-pîrâ-yı hilafet ve devlet ve ziynet bahşâ-yı serîr şevket ve saltanat olan Gazi Sultan Mahmud Hân-ı Sâni Hazretleri bir kaç mâhdan beri münharifü'l-mizaç oldukları halde ber-mukteza-yı takdir-i mümteniü'l-tağyîr huzzâk etibba tarafından icra olunan müdâvât ve tekbir kâr-ger-i te'sir olmayarak silk-i gevher-senc-i ömr-i nâzenînleri güsiste-târ-ı fenâ ve işbu şehr-i Rebiu's-sâninin on dokuzuncu pazarertesi günü ale's-seher hırâmende-i gülşen-serây-ı ukba buyurmuş...

Takvim-i Vekâyi, no. 181, 28 R 1255/11 July 1839, p. 1.

[31] Ali Akyıldız, "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Hastalığı ve Ölümü," pp. 74-75.

[32] BOA, Cevdet Tasnifi, Saray, no. 2666.

of family members. *Sadâret* (the Prime Ministry) Undersecretary Nuri Efendi sent a note in French to the foreign missions in İstanbul, informing them about the death of Sultan Mahmud II and the enthronement of Sultan Abdülmecid on the same day. The foreign missions sent the news to their capitals.[33] Meanwhile, Sultan Abdülmecid sent imperial letters to the foreign kings to inform them about these developments.[34] In these letters to the foreign kings, the new sultan expressed his sorrow for the death of Sultan Mahmud II and underlined that the shift in the throne would not affect the relations between their countries negatively. Unlike the content of the interior edicts, sadness for the death of the former sultan was clearly stressed in the letters sent to the foreign kings. The Dutch King, in his response, said that his sorrow for the death of the former sultan was comparable to Sultan Abdülmecid's.[35] Similar expressions can be found in the response of the Spanish Queen's mother and her trustee.[36]

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[33] Public Record Office (PRO), FO, 78/356, pp. 193-194. From: Ali Akyıldız, "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Hastalığı ve Ölümü," p. 76.

[34] A German translation of the Ottoman announcement was sent to the Austrian king in Vienna from Austrian embassy in İstanbul: "This Monday (July 1, 1839) Sultan Mahmoud Han passed away at Allah's decree, and crown Sultan Abdülmecid took over the throne. In line with the traditions of the Ottoman Empire, the new Sultan will receive state workers, Chief *imâm*, army commanders, vizier and other officials. As the palaces of the friendly countries should be informed, this note is also presented to the Austrian palace. 19 *Rebiyyülâhir* 1255 (1 July 1839) Embassy translator Husjar translated." The document of Haus,-Hof und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, dated July 1, 1839. From: Arslan Terzioğlu, "II. Mahmud'un Son Hastalığı ile İlgili Raporlar ve Galatasaray Tıbbiyesi'nin 17 Şubat 1839'da Açılışı," p. 40.

[35] "... işbu haber-i dehşet-eser... ıztırab ve helecan-ı derûnunuzu müeddi olmuş... hususiyle bu muhlislerine ârız olan hüzün ve kederin derecesi ancak zât-ı şâhânelerine bu bâbda târı olan gam ve elemin mikdarına mukayese-i şâhanelerin buyurulacağı..."

BOA, HR. MTV., 746/20.

[36] "… vâlid-i mâcid-i câmi'ü'l-mehâmidleri Sultan Mahmud Han hazretlerinin vefatları pek aşırı mûcib-i teessüf olmuş ise de zât-ı ma'delet-simât-ı şehrîyârilerinin taht-ı âlî-baht-ı hümâyûnlarına cülûs-I meymenet-menûslarının şeref-vukuundan husûle gelen mesrûiyet ol-bâbda ârız olan mahzûniyet-i kalbiyyemizin hayli indifa'ını müstevcib olmuştur…"

BOA, HR. MTV., 748/85.

Sultan Abdülmecid

His illness and Death

Sultan Abdülmecid took over the throne at the age of seventeen when his father Sultan Mahmud II passed away and ruled the Ottoman Empire for twenty-two years. Due to his early enthronement, alcohol and women had a significant influence on the young Sultan. These addictions gnawed the body of Sultan Abdülmecid over the years and he caught in tuberculosis just at the age of thirty-four. Palace doctors and foreign doctors tried to treat Sultan Abdülmecid during the last four years of his reign. It was rumored that Sultan Abdülmecid told Müşir Paşa, who was charged then to quell Herzegovina uprising, "God willing, you will be successful, however, you will not find me alive when you return. My ladies and daughters have tired me out."[37] The sultan's health deteriorated badly in the spring of 1861. He refused to quit alcohol despite the insistence of the doctors. It was to benefit of some people around the sultan that he keep up this addiction.[38]

Official historian of the empire, Cevdet Paşa, recounts the final days of Sultan Abdülmecid in detail: The week before Sultan Abdülmecid died was the Muslim Feast of the Sacrifice. Because he was very weak, Sultan Abdülmecid was thinking, "How will I ride the horse in the parade and how will the greetings be?" It was very difficult

[37] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Ma'rûzat*, Edited by Yusuf Halaçoğlu, (İstanbul : Çağrı Yayınları, 1980), p. 29.

[38] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, vol.13-20, (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1960.) pp. 137-138; and Necdet Sakaoğlu, Nuri Akbayar. *A Milestone on Turkey's Path of Westernization : Sultan Abdülmecid*, (İstanbul: Deniz Bank, 2002), pp. 148-155. This book is the translation of *Avrupalılaşmanın Yol Haritası ve Sultan Abdülmecid,* (İstanbul: Denizbank, 2001). I advise the original one to fully understand the text.

for him to stay on the horse. The sultan could not attend the *cuma selâmlığı* (the Friday procession). But he got dressed every morning and undressed every evening till June 24 1861. On that day, Monday, he felt very feeble and he stayed in his night dress. That means it was understood that he was seriously ill. As the Grand Vizier and the commanders in chief were present at his private room, the doctors went in for a consultation. His illness had not been diagnosed till then because he only let his private doctor, Karateodori, examine him. Doctor Karateodori found nothing wrong with his organs and told his view to the other doctors. He still said that nothing was wrong with Sultan Abdülmecid. The doctors went in that day and examined the sultan. They could not understand anything because they could not do it thoroughly. They engaged in a meaningless discussion because there could be no reason for him to be that ill if the lungs and the other organs were healthy.

One of the doctors accosted Doctor İsmail Paşa and complained, "This is not a consultation. A very thorough examination and analysis are necessary. It is a disgrace not to diagnose the illness of a sultan who is the ruler of millions of people!" The Doctor Paşa went into the room and convinced Sultan Abdülmecid of this necessity. One of the doctors, Zografos Efendi, examined Sultan Abdülmecid in the way it should have been done before. He diagnosed tuberculosis in the lungs and also saw that the illness had destroyed the upper parts of the lungs. He told his diagnosis to the other doctors. The doctors discussed the matter and announced that it was already too late to do anything. So, that was the day when the sultan's illness was fully diagnosed. [39]

There was a question mark in Cevdet Paşa's mind about the sultan's private doctor Karatheodori. However, he was not a bad doctor and could not have

[39] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, vol.13-20, pp. 138-139.

misunderstood the nature of the illness. Was it his indifference that had made him say that everything was fine or was it possible that he had diagnosed Sultan Abdülmecid's sickness at least a year ago but had pretended the sultan was healthy because he did not want to give up his income and presents? Aside from not wanting to share the sultan's grants with any of his colleagues, he may have wanted to avoid creating the image of a sultan who did not take his medicines regularly and died because of his obstinacy. This fact was neither revealed nor announced.[40]

That Monday, Sultan Abdülmecid felt sligltly better and ate a little. But then, he had diarrhoea. He had told Chamberlain Ahmed Bey just two days ago that diarrhoea would mean the end of everything. So he called in Ahmed Bey and said, "Look, it has come. This is what I have told you. There is no remedy for it now." In fact, he began to vomit that night. He knew the degree of his illness and indulged in metaphysical issues. He turned to God and spent the night in prayer. The next day, 25 June 1861 Tuesday, he lost consciousness at midnight and remained so for three hours. Since the Grand Vizier and minister and commanders had been informed before, they went to the palace and found the sultan in that condition. With Ahmet Cevdet Paşa's words, "And his soul left his body to go to Heaven at that hour."[41]

Doctor Zografos had been called up by three different aide-de-camps towards daybreak. They told the doctor that the sultan had fainted a number of times till

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[40] *ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

[41] "rûh-ı pür fütûhu â'lâ-i illiyîne revân oldu."

ibid., pp. 138-139.

According to Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, Sultan Abdülmecid died on 18 Zilhicce 1278 Tuesday. But, Histographer Lütfi Efendi wrote that Sultan Abdülmecid died on 17 Zilhicce. But in our date transformation program, Tuesday corresponds to 16 *Zilhicce*. Other sources also set the date of death as 25 July, as we did. *The New York Times* also reports that the Sultan passed away on 25 July. See: "Death of Sultan Abdul-Medjid", *New York Times*, 7 July 1861, p. 4.

daybreak. Doctor Zografos went to Sultan Abdülmecid's room. Chamberlain Ahmed Bey was on duty that night and he stood by the bed. The doctor described what he saw when he arrived at the palace as follows: Sultan Abdülmecid's terrible moaning filled the room. His eyes were fixed on the ceiling. His mouth was open and very dry. He was taking short breaths; he growled heavily, his pulse was low and his fever was high. In short, he was unconscious... The chief chamberlain came back soon. He held a silver bowl with water in it. He did not allow Doctor Zografos to wet the lips of the sultan with this water. He said, "Holy Water (*zemzem-i şerif*)" Doctor Karatheodori also came at that moment. He also examined Sultan Abdülmecid and said, 'it is over, and we can leave'."[42]

Sultan Abdülhamid II, the son of Sultan Abdülmecid, tried to prevent a probable link between his father's sickness and death, and his excessive drinking and infatuation with Harem life:

> My father became ill after he returned from Salonica. But the real reason of his illness was something else. That event happened in Kuleli. My father had really served the country. A new reform period began during his reign. The Gülhane Decree was proclaimed. Thus, when he heard that there was an opposition to him, he got hurt. He could not get well again. He became sick and caught tuberculosis.[43]

On the other hand, our significant sources agreed on Sultan Abdülmecid's extensive alcohol and harem life. Cevdet Paşa wrote in his *Tezâkir* (Notes):

> After Sultan Abdülmecid ascended the throne, he did well for five or six years and he was healthy. But then, the people around him introduced him to alcohol and merriment... But then, he got choked with alcohol and harem life. It was as if he dug his own grave, and he did not care about the state affairs any more... He got ill,

[42] *ibid.*, p. 138.

[43] Necdet Sakaoğlu, Nuri Akbayar. *A Milestone on Turkey's Path of Westernization : Sultan Abdülmecid*, pp. 149. On the other hand, we must say that his memoirs is a moot point. About a discussion on the reliability of his memoirs, see: Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Arşivden Bir Belge (32): Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Hatıraları," *Toplumsal Tarih*, v. XVI, No. 95, (Kasım 2001), pp. 29-34.

> and just as he had no security outside the palace, he thought that his women would also be jealous of each other and attempt at his life. Both a bodily weakness and a psychological one came over him.[44]

Mehmed Memduh Paşa wrote in his *Mir'at-ı Şuunât* (Mirror of Events) the same thing, too: Sultan Abdülmecid's royal body had fallen tired and ill because he never pulled away the cup of taste from his lips and never refrained from the zest out his concubines' sweet laps. During the last Friday procession which he could attend; he mounted a horse with the religious Ottoman sultans' effort and heroism in his nature although there was neither strength nor motion in his body. On the way to the mosque, he waved his hands at everybody with a tremendous effort as if to say one last goodbye and made everyone overly happy.[45]

Historiographer Lütfi Efendi also narrates that Sultan Abdülmecid Han had been ill for some time and his body grew weaker everyday. Although all the specialist doctors took measures to combat the illness, they did not prove fruitful, and the sultan died around three o'clock on the 17 *Zilhicce* in the Palace in the Beşiktaş.[46] Though Cevdet Paşa accuses the doctors indirectly of not taking the necessary measures, it is interesting to see that Lütfi Efendi says the opposite.

The death of Sultan Abdülmecid and the enthronement of Sultan Abdülaziz were declared to the provinces. The provinces notified that they had received the declaration and fulfilled the necessary ceremonies. The provinces just wished God's mercy for

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[44] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, p. 135-139.

[45] Mehmed Memduh Paşa. *Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete,* (İstanbul: Nehir, 1990), pp. 35-42. Adapted to modern Turkish by Hayati Develi.

[46] Ahmed Lütfi Efendi. *Vak'anüvis Ahmed Lütfi Efendi Tarihi*, (İstanbul : Tarih Vakfı-Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), prepared by Ahmet Hezarfen. From: Necdet Sakaoğlu, Nuri Akbayar. *A Milestone on Turkey's Path of Westernization : Sultan Abdülmecid*, pp. 151-155.

Sultan Abdülmecid but did not express any sadness for it. In the responses from the local administrations, it was underlined that the enthronement of Abdülaziz was declared to the people and relevant ceremonies including cannon shooting were carried out.[47]

Burial Ceremony

Historian Cevdet Paşa, who narrated the funeral ceremony of Sultan Abdülmecid in detail, arrived at *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* (Dynasty Palace) by a ministers' steamship from Emirgün in the morning as he always did. The appearance of marshal chairs in front of the palace was not a good omen and Ali Paşa turned pale on seeing the chairs. The appearance of dynasty caiques as they approached the palace and the line-up of the soldiers revealed what was going on. When they arrived at the shore villa, they were asked to go to Kubbealtı. Sultan Abdülaziz was enthroned in a ceremony in front of the *Babü's-saâde.* Sultan Abdülaziz did not wait for the funeral prayers and returned to the Dolmabahçe Palace. [48]

After the enthronement ceremony, most of the *vükelâ* (council of ministers), *ulemâ* and statesmen stayed at the palace to attend the funeral prayer and cortege. Our narrator Cevdet Paşa was also there. Sultan Abdülmecid's body was washed and prepared for burial at the marble hall in front of the *Hırkâ-i Sâadet Dâiresi* at the Topkapı Palace. Then, the deceased sultan's coffin was taken to the palace courtyard. It was placed on the marble coffin stone. Sadness and sorrow filled the hearts of the people

[47] It is possible to find tens of documents on the issue in the Ottoman archives. For some examples, look: BOA, A.}MKT.UM.., Dosya: 480, Gömlek: 58, 24/Z /1277 (Hicrî); BOA, A.}MKT.UM.. Dosya: 481, Gömlek: 22, 26/Z /1277 (Hicrî); BOA, A.}MKT.UM.., Dosya: 486, Gömlek 42, 15/M /1278.

[48] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, pp. 140-141.

who attended the ceremony. Although it is customary to say, "For the sake of the man"[49] at every burial, and though everyone knows this, the *imâm* said the same thing for the great and renowned person who had been sultan and caliph for twenty years, and his words had a tremendous impact on the people present there.[50]

After the prayer, the *imâm* led the *tezkiye* (confirming that somebody has a clean record and a good character)[51] and said, "You people present here! What do you think about this person?" "We believe he was a good person. May God Almighty forgive him and illuminate his grave" everybody answered very sincerely, and their murmuring prayers showed the peoples' real love and respect for the deceased sultan. After the *tezkiye* ritual, the *imâm* said, "You people present here! This person asks you to do a favour; will you forgive him and grant him your prayers?" Everybody felt deeply sorry and replied, "Yes we do, may God turn his new home into heaven" and they sent him their best wishes from the depths of their hearts.[52] Cevdet Paşa expressed his feelings about the funeral as follows:

> A huge grief dominated İstanbul on the day when Sultan Abdülmecid passed away. As the sayings from Prophet Mohammed underlines that a person will be pardoned if forty people defend his innocence, nobody had any doubt that Sultan Abdülmecid was pardoned as thousands were there to announce his innocence. I had attended the

[49] "Er kişi niyetine"

[50] *ibid.*, pp. 140-141. and Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Ma'rûzat*, pp. 29-30.

[51] In the ceremony of *tezkiye,* the *imâm* asks the people performing the funeral prayer "O people, how did you know the deceased?" And the people answer "We knew him to be good." And the people in the funeral ceremony say that they voluntarily give up their rights on the deceased –although there may be some exceptions.

For Islamic rules and practices regarding funerals, see: Ahmet Hıfzı Gözübüyük. *Tanrı İnancı ve Cenaze Namazı*, (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1971), pp. 41-66. For general information about Muslim funerals, see: A. S. Tritton, "Muslim Funeral Customs," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London,* Vol. IX, No. 3. (1938), pp. 653-661.

[52] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Ma'rûzat*, pp. 30-32; Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, pp. 140-142.

> funeral ceremonies of ministers who were believed to go to Paradise but none of them was as crowded as the funeral of Sultan Abdülmecid.[53]

Then the funeral cortege took the coffin of Sultan Abdülmecid to the tomb built for him near the tomb of Selim the Grim (Sultan Selim I), the first Ottoman sultan to become the Caliph of Islam. Among his ancestors, Sultan Abdülmecid liked and respected Selim the Grim the most. That was why he had built his own tomb near the tomb of his mentor. When the construction of his tomb was over, Sultan Abdülmecid realized that his tomb was a little higher than that of Selim the Grim. Then he had it put down and built a lower one, thinking that being buried in a tomb higher than that of Selim the Grim would mean disrespect and arrogance.[54] On the other hand, there is another narrative but it is not supported by any other source. The former, Minister of Home Affairs Damâd Şerif Paşa claimed that Sultan Abdülmecid considered all that reminded of death ominous, and had not built the tomb for himself but for his two young sons upon their deaths. He was also buried there when he died.[55] Huge reverence was paid to Sultan Abdülmecid even after his death and the floor of his tomb was renewed later. The archives show that the tomb was renovated two times, in 1862 and 1864.[56]

An illustration showing the funeral cortege of Sultan Abdülmecid and its description provides more information about the funeral ceremony. The drawing published in *L'Illustration* shows us the necessary requirements for a traditional funeral ceremony of an Ottoman sultan. The coffin of Sultan Abdülmecid was about to go out of

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[53] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Ma'rûzat*, pp. 31-32.

[54] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, p. 142.

[55] Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu. *Asırlar Boyunca İstanbul: Sarayları, Camileri, Âbideleri, Çeşmeleri,* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1938), p. 137.

[56] BOA, İ..MVL., Dosya No:459, Gömlek No:20655, 24/C /1278 and BOA, İ..DH.., Dosya No:680, Gömlek No:47394, 19/M /1291.

Topkapı Palace, the drawing shows. The coffin, being carried by escort guards, was simple but slightly ornamented with velvet. Close servants of the sultan, holding handkerchiefs, were crying behind the coffin. Just behind these servants, palace officials on horse back were distributing money. Two escort guards on both sides of the coffin were burning incense on plates. The funeral cortege moved as the escort guards started their march. One of the Arabs, who had come from Mecca and was dressed in whites, cited a lament.[57] Other Arabs prayed for sultan along with escort guards. Two *molla*s on horse back followed them. The Grand Vizier was on horse back behind the *molla*s, followed by a group of soldiers. Other viziers followed the soldiers.[58] In the illustration, the soldiers were lined up as they would be in a modern *Tanzîmât* ceremony, while still slightly closer to Islamic tradition, in a sense; an approach to the tradition of orderly official parade is perceived. Although the screams or cries of the people were not noticeable in the illustration, they were cited in the description of the illustration.[59]

Sultan Abdülaziz
His Deposal and Death

The problems that the Ottoman Empire came across in the Balkans in 1876 and the reduction of half of the government loans and interests with the Ramadan Decree shook

[57] It is possible that the Arabs in white, referred to by the writers, were from the *ulemâ* (religious officials)

[58] P. Paget, "Obsèques d'Abdul-Medjid," *L'illustration*, no. 962, 3 Agusts 1861, p. 67. I thank Prof. Edhem Eldem for very kindly supplying this article; and Merih Erol for translating it into Turkish when I was preparing my term paper in 2004.

[59] Edhem Eldem. *Death in İstanbul: Death and its Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Culture*, (İstanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005). p. 96; Edhem Eldem. "Osmanlı Müslüman Ölüm Ritüellerinde Devamlılık ve Değişimi," Ottoman Bank Voyvoda Street Meetings 2005-2006, http://www.obarsiv.com/vct_0506_edhemeldem.html.

Sultan Abdülaziz's position to a great extent. Upon these events, a group among whom there were some statesmen such as Mithad Paşa, Hüseyin Avni Paşa and Mütercim Rüştü Paşa and some other military officials who were already prepared to dethrone Sultan Abdülaziz. They overthrew him with a military coup on the 30 May 1876 and put his nephew Sultan Murad V on the throne. Sultan Abdülaziz, who was firstly transferred to the Topkapı Palace and later to the Feriye Palace, got upset because of the bad treatment of the soldiers who were supposedly guarding him. He was also imprisoned in a palace and was not allowed even to go out to the garden.[60]

Sultan Abdülaziz lost his life as a result of a suicide or an assassination that took place in Feriye Palace on *11 Cemâziyelevvel 1293* (4 June 1876), Sunday morning.[61] Whether Sultan Abdülaziz committed suicide or was the victim of an assassination has long been discussed and a lot of studies are available on the subject. Especially İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's comprehensive work *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi [Midhat Paşa and the Yıldız Trial]*[62] that he wrote by studying almost all the documents and diaries in the Ottoman State Archives is a valuable work. My intention is to focus on the funeral ceremony and to tell the stories instead of participating in these discussions and taking a side.

Firstly, the story about suicide that was announced officially can be summarized

[60] For the political events in Sultan Abdülaziz era, see: Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa. *Mir'at-ı Hakîkat*, (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1979), prepared for publication by İsmet Miroğlu.

[61] Because of the mistakes in converting the calendars, there is contradictive information about the date of Sultan Abdülaziz's death in the sources. The common point is that the death occured on Sunday. Thus, when we accept the day as Sunday, then the date of his death should be like this.

[62] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1967).
Some other studies about Sultan Abdülaziz as follow: Haluk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu. *Sultan Aziz: Hususî, Siyasî Hayatı, Devri ve Ölümü*, (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1949); Fahri Bey. *İbretnümâ: Mabeynci Fahri* Bey*'in Hatıraları ve İlgili Bazı Belgeler*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968), prepared for publication by Bekir Sıtkı Baykal; Yavuz Selim Karakışla. "Hareket Ordusu'nun Emriyle Toplattırılmış Bir Risale: Sultân Abdülaziz'in Kâtilleri," *Müteferrika*, No. 16, Güz 1999, pp. 71-94.

as follows: Sultan Abdülaziz wanted scissors[63] and a mirror from his mother to tidy up his beard. He locked the door, getting everybody out the room, including *Vâlide Sultan* (mother of the Sultan). He died as a result of '*seyelân-ı dem'* (haemorrhage) cutting both his arms' blood-vessels. The door was forced open as the *harem* people got anxious when he was alone in the room for too long, and Sultan Abdülaziz was found in blood on the wickerwork in front of the cushion. People who entered the room saw that blood was flowing from his right and left arms on the *divân* and he was opening and closing his eyes and smiling, and he was still alive.

Vâlide Sultan, who saw that her son Sultan Abdülaziz was in the throes of death, began crying and shouting after she embraced him, the second *haznedâr* (one of the servants of the sultan working at the palace) embraced his feet. People in the palace were crying out as much as they could. The windows and the lattices of the flat were breaking and falling down because of the cries. Pehlivan Mustafa saw that a woman was going to throw herself to the sea while crying out and brought her to a room, catching her at the last moment. Yusuf Efendi and Mahmud Celaleddin Efendi were sitting in a nook while crying.[64]

Mâbeynci (chamberlain) Fahri Bey went to the quay, saying "You stop the blood and I will bring a doctor."[65] İzzet Bey, who heard the cries of the female slaves who broke the windows and tore their hair out, was coming towards the palace with the soldiers from the police station. Fahri Bey asked for help, saying "he hurt himself with scissors, I want a doctor," when he saw İzzet Bey. However, İzzet Bey gave a negative answer to this

[63] For the story of the scissors, see: Yavuz Selim Karakışla. "Sultan Abdülaziz'in İntihar Et(tiril)diği Makas (1876)," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 127, Temmuz 2004, pp. 100-102. For the photograph of the scissors, see: Figure: 3

[64] Fahri Bey. *İbretnümâ: Mabeynci Fahri* Bey*'in Hatıraları ve İlgili Bazı Belgeler*, pp. 16, 17, 19, 69.

[65] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, pp. 83–87.

request, saying "there is no doctor!" Arif Paşa and İzzet Bey came to the palace and saw Sultan Abdülaziz soaked in blood. Upon the warning of the police chief: "do not let too much blood flow," one of the officers tied the blood-vessel with a gassy cloth after putting a copper coin on it. Upon Arif Paşa's command, Sultan Abdülaziz was hastily brought to the police station, carried in a curtain torn away from the window. He was still alive. There he was put on the grass cushion, the curtain was laid on him, and the statesmen were immediately informed about the situation. *Sadrazam* (Grand Vizier) Rüştü Paşa and the *vükelâ* (ministers of the state) went to the police station and made an investigation; and the assigned doctors examined the body. Sultan Abdülaziz was dead by then. The death report given after the first examination was not accepted and 19 doctors consisting of natives and foreigners, Muslims and Christians, among whom there were also several embassy doctors, were brought for a more extended examination. This committee also prepared a report in French, indicating that Sultan Abdülaziz had committed suicide, cutting his blood vessels with scissors, and the Turkish translation of the report was published in the newspapers the next day.[66]

> Upon the command given by the *Vükelâ*, we went to the police station that is in the neighborhood of *Çırağan Sarây-ı Hümâyûnu* (Çırağan Dynasty Palace) to investigate the cause of the former Sultan Abdülaziz's death on 23 May 1292, Sunday, at an hour earlier than noon. There we saw a corpse, who was covered with a cloth, on a mattress on the ground, when they brought us to a room in the downstairs. When we removed the cloth we recognized it as the former Sultan Abdülaziz's corpse.
>
> As a result of the examination, it was understood that all his organs were cold, bloodless and pale and some of his parts were covered with clotted blood while the corpse had not frozen, yet. His eyelids were open and his mouth was somewhat open. The clothes covering his arms and feet were bloody and when we removed the cloth on his arm we saw a wound (cut) that had five centimeters width and three centimeters depth slightly lower down from his left arm's elbow. The sides of the wound were rough and untidy, its direction was from above to down and from exterior to interior. The mentioned part's vessels were cut and ¾ of the artery was cut from the point it came out. We saw a wound that had two and a half centimeters

[66] İsmail Hami Danişmend. *İzahlı Osmanlı Kronolojisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1945), v. 4. pp. 267–268; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, pp. 83–87.

length, was untidy and a little twisted at his right arm's elbow.

The wound in this part was on the small vessels that were going to the heart and the arteries were allright. The scissors were seen, which were ten centimeters length and had a small button on the side, and were near the nib of his arm that was cut greatly. The mentioned scissors were in blood and we were told that the former sultan cut himself with it. Then, they brought us to the great room, which was the dead sultan's residence, on the sea side. In this room, the outer surface of the *divân* near to one of the windows was like a lake of blood and there was a lot of clotted blood on the wickerwork and there were even blood stains around it**.**

As a result of the mentioned situation, we all made these decisions:

First of all--- The blood that was lost as a result of the cutting of the vessels in his arms caused the death of former Sultan Abdülaziz.

Secondly---The tool that was shown to us (scissors) could form the mentioned wounds and cuts.

Thirdly---From the state and the direction of the wounds and from the tool that caused them, it is inferred that a suicide, in other words to kill himself, occurred.

This resolution that we conducted at the police station of *Çırağan Sarây-ı Hümâyûnu* has been signed and presented.[67]

The story that Sultan Abdülaziz was killed as a result of an assassination can be summarized as such: Mütercim Rüştü, Hüseyin Avni, Midhat Paşa and *Şeyhülislâm* (the chief religious official) Hayrullah Efendi who were named *erkân-ı erbaa* (the four great officials) and *erkân-ı müttefika* (the allied great officials) had formed a dictatorship committee that was dominating the government. After Sultan Murad V's accession to the throne, a committee of ministers that contained these people together with the Navy Minister Ahmed Paşa and Trade Minister Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa was in the service of the government because of the new sultan's illness. The new *mâbeyn müşîri* (chamberlain marshall) Nuri Paşa, one of the son-in-laws of Sultan Abdülmecid, was this committee's representative in the palace, as he regularly visited *Vâlide Sultan*.

Sultan Abdülaziz's assassination was planned by this committee and the new *Vâlide Sultan* Şevkefza, who was acting on behalf of Sultan Murad V. To put this decision into practice, Cezayirli Mustafa Pehlivan, Yozgatlı Pehlivan Mustafa and

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[67] İsmail Hami Danişmend. *İzahlı Osmanlı Kronolojisi*, v. 4, pp. 267-268. See the original report in Turkish at Appendix: 1.

Boyabadlı Hacı Mehmed, who were all old and faithful men of the new sultan, were commissioned for the so called protection of Sultan Abdülaziz. These men were actually ordinary workers, employed as woodsmen or watchmen.

At the moment of the assassination, only his second chamberlain Fahri Bey was left in Sultan Abdülaziz's service, and the other servants were sent away. Fahri Bey was the "man" of the ministers of the state in the Feriye Palace. Three wrestlers that the committee commissioned spent Saturday night in the police station which was in the neighborhood of the Feriye Palace and were let in with the aid of Fahri Bey. While entering the palace, Fahri Bey gave a white handled, sharp jack-knife to Yozgatlı Mustafa Pehlivan and the policemen Ali Bey and Necip Bey came with them. With the aid of Fahri Bey, the wrestlers cut the blood vessels of the former sultan's left arm first and then those of the right arm with the jack-knife. Sultan Abdülaziz cried out saying "*Aman Allah* (Oh my God)!" and this tragic state went on for five minutes; meanwhile Necip and Ali Bey held the room's door with their swords. After the murderers ran away through the hall and the window, Pertevniyal *Vâlide Sultan* came in and embraced her son. When the people in the palace began to cry out, although Sultan Abdülaziz was still alive, he could not speak and gave out his last breath.[68]

While the chamberlain marshall *Damâd* (bridegroom) Nuri Paşa was in the presence of Sultan Murad V and having dinner, the second chamberlain Seyid Bey came in smiling, and happily said that "the man who will be buried in Sultan İbrahim's tomb, may God give you life, has died."[69] Then, Sultan Murad V sent Nuri Paşa to find out

[68] İsmail Hami Danişmend. *İzahlı Osmanlı Kronolojisi*, v. 4, pp. 268–269.

[69] Sultan İbrahim was not buried in a tomb where the Ottoman sultans were buried, as he was insane. There was the tendency to avoid burying the sultans who were obviously known to have lost their sanity, in a tomb of sultans. I will mention it in the following chapters.

what was going on, saying "Oh! What's happening?" The sultan fainted because of excitement and shock. To Nuri Paşa who went to the police station to find out the news, Hüseyin Avni Paşa explained the situation as such:

> May God give you life. Sultan Aziz died. His death is the result of his cutting his arms' vessels. We called for the public doctors and embassy doctors. We will immediately have him examined and bury him. We are waiting for the decree about his burial place.[70]

After learning the situation, Nuri Paşa came to the palace and told what he had heard and saw to Sultan Murad V and the new sultan ordered his uncle Sultan Abdülaziz's body to be buried in Sultan Mahmud II's tomb.[71]

Although the ministers of the state thought it suitable for the corpse to be washed (*gasl*) in the Feriye Palace, by his main chamberlain Edhem Bey, Sultan Murad V told the ministers of state that a sultan's corpse could not be washed there and that he would be washed in the Topkapı Palace and buried in his father Sultan Mahmud II's tomb. As İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı states, for centuries it had been a tradition for the Ottoman sultans to be washed in the Topkapı Palace and even the corpses of Sultan Mahmud II and Sultan Abdülmecid, who did not die within the Topkapı Palace, were washed in that palace. It is nearly impossible that the ministers of state did not know this practice which even the public knew. It is thought that the wrath against Sultan Abdülaziz himself caused this situation.[72]

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[70] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, p. 88.

[71] Statement of *Damâd* Nuri Paşa. BOA, Y.E.E, Dosya: 17, Gömlek: 37, 15 Cemâziyelevvel 1298 and BOA, Y.E.E, Dosya: 17, Gömlek: 39, 25 Cemâziyelevvel 1298.

[72] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, p. 96, footnote. 152.

Gasl (Washing the Corpse)

The former sultan's corpse was taken from the police station and brought to Yalı Köşkü with a small steamboat. From there it was brought to Topkapı Palace without any respect or care. The corpse was laid on an untidy mattress and it was covered with a white curtain and a black shawl. Close servants of the sultan (*enderûn ağaları*) raised the corpse on this mattress and carried it laying it down on one door wing; as the door wing was narrow, both sides of the mattress extended over the its edges. As the corpse was covered from end to end with the shawl at the top, whether his head was at the front or the back was not clear. One of the servants of Yusuf İzzettin Efendi, Safranbolulu Mehmed Ağa, who witnessed how the corpse was brought to the palace from the villa, narrates that moment:

> One part of the cloth was unraveled and when I looked by removing the unraveled part, I saw it was brought in the right way; his head was in the front part.[73]

During Sultan Abdülaziz's washing ceremony, his clothes were taken off by cutting them from his underarms and then they were sewn roughly and preserved in the Topkapı Palace, in *Hazine-i Hümâyûn* (Treasury of the Dynasty). These objects consisted of two underpants made of cambric, a cotton cardigan with red bars, cashmere trousers, a jakonete undergarment, a shirt made of cloth, five window umbrellas made of white cambric,[74] blue gassy cloth, ten liras of copper coin,[75] and two white muslin

[73] BOA, Y.E.E. Dosya: 39, Gömlek: 1, 06/R/1327.

[74] The curtains that were covered on him upon his death.

[75] This copper coin is the one put on the wound on the former sultan's arm to stop the blood by Pehlivan Mustafa, who, following the suicide, had entered the Feriye Palace together with İzzet Bey and then walked up to Sultan Abdülaziz's room.

bandages. These objects were preserved in the treasure rooms until the Yıldız trials; they were taken there during the trial and put into their places after being displayed. On the occasion of the investigations, Sultanahmet Mosque's (the Blue Mosque) preacher Ömer Efendi, who washed Sultan Abdülaziz, testified that "he observed that blood was flowing through his left ribs; that is on his heart, and during washing ceremony the corpse was not cold and as the blood flowing from his arms did not stop, he washed it two times and by tying his arms with muslins the washing ceremony could be completed."[76]

The Burial of the Corpse

Sultan Abdülaziz's corpse was buried in his father Sultan Mahmud II's tomb in Divanyolu, the evening of 4 July 1876, the same day he died, after being washed and shrouded in *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* (Palace of the Dynasty). The funeral ceremony was conducted with the participation of the *enderun ağa*s and the ministers of the state. Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral ceremony was not crowded unlike his father Sultan Mahmud II's and his brother Sultan Abdülmecid's funeral ceremonies were. Due to a general timidity, there were not many people from the public. According to the narratives of people who understood that period very well, this timidity resulted from the public's fear of meeting the minister of war, the wrath of whom they were highly afraid of.[77]

While there is not much information about Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral ceremony,

[76] BOA, Y.E.E, Dosya: 19, Gömlek: 39, 22 Cemâziyelevvel 1297.

[77] Haluk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu. *Sultan Aziz: Hususî, Siyasî Hayatı, Devri ve Ölümü*, p. 140; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, pp. 96-97.

an illustration published in *The Graphic*[78] shows the coffin being brought to Sultan Mahmud II's tomb. In the illustration, the troop approaching the tomb is also seen. It is understood that those consisting of five people side by side and about thirty rows are Sultan Abdülaziz's relatives, *enderûn ağa*s and religious officials, *şeyh*s (sheik- head of a group of dervishes) and *müezzin*s (who gives the call to prayer). Behind the coffin which is carried by eight men, a troop resembling an official parade is coming. While there is a man who gives the impression that he is a religious representative in front of the troop, just behind him *paşa*s with their official uniforms and swords and other statesmen are coming. On the right and left sides of the troop, there are people watching the coffin being brought. Among the people and the troop, a row of wrestlers are seen in traditional Ottoman dress.

In the second illustration published in *Le Monde Illustre*,[79] the funeral cortege is seen leaving Topkapı Palace. While the harmonica team is walking with the first row of the troops, just behind them the soldiers are marching and the cavalry units are passing with their horses. The coffin is behind the cavalry, and the ministers of state and other statesmen are following the coffin. While both sides of the troops are surrounded by soldiers, the crowd watching the troops behind the soldiers and consisting of women and men can be seen.

About Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral ceremony, in the petition that Cevdet Paşa gave to Sultan Abdülhamid II, it is stated that in Sultan Abdülaziz's *tezkiye* (confirming that somebody has a clean record and a good character) he heard three statements: "God forgive him, God have mercy on him, and God grant him the Prophet's intercession."

[78] Figure: 1.

[79] Figure: 2.

According to Cevdet Paşa, these three statements all have different meanings in Islam, and in sinners' funerals people say "God forgive him."[80] People's expressing their wishes in this way resulted from the thought that the former sultan had committed suicide and people who believed in this fact used this statement.

The complex that consists of tomb, public fountain, rooms and fountain on Divanyolu and where Sultan Abdülaziz was buried, was built after Sultan Mahmud II's death by his son and predecessor Sultan Abdülmecid in about a year, and was later opened to visitors. Being the representative of ampir style, the opus was formed by covering the octagon body whose fronts were plated with marble, with a dome sitting on a hoop. In the tomb, there are seventeen graves of different lengths, among which there are Sultan Mahmud II's, Sultan Abdülaziz's and Sultan Abdülhamid II's coffins.[81]

Sultan Murad V

His Last Days and Death

Sultan Murad V ascended the Ottoman throne on 30 May 1876, after his uncle Sultan Abdülaziz was dethroned with the diagnosis of "*cünûn-ı mutbık ile mecnûn*" (permanent madness). Sultan Murad V, who showed signs of insanity in his first public procession to a mosque at noon on Friday, got even worse after the former Sultan Abdülaziz's controversial death. Upon the doctor report that Sultan Murad V, who had neural crisis during the period when he was on the throne, who did not eat much and

[80] BOA, Y.E.E, Dosya: 39, Gömlek: 1, 06 R 1327.

[81] Hakkı Önkal. *Osmanlı Hanedan Türbeleri*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), pp. 257-259.

who hallucinated, could not attain his mental health,[82] Midhat Paşa and others got in touch with Sultan Abdülhamid II. Sultan Murad V was also dethroned with the diagnosis of "*cünûn-ı mutbık ile mecnûn*" (permanent madness) in accordance with the juridical decision taken from Şeyhülislâm Hayrullah Efendi, and his brother Sultan Abdülhamid II ascended the Ottoman throne instead of him.

Sultan Murad V moved to the Çırağan Palace where he would spend twenty-eight years after living in Malta Köşkü, in Yıldız, for a short time. With Sultan Abdülhamid II's command, the former sultan's medical treatment went on in the Çırağan Palace, but he could not recover fully.[83] Due to the compulsory residence in the Çırağan Palace and old age, in time Sultan Murad V got some other diseases. In the first months, Sultan Abdülhamid II was not informed about Sultan Murad V's illness and his treatment was carried out with the medicines that were prepared in his son, Selahaddin Efendi's name. However, as the blood coming from his anus did not stop, the former sultan who did not have any hope of living wanted his brother to be informed about his illness, thinking of the possibility that his son could be held responsible for his death. Thereupon, Mirliva Rıza Paşa who was the doctor of the Çırağan Palace was sent for examination and treatment. When Rıza Paşa's treatment could not cure Sultan Murad V,

[82] Doctor Akif Paşa and Kapoleon indicated that it was very difficult for Sultan Murad V's mental health to recover in the cooperative report that they prepared on 1 August 1876. Because of the fact that a more principal report was needed for Sultan Murad V's deposition, Vienne University mental disease specialist Dr. Leidesdorf examined Sultan Murad V on 13 August 1876, and stated that there was a possibility that Sultan Murad V could recover, but the process and the result were not certain.
For the reports See**:** BOA, Y.E.E, Dosya: 22 Gömlek: 88. 11/L /1293.

[83] For the medical treatments of Sultan Murad V, prays for his recovery, *Valide Sultan*'s letters and their answers about the progress of his disease, see: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. "V. Murad'ın Tedavisine ve Ölümüne Ait Rapor ve Mektuplar," *Belleten*, v. X, (1946) no. 38, p. 348.

İbrahim Paşa, Sultan Abdülhamid II's personal doctor, whom he trusted very much, and Head Doctor of Etfal Hospital, was appointed for the former sultan's treatment.[84]

İbrahim Paşa examined Sultan Murad V two days before his death. The Head Doctor narrates his observation in detail.[85] İbrahim Paşa came to the presence of Sultan Abdülhamid II, going to the palace upon the *fermân* (firman) coming from Yıldız Palace on 27 August 1907, Saturday, and the conversation between them was as follows:

> -Look, Paşa! They say my brother is ill. Go with *başmusâhib* and examine him now. Diagnose the illness and bring me true information.
> - *Fermân* is our Lord's. But, to which brother will we go, sir?
> Sultan Hamid got upset because of my question. He answered as if he was getting angry:
> -Well… They say elder brother is ill. Quickly, go and inform me.[86]

The Head Doctor İbrahim Paşa, who immediately went to Çırağan after this conversation, examined the former Sultan Murad V. According to İbrahim Paşa's

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[84] Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, (İstanbul: Muallim Fuat Gücüyener, 1943), pp. 229-230; and Süleyman Kâni İrtem. *Sultan Murad ve Ali Suavi Olayı,* (İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 2003), pp. 131-132.

Ziya Şakir's work is one of the two detailed sources about the process of Sultan Murad V's burial. The publisher Fuat Gücüyener stresses the work's reliability by attracting attention to the fact that the book is a meticulous work, as a result of the interviews done with the period's important witnesses: "This opportunity will be very useful for me too, in terms of informing you about how master worked to make the contents of this book true as in his other works, in terms of gaining your high trust. Great historian Ziya Şakir worked for five years to write this work, removing the curtain of secrecy from Sultan Murad V's 28 years of life in Çırağan Palace and to serve history in this way; interviewed people who were related to this unlucky sultan remotely, with Sultan Abdülhamid II's living most private palace high officials -at length- ; gathered all their memory and observation; at the same time, wrote this work after applying for the knowledge of many statesmen who lived in that period." See: Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, pp. 4-5.

My opinion is that Ziya Şakir did not look at the events with "one eye" and gave important information instead of arriving at a certain conclusion about the reliability of the work.

[85] It is stated that the Head Doctor İbrahim Paşa's memoirs tells very valuable events about Sultan Abdülhamid II. Ziya Şakir states that he benefited from the memoirs reading them and he transferred the parts in his work exactly the same from İbrahim Paşa's memoirs: "This part has been copied exactly the same from İbrahim Paşa's private diary written by his own hand-writing." See: Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: Murad V'ın Hayatı*, p. 231. However, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı states that he did not see these memoirs himself, but heard it from his friend Dr. B. Turhan who read them. See: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. "V. Murad'ın Tedavisine ve Ölümüne Ait Rapor ve Mektuplar," p. 345.

[86] Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı,* p. 233.

examination Sultan Murad V seemed weak but it was understood that he did not lose his consciousness. The fingers of the former sultan who did not have the strength to say a word were very weak. His heart was beating quickly and very weakly.[87]

According to what people with him told, Sultan Murad V lived in a state of coma for two more days after İbrahim Paşa's examination. His friends said that Sultan Murad V, who did not lose his consciousness until his last minutes, said "*Allah Allah*" twice.[88] The former sultan died a natural death on 29 August 1904[89], Monday night, two days after İbrahim Paşa's examination.[90] That Sultan Murad V lost his life as a result of diabetes, embolism, diarrhoea and grief was reported to Sultan Abdülhamid II by the Çırağan Palace doctor Rıza Paşa:

> Great Creator make our patron and great lord continuous in his Caliphate and in sultanate; Former Sultan Murad Sultan V had been suffering from diabetes, embolism, diarrhea and grief for a long time. Although a very careful examination was applied to him, former sultan died this Monday at half past eight o'clock as the following diseases did not disappear and this report indicating the situation has been prepared.
> 16 August 1320, Esseyit Ali Rıza b. Halil, from the Palace doctors.[91]

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[87] *ibid.,* pp. 233-234.

[88] *ibid.,* pp. 235-236.

[89] Hicri (Muslim calendar) 17 Cemaziyelâhir 1322; Rûmi (Gregorian calendar): 16 August 1320.

[90] BOA, Y.PRK. BŞK, Dosya: 72, Gömlek: 108, 18 Cemaziyelâhir 1322.

[91] "Hak teâla velinimet-i âlem şehînşâh-ı muazzam efendimiz hazretlerini ilâ âhireddevran hilafet ve saltanatta dâim ve berkarar buyursun âmin.

Hakan-ı Sabık Sultan Murad Han hazretleri bir hayli zamandan beru mübtela olduğu sükkeri ve tasallüb-i şerayin ile muzdarip bulunduğundan bunlara munzam olarak nefz-i meâi ve ishal-i müzib ve felc-i lisan ve bel'ûmi hastalıklarına duçar bulunduğu cihetle her ne kadar abd-i memlûkleri tarafından üç mahdan beri tedavisine son derece dikkat ve itina kılınmış ise de müşârünileyh hazretleri bâlâda zikr olunan hastaklıkların devamiyle, teşeddüdünden hasıl olan zaaf-ı umumî neticesi olarak bugünkü Pazartesi günü saat sekiz buçukta hulûl-i ecel-i mevûdiyle irtihal-i dâr-ı naim eylemiş olduğunu mübeyyin işbu rapor-ı bendegânem hakipây-ı hazreti hilafetpenahîlerine ma'ruzdûr ferman.

Fi 17 Cemaziyelâhir sene 322 ve fi 16 Ağustos sene 320
Mâbeyn-i Hümâyûn-ı cenâb-ı mülûkâne etıbbâsından Mirliva kulları Esseyit Ali Rıza b. Halil."

BOA, Y.E.E, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 76, 17 Cemâziyelâhir 1322, Vesika. 3.

Upon Sultan Murad V's death, *Başkadın* (first wife of the sultan) Mevhibe stated in her petition written addressing Sultan Abdülhamid II that despite the doctors' examinations for days and nights for twenty-eight years thanks to Sultan Abdülhamid II's protection, mercy and affection, her husband died a natural death.[92]

Also, Sultan Murad V's son Selahaddin Efendi stated in the petition that he sent to Sultan Abdülhamid II that he informed Sultan Abdülhamid II about his father's illness after his father wanted him to do so, Selahaddin Efendi said that the doctors and the servants carried out their duties very well after Sultan Abdülhamid II wanted the required examination to be carried out, presented his thanks and gratitude to the sultan, indicating that his father died as a result of *takdîr-i ilâhi* (dispensation).[93]

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[92] "Huzur-i merahim mevfur-ı hazret-i hilâfetpenahîlerine ma'ruz-ı câriyânemdir

Şevketlu, kudretlû mehâbetlû azametlû velinimetimiz pâdişahımız efendimiz hazretleri,

Cenâb-ı hayy-ı lâyemut ömr-i şâhânelerini cihan durdukça tezayüd-i infirad ve afiyetle ve tevafür-i iclâl ile şan ve şevket ve muvaffakıyetle makam-ı hilafetpenâhilerinde dâim buyursun âmin. Yirmi sekiz seneden beri sâye-i himayet, merhamet ve şefekât-i küsterâneleri zail olmayarak ve bu kerre de biraderinize ârız olan mühlik maraz her ne kadar keramet ve şefakat-i biraderâneleri dikkat ve merhametle geceli ve gündüzlü tabib irsal ve inayet buyurulmuşsa da bu gece saat sekize karip bir zamanda ecel-i me'ûdiye teslim-i ruh buyurmuştur. Rabbimiz taâlâ gözümüzden zâil olan sevgili efendimiz hazretleri yattıkça zât-ı hümâyunlarına tûl-i ömür ve sıhhat ve afiyetle sâye-i hükümdarânelerini üzerimizde daim ve kâim buyursun. Âmin. Gerek zât-ı mülûkânelerine ve gerek biz kullarınıza sabr-u inayet ihsan buyursun âmin. Hemen o yattıkça adaletini cümle kullarına sâye bahşâ eylesün. Dilhun olan garip kalbim imlâ edemediğinden afv-i şâhânelerini dilerim. Olbabta emr-i ferman padişahımız efendimiz hazretlerinindir.

Sene 322 Cemaziyelâhir Pazartesi Mevhibe."

BOA, YEE, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 78, 24 Cemâziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 1.

[93] "Huzûr-ı mekârım mevfûr-ı hilafetpenahîlerine ma'ruzât-ı hakirânemdir

Hakk-ı celil zât-ı şevketmeâb hazretlerini ila yevm-il-melevan payidar buyursun amin. İradât-ı seniyyelerine imtisalen birader-i muhasalat pervelerinin bugüne kadar her türlü âfât-ı kevniyyeden mahfuz ve sâye-i himaye-i mülûkanelerinde etval-üz-zaman muammer olarak nihayet vuku-ı inhası üzerine nazar-ı eşfak-ı mülûkânelerini celb ederek her türlü taltifine bezl-i inayet buyurduğu bir anda irciû emr-i celiline icabet, hoşnûden karin-i rabb-ı izzet olduğunu taziyet-i ağabeydâne-i hakirâneme terdifen arza müsaraay eylerim.

Birader-i muhalesat perverlerinin kırk gün zarfında tedavileri hakkındaki müşahedat-ı bendegâneme nazaran efendimize ahval-i hâzıra ve hissiyât-ı kalbiyyesini teybin için kulunuza bir vasıta gönderilmesini rica etmekliğimi tenbih buyurdular; kulunuz da bu arzularının husuline vesatet eyledim. Şifahen arzularını efendimize arz ettiler; o sırada rahatsızlıkları nazar-ı eşfak-ı mülûkânelerini celb eyledi; tedavilerine etıbbây-ı müteaddide vasıtasiyle gayret olundu; mükerreren iyi bakılmaları için iradât-ı sebiyyelerini maateşekkür aldık. Bu hizmete tayin olunan dahili ve harici umum kullarınız vazifelerini bitemamiha icra eylediklerini rey-ül-ayn gördüm; cümlesini sezavar-ı taltif birer kullarınız olduğuna hükmeyledim. Tenfiz-i iradât-ı veliyyünniamileri için kulunuz da hukuk-ı tabiiyyenin icabettirdiği hürmetle kusur etmemeğe çalıştım. Nihayet makaderullahü hakka kadrih sırrı hüveyda olup biraderlerinin ziya-ı elimini gördüm. Telehhüfât-ı deruniye-i ağabeydâneme karşı sabrı veliyyünimetimiz efendimize

Sultan Abdülhamid II, who received the news about his brother's death, sent Etfal Hospital Head Doctor İbrahim Paşa, Alman (German) Hospital Head Operator Kanburoğlu Aleksandros, Doctor Ahmed Sudi and Dr. Mehmed İzzet from the chamberlain doctors as well as Doctor Rıza Paşa to the Çırağan Palace and wanted an examination of the corpse. The committee prepared a similar cooperative report verifying Doctor Rıza Paşa's report:

> Great Creator give health and peace to our caliphate, patron and great lord as long as the worlds exists;
> Former Sultan Murad had been suffering from diabetes, embolism, diarrhoea and grief for a long time. Although a very careful examination was applied to him by his constant doctor Rıza Paşa and all medical intervention was made, Former Sultan died this Monday at half past eight o'clock as the following diseases did not disappear and this report indicating the situation has been prepared.[94]

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karşı da duay-ı deymûtet ve ömr ve afiyet-i padişâhilerinin tekriri ve sabakat ve ubudiyet-i naçizânemin teyidini kaim eyledim. Olbabta ferman efendimiz hazretlerinindir.
Fi 17 Cemaziyelâhir sene 322
Selahaddin. "

BOA, YEE, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 77, 17 Cemâziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 1.

[94] "Hak teâla hazretleri velinimetimiz hilâfetpenah-ı muazzam efendimiz hazretlerini dünyalar durdukça kemâl-i sıhhat ve âfiyetle erike pîrây-ı şan ve şevket buyursun âmin.
Hâkan-ı sâbık Sultan Murad Han hazretleri bir hayli vakitten beru tebevvül-i sükkeri ve tasallûb-i şerayin ile muzdarib bulunduğundan eyyâm-ı ahîrede bunlara munzam olarak nezf-i meâî ve ishâl-i muzib ve felc-i lisanî ve bel'ûmî hastalıklarına mübtelâ bulunduğu cihetle her ne kadar tabib-i müdâvisi Rıza Paşa kulları tarafından üç mahdan beru tedavisine son derece dikkat ve îtina edilmiş ve taraf-ı âbîdânemizden defeatle müşavere-i tıbbiyye icrasiyle lâzın gelen tedaviye kemâl-i iht*imâm* ile müsaraat kılınmış ise de berveçh-i bâlâ hastalıkların devam ve teşeddüdünden husule gelen zâaf-ı umumî neticesi olarak müşârünileyh hazretleri bugünkü Pazartesi günü saat sekiz buçukta hulûl-i ecel-i mev'ûdiyle maatteessüf irtihal-i dâr-ı naim eylemiş olduğunu mübeyyin işbu rapor-u âbîdânemiz bittanzim hâkipây-ı mekârım ihtivây-ı hazret-i zillulahilerine arz ve takdim kılındığı maruzdur ferman. 17 Cemaziyelâhir sene 1322 16 Ağustos 1320

Mabeyn-i hümâyun etibbâsından
Mirliva Kulları
Esseyit Ali Riza bin Halil"

Abd-i memlûkları tabib
İbrahim bin Ali

BOA, YEE, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 76, 17 Cemâziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 2.

Ziya Şakir says that no report was prepared when Sultan Murad V died and there is no such report among the Yıldız Documents. See: Ziya Şakir, *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, p. 235. However, the document in question is available in *Yıldız Esas Evrâkı*. See: Figure. 5.

Right after Sultan Murad V's death, the declaration of the death was ordered, a short official written announcement with the headline "Making all the newspapers officially declare the death of Sultan Murad Han," sent by the *Başkitâbet Dâiresi* (the Head Clerk Office). Again, in the *fermân* sent from the *Başkitâbet Dâiresi*, it was ordered that the Minister of Internal Affairs and the press directors be very careful for fear that even the slightest error could occur in the newspaper announcements and copies of the text relating to Sultan Murad V's death.[95] The official report sent to the newspapers to be published was:

> The official report to be published in the newspapers; Former Sultan Murad Excellency died a natural death as a result of diabetes that he had been suffering from for a long time yesterday, Monday, and his death caused a high degree of sorrow. Sultan Abdülhamid II found it suitable for the corpse to be buried in his respected mother's tomb which is near the Yeni Mosque. May God have mercy on him.[96]

The newspapers informed the public about the death on Tuesday, without any mistakes, obeying the instructions coming from the Palace. All newspapers published

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[95] "Yıldız Saray-ı Hümâyûn Başkitabet Dâiresi
Hakan-ı sabık Sultan Murad hazretlerinin vuku-i irtihallerine dair olup sûy-i sâmi-i sadaretpenahîlerine irsal kılınan varaka-i ilaniyenin yarın neşrolunacak bilcümle gazetelere derc ve i'lan ettirilmesi ve gazete nüshalarının hiçbirinde bir gûne yanlışlık vuku bulmamak içün dahiliye nazırı devletlü paşa hazretleriyle matbuat müdîrîni tarafından bizzat ve pek ziyade dikkat edilmesi emr ü ferman-i hümâyûn-i cenab-i hilafetpenahi îcâb-ı alisindendir. Ol babda emr ü ferman-i hazret-i veliyülemrindir.
Fi 17 Cemaziyelahir 322 ve fi 16 Ağustos 320
Serkatib hazret-i şehriyarine"

BOA, İ.HUS 120/1322 C-42, 17 Cemaziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 3.

[96] "Gazetelere derc olunacak ilân-ı resmî:
Hakan-ı sâbık Sultan Murad hazretlerinin bir hayli vakitden beru mübtela olduğu şeker hastalığıyla dünkü pazar ertesi günü hulûl-i ecel-i mev'udiyle irtihal eylemiş vuk'u-lvefatı nezd-i âlîde teessüf-i azîmi mucib olmuş ve naaş mağfiret-i nakşının Yeni Cami-i şerif kurbinde valide-i muhteremeleri türbesine defni hususuna irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı halifet-penahî şerefsudur buyurulmuştur. Cenab-ı hak rahmet buyursun."

BOA, İ.HUS, 120/1322 C-42, 17 Cemaziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 1. See: Figure. 6.

the announcement exactly as it was sent from the Palace, on their first pages.[97] Ziya Şakir states that Sultan Abdülhamid II did not want many articles to be written and only sent a short written announcement to the newspapers because of the possibility that people might gather in the places where the corpse passed by and that some demonstrations might be held, by taking the former sultan's influence on the public into consideration.[98]

The situation is really like this when we study the newspapers. However, instead of preventing the articles in favor of Sultan Murad V in the newspapers to prevent peoples' demonstrations, concealing his death from the start and burying him quietly seems more reasonable. Nevertheless, Sultan Abdülhamid II himself ordered the former sultan's death to be announced in the newspapers.

Determining the Burial Place

Before his death, Sultan Murad V again and again bequeathed to be buried near the Şeyh Yahya Efendi graveyard, to his son Selahaddin Efendi. Informing Sultan Abdülhamid II with a petition via third *musâhib* Nadir Ağa, Selahaddin Efendi asked for permission to perform the will. Stating in his petition that his father bequeathed to be buried near the Şeyh Yahya Efendi graveyard before his death, he asked for permission to carry out this wish from Sultan Abdülhamid II who is the symbol of compassion and sublimity. Selahaddin Efendi called attention to the fact that the soul of the sultan's

[97] "Teblîgât-ı Resmiyye," *İkdâm*, 18 Cemâziyelâhir 1322, Salı (30 August 1904) p. 1; the same written official announcement takes part in the first pages of *Tercümân-ı Hakîkat* and *Sabâh*. See: Figure. 7

[98] Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı,* p. 237.

brother would be pleased with this situation as well as himself, his wives and his other servants.[99]

Süleyman Kani İrtem indicates that upon Selahaddin Efendi's petition, Sultan Abdülhamid II permitted this and ordered chamberlain Arif Bey to bury him in a way worthy of a sultan.[100] Also, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı repeats this information, showing Süleyman Kani İrtem as his source.[101] In my research in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (Ottoman State Archives), as far as I could determine, I could not come across an order like this**.** The possibility that Süleyman Kani İrtem arrived at this information through the interviews he conducted with that period's witnesses is likely.

According to Süleyman Kani İrtem, after the order commanding that Sultan Murad V be buried in the Şeyh Yahya Efendi graveyard, Şeyh Ebülhüda Efendi, who came to Sultan Abdülhamid II for condolences, dissuaded the sultan and the burial place changed:

> The sultan and *şeyh* talked about whatever they wanted. The idea of performing a pompous funeral for the former sultan was abandoned. Even Sultan Murad V's corpse in the coffin caused fear and apprehension for in Sultan Abdülhamid II. What if the people who wanted to cause a problem attempted a demonstration showing the funeral as an excuse?[102]

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[99] "Atebe-i ulyây-ı cenâb-ı veliyyünniamilerine şükrannâme-i bendegânemizdir.
Cenab-ı erham-er râhimin ömr ve şevket-i hümâyunlarını müzdad buyursun âmin. Ulviyyet ve şefekât-i aliyye-i tacidarilerinin bir timsal-i zî celâli olarak birader-i halis-ül cenanlarının kablelvefat şevketmeab efendimizden istirhâmen mükerreren vasiyyet buyurdukları üzere kendilerinin Yahya Efendi Türbesi civarında tedfinine müsaade-i hümâyunlarının erzan buyurulmasından dolayı birader-i merhumlarının ruh-ı pür fütuhı bihakkın tesrir olacağı gibi bu kulunuzla kadın cariyelerinin ve umum tevabiat kullarının şükran-ı bî riyası daavât-ı hayriyye-i pâdişâhilerinin tekrarına terdîfen îsâl-i bârigâh-ı rabb-i mennan kılınacaktır. Olbabta ferman pâdişâhımız efendimiz hazretlerinindir.
fi 18 Cemaziyelâhir sene 1322 Selâhaddin"

BOA, YEE, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 79, 18 Cemâziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 1. See: Figure. 8.

[100] Süleyman Kâni İrtem. *Sultan Murad ve Ali Suavi Olayı,* (İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 2003), pp. 131-133.

[101] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. "V. Murad'ın Tedavisine ve Ölümüne Ait Rapor ve Mektuplar," p. 352.

[102] Süleyman Kâni İrtem. *Sultan Murad ve Ali Suavi Olayı*, pp. 132-133.

On the other hand, when the archive documents are examined carefully, it is seen that the petition date that Selahaddin Efendi says that his father Sultan Murad V wanted to be buried in Şeyh Yahya Efendi graveyard is after the order date[103] when Sultan Murad V was ordered to be buried in *Cedîd Havâtin* tomb (New Women tomb).[104] While Sultan Murad V died on 17 Cemâziyelahir 1322 (29 August 1904), it is seen that on the same document it is ordered that Sultan Murad V be buried in Cedîd Havâtin tomb.[105] The date under the petition in which Selahaddin Efendi indicated his father Sultan Murad V's will is 18 Cemâziyelahir 1322 (30 August 1904).[106] From this perspective, the interpretation follows that Sultan Abdülhamid II ordered Sultan Murad V to be buried in Cedîd Havâtin tomb which is next to the Yeni Mosque, next to his mother Şevkefza Kadın, before he received the will of Sultan Murad V that Selahaddin Efendi had sent.[107]

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[103] BOA, İ.HUS, Dosya: 120, Gömlek: 1322 C-42, 17 Cemaziyelâhir 1322 ; BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK, Dosya: 72, Gömlek: 108, 18 Cemaziyelâhir 1322.

[104] In the Ottoman archives documents the burial place for Sultan Murad V is stated as "His glorious mother's tomb in Yeni Cami." See: BOA, İ.HUS, Dosya: 120, Gömlek: 1322 C-42, 17 Cemaziyelâhir 1322.

The tomb known as *Yeni Cami Türbesi* consists of three tombs. Hatice Turhan Valide Sultan Tomb that was built firstly is in the position of being the main tomb. After the deaths of people from the dynasty firstly Havâtin and later Cedîd Havâtin tombs were built next to this tomb as a result of a need for a suitable burial place. Sultan Murad V was buried in Cedîd Havâtin tomb. For the architectural characteristics and building period, see: Hakkı Önkal. *Osmanlı Hanedan Türbeleri*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), pp. 203-210.

[105] While there is no date under the announcement that declares the death of Sultan Murad V and that he will be buried in Cedîd Havâtin tomb, the date 17 Cemaziyelahir 1322 is found on the envelope in which this announcement was sent to the newspapers. See: BOA, İ.HUS 120/1322 C-42, 17 Cemaziyelâhir 1322. See : Figure. 9.

[106] BOA, YEE, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 79, 18 Cemâziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 1.

[107] I will discuss the rejection of the will of Sultan Murad V in Chapter III, "The Burial Place" part.

Funeral Ceremony

There are various stories about how Sultan Murad V was buried. According to one of these, no religious ceremony was performed in order to bury him before everybody heard of his death. According to another one, his coffin was brought to the Çırağan Palace's quay by some palace servant and was covered with a shawl. From there, it was brought to Sirkeci quay in a dirty steamship. He was buried by some palace servants.[108] According to another narrative, to avoid the recognition of the corpse in the coffin as Sultan Murad V's, a dirty fez of one of the palace cooks was put on the coffin.[109] Ziya Şakir, who narrates also these stories, does not cite any sources. I did not encounter any narratives about these points in the books, articles, newspapers, archives or documents that I studied. Ziya Şakir was probably informed about these narratives through the interviews with that period's witnesses. Süleyman Kani İrtem, who narrates Sultan Murad V's burial shortly, states that the corpse was buried with a few people and in a careless way. Although the writer does not say the opposite, he does not indicate that the sultan was washed in the Topkapı Palace.[110] In that period's newspapers even insignificant news were not available. The news about Sultan Murad V's death in the newspapers only consists of the official announcement sent from the Yıldız Palace.

After the determination of the burial place, the *şeyh* of Yahya Efendi Dergâhı (dervish convent) Abdullah Efendi was appointed to perform Sultan Murad V's *gasl* and *tekfîn* (washing and equipping) while Fehmi Paşa was responsible for inspecting the

[108] Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, p. 236.

[109] *ibid*., p. 236.

[110] Süleyman Kani İrtem. *Sultan Murad ve Ali Suavi Olayı*, p. 133.

funeral ceremony. Sultan Murad V's corpse was transferred to the Topkapı Palace's Sarayburnu quay in a craft covered by a silk sheet on the Nahid steamship, which was used by Navy Ministers, with three other steamships from the Çırağan Palace's quay with notables of the Yıldız Palace, the Tuesday after his death.[111] The *başmusâhib* Cevher Ağa, the Yıldız Palace's Harem *ağa*s of high rank, some palace high officials, gunmen and palace servants attended the transfer process. The corpse was brought to the Topkapı Palace and welcomed in Sarayburnu quay by *hazine hâhyası* (the treasury chamberlain), *enderûn-i hümâyûn* (close servants of the sultan), *has odalılar* (people of the sultan's apartment), *Enderûn ağa*s and other palace men. It was laid on the bench on which corpse are washed which was prepared next to the *hâcet penceresi* of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi*. While verses from the Holy Koran were read by people from the *Enderûn* who had nice voices, the corpse was washed by the *şeyh* of Yahya Efendi Dergâhı. After the corpse was washed quietly, it was put in a coffin made of the cypress tree like these of the other sultans. Valuable shawls and Kaa'ba clothes were put on it. The last fez Sultan Murad V had worn before he became bedridden was put on it.[112]

The Minister of Internal Affairs, Memduh Paşa, the Zaptiye Nâzırı (Gendarme Minister) Şefik Paşa, Beşiktaş Police Chief Müşir Hasan Paşa, İsmail Paşa who was nicknamed *Zülüflü*, Çerkes Mehmed Paşa, who was called *Kabasakal*, one of Sultan Abdülhamid II's personal assistants, Fehim Paşa, one of his personal assistants, many civil and official policemen from İstanbul, Beşiktaş and Beyoğlu municipalities were

[111] Süleyman Kani İrtem states that Sultan Murad V's corpse stayed in Çırağan Palace for a day and a night after his death. However, he does not put forward any information supporting this. See: Süleyman Kani İrtem, *Sultan Murad ve Ali Suavi Olayı*, p. 132.

[112] Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, p. 237.

there during the washing ceremony. Sultan Murad V's son Selahaddin Efendi could not participate in any phase of the burial process.[113]

All the doors of the Topkapı Palace and the shores were under strict police control. Nobody from the outside was allowed to go in. Some people who had read the news about the former sultan's death in the newspapers were walking around the Galata Bridge, Eminönü, Sirkeci and Bahçekapı. They wanted to see how the corpse was transferred to the Yeni Mosque and to see the burial ceremony. However, the environment through which the funeral troop would pass was under strict control by the police. Nobody was allowed to stay in the roads and nobody was allowed to come together. In the Yeni Mosque environment, which was not usually cleaned, the roads and surroundings were being cleaned by forty workers, under municipality sergeants who were sent by the municipality.[114]

The *paşa*s who attended the ceremony came together around the bench on which the corpse was put at the moment when the corpse would be put into the coffin. Some of these *paşa*s, who were in charge of controlling the ceremony on behalf of Sultan Abdülhamid II, wanted to know whether it was really Sultan Murad V's corpse or not. A man, who is quoted as "one of personal assistants whose name is always remembered with hatred" by Ziya Şakir, pulled the corpse's hair, twisting it with his fingers. After Hasan Paşa, who was disturbed by the situation, shouted in an angry manner saying "Take your hand off, be afraid of God, draw a lesson from this dead man, you will lie on

[113] There is a diary of Selahaddin Efendi that has not been published yet, in which he especially tells the years when he stayed in the Çırağan Palace. I took the information that Selahaddin Efendi could not attend his father's funeral ceremony from Prof. Edhem Eldem, who is currently working on the diary.

[114] Ziya Şakir, *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, p. 238.

that board soon," this man withdrew seeing that people around were also looking angrily at him.[115]

According to the reports of the informers**,** the news that the former sultan had died was a lie told by the members of the Young Turks in İstanbul. This aim was to get Sultan Murad V out of the palace pretending he was dead, to hide in a suitable place to get him out of the grave at night, and to make Sultan Murad V ascend the throne again by urging the public to an instant rebellion. Ziya Şakir, who gives this information, shows the disrespect to the corpse to be the wish of the personal assistant, who wanted to please and Sultan Abdülhamid II who was under the influence of the reports of informers.[116]

The doors of the tomb had been opened; the sides had been swept and cleaned. Municipality sergeants in official dress, superintendents of police, palace men in red *fes*es (fez) and frock coats were waiting in front of the door. In the tomb, behind Şevkefza Vâlide Sultan's grave, a grave for his son, the former sultan, had been dug.

Although official and civil policemen sent people away, a crowd was forming between Yeni Mosque and Demirkapı. People thought that the funeral would pass that way as the roads were cleaned, and they did not want to leave the road corners. The coffin was put on the *musallâ* stone (on which the body is put during the funeral ceremony) at Hidayet Mosque by being brought in front of Customs House quietly from the Topkapı Palace's sea part to avoid an event as a result of the crowd in the roads. The

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[115] Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, pp. 238-239.

İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı states that he heard that this man whom Ziya Şakir defines as one of the personal assistants whose name is always remembered with hatred was Fehim Paşa. See: İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. "V. Murad'ın Tedavisine ve Ölümüne Ait Rapor ve Mektuplar," p. 353. However, Süleyman Kani İrtem indicates that this man was Zülüflü İsmail Paşa. See: Süleyman Kani İrtem. *Sultan Murad ve Ali Suavi Olayı*, p. 133.

[116] Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, p. 239.

public who learned about this came together around Bahçekapı and forced the cordon formed by the police. The crowd was dispersed by the harsh attitude of the soldiers from Bahçekapı police station.

Hidayet Mosque was filled with people coming from the palace for the funeral ceremony. The funeral prayer was performed by the *şeyh* of Yahya Efendi Dergâhı after the noon prayers. The coffin was carried by palace servants after the prayer. According to Ziya Şakir's quotation, a young man behind the cordon formed by the police went to the fore saying "Respect is needed for the corpse" and joined the palace servants:

> Right then, there became very crowded. A flood of men overflowed from the opened gap. It immediately broke the cordon into pieces. Sultan Murad V's coffin was raised on the hands of an enthusiastic crowd of people. All palace high officials, policemen and the detectives assigned to control the situation were surprised. They did not have any chance to stop this instant movement. People who had pitied this unlucky sultan for years were carrying him with their hands now and were thinking it their duty to show respect.[117]

İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı also states that in the process of Sultan Murad V's transfer, the crowd and the sorrow were great. According to him, "the public revealed the respect that they had hid in their hearts with fear and showed their grief which came from the inside."[118] Later, Sultan Murad V's coffin was transferred to the tomb in the hands of palace servants.

From one of the documents in the archives, we see that after Sultan Murad V was buried a sarcophagus (*sanduka*) was not prepared for his grave and the required respect was not shown. Sultan Abdülhamid II learnt that a sarcophagus was not built on his brother's grave four years after Sultan Murad V's death. Then he stated that this could

[117] Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, p. 242.

[118] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. "V. Murad'ın Tedavisine ve Ölümüne Ait Rapor ve Mektuplar," p. 353.

not be accepted for his ancestor and predecessor's grave. He ordered the sarcophagus to be built with respect and attention in his decree that he sent to *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezâreti* (Ministry of Dynastic Charitable Foundation):

> It has been seen that sarcophagus has not been built on the grave of the former Sultan Murad V, dwelling in Paradise; and it will not be permitted for the grave of Our Magnificent sultan's predecessor (the former Sultan Murad) to be in a ruined, dispersed, miserable situation by the Sultan. It is urgently needed to send this decree to Ministry of Dynastic Charitable Foundation for the required actions to be done with respect and attention. The order and the firman belong to the sultan, who is the owner of order.[119]

What makes this firman very valuable for me is its date. Sultan Murad V died on 29 August 1904 according to the Gregorian calendar. The date of the decree that commands a sarcophagus to be built on Sultan Murad V's grave is 30 August 1908. This made me think that possibly Sultan Abdülhamid II was aware of the anniversary of his brother's death. Two possibilities come to the fore about how Sultan Abdülhamid II was informed about the fact that a sarcophagus was not built over Sultan Murad V's grave. The first is that Sultan Abdülhamid II was interested in his brother's grave. Perhaps he sent somebody to his brother's grave for them to pray and clean the tomb. The other possibility is the publication of news about the fact that a sarcophagus was not built over Sultan Murad V's grave on the occasion of his death anniversary. However, I did not

[119] Yıldız Saray-ı Hümâyûnu Başkitabet Dâiresi
Şevketlu padişahımız efendimiz hazretlerinin ecdad ve eslâf-ı izâm-ı şahâneleri merakid-i şerifelerinin hâl-i harâbîde bulunması nezd-i hümâyun-ı hazret-i şehriyârîde asla taviz buyurulmayacağı gibi hakân-ı sabık cennetmekân Sultan Murad Han hazretlerinin medfenleri üstüne henüz sanduka inşa olunmadığı dahî bâ kemâl-i tevessül olunması zımmında evkaf-ı Hümâyûn nezâretine tebligat ifası şerefsadır olan irade-i seniyye cenab-ı hilafetpenâhıma icab-ı celilden olmağla olbabdan emr ve ferman hazreti veliyyulemrindir.
2 Şaban 926 ve 17 Ağustos 324 (30 Ağustos 1908) Sertkâtib-i Hazret-i Şehriyârı Tahsîn.

BOA, İ.HUS. Dosya:169 Gömlek: 1326 Ş-02, 2 Şaban 1326. See: Figure. 10.

come across any news on this issue when I studied the period's most important newspapers.

Sultan Murad V's grave is on the south-east corner, where the recesses and the protruded parts become dense, of Cedîd Havâtin Tomb. This place is surrounded with iron bands which rise on marble banisters which extend to both directions and the coffin is sorrounded by a metallic band.[120] The sarcophagus has a *puşide* made from green velvet.

Sultan Abdülhamid II

His Last Days and Illness

After Sultan Abdülhamid II was informed about the decision to depose him on 14 April 1325 (27 April 1909) following the *31 Mart Vakası* (31 March Incident), he was sent to Salonica with his family.[121] After a possible defeat of the Ottoman armies in the Balkan Wars became evident and the idea that the Ottoman cities in the Balkans might be disposed of surfaced, it was decided to send the former sultan, who was living in Salonica, to a safe place. After the indecision about the place was overcome the former sultan was sent to the Beylerbeyi Palace on 1 November 1912, with a steamship belonging to the Embassy of Germany, because of security.[122]

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[120] Hakkı Önkal. *Osmanlı Hanedan Türbeleri,* p. 207.

[121] For a valuable work about Sultan Abdülhamid II's exile to Salonica and his life there, see: Yavuz Selim Karakışla. *Exile Days of Abdülhamid II in Salonica (1909-1912) and Confiscation of his Wealth*, Boğaziçi University, Social Sciences Institute, 1990. Unpublished Master Thesis.

[122] For the process of Sultan Abdülhamid II's being taken from Salonica to Beylerbeyi Palace see: Yavuz Selim Karakışla. *Exile Days of Abdülhamid II in Salonica (1909-1912) and Confiscation of his Wealth*,

Sultan Abdülhamid II lived for about fifteen months after he was brought to İstanbul. He had been suffering from stomach troubles and cold during the days before his death. Atıf Hüseyin Bey, his private doctor who was with Sultan Abdülhamid II during his exile days, was treating him. After his pains became intensified the day before his death, doctors Elkiboyadis and Nikolaki Paraskuvayidis from Beylerbeyi Hospital were called as Atıf Hüseyin Bey was not in the palace and came later.

Doctor Atıf Hüseyin Bey found Sultan Abdülhamid II in the chaise lounge in front of his bed, his skin colour turned to lemon yellow and sweating coldly and suffering from breathing difficulty. The common diagnosis of the doctors was *ihtikan*, *zatürre-i eyser* and *özimâ-yi reevi* (hematom, pneumonia in the left side and lung cancer). After Atıf Hüseyin Bey approved the prescription that Dr. Elkiboyadis and Dr. Parasküvayidis gave, Sultan Abdülhamid II took the medicines that would strengthen his heart and stop his pains. The former sultan's taking the medicines without thinking surprised Atıf Hüseyin Bey:

> How the former sultan, who used to avoid taking medicines before, was taking them. I did not want to believe my eyes. It must have been because of his pain. However, he was never thinking of death.[123]

It is understood that Sultan Abdülhamid II who had avoided taking medicine because of his suspicions could not endure the pains and took the prepared medicines. After Atıf Hüseyin Bey warned head guard Rasim Bey saying, "He is very ill. If it is required, inform the Palace" upon the seriousness of the disease, Enver Paşa, the

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pp. 95-120. For the correspondences in this process See: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. "II. Abdülhamid'in Ha'li ve Ölümüne Dair," *Belleten*, c. X, number: 40, TTK, 1946, pp. 726-729.

[123] M. Metin Hülagü. *II. Abdülhamid'in Sürgün Günleri: Hususi Doktoru Atıf Hüseyin Bey'in Hatıratı*, (İstanbul: Pan, 2003), p. 343.

Minister of War of the period, informed the sultan about the situation. After a short period, the chamberlain of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad said the required doctors would be sent, calling Rasim Bey:

> His Majesty became very sad after he learnt his brother had a fatal disease. He offers to send whichever doctors he wants.[124]

Although Sultan Abdülhamid II gave a negative answer to this offer indicating that he had his own doctors, after one of his wives, Müşfika *Kadınefendi* said, "My Lord! Your brother feels offended. Let them come at once!" he said, "Right! May be, my brother feels offended. Let them come."[125] Atıf Hüseyin Bey and other palace officials invited Dr. Âkil Muhtar, Dr. Neşet Ömer and Dr. Selanikli Rıfat Bey, whom they knew well, to the Beylerbeyi Palace. The doctors examined Sultan Abdülhamid II one by one and their common diagnosis was *özima ile müterafik, ihtikanu'r ree ve adem-i kifâyet-i kalbî-i kilyevi (*hematom, kidney and heart failure, together with cancer).[126] As the medication did not stop Sultan Abdülhamid II's pain, the doctors made him rest after taking blood from one side of his body.

His Death

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad who learnt that there was no hope for Sultan Abdülhamid II, sent a message to Şehzâde Mehmed Selim Efendi, the eldest son of the former sultan, saying: "Their father has a fatal disease. They must all go and see him

[124] *ibid.,* p. 344.

[125] Ayşe Osmanoğlu. *Babam Abdülhamid*, (İstanbul: Güven, 1960), p. 214.

[126] M. Metin Hülagü. *II. Abdülhamid'in Sürgün Günleri: Hususi Doktoru Atıf Hüseyin Bey'in Hatıratı,* p. 344.

immediately." When Dilberyâr *Kalfa* went in and announced that Mehmed Selim and Ahmed Efendi had come, the former sultan ordered a watery coffee, saying "They wait for a while." When Şöhreddin Ağa went in bringing the coffee, the former sultan sat down leaning on Müşfika *Kadınefendi*'s arm, and wanted her to help him drink the coffee. According to the narratives that Sultan Abdülhamid II's daughter Ayşe Osmanoğlu told after hearing them from her mother, the former sultan firstly said "May God be pleased with you," kissing Müşfika *Kadınefendi*'s palm**.** Then, he said farewell to Saliha Naciye *Hanımefendi* by holding her hand and asking her to renounce her rights in him, saying, "*Hakkını helâl et* (Forgive your rights)." Then, he took a sip from the coffee saying to his daughter, Gülşen, who was waiting near the foot of his bed: "Daughter, may God be pleased with you, too." However, the coffee was spilt on Müşfika *Kadınefendi*'s hand's palm and his head fell on her arm after Sultan Abdülhamid II said "*Allah* (God)," loudly. Upon the women's calling for a doctor, Atıf Bey rushed into the room.[127]

Doctor Atıf Hüseyin Bey was again called to the palace at 2:45 pm. Sultan Abdülhamid II wanted them to make *hacamat* (blood letting) on his chest, saying his pain did not disappear, when Atıf Bey went out and was called back, he had given out his last breath. Atıf Hüseyin Bey narrates the last moments of the former sultan as such:

> The rumors that "our Lord fainted" came to my ears, as well. When I went to the Harem flat, there had begun extraordinariness, excitement, disorder. When I entered the former Sultan Abdülhamid II's bedroom, I saw that what Sultan Abdülhamid was afraid of had happened. A natural event that he did not consider had occurred. Sultan Abdülhamid II died at exactly three o'clock. His eyes were open, the apples of the eyes were wide, his pulse and breathing had stopped, had come to an end. The surroundings were already cold since it was night. However, his body and face were still warm. His arms were raised and brought down for the aim of artificial respiration. Pressure was put on his chest and heart. It did not help. His tongue was pulled out and relinquished. All helpless! Sultan Abdülhamid II

[127] Ayşe Osmanoğlu. *Babam Abdülhamid*, pp. 215-216.

died. '*İnnâ lillâhi ve innâ ileyhi râciûn*.'[128] [129]

Doctor Atıf Bey went out of the room, opened his hands and murmured "To Allah we belong and to Him is our return" to the people gathered in front of the door, in a resigned voice. The women who gathered in front of the door began tearing their hair. Müşfika *Kadınefendi* and Naciye *Kadınefendi* lay on the corpse. The treasurers leant their heads against the bed. They began to cry out with screams, which they had been avoiding for days. The *şehzâde*s cried with great sobs, saying, "daddy, daddy!" Şehzâde Abdurrahim Efendi nearly lost his consciousness and was talking about the possibility that his father could be murdered.[130] The female clerk servants and *şehzâde*s stayed in the palace and sat on the flour all night, crying.[131]

In his notes, Reşit Paşa says that in the morning of the day that Sultan Abdülhamid II died, he went to the Turkish bath and performed the ritual ablution of the whole body; came to the bedroom and read the Holy Koran, and said the *salâvat* (sending salute and respect to the Prophet Muhammad). He was informed that Şehzâde Selim Efendi came after *salâvat*. As the former sultan did not let anyone come to his presence when he was in nightdress, he wore his day dress. As he gave out his last breath at the moment that he invited Selim Efendi inside, neither Selim Efendi nor the other *şehzâde*s and sultans saw the sultan's last moment.[132]

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[128] The meaning of the expression that takes place in the 156th verse of the Surah of Bakarah in the Holy Koran: "Who say when afflicted with calamity: 'To Allah we belong and to Him is our return.'"

[129] M. Metin Hülagü. *II. Abdülhamid'in Sürgün Günleri: Hususi Doktoru Atıf Hüseyin Bey'in Hatıratı*, p. 345.

[130] Ziya Şakir. *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri*, (İstanbul: Anadolu Türk Kitap Deposu, 1943), pp. 254-258.

[131] Ayşe Osmanoğlu. *Babam Abdülhamid*, p. 216.

[132] Mustafa Sahin. "Reşid Paşa'nın Notlarından: II. Abdülhamid'in Son Günleri ve Ölümü," *Tarih ve Toplum*, v.16, no. 92, Ağustos 1991, pp. 27-31.

From the moment that Sultan Abdülhamid II died, there was no prohibition left in the palace; so everybody, everybody melded into each other. Upon the women's severe cries, the guardians came to the room. They took out the *kadınefendi*s and treasurers, who were laid down on the corpse, tearing their hair out and sobbing by consoling them. Getting very tired, *kadınefendi*s began praying for Sultan Abdülhamid II in the following hours. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad got very upset upon his brother's death and said that people from the dynasty could stay at the palace if they wanted that night. The dynasty's members who came to the palace tried to console the *kadınefendi*s and the *şehzâde*s.[133]

Heyet-i Sıhhâ-i Muhtelita (a committee consisting of top level doctors) came to Beylerbeyi Palace at late hours to examine the corpse. The committee consisting of Dr. Atıf Hüseyin Bey, Dr. Schleib, the head doctor of the German Hospital, Lieutenant Zelling, the head doctor of Gülhane Seriryât Hospital, Dr. Adnan, the general director of *Sıhhâ* (Health), Colonel Sadık, director of *Sıhhâ*'s third Department, Major Refik, *Sıhhâ* Inspector's Assistant, Dr. Rıfat and Alekyopadis Efendi, were taken into Sultan Abdülhamid II's bedroom. When the committee went into the room, they found Sultan Abdülhamid II lifeless in his clothes, on his bed. Dr. Schleib and Atıf Hüseyin Bey undressed the former sultan, cutting his clothess. Dr. Schleib examined Sultan Abdülhamid II, who was quite naked, in detail from the nails of his toes to his chin. No marks were found apart from the marks of the *hacamat* places from where blood had been taken, in the daytime, when he was alive.[134]

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[133] Ziya Şakir. *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri*, pp. 254-258.

[134] M. Metin Hülagü. *II. Abdülhamid'in Sürgün Günleri: Hususi Doktoru Atıf Hüseyin Bey'in Hatıratı,* pp. 345-346.

Sultan Abdülhamid II was lying lifeless in his clothes on his bed. Dr. Schleib and Dr. Atıf Hüseyin Bey undressed him by cutting his clothes. When he was naked, he was examined by Dr. Schleib from his nails to his chin. That nothing except the traces of *mihcem* (the place where blood was taken) that was done when he was alive in the daytime was seen was noted down. However, a cursory burn one centimeter in size, in rose color on his stomach was seen.[135] The doctors who thoroughly examined the corpse that was laid on his back, on his bed, wrote that no sign of force, damage or wounds were found on his body in the report they prepared cooperatively. The committee prepared the following report determining that Sultan Abdülhamid II had died of heart weakness as a result of hematom, kidney and heart failure, together with cancer:

> We arrived at Beylerbeyi Palace as the doctors whose signs are on the documents, on Sunday, 10 February 1334, upon the invitation coming at ten o'clock. When we entered the former sultan's bedroom in Harem flat, we saw that the former sultan was on the bed and he was lying in his clothes, after some of us recognized him. That his heartbeat and pulse stopped and he died was understood in the examination. After a scrutiny and examination in detail, no sign of force, damage or wound were found on his body apart from about thirteen *mihcem* places that were performed on by the doctors who were assigned to his treatment**,** and apart from the small, surface sign that was said to be done by His Majesty an hour before his death, by his servants/family/people with him, on his *şersufiye* part.
> That the former sultan had been ill since 5 February 1334 and as it would be understood from the report, that Sultan Abdülhamid II died of heart weakness as a result of hematom, kidney and heart failure, together with cancer was understood and this cooperative report was prepared and presented. [136]

[135] *ibid.,* p. 346.

[136] Bin üçyüz otuz dört senesi Şubat'ın onuncu Pazar günü akşamı saat onda vuku bulan davet üzerine zîrde vazıyülimza etıbbâ Beylerbeyi Sahilsarayı'na azimetle harem Dâiresinde Hâkan-ı Sâbık hazretlerinin yatak odalarına dahil olduğumuzda karyola içerisinde Hâkan-ı Sâbık hazretleri olduğu aramızda bazıları tarafından teşhis olunan bir zâtın istiscâ-i zahri-i tabiîde giyinmiş olarak yatmakta olduğunu gördük. Kalb ve nabznın tamamen tevakkuf etmiş ve haml-i meytînin takarrür eylemiş bulunduğu ledelmuayene anlaşıldıktan sonra vücudun her tarafı arîz, amik tetkik ve muayene olunarak kebavet-i meytiyye âsâriyle tedavisine memur olan etıbbâ tarafından arka ve göğsüne liecli-tedavi tatbik olunan on üç kadar mihcem yeri ve vefatından bir saat evvel müşarünileyh hazretlerinin kendi taraflarından yapıldığı maiyetleri erkânı canibinden ifade edilen nahiye-i şersufiyedeki sathî ve gayri muntazam küçük asarı keyyieden başka hiç bir eser-i cebr ve tardîd ve cerha tesadüf olunmadı.

The committee who examined Sultan Abdülhamid II not only wrote a report about his death but they also insistently stated that the former sultan died naturally and no outer force had an influence on his death in the detailed protocol[137] that they prepared:

> Definitely no sign of force or damage was found apart from the signs that occurred as a result of the examination methods that were applied and are mentioned above [taking blood from body] after the inspection of the surface of the whole body and after touching and tasting with great care. As a result of the examination mentioned above, it was seen clearly and definitely that the death absolutely did not occur as a result of an outer force; and furthermore, such kind of an outer force did not have the slightest effect on the occurrence of this death. There has not been any diagnosis that contradicts with the one prepared by the doctors' committee which came to the conclusion that the Sultan's death occurred as a result of hematom, kidney and heart failure, together with cancer.[138]

Hâkan-ı Sâbık hazretlerinin Şubat'ın beşinden beri hasta bulundukları ve melfuf rapor müeddasından anlaşılacağı veçhile müşarünüileyh Sultan Abdülhamid Han-ı Sâni hazretlerinin intikan-ür-ree ve özmaya-i reevî neticesi tahaddüs eden bir zaaf-i kalp sebebiyle irtihal ettikleri tebeyyün etmiş olmakla işbu müşterek raporumuz bittanzim takdim olunmuştur.

"Hâkan-ı Sâbık'ın Cenaze Merasimi-Rapor Sûretleri," *Tanîn*, 12 February 1918.
The report is available in some works about Sultan Abdülhamid II's last days. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı used the report, taking its copy from the Ottoman State Archives and published the report's photocopy at the end of his article. Despite my intensive struggles in the Ottoman State Archives, I could not find the report. While taking the copy of the report from the period's newspapers, I am putting the document's photocopy that İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı published as an appendix at the end of the work. See: Figure. 11.

[137] Mentioned protocol and death reports were sent from *Sadâret* (the office of prime minister) to Yıldız Palace and were seen by Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. It was documented after it was registered according to Sultanate Dynasty's administrative regulations and was sent to *Bâb-ı Âli* Archives to be kept there with the memorandum dated 10 Cemaziyelâhir 1336 and 23 March 1334, fitting the procedures and was sent to *Bâb-ı Âli Hazine-i Evrakı* and kept there by being signed by the Representative of Grand Vizier Enver Paşa, Ali Rıza Paşa from the Senate Assembly and Mahmud Paşa, the same day. See: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "II. Abdülhamid'in Ha'li ve Ölümüne Dair Vesikalar," pp. 726-729

[138] ... Bütün vücudun sath-i haricisinin teftiş ve kemal-i dikkatle lems ve çes neticesinde yukarıda mezkur olan ve tatbik edilen vesait-i tedavi sebebiyle tekevvün eden âsardan manada katiyyen âsar-i cebr ve tardide tesadüf olunmamıştır. Ber-veçh-i bâlâ tespit olunan netice-i muayenede mevtin hiç bir suretle âsar-i cebriye-i hariciyeden husule gelmediği ve hatta bu gibi âsar-ı cebriyyenin mevtin husulünde zerre kadar dahi ve tesiri olmadığı kemal-i katiyyetle tezahür etmiştir. Etıbbâ-yı müdaviyenin îta ettikleri raporda imtilâ-yı mide ve özmaya-i reevî neticesinde mevtin tekevvün ettiği yolundaki ifadata muhalif bir netice dahi dahi elde edilmemiştir.

"Hâkan-ı Sâbık'ın Cenaze Merasimi-Rapor Sûretleri," *Tanîn*, 12 February 1918. See: Figure. 12.

Announcement of the Death and the Burial Place

Under normal circumstances, the burial places of the dead sultans and whether a funeral ceremony would take place or not was bound to the desire of the sultan on the throne. However, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was under the influence of the Committee of Union and Progress administration that had made him ascend the throne. During his sultanate he was bound to them in determining these.[139] The attitude of Enver Paşa, the Minister of War of that period, who was among the prominent *paşa*s of the Committee of Union and Progress, became more determinative. *Sadrazam* (Grand Vizier) Talat Paşa was in Brest-Litovsk for the peace treaty that would be signed with the Russians. Enver Paşa, the representative of the Grand Vizier, wanted to learn Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's opinion about the funeral ceremony. Upon Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's saying, "Do it in the way that is suitable," Enver Paşa decided to hold a funeral ceremony suitable for a sultan. [140]

However, for a while there was uncertainty about the burial place of Sultan Abdülhamid II. In his memoirs, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's *başkâtip* (head clerk) Ali Fuad says Sultan Abdülhamid II's family wanted him to be buried in the tomb of Sultan

[139] A memory of the head clerk Ali Fuad puts forward Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's attitude to the Committee of Union and Progress's influence: Sultan Mehmed V Reşad spent his life in a state of isolation, paying no attention to neither foreign nor domestic affairs. The throne that he ascended in the last period of his life remained alien to him. He himself said, "Everybody says that I do not interfere in the matters! What was my brother's guilt if I interfered in the matters in the period of Constitutional Monarchy?" See: Ali Fuad Türkgeldi. *Görüp İşittiklerim*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1951), p. 275. Even the expression "*yarı kukla* (half-puppet)" is used for Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in some sources. See: Hakan K. Karateke. *Padişahım Çok Yaşa!: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler*, (İstanbul: Kitap, 2004), p. 216.

[140] Ziya Şakir. *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri*, p. 266; Reşad Ekrem Koçu. *Osmanlı Padişahları*, (İstanbul: 1960), pp. 431-432.

Mehmed II the Conqueror and they insisted on it. However, Enver Paşa did not approve of this request and insistence, thinking nobody could be buried in Sultan Mehmed II's tomb.[141] The narratives that Ziya Şakir tells also reveal the uncertainty about the burial place:

> To hold a funeral ceremony could be only with the sultan's command. However, this command was very late. Sultan Reşad hesitated very much about the burial place of his brother. He discussed the issue with some people.[142]

As a result of the consultations, burying Sultan Abdülhamid II in his grandfather Sultan Mahmud II's tomb was found to be acceptable. Sultan Mehmed Reşad commanded it:

> As the former sultan Hamid Han died today, his body will be carried from the Beylerbeyi Palace to Topkapı Palace in accordance with the protocol procedures of the old traditions. After he is washed and shrouded there, funeral prayers will be performed. The copse will be buried in his grandfather Sultan Mahmud II's tomb with a high parade cortege, in the afternoon. It is the command of the Great Sultan.[143]

Protocol Director Mehduh Bey, who was called to Yıldız Palace in the evening of the same day, was ordered to do everything to organize and perform a funeral ceremony that worthy for Sultan Abdülhamid II. In the decree text in which the former

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[141] Ali Fuad Türkgeldi. *Görüp İşittiklerim*, p. 129.

[142] Ziya Şakir. *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri*, p. 267.

[143] Telgraf Mahrec: mâbeyn-i hümâyun 10-2-34 Serkâtib hazret-i şehriyarî Ali Fuad
Telgraf. Mahrec: mâbeyn-i Hümâyûn müstaceldir.
Makam-ı sâmi-i cenab-ı vekâletpenahiye,
Hâkan-ı sâbık Sultan Hamid Han hazretlerinin bugün irtihalleri vukuuna binaen naaşı- mağfiret nakışlarının deeb-i dîrin-i saltanat-ı seniyyeye tevfikan yarın sabah Beylerbeyi saray-ı Hümâyûnundan suret-i hususiyede Topkapı saray-ı âlisine nakliyle orada techîz ve tekfinleri icra ve salat-ı cenaze icra edildikten sonra ezanî saat dokuz raddelerinde tertip olunacak alay-ı vâla ile kaldırılarak cedd-i emcedleri Sultan Mahmud Han-ı sâni hazretleri türbe-i şerifelerine definleri irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı pâdişahî âlisinden olmağla olbabta.

BOA, A.TŞF, 278/14, 27 Ra 1336. See: Figure. 13

sultan's death was announced, it was deemed necessary to publish the whole formal announcement, adding to the list the names of the top level people who would attend the cortege.[144] The newspapers of the period published the announcement exactly, under the title of "The Former Sultan's Death."[145]

The next morning, when Hacı Adil Bey, who was the chairman of the Deputy Parliament, gathered in Fındıklı Palace, said "Sirs! May God give our sultan a long life. The former Sultan Abdülhamid II died and went to everlasting life" the deputies stood up, out of respect. The saloon filled with the prayer "May God have mercy on him." To enable the deputies to attend the ceremony, the parliament was closed temporarily. [146]

Carrying and Equipping the Corpse

The next morning, Monday, 11 February 1918, the preparations to bury the corpse began. Firstly, a steamship approached the quay of Beylerbeyi Palace. In the steamship, there was the committee, the head of which was the *Kızlarağası* (Chief Eunuch). The palace's sea door which had been closed tightly every day when Sultan Abdülhamid II was alive was open that day. The open-top coffin which was on the head part of the steamship, called raft, was taken inside after the committee entered the room. Sultan Abdülhamid II was placed on the raft with the white linen bedclothes that he had

[144] BOA, A.TŞF, 278/14, 27 Ra 1336.

[145] "Resmi Tebliğ, Hakan-ı Sabıkın İrtihali," *Sabah*, 11 Şubat 1918, 29 Cemaziyelâhir 1334.p. 1; "Resmi Tebliğ, Hakan-ı Sabıkın İrtihali," *Tanîn*, 11 Şubat 1918, 29 Cemaziyelâhir 1334. p. 1; and Celal Nuri, "Sultan Hamid'in Tabutu Arkasından,"*Ati*, 11 Şubat 1918, p. 2. See: Figure. 14.

[146] Reşad Ekrem Koçu. *Osmanlı Padişahları*, pp. 431-432; Ziya Şakir. *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri*, p. 266.

been lying on. There was a reverence detachment consisting of eighty fire brigade soldiers. The coffin was put on the frame timber part on the head part of the steamship. Two steamships belonging to the Navy Ministry followed this steamship that was going towards Sarayburnu.[147]

The funeral ceremony was very moving. Every corner of the palace was ringing with mourning women's cries. However, a tradition that was seen when other sultans' coffins had been carried out was not seen. When the coffin was being taken out of the palace, all the windows, cages and small belongings used to be broken into pieces. However, when Sultan Abdülhamid II's coffin was taken out of the palace, this tradition was not performed. With Ziya Şakir's expression, "the pain felt in the hearts was shown only by tears, sobbs and cries." [148]

The steamship carrying the coffin arrived at Sarayburnu at about 10:00 am.[149] White bedclothes on the heads of a procession in black, a dark shawl and a new stretcher were seen. Sultan Abdülhamid II was on his bed on a wooden stretcher. The bedclothes with thick yellow lines were hanging down the stretcher's sides. He was covered with a shawl with orange coloured and green embroidery. The shawl was blown by the wind; a weak body and a small head were seen. In front of the corpse, the Beylerbeyi Guard; beside him two lines of soldiers; around the stretcher *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn ağa*s and high officials of the palace were walking slowly. The stretcher was carried on their hands. Behind it, Şehzâde Selim Efendi, and the *Damad paşa*s were going forward sadly. One

[147] Ziya Şakir. *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri*, p. 267. For the photograph showing the transfering the raft to the steamship, see : Figure. 15.

[148] *ibid.,* pp. 267-268.

[149] M. Metin Hülagü. II. *Abdülhamid'in Sürgün Günleri: Hususi Doktoru Atıf Hüseyin Bey'in Hatıratı,* p. 346. Sabah, Tanîn and Ati, 11 Febuary 1918.

of the manservants was carrying Sultan Abdülhamid II's fez. A white handkerchief covered the fez. The faces of all the people in the ceremony seemed sad. Severe silence dominated. Nothing was heard apart from the sound of feet on sand. [150]

The coffin passed in front of the tulip garden. It was brought in front of *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi'*s green and gilded door. The coffin entered through the opened room. The *şehzâde*s and *damad paşa*s stayed in the Mecidiye Summer Palace, people who accompanied the corpse stayed outside. The door was closed; nobody except high officials of *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi* could enter. The wickerwork in front of the *hâcet penceresi* (window of need) was removed partially. A small six-armed coffin made of cypress on two green plank-beds and a small bench on which the corpse is washed on the stony place where the wickerwork was removed was seen. Naked, miserable, lifeless Sultan Abdülhamid II was on the bench. Around the bench four Muslim preachers, two of them in green, two of them in white *sarık*s (turbans), washed the corpse in faithful reverence. In a remote place from the coffin, *Enderûn* high officials were waiting ready for service, bringing their hands together with respect.

A white shroud covered Sultan Abdülhamid II's waist. The upper sides from his chest and the lower sides from his knees were open. His eyes were closed and had become hollow. His hair fell on his forehead. There was no sign of old age or much wrinkles on his face. His neck was thin, his bones of shoulder protruded. His weakest part was his chest. His bones of chest and hipbones were easily visible. His legs were

[150] Ahmet Refik. "Sultan Abdülhamid'in Na'şı Önünde," *Tarih Dünyası*, Year: 1, Number: 3, 15 May 1950, p. 95; M. Metin Hülagü. *II. Abdülhamid'in Sürgün Günleri: Hususi Doktoru Atıf Hüseyin Bey'in Hatıratı,* p. 346; *Sabah, Tanîn* and *Ati*, 11 February 1918.

white and thin, his feet were small. There was no hair on his body. Black hair was seen only on his nipples, the lower parts of his arms and his his fingers.[151]

There were *ağa*s across the coffin with silver steampots in their hands. Everyone stared at the closed eyes of Sultan Abdülhamid II who was lying on the bench. As hot water was poured down on the corpse, white smoke rose and mixed with the smells of gall and ambergris coming from the steampots. No sound except the sound of footships on the wicker work of those, who were getting in and out to serve, was heard. Two *damad*s next to the post near the corpse's feet were crying sadly, bringing their hands together and looking at the corpse.

Finally, washing ceremony ended. He was dried with towels with yellow embroidery, the coffin was landed, the stretcher was brought next to the coffin, and the interior parts were covered with shrouds. Sultan Abdülhamid II's corpse was put in the coffin with respect. Upon the former sultan's will, the *ahidnâme* prayer (mentioned in Prophet Muhammad's words) was put on his chest, a *Hırkâ-i Saâdet* handkerchief and Kaaba cloth were put on his face. He was covered with the shroud, firstly bedclothes and then a red cloth with silver embroidery was put on it. His toes were covered with a cloth in almost dark blue. Kaaba clothes and belts decorated with valuable stones were put on top. His head and arms were wrapped up with shawls. On the green satin on his head, a crimson fez was put. Everybody drew back. A respected man from the *damad paşa*s moved forward sadly. He stopped at the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet* corner tired and sad. He opened his hands and prayed shortly in sobs.

Ambassadors and police officers were waiting in uniforms of silver, headgears of fur and hats in front of door of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi*. Foreign people watched this

[151] Ahmet Refik. "Sultan Abdülhamid'in Na'şı Önünde," pp. 95-96.

astounding room with wonder and amazement. The *ulemâ* (erudite) with green and purple large sleeved clothes with gilded silver thread over the chest, and gilded threads on their turbans, greeted the corpse respectfully. It was getting more and more crowded. The heirs to the throne, the *şehzâde*s, came in great uniforms. Nothing except gleams of decorations, silver and uniforms was seen under the sun of February.[152] The great arena between *Ortakapı* and *Bâb-ı Hümâyûn* was filled with the carts and automobiles of people who attended the funeral ceremony. Here, there were many wives of high officials from government and also there were foreign women. Those got out of the way and were looking over with great amazement and excitement.

Suddenly, door of the *Hırkâ-ı Saâdet Dâiresi* was opened. Everyone looked at the door, and crowded to the door. All wanted to see the coffin. At last, the coffin with belts with diamonds, Kaaba clothes with silver, red satins, red fez, was taken out on people's hands. High officials of the government, police officers came to the presence of Sultan Abdülhamid II's corpse. Everyone stared at the coffin. The coffin was put on a high place in front of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi*'s door. Hamidiye Mosque's rostrum *şeyh* in green clothes with silver, with his sign on his chest climbed the stone. He asked,

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[152] Sultan Abdülhamid II is known for the signs that he handed out to state officials and foreign authorities as well as the gifts that he handed out to people. In that period so many signs were distributed. For that reason, I want to emphasize that Ahmet Refik's expression "Nothing except from gleams of deocations, silver and uniforms was seen under the sun of February" is not an exaggeration. For a valuable work about the applications of signs and medals in the Ottoman Empire, see: Edhem Eldem. *İftihar ve İmtiyaz: Osmanlı Nişan ve Madalyaları Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2004).

Also, due to the the "İftihar ve İmtiyaz: Osmanlı Nişan ve Madalyaları Tarihi (Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations)" exhibition that was opened in the Ottoman Bank Museum on 28 September 2004, lectures were organized by the expert academicians who have works about the issue. Prof. Edhem Eldem and Prof. Selim Deringil's lecture under the title of, "Perspective: Ideology. Exit point: Abdülhamid II Period" is a useful discussion about the usage of decorations in Sultan Abdülhamid II period. See:
http://www.obarsiv.com/nm_sergi_etk_eldemderingil.html

It is seen that the owners of the decorations attended all the ceremonies with their decorations. Şehzâde Ali Vasib Efendi, Osman Selahaddin Osmanoğlu's father, emphasizes this in his memoirs while narrating the ceremonies of that period. See: Ali Vâsib Efendi. *Bir Şehzâdenin Hâtırâtı-Vatan ve Menfâda Gördüklerim ve İşittiklerim*, edited by Osman Selahaddin Osmanoğlu, (İstanbul: YKY, 2005).

looking around:

- How do you know the dead?

A lot of sad and mourning voices rose among the cypresses:

- We know him to be good.

This *tezkiye* ceremony ended after *Fatiha* was recited and the coffin began to be carried. The coffin was brought in front of *Bâbü's-saâde,* passing the right side of Sultan Ahmed II library's demonstration room. The funeral prayer was performed there under the leadership of Şeyhülislâm Kazım Efendi.[153]

Arranging the Cortege

The funeral cortege was divided into seven groups as it was shown in the sketch prepared by the protocol office and five police officers and a protocol officer was put in front of each group. The protocol officer calls of "senate, deputy, men of sciences, rulers" were sometimes heard. In the first row, central commander Cevad Bey, a squadron of cavalry soldiers, the navy guardian battalion with their brass band, foot soldiers, cavalry, small police schools and the fire brigade were waiting with the tips of their rifles upside down. After them came the band of *Harbiye Nezâreti* (Ministry of War), military police officers, *Harem-i Hümâyûn ağa*s, woodmen, the *şeyh*s and *müezzin*s of Şazelî Dergâhı[154] and *mevlevî* saints.[155] After them, *Hademe-i Hassâ-i*

[153] Ahmet Refik. "Sultan Abdülhamid'in Na'şı Önünde," pp. 96-98.

[154] Sultan Abdülhamid II was from Şâzelî *dergâhı* and was related to Zafir Efendi, *şeyh* of Ertuğrul Dergâhı See: İbnulemin Mahmud Kemal İnal. "Sultan Abdülhamid'e Dair," *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*, v. 13, number. 8 Ağustos 1977, p. 53.

[155] For the photograph showing the troop, see : Figure. 16

Şâhâne (his majesty's private service) officers carried the coffin covered with Kaaba clothes peculiar to the sultanate dynasty, with great respect.[156]

The *Dâr'üs-saâde Ağası***,** officers of *Hazine-i Hassa-i Şâhâne* (his majesty's private treasury) and *Hazine-i Hümâyûn* (the dynasty treasury), the primary *imâm* and the second *imâm* followed the coffin. After them came the Protocol Office Director Memduh Bey Efendi, the sultanate's crown prince Vahideddin Efendi in official dress, all the *şehzâde*s, *damad paşa*s and sirs, then the Protocol Director's Assistant Fuad Bey Efendi. There were also His Majesty Abbas Hilmi in official dress, Enver Paşa as the Minister of War and the Grand Vizier's Representative, *Şeyhülislâm* Musa Kazım Efendi, the Minister of Navy Cemal Paşa, the Minister of Finance Mehmed Cavid, the Minister of Justice Halil, the Minister of Post and Telegram Haşim Bey, other deputies, chairmen of the Senate and Deputy Assemblies, foreign ambassadors, embassy attachés, some palace officials. Only the *damad*s came in civil dress, a practice peculiar to them. After them, the military commanders behind the protocol officer Talat Bey, the Senate and Deputy Assembly members behind one of the protocol officers Sadık Bey, scholars, spiritual leaders, undersecretaries of the Minister of Finance, officials of the civil service, members of the Committee of Union and Progress General Center, and the representatives of various associations followed the coffin. [157]

At last, the cortege was arranged. *Hademe-i Şâhâne* (servants of the sultan) police officers and members lined up in front of the cypresses. Foot soldiers walked quietly, hanging their guns on their soldiers. The coffin moved forward slowly among

[156] For the photograph showing troop and the coffin, see : Figure. 15.

[157] BOA, A.TŞF, 278/14, 27 Ra 1336; *Sabah, Tanîn* and *Ati*, 11 February 1918; Ali Fuad Türkgeldi. *Görüp İşittiklerim*, p. 129. There was a strict plan for the troop and the place of the protocol were determined in a detailed way. See: Figure. 17.

the cypresses from *Babü'ssâde* to *Ortakapı*. *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn ağa*s were saying the *salavât.* Everybody was walking with respect behind the coffin. From the front, the sad chantings of the the dervishes was heard. *Kelime-i tevhîd* (witnessing the unity of God and the prophethood of Muhammad) that the Şeyhs of Sazeli dervish convent were reading in a sad Arab Lâhni was rising like a gentle refrain among *tekbîr*s (saying God is the Most Great) and *naat*s (praises for the Prophet Muhammad). The area between *Ortakapı* and *Bâb-ı Hümâyûn* was filled with German Police officer's automobiles and grand villa cars. Two gentle women stood up in a car and watched the cortege with delicate veils on their faces. A little further, in front of Byzantine's Irini Church and the military museum of the last period, *Mehterân* (the traditional Ottoman music band) team greeted the passing coffin with dignity and magnificence in their grand quilted turbans, red baggy trousers, silver *cepken*s (a short embroidered jacket with full sleeves) and with their yellow and red flags.[158]

The coffin left the *Bâb-ı Hümâyûn*. The streets were full of people. The way to the tomb harboured a great crowd. There were two rows of soldiers in the street from the Hagia Sophia Mosque to Sultan Mahmud II's tomb. The trees, houses, windows, roofs were full of women and children. The trams had stopped. The soldiers, who were lined up on the sides along the way, could hardly keep the people away from the pavements. The coffin moved forward with mourning and effective prayers, *tekbîr*s and *tehlîl*s. People who saw the corpse were getting sad. There were women at the houses'

[158] Ahmet Refik. "Sultan Abdülhamid'in Na'şı Önünde," pp. 97.98.

windows. A woman could not stop her sobs and was crying, leaning her head on the wall, with her handkerchief dabbing her eyes.[159]

Sultan Abdülhamid II's death coincided with the crisis time and İstanbul's hungry and miserable days as a result of the war. For that reason, some people who were economically better off in the former sultan's period, especially women, cried out, saying, "we were not hungry in your period," as a result of their sorrow.[160]

Historian İsmail Hami Danişmend, who witnessed the funeral ceremony, also emphasized that people showed great interest in the ceremony and that Sultan Abdülhamid II was shown respect and love. During the ceremony there were two rows of soldiers from Hagia Sophia to the tomb; the main street, the side-streets going to the main street, windows, roofs, trees and even the walls around the tomb graveyard were filled with people. All the people were sorrowful. There were people who were crying, sobbing and even crying out, saying "Where are you going, leaving us?" İsmail Hami Danişmend also draws attention to the fact that during the funeral ceremonies people remembered that they had not understood Sultan Abdülhamid II's worth. Abdurrahman Şeref also described the deep and rightful sadness of people in an unrestrained expression as:

> Most of the people who had read the lines 'He neither made himself comfortable, nor gave peace to people' in his own period (Abdülhamid II), noe remembered Baki's couplet:
>
> O Baki, people who understand your greatness only when you are on the *musallâ* stone. Bringing their hands together and show their respect forming lines across you in the funeral prayer.[161]

[159] Ahmet Refik. "Sultan Abdülhamid'in Na'şı Önünde," pp. 97-98; Ziya Şakir. *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri,* pp. 272-273.

[160] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. "II. Abdülhamid'in Ha'li ve Ölümüne Dair Vesikalar," p. 729.

[161] Hengâm-ı ikbâlinde (Ne kendi eyledi rahat, ne halka verdi huzur) mısralarını okuyanlardan bir çoğunun cenaze namazında Bâki'nin:

Kadrini seng-i musallâda bilüp ey Bâki/Durup el bağlayanlar karşında yâran saf saf

Şehzâde Ali Saib Efendi who attended funeral ceremony and who was an adolescent then also remembers the ceremony's greatness and people's intensive participation:

> Of course, a great funeral ceremony was organized and I was invited for that. My father did not attend the funeral ceremony. After I wore my uniform and put my sign on, we went to the Topkapı Palace with my uncle Osman Fuad Efendi, and my aunts' husbands Serif Abdülmecid, Selahaddin and Hami Bey. We walked from the Topkapı Palace to the Sultan Mahmud II Tomb. According to our family's traditions the current sultan would not attend the funeral ceremony. Şehzâde Vahideddin Efendi, the heir apparent to the throne, attended the exceptionally great ceremony. Thousands of people were coming in waves, following the coffin and a lot of people were crying their eyes out.[162]

The coffin entered the tomb with intensive shows of respect and cries of "*Allah*! *Allah*! (God! God!)" Sultan Abdülhamid II was put in the grave with respect and prayers. While praying at the head of the grave, the primary *imâm* Sûzî Efendi, who was accustomed to constantly uttering the name of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, said "To the respected soul of His Majesty Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han," as a slip of tongue, which created a bad influence over the people in the ceremony. This negative effect deepened when Şeyhülislâm Musa Efendi laughed loudly after hitting on the shoulders of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's head clerk.[163]

The tomb on *Divânyolu* (Divan Road) that Sultan Abdülhamid II was buried in is a complex consisting of tomb, public fountain, rooms and fountain. It was opened with ceremony to visitors, being built in about a year upon Sultan Mahmud II's death by his

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Beytini hatıra getirmeleri hüsn-i hâtimeye dâl garâib-i mukedderattandır.

İsmail Hami Danişmend. *İzahlı Osmanlı Kronolojisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1945), v. 4, p. 439.

[162] Ali Vâsib Efendi. *Bir Şehzâdenin Hâtırâtı-Vatan ve Menfâda Gördüklerim ve İşittiklerim*, pp. 77-78.

[163] Ali Fuad Türkgeldi. *Görüp İşittiklerim*, p. 129.

son and successor Sultan Abdülmecid Han. The work, which is the representative of ampir style, was formed by covering the octagon body whose fronts were plated with marble, with a dome sitting on a hoop. In the tomb, there are seventeen graves in different length, among which there are Sultan Mahmud II's, Sultan Abdülaziz's and Sultan Abdülhamid II's graves. Some of the graves were put in metallic gratings and the one that is cared for mostly belongs to Sultan Abdülhamid II. Greek fillings have been made on the cartridges between the palmettos that are placed opposite; furthermore, *Esmâ-yı Hüsnâ* (the Beautiful Names of God) with metallic letters have been written on it.[164]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad

His Last Days and Funeral

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad had ascended the throne on 27 April 1909, after the dethronement of Sultan Abdülhamid II after the 31 March Incident. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, who reigned during the last days of the Ottoman Empire, was influenced by the administration of the Committee of Union and Progress. The increasing loss of the empire lands and the depression that had been experienced throughout the country affected the mood and health of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. The disease that later caused his death firstly occurred as diabetes, but it was cured completely as a result of the medical treatment that was applied. As the doctors deemed a surgical operation

[164] Hakkı Önkal. *Osmanlı Hanedan Türbeleri*, pp. 257-259.

necessary, it had been consulted whether his diabetes would have a negative effect on the operation. The doctors operated successfully when they decided that diabetes would not create a problem. After the operation Sultan Mehmed V Reşad continued to live under the control of doctors and took great care with his diet.[165]

The head doctor Ahmed Hacı Bey and Süleyman Numan Paşa started a careful medical treatment for the purpose of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's recovery when his disease relapsed again on 22 May 1918. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad vomited for the first time because of his disease on 23 July 1918 Sunday. Despite the warnings of the doctors, he had gone from the Yıldız Palace to the Topkapı Palace and participated in the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet* ceremony. Due to his deteriorating health after his return to the Yıldız Palace, the doctors started an intensive treatment. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's fever increased two or three degrees everyday and this increase could not be prevented despite the positive improvements in his heart and lungs and all the care exerted. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad welcomed the treatment committee and allowed them to examine him sitting on a chair in spite of all his diseases and the insistent requests of the doctors. But he welcomed the doctors in his bed because he had become very week two days before his death.[166]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad always said that he was exhausted before the last days of his life, while he was being treated for diabetes.[167] In the newspapers of the time it had been mentioned that Sultan Mehmed V Reşad had lived trough quite difficult and sorrowful years:

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[165] "Hakan-ı Mağfurun Son Günleri," *Tanîn*, 4 Temmuz, 1918, p. 2.

[166] *ibid.,* p. 2.

[167] Necdet Sakaoğlu. *Bu Mülkün Sultanları*, (İstanbul: Oğlak Press, 2000), p. 556.

> Sultan Reşad was loved and pitied anyway because of the sorrowful facts that he had experienced in the former period. He had to bear up a disaster which was the heritage of the mistakes and the sins of the past since the day he had ascended the throne, and these disastrous facts had saddened him greatly. The late Sultan Reşad, who had endured these pains by submitting to God, was a means of consolation for all the Ottomans against various disasters.[168]

For this reason, it is possible to relate his death not only to diabetes but also the old age, fatigue, depression, and sorrow.

The notes left by one of the members of the family who was with Sultan Mehmed V Reşad during his last minutes provide us with important information.[169] İsmet Efendi or İhsan Efendi went down to the sultan's flat with Şehzâde Ziyadeddin Efendi, Süreyya, Hüsnü and the *Baş Musâhib* Enver Ağa. Everybody was crying and "there was a mourning atmosphere." Sultan Mehmed V Reşad had a white silk flannel and his quilt was pulled up to his belt. Turned to his left, the white haired sultan lied in a yellow metal bedstead, which was a room with a sea-view. In the room *Dördüncü Kadın* Dilfirib, *Üçüncü Kadın* Nazperver and the Fourth Treasurer Derefşan and the other treasurer servants with scarves are sitting on the floor and reciting the Holy Koran. There were also the *şeyh* and head *imâm* of Yahya Efendi Dergâhı, Doctor Âkil Muhtar, İbrahim Bey, Sabit, Hüsnü, and Süreyya Bey in the room. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad to

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[168] Devr-i sabıkdaki hazîn macerâlarıyla zaten sevilen ve acınılan Sultan Mehmed Hâmis, taht-ı saltanata geçdiği günden itibaren de uzun bir devr-i seyyienin mirası olan bir çok fecâyia katlanmak mecburiyetiyle müteellim olmuşdu. Bütün bu ızdırıblara sarsılmaz bir metenatle mütevekkilane tahammül eden merhum, bütün Osmanlıların da bin türlü felaketlere karşı medâr-ı tesliyeti idi.

"Padişahımızın İrtihalleri," *Tanîn*, 4 Temmuz 1918, p. 1. See: Figure. 18.

[169] The text under consideration appears in a notebook which exists in Emine Mukbile Sultan's (1911-1995) documents and its topic is "Cennetmekân Beşinci Sultan Mehmed Hazretlerinin Hatt-ı Desti ile Bazı Mektûbları ve Son Dem-i Hayatına Dair Bir Safha (Some letters of the late Sultan Mehmed the 5th and A Phase of his Last Days)." Prof. Edhem Eldem published this text by taking it from Mukbile Sultan's son Osman Vasıb. See: Edhem Eldem. "İstanbul'da İlk ve Son Padişah Ölümleri," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.110, Şubat 2005, pp. 60-61.

whom the doctors have given oxygen was breathing with a rubber tube in his mouth. The people in the room had left the room after five minutes.[170]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad participated in the *zikr* and repeated the unity of God in his last moments, with his relatives and the head *imâm* near him. A short time after his relatives left the room, saying "*Allah! Allah!*" on 3 July 1918 Wednesday[171] just before the evening prayers, according to a narrative on *Kadir Gecesi* (the Night of Power in the last days of Ramadan),[172] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad gave out his last breath.[173] As the newspapers claim "this esteemed presence also experienced the end which was predestined for all the mortals and this tender heart has stopped, this sorrowful light has gone out."[174]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's relatives from the *harem* (his relatives and friends from the dynasty) were informed on the day he died that his disease was worse and that he was on his deathbed. One of the people who came to the Yıldız Palace with the *şehzâde*'s instructions, Safiye Ünüvar reveals his last minutes before death in her memoirs. Safiye Ünüvar, who understod that Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was living his

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[170] Edhem Eldem, "İstanbul'da İlk ve Son Padişah Ölümleri," p. 60.

[171] *Hicri*: 24 Ramazan 1336; *Rumi*: 3 July 1334 .

[172] The Şehzâde Ali Vâsib Efendi recounts that this night was *Kadir Gecesi* (the Night of Power) See: Ali Vâsıb Efendi. *Bir Şehzâdenin Hâtırâtı-Vatan ve Menfâda Gördüklerim ve İşittiklerim*, pp. 79.

On the other hand, the Night of Power does not have a definite date. It is stated that this night should be searched in one of the last odd days of Ramazan. Sultan Reşad's death date is 24 Ramazan 1336.

[173] "Hakan-ı Mağfurun Son Günleri," *Tanîn*, 4 Temmuz 1918, p. 2; "Padişahımızın İrtihalleri," *Tanîn*, 4 Temmuz 1918, p. 1.

[174] Bugün o muhterem mevcûdiyet de bütün faniler için mukadder olan akıbete uğramış, o şefik kalp durmuş, o hazîn nur-ı nazar sönmüştür.

"Padişahımızın İrtihalleri," *Tanîn*, 4 Temmuz 1918, p. 1

last moments from the sorrowful mood of the servants, presented her reverences by entering the rooms one by one.

Safiye Ünüvar, who meet *Kadın Efendi* in front of Sultan Reşad's room, entered the room upon the invitation of Kadın Efendi, "Our master has always appreciated you, please follow me:

> We entered the sultan's room together. The sultan, who was breathing lightly, was lying in the middle of the room on a high bedstead. On the right foot of the bed his elder son Ziyaeddin Efendi was sitting, opposite them the chief eunuch was reading the Holy Koran. Upon the invitation of Kadın Efendi I sat on the head end of the bed and I started to read the Holy Koran. On the right of the sultan, my sister's husband İsmail Hakkı Efendi, on his left the *şeyh* of Yahya Efendi Dergâhı were saying *Lailaheillallah* (The only God is Allah) and *Allahüekber* (Allah is the greatest). Sultan Reşad was repeating slowly. With the sign that the *şeyh* made with his hand all the people in the room left one by one except me. Just as I was leaving the room I turned my face backwards to see his holy, esteemed face for the last time, then I heard the *şeyh* of Yahya Efendi Dergahı saying '*İnnâ lillâhi ve innâ ileyhi râciûn* (To Allah we belong and to Him is our return)'. To see him giving his last breath was granted to me.[175]

With the circulation of the news in the palace, screams were heard and some people fainted. Moreover, it was rumored that the screams were heard from Beşiktaş. Trays were returned full in suppers, nobody could eat anything because of their sorrow and many people in the palace passed the night sleepless.[176]

After the death of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, the doctors' committee of Süleyman Numan, Akil Muhtar, Miralay (Colonel) Ahmed, Miralay Ali prepared this death report:

> Dwelling in paradise, *Gazi* Sultan Mehmed Han suffered from fever on June 25 Tuesday after bearing dyspepsia about a week. Then, during this paratyphoid disease his diabetes which has occurred occasionally became more intense and too much acetone started to be produced. Since the day before his 39,5 fever and the dangerous symptoms of diabetes could not be cured, and this report has been written and presented to inform that the late *Han* (whose sins be by God) passed away on 24

[175] Safiye Ünüvar. *Saray Hatıralarım*, (İstanbul: Cağaloğlu Yayınları, 1964), pp. 114-115.

[176] *ibid.,* p. 116.

> Ramadan 1336 (Hicri calendar) and on Wednesday 24 July 1334 at 11:20 (just before the evening prayers).[177]

In the documents of the Protocol Department which was responsible for arranging the funeral ceremony, it was stated that Sultan Mehmed V Reşad who graced the Ottoman throne could not be rescued from diabetes and migrated to the doors of Heaven on 24 Ramadan 1336 (Hicri calendar) and 24 July 1334 (Gregorian calendar) at twenty past eleven according to the hour as reckoned from sunset.[178] This official *communiqué* which was sent by the Protocol Department was published in the newspapers of the time.

> Sultan Mehmed V Reşad who has fascinated the hearts of his fellow-citizens with his nature and highly moral sultanate, migrated to Heaven yesterday, Wednesday at ten past seven, after being bed ridden for eight days because of his diabetes he had had for severals-becoming worse.[179]

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[177] Cennetmekân Gazi Sultan Mehmed Hân-ı Hamis Hazretleri bir hafta kadar hafif tagayyurât-ı hazmiyye irae ettikten sonra geçen haziranın yirmi beşinci Salı günü bir maraz-ı hadd-ı hamviye düçar olmuşlar ve seyri 'humma-i paratifoidi' olduğunu irae eden bu hastalık esnasında evvelce kendilerine âsâri zaman zaman zuhur eden 'diyabitis miskir' birdenbire kesb-i şiddet ederek fazla miktarda 'aseton' hasıl olmağa başlamış ve dünkü günden beri 39.5 derereye çıkan hararet-i hamviye ile beraber 'diyabitis miskir'in â'râz-ı vahimesi de artık müdâvâtdan müteessir olmayarak Hakan-ı mağfurun işbu bin üç yüz otuz altı senesi ramazan-ı şerifin 24. ve 1334 senesi temmuzunun 3. Çarşamba günü gurûbî saatle onbiri yirmi geçe irtihal-i dâr-i cinân eylediğini mübeyyin işbu rapor bi't-tanzim takdim kılınmıştır.
24 Ramazan 336 - 3 Temmuz 334.
Ordu-yi Hümâyûn Sahra Sıhhiye Müfettişi Tıp Fakültesi Reisi Sertabip Hazreti Şehriyari
Süleyman Numan, Akil Muhtar, Miralay Ahmed, Etibbâ-yı Hazret-i Şehriyâriden Miralay Ali"
The head of the Medicine Faculty and the inspector of the Army-Medical Corpschieff of staff Şehriyari
Süleyman Numan, Akil Muhtar, Colonel Ahmed, Colonel Ali

"Rapor Sûreti," *Tanîn*, 4 July 1918, p. 1.

[178] İşbu 1336 sene-i hicriyesi Ramazan-ı şerifinin yirmidördüncü ve 1334 sene-i miladisi şehr-i temmuzunun üçüncü Çarşamba günü ezâni saat ile onbiri yirmi geçe erîke-i pîrâ Saltanat-ı Seniyye-i Osmaniye Sultan Mehmed Reşad Hân-ı Hâmis Hazretlerinin mübtela oldukları şeker hastalıktan rehâyâb olamayarak irtihâl-i dâr-ı cînân eylemelerine...

BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan 1336, Vesika. 1.

[179] Hasail-i melikâne ve uluvv-ahlâk-ı padişahanediyle bütün tebaasının kalplerini teshir etmiş olan Sultan Mehmed Hân-ı Hamis Hazretleri bir kaç seneden beri giriftâr bulundukları şeker hastalığının ahiren iştidâd eylemeleriyle sekiz gün kadar esir-i firâş olduktan sonra dünkü Çarşamba günü bâ'de'z-zevâl saat yediyi on dakika geçerek irtihal-i dâr-i naim (Cennet'in sekiz kısmından dördüncü tabakası) buyurmuşlardır.

"Teblîgât-ı Resmiyye," *Tanîn*, 4 Temmuz 1918, p. 1.

The Protocol Department firstly determined the official *communiqué* and the people and the institutions to be invited. These were in the list of things to be done: official communiqué to the newspapers, embassies, protocols of infantries and navies, *Şeyhülislâm,* the president of the Senate, the president of the Assembly, high-ranking ministers, *Hidiv-i Mısır* Paşa; telegraph to *şeyh*s, foreign affairs, courthouse, public works, undersecretaries of commerce and finance, head clerk of the public sitting, presidency of the council, personal postal clerk, undersecretaries, clerk of the presidency council, presidency of public sitting accountancy, fleet, spiritual leaders, undersecretary of internal affairs, civil managers.[180]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's death, funeral ceremony and organization were described in the official *communiqué* which was prepared by the Protocol Department to be given to the public newspapers, to be sent to the proxy of the public press directorship:

> Sultan [Vahideddin] Mehmed VI's *biat*, who has the right of the throne upon Mehmed Reşad Han's migration to heaven, will be done today on Thursday, at 10:00 in Topkapı Palace. The heir apparent, the *şehzâde*s, *Hidiv-i Mısır* Paşa, şeyhülislâm, the Senate, the Deputy Assembly, *damad paşa*s, sirs, high-ranking infantry and navy officers, members of the senate and deputy assemblies, the members of the Committee for Union and Progress General Center, wise people, spiritual leaders, the Governor of İstanbul, the Mayor, various state officials, president and governors of official associations, directors in charge of finance and public works, owners of Ottoman orders are informed to be present at the Topkapı Palace.[181]

[180] BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan 1336, Vesika. 7.

[181] Hâkan-ı Sâbık Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han-ı Hamis Hazretlerinin irtihal-i dâr-ı cinân eylemelerine mebni bil irs vel istihkak taht-ı âli-baht-ı osmaniye cülus-u Hümâyûnları şeref vuku' bulunan şevketli padişahımız Sultan Mehmed Hân-ı Sâdis Efendimiz Hazretlerine bey'at-ı resm-i âlîsinin bugünkü Perşembe günü vasati saat onda Topkapı Sarayı Hümâyunu'nda icrası mukarrer bulunmağla veliahd-ı saltanat ve bil cümle şehzâdegân hazeratı ve zât-ı sami-i vekalet penah Hidiv Mısır Paşa, zât-ı valâ-yı meşihatpenâh, meclis-i â'yan ve meb'usan reisleri, vükelâyı fehâm, Damad Hazret-i Şehriyârı Paşa ve beyefendiler hazerâtı, ümerâ-yı berriye ve bahriyye-i askeriye, meclis-i âyan ve mebusan â'zâ-yı kirâmı, İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Merkez-i Umûmîsi âzâsı ve rical-i ilmiye ve rüesa-yı ruhâniye devâir-i müsteşarları, İstanbul vali vekili ve şehremini vekili ve bil umum memûrin-i devlet, ve dahî resm-i âli olan

Funeral Ceremony

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad who liked the sound of water and voices of children decided to build a tomb and near it a school in Eyüp in his first years of rule, saying "I want to perform my eternal sleep while hearing the sound of water and voices of children."[182] He invited Architect Kemalettin Bey to Yıldız Palace in June 1910, made his final decision after examining the plans, and the tomb and the school were completed between 1910–1912, but the definite building process is not known.[183] It may be thought that Sultan Mehmed V Reşad choosed Eyüp because Eyüb el-Ensari's tomb that has a great worth for Muslims was present in this region.

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin respected his brother Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's will and commanded him to be buried in the tomb in Eyüp which was prepared for him.[184] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad had saved his funeral expenses from his own allowance. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad who had entrusted the money to the general director of the Imperial Treasure Feyzi Efendi has said "After my death I do not desire my funeral to be held with *fermân*."[185]

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cemiyyât-ı muhtelife reis ve âzası ve tabiiyyyet-i Osmaniye hazir müessaf-ı maliye ve nafia ve ticariye müdirânı büyük üniforma iktizası ve nişan-ı âliler ve kordon talikiye Topkapı Saray-ı Hümâyunun hazır bulunmaları tebliğ olunur.

BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36,24 Ramazan1336, Vesika 2. See: Figure. 19.

[182] Lütfi Simavi. *Osmanlı Sarayı'nın Son Günleri*, (İstanbul: Hürriyet Yayınları, 1970), pp. 149-150.

[183] Yıldırım Yavuz. *Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi*, (Ankara: METU Architecture Faculty Press, 1981), p. 136.

[184] ... de'b-i dîrîn-i saltanat-ı senniyye olduğu üzere yevm-i mezkurda mağfur-ı müşarunileyh hazretlerinin nâaş-ı mağfiret nakışlarının alessabah Topkapı Saray-ı Hümâyûnuna îsâl edilerek bi't-techîz civar-ı hazret-i halid'de kain türbe-i mahsusaya vedia-yı rahmet-i ilahiye kılınmış şeref sadır olan irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişah-ı nucâhdan bulunmağla...

BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan 1336, Vesika. 3.

The burial ceremony was held on 4 July 1918 Thursday, one day after his death. A four-armed stretcher which was produced according to procedure was prepared for Thursday morning. Palace sappers with blue collars walked up to the room in which Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's corpse lay, they put the sultan on the stretcher together with his bed's sheet and pillow. Later, they lowered the stretcher to the garden's door from hand to hand. At that time there was great grief in the palace. İsmail Bey or İhsan Bey puts it in these words "at that time a scream was heard for miles which covered the entire universe. Moans which declared loyalty and sorrow were jingling the ears and hurting even the most severe hearts."[186]

With the bringing down of the corpse to the garden, hurriedly people moved from the inner garden to the door of Mecidiye. *Şehzâde*s paying their respect and performing their last duty by supporting the stretcher while following their dad. Thus, Sultan Reşad's corpse was brought through Ortaköy Street and put on the ferry. There were *şehzâde*s and some imperial officers in the ferry which was carryied the sultan's corpse. The corpse was brought from Sarayburnu *Hünkâr* (sultan) Wharf to Topkapı Palace and put in the hall in the *Hırkâ-i Şerif* room.[187]

Mattings near the hall in Topkapı Palace were removed and the corpse was to be washed here because underside of the hall was stone. Water was boiled in a cauldron in the exterior balcony. Everybody was taking pains for the corpse to be prepared in silence

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[185] Ali Fuad Türkgeldi. p. 137.

[186] Bu zaman bütün sarayı ihata eden bir vaveyla feryad ayyuka çıkıyor. Enva-ı sadakat ve teessürü beyan edici nevhalar kulakları çınlatmakta ve en katı kalbleri cızlatıyordu.

Edhem Eldem. "İstanbul'da İlk ve Son Padişah Ölümleri," p. 60.

[187] "Hâkan-ı Mağfurun Tedfin Merasimi," *Tanîn*, 5 Temmuz 1918, p. 2; Edhem Eldem. "İstanbul'da İlk ve Son Padişah Ölümleri," p. 60.

and in accordance with religious rituals. *Hazine Kahyâsı*, *Has Odalılar, Hırkâ-i Şerif* servants and other officials were busy with their duties. The corpse was put on a wooden table on which corpses were washed. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's knee guard was completely removed and his flannel was cut by a jackknife. With the words of İhsan Bey or İsmail Bey, "White haired and white bearded, he was waiting to take shelter in his God naked, on a dry wood with his eyes closed; the caliph or the sultan had vanished, no sign of the existence that had been an example of the universe."[188]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's body was hairless but there were many small fatty excrescences. His ears, neck and the lower part of his left arm was purple. His chest had swelled very much, but this swelling was less in his stomach. The Holy Koran was being read in the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi*. Hodjas in waist cloth and with their sleeves rolled up were giving the washing tools such as water and soap fibre to the *şeyh* of Hagia Sophia Mosque; he was performing the washing. The *şeyh* completed the washing by making him perform an ablution. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, who was dried with towels, was sprinkled with the dust of henna, lute tree, sandalwood tree and the soil of Kaaba. One of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi* handkerchiefs was put on his chest and he was wrapped and put in the coffin. At that time his head *imâm* was praying in tears. After closing and completely wrapping the coffin they tied it up with the green cloth covering the Kaaba, shawls, and precious stony belts which belonged to the dynastical family and it was put in front of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi* in which the sultan was washed.[189]

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[188] Halife ve padişah tarihe karışmış cihan varlığına misal olan mevcudiyetten bir şeye malik olmayarak çırçıplak kuru bir tahta üzerinde beyaz saç ve sakalıyla Halikine iltica için gözlerini yummuş intizarda idi.

Edhem Eldem. "İstanbul'da İlk ve Son Padişah Ölümleri," p. 60.

[189] BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan1336, Vesika. 3; "Hâkan-ı Mağfurun Tedfin Merasimi," *Tanîn*, 5 Temmuz 1918. p. 2; Edhem Eldem. "İstanbul'da İlk ve Son Padişah Ölümleri," p. 61.

During the equipping and shrouding of the corpse, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's *biat* (acknowledging) ceremony was being performed.[190] Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin came to the *Hırkâ-i Sâadet* room at seven past eleven and visited the corpse after the acknowledging ceremony. With the participation of *Hidiv-i Mısır* Paşa, *Şeyhülislâm,* the Senate, the Assembly, Damad *paşa*s, sirs, high ranking infantry and navy officers, members of the senate and deputy assemblies, the member of the Committee for Union and Progress General Center, *ulemâ*, spiritual leaders, the Governor of İstanbul, the Mayor, various state officials, president and governors of official associations, directors in charge of finance and public works, the owners of Ottoman orders who had been present in the accession to the throne at thirty-four past eleven the coffin was put on the *musallâ* stone. Firstly the *tezkiye* ceremony was performed. Meanwhile the opening chapter of the Holy Koran was recited and prayers were said. Later, the funeral prayer was performed, in which *Şeyhülislâm* Musa Kazım Efendi became the *imâm*. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin participated in these ceremonies personally.[191]

People set out from the Topkapı Palace with the coffin on their shoulders the imperial lords, servants and maids that worked in the palace, after performing the funeral prayer at about twelve o'clock. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin followed the funeral up to the outer door and then he continued to watch it with his eyes.

Those who would attend the ceremony and where they would stay was also arranged by the Protocol Department. According to this arrangement, the sultan's

[190] Sultan Vahdettin's acknowledging and accession to the throne ceremony was depicted in the newspapers in detail. See: "Sultan Mehmed Sâdis Hazretleri: Bi'at ve Cülus Merasimi," *Tanîn*, 5 Temmuz 1918, p. 1.

[191] BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan1336, Vesika. 3; "Hâkan-ı Mağfurun Tedfin Merasimi," *Tanîn*, 5 Temmuz 1918. p. 2; Edhem Eldem. "İstanbul'da İlk ve Son Padişah Ölümleri," p. 61.

soldiers lined up on the left and right sides of the funeral procession. In front of the procession, whose both sides were surrounded by soldiers, firstly a policeman, then one by one as follows: the manager of the Protocol, *şehzâde*s, son-in-laws, *Hidiv-i Mısır*, the police, high-ranking ministers, foreign ambassadors and embassy's notables, a policeman, the protocol official Talat Bey, the Senate, the Assembly, the members of the Committe of Union and Progress, a policeman, Sadık Bey from the Protocol, military statesmen, a policeman, Refik Bey from the Protocol, scholars, a policeman, civil authorities, notables of the society, Ottoman commerce and public works institutions took part.[192]

In front of the coffin were the relatives of the sultan, cavalrymen, police officials; *Mevlevî şeyh*s, other *şeyh*s, high-ranking scholars, servants and *müezzin*s who were singing verses. Behind the coffin was the sanjak on which the names of the *Han* were written, beeing carried slowly in the hands of the private servants. Behind them the heir apparent of the sovereignty, *şehzâde*s, Damad Paşa and sirs, the committee of representatives and ambassadors, the Senate and the Assembly members, the notables of the Committee for Union and Progress General Center; delegates of the Caucasian, Crimean, North Russian Turks who were in the city and the other ranked bureaucrats were coming one by one according to the protocol procedures.[193]

The funeral procession arrived at Sirkeci at one o'clock, passing through Hagia Sophia Square and Alemdar Street. Thousands of people, men and women, who were on the route of the funeral procession, followed the kind-hearted and compassionate

[192] BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan 1336, Vesika 3. See: Figure. 20.

[193] BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan 1336, Vesika. 4; "Hâkan-ı Mağfurun Tedfin Merasimi," *Tanîn*, 5 Temmuz, p. 2.

sultan's corpse with tears in their eyes, prayers and eulogies. There were the ferries named Nil, Nusret, Demeşşuk, Yeni Gün, Fal-ı Hayr, Rehber and the *Hidiv-i Mısır* boat and the other sea vehicles in the Sirkeci Wharf. When the coffin arrived at the wharf, it was carried to the Nil carefully and with respect. Imperial lords and private servants took their place in this ferry. The heir apparent *şehzâde*s, the *Sadrazam* Paşa and some ministers got on Fal-ı Hayr following Nil. In the third ferry, there were *Şeyhülislâm* Hayri Efendi, Ahmet İzzet Paşa, Ibrahim Bey; in the forth ferry there were *Hidiv-i Mısır* Paşa, his committee and various people. Members of the Senate, high-ranking military authorities and officers, scholars and civil officers including the foreign country ambassadors, embassy officials and the other foreign managers got on the other ferries. A ferry named ise number nine, of the *Şirket-i Hayriye* followed these ferries. This procession arranged by one of the majors of the Navy, Adil Bey.[194]

The soldiers of the navy and the infantry who lined up on two sides of the Unkapanı Bridge and the people at the *Haliç* coast watched the coffin of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad sorrowfully. The funeral procession arrived at the wharf which was near the Eyüp Wharf and the Holy Halid's Tomb at half past one. The students of the *Reşadiye Mektebi* (School of Reşad) lined up in front of the wharf. The coffin was carried from the ferry to the wharf on the hands of the imperial lords and brought near the Holy Halid Bin Zeyd's Tomb with the procession.[195]

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin and *Harbiye Nâzırı* (the Minister of War) Enver Paşa came to Eyüp from the Topkapı Palace with a car at ten past two. Sultan Mehmed

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[194] "Hâkan-ı Mağfurun Tedfin Merasimi," *Tanîn*, 5 Temmuz 1918, p. 2; BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan 1336, Vesika. 4. Figure. 21.

[195] "Hâkan-ı Mağfurun Tedfin Merasimi," *Tanîn*, 5 Temmuz 1918, p. 2. For the photograph showing Sultan Vahiddedin in the troop, see: Figure. 22.

V Reşad's coffin was carried to the tomb with the participation of people who had come with the ferries from the Topkapı Palace. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin entered the tomb and participated in the last prayers and the burial of his brother personally.[196] The memoirs of Şehzâde Ali Vasib Efendi, who participated in the funeral ceremony of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad personally, though not very detailed, enlighten us from within:

> On the *Kadir Gecesi* (Night of Power), we heard the death of Sultan Mehmed Reşad, 74, after his short-disease and were invited officially to be present in his funeral. At the same time we were informed with an official message that an acknowledging ceremony would take place because of the heir apparent Vahideddin Efendi's asccession to the throne. The following day, with my father, we went from the Kurbağalı Dere firstly to the Dolmabahçe Palace and then to the Topkapı Palace on boat in our official uniforms. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin broke tradition for the first time and walked in his brother Sultan Reşad's funeral. Maybe this was the signal that he would be the last sultan… The ceremony was formal like the funeral of Sultan Abdülhamid.[197]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's domed tomb, which was built on a platform of one and a half meters high was octagon planned. It was up the throne with stairs from the *Haliç* (Golden Horn) side. On the sharp arches of the big crown door was written: *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* (in the name of Allah, the Beneficent, and the Merciful). The wooden coffin turbine protected by the bronze railings was at the centre and on both sides there were two small graves belonging to the *şehzâde*s.[198]

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[196] BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan 1336, Vesika. 4.

[197] Ali Vâsıb Efendi. *Bir Şehzadenin Hâtırâtı-Vatan ve Menfâda Gördüklerim ve İşittiklerim*, pp. 79-82. For the photograph showing Ali Vâsıb Efendi in the troop, see: Figure. 23.

[198] Yıldırım Yavuz. *Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi*, pp. 136-137.

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin[199]

His departure from İstanbul

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey decided to put an end to the Ottoman dynasty and separated the caliphate and sultanate in the extraordinary session they made in Ankara on 1 November 1922. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin decided that staying in İstanbul was not suitable for him as he saw that his life was in danger as a result of the country's situation related to the occupational forces and the abolition of the sultanate. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin requested to take refuge in Britain by sending a letter to the British Armed Forces' Commander-in-chief General Harrington via Yıldız Palace's *Muzıka-ı Hümâyûn* (Military Band of the sultanate) Director Lieutenant Zeki Bey on the night of 16 November 1922. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin and other people with him, set out on the morning of 17 November 1922 with a British ship upon the positive answer from the British. They stayed in Malta for a few months. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, stayed in Mecca for a while upon the invitation of King Hüseyin. He then

[199] The most important source that provides information about Sultan Vahidettin's life after he left İstanbul is Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. He was the assistant of nine grand viziers including Bridegroom Ferid Paşa. He left İstanbul with Sultan Vahidettin and was with him until his death. See: Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, (İstanbul: Sebil Yayınevi, 1968).

Murat Bardakçı's work *Şahbaba* is also an important source on this issue. Bardakçı quotes lots of oral information from his interviews with the dynasty's members as well as benefiting from a lot of foreign archival documents. His most important contribution is his access to the letters in which there are correspondences between the dynasty's members, and to published theses. See: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1998).

Refi Cevad Ulunay who was in *Yüzellilikler* (the 150s) List (The Republican regime decided 150 people, who were sympathetic to Ottoman regime, were to be deported with the claim that they were trying to sabotage the national struggle, on 7 June 1924), was also in contact with the Ottoman dynasty as he was abroad and gained information and evaluations about Sultan Vahdettin in his diaries. See: Refî Cevad Ulunay. *Bu Gözler Neler Gördü?*, (İstanbul: Çatı Books, 2002).

From the diaries of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahidettin's fourth *Kadınefendi* Nevzat which were published in *Tan* newspaper in 1937, noteworthy information about the Ottomans' last sultan is gained. It is necessary to remember that serious discussions were made about the memories' reliability at that period. See: Nevzat Vahidettin. *Nevzat Vahidettin'in Hatıraları ve 150'liklerin Gurbet Maceraları: Yıldız'dan Sanremo'ya,* (İstanbul: Arma, 1999).

applied to the United Kingdom for help, after King Hüseyin lost his throne. The last sultan of the Ottomans set out to go to Italy's San Remo, where he would stay until his death after the negotiation of English and Italian kings.[200]

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin arrived in Italy on 8 May and was met by his sister's husband Sadrazam Damad Ferid, Damad Ferid's son Sami Bey and the Head Colonel Yanyalı Tahir Bey. On behalf of the Italian government, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was met by a committee whose head was King Emmanuel's Aide General Laderci, with an unofficial ceremony.[201] Aide Göztepe indicates that there were Italy's King Vittorio Emmanuel and Italy's Prime Minister Mussolini among those who met Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin.[202] However, while Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin states that he was respected greatly by the local government authorities in the letter that he sent to his daughter Sabiha Sultan one and a half months after he arrived in Italy, he does not give any information about King Emmanuel's meeting him.[203]

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin settled down at the villa called Villa Parodi that was prepared for him while he was on his way, in Italy's San Remo city which is famous for its beach, fruit and flowers. When some dynasty members, who had to go to abroad after the caliphate was abolished by the Turkish Assembly, came to Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's villa, the family moved to Villa Manyoli that was called the Magnolia summer-palace, leaving Villa Parodi.

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[200] For where and how long Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin stayed, see: Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, pp. 35-166; Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, pp. 251-384.

[201] Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 312.

[202] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde,* pp. 99-100

[203] Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 466.

The expenses of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin who had not taken much money with him while leaving İstanbul went up continuously. When his Aide Zeki Bey's gambling, alcohol and women problems were added to this, difficult days bagan for him. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, whose economic problems increased a lot in his last days, ventured even to sell the jewellery that was the decorations of the Ottoman dynasty; however, this was not to be a solution. There were only seventeen pieces of a quarter Ottoman gold coins, and Ottoman dynasty decorations the valuable stones of which had been pulled out in his drawer, and nothing else precious was found in his villa when the last sultan of the Ottoman Empire died.[204]

His Death

The coffees Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin drank, excessive smoking as well as his economic problems and longing for motherland damaged his health greatly. Upon his smoking continuously, both his personal doctor and Italian doctor warned Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin and asked him to smoke less, at least. However, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin defied these warnings, saying "You have drinks, and have your portions from various pleasures and entertainment abundantly. Do not grudge me my only pleasure." [205] Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was smoking so much that his fourth *Kadınefendi* says that her husband smoked a hundred and fifty cigarettes a day: "His first job was to smoke. He was smoking a hundred and fifty common cigarettes that he

[204] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde,* p. 99, 136, 179, 180, 183; Yılmaz Çetiner. *Son Padişah Vahdettin*, (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1993), pp. 366-370.

[205] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 76.

found in San Remo a day. He was putting out one and then lighting another one."[206]

Another important cause of the deterioration of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's health was the newspapers he read. The negative news about Turkey and himself affected Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's mental health very much; especially a declaration of the Caliph Abdülmecid made him very angry. The Caliph Abdülmecid's declaration, "That traitor (Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin) not only betrayed our motherland. He played with the honour of our dynasty" which was published in *Vakit* newspaper infuriated the last sultan and urged him into a deep grief.[207]

As he did most times, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin met with his wives, his treasurers and his old and faithful men that he loved in a small, private *selamlık* (the part of a large Muslim house reserved for the men) room in the harem flat, after dinner on the night that he died. He had a chat with them until late. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin who liked interpretations of dreams, felt sad, saying "You will go to İstanbul soon, I hope." to İbrahim who took care of his dresses and Mahmud who was his main barber, after they told their dreams. After Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's interruption of the excited chat saying "Let's perform the last ritual prayer of the day and then come; we will go on chatting." people in the room went out. Meanwhile, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin called out to his last wife Nevzat *Kadınefendi* who was always with him and in his service and said "I feel a bit nauseous, bring me a bowl." After he vomited a little, Nevzat *Kadınefendi* went out to empty the bowl and when she came back she found

[206] Nevzat Vahdettin. *Nevzat Vahidettin'in Hatıraları ve 150'liklerin Gurbet Maceraları: Yıldız'dan Sanremo'ya*, p. 41.

[207] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 35.

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin lifeless on the chaise lounge he was lying on.[208] His aide Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe, who was with him from his departure from İstanbul until his death, narrates the Ottomans' last sultan's death as follows:

> I was just falling asleep. The inter-office telephone on my bedside began struggling with crazy and continuous cries that were keeping time with the wild storm outside. I could not interpret the meaning of this machine's, which had lost its voice for a long time, starting to talk in a hurry on that night. When I picked up the microphone with drowsiness, I came across a horrible scream. On the phone sad women voices saying, 'Come quickly! Something has happened to our Sir!' were heard. With an agility left from the military profession, I got dressed and I threw myself to the middle of the heavy rain and ran to the building across with difficulty. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's harem flat was upstairs. I entered the room that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was in, passing through miserable women pulling out their hair and throwing themselves hither and thither. At exactly that moment Şehzâde Sami Bey who was informed about the situation also came there in a hurry.[209]

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was lying lifeless on a chaise lounge. He was wearing a sable skin coat with dark yellow feathers. His white and slightly curly hair and his beard seemed as if they were standing on and a small but belted nose attracted attention in the middle of his face which had kept its colour. His mouth was open like a small circle as if he was breathing deeply. His eyes gave the impression that he was in a calm dream and were closed. His body was frozen. At every corner of the villa, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's women were crying their hearts out; the veterans of the household were so confused that they were running in any direction that they were touched, and they were gaping at their master's corpse, wiping their tears with their sleeves.[210]

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[208] Nevzat Vahdettin. *Nevzat Vahidettin'in Hatıraları ve 150'liklerin Gurbet Maceraları: Yıldız'dan Sanremo'ya*, p. 46-47; Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 180-181.

[209] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 181.

[210] Yılmaz Çetiner. *Son Padişah Vahdettin*, pp. 370-375; Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 181-182; Nevzat Vahdettin. *Nevzat Vahidettin'in Hatıraları ve 150'liklerin Gurbet Maceraları: Yıldız'dan Sanremo'ya*, p. 46-47.

Sami Bey went crazy upon this sudden disaster, did not know whom to badger. Despite his known politeness, Sami Bey attacked people and, walking towards the sultan's wife Lady Nevzat, he asked, "What did you do to my maternal uncle?" Thus, he was attracted attention to the possibility of his uncle's having being murdered.[211] Sami Bey, who had a doubt that Nevzat Kadınefendi, who was with his uncle during his last minutes, was involved in his death, interrogated the last wife saying, "This sudden death throws suspicion on us. There is something strange in it. Why did you insist on making him eat the compote?" Sami Bey had come to the room immediately after he heard about the death. He sealed Nevzat Kadınefendi's personal property after the sultan's cupboards. According to the Şehzâde Sami Bey, "How can it be known that Nevzat Kadınefendi did not take anything when my uncle died?"[212]

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's personal doctor Italian professor Fava immediately came to the villa upon the death news. As it was a sudden death and the Italian government was very careful about a former Sultan who died in their own land, the Italian doctor said autopsy was compulsory. The operation would take place in the saloon which was just beside the room Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was lying down. As his body and joints had become very rigid, it was hard to undress the corpse, taking his fur and clothes. Sami Bey, who was not happy with behaving the dead in a bad way, took the valuable fur and clothes easily by cutting them from end to end with scissors. The body of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was very young and muscular. There were big spots on his left flank. After covering the dead with white cambric, Sami Bey, *Seryâver* (head aid) Avni Paşa and the second *musâhib* Mazhar Ağa and Aide Tarık

[211] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 182.

[212] Nevzat Vahdettin. *Nevzat Vahidettin'in Hatıraları ve 150'liklerin Gurbet Maceraları: Yıldız'dan Sanremo'ya*, p. 47.

Mümtaz Göztepe put the dead on the table in the saloon where the doctor was, carrying it on their shoulders. The Italian doctor Fava found the cause of death. “This is the vessel reaching the heart. It was blocked and was petrified.” he said after a short operation.[213]

The Italian doctor had been thinking that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin’s heart was weak for a long time. The doctor had severely forbid cigarettes and aspirin for the sultan who claimed that he had no pleasure and pastime apart from cigarettes. The doctor decided that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin had died from embolism. “It is highly possible that his majesty took a great amount of aspirins despite our severe advice and these circumstances resulted in his death.” he said.[214] The document about Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin’s death was prepared in the next morning, on 17 May. The death document confirmed by the Governer’s Aide Knight Alfredo Lombardo was arranged as:

> Enrico Bertrand, 25 years old, and Pietro Bertrand, 72 years old, told that His Majesty Emperor VI. Mehmed Vahideddin Khan, 65 years old, His Majesty Emperor Abdülmecid Khan’s and Fatma Gulistan Sultan’s son, born in Constantinople, residing in Magnolia Villa in Gambette Street No: 15, died on 16 May at 22.30. Giovanni Bertrand, 23 years old, and agent Amedeo Mangossi, 34 years old, attested**.** This death document was signed in front of me on 17 May at 10.00, in the town hall. [215]

[213] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 183.

[214] *ibid.,* p. 183.

[215] Figure: 24. From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, In the, “Documents” section.

The Condolences

Sami Bey made a coffin[216] covered with lead for his uncle Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's corpse, and embalmed and it placed a writing made of brass tablet on it: "The Caliph of Islam, Turks' Han of his majesty Sultan Mehmed Han the Sixth, is buried here." The corpse was put on a tripod in the middle of the Villa Magnolia's downstairs saloon that was decorated with carpets and heavy curtains, after being put in a big coffin made of oak. There was a second coffin made of lead in the coffin made of oak, and there was a third one in it. The corpse was covered with satin instead of shroud. The coffin was placed in a horizontal position to the ground. Its head part was placed slightly higher and was directed towards the East. The windows of the room that the corpse was in were closed tightly and only one lamp was put. In a small room besides this room, Sami Bey, Main Aide Avni Paşa, Colonel Zeki Bey, and the family's prominent men who sat together around a table received the visitors who came to offer their condolences.[217]

While many statesmen and family friends who heard of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's death sent telegrams to offer their condolences, some of them came to San Remo to attend the funeral ceremony. The Governor of San Remo offered their condolences in the name of Mussolini, the Prime Minister of Italy. Sultan Abdülhamid II's famous artist Zonaro and his two daughters were among those who came to the villa. Princes, princesses, the prominent people of Italian aristocracy and the Arab world offered their condolences to the sultan's family, paid homage to the corpse and prayed

[216] Figure: 25.

[217] "Vahdettin'in vefatını kimler taziye etmiş?," *Hürses,* 5 Haziran 1926.

according to their beliefs in front of the covered coffin made of walnut, which was in the big saloon of the villa. A condolence notebook was put in the corridor for the visitors to sign. [218]

Determining the Burial Place and Obtaining Permission

In determining the burial place of an Ottoman sultan, his successor was the sole man who had the right to have a word on the issue. The sultan coming after him could decide whatever he wanted about his predecessor. However, this rule could not be applied in determining the burial place of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin. The Turkish Republic had been founded in the remains of the Ottoman Empire and the law preventing the dynasty members from returning home had been enacted. Also there was a republic will that was determined to perform the law.

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin-possibly aware of the fact that he could not be buried in Turkey- always in his last days had said that he wanted to be buried in Damascus, near Selahaddin Eyyübi's Tomb. The wish of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was considered to be his testament by the family when he died.[219] Murat Bardakçı states that there is no testament of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin about this issue. "Although in the correspondences about the funeral, the issue about burying him is said to be the will of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, this decision must have been taken by the family and shown as if it was *Şahbaba*'s [Vahideddin] wish in the formal documents," he

[218] *ibid;* Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 185.

[219] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 185-186.

says.[220] However, this is no further than being an opinion. The aide Tarım Mümtaz Göztepe who was always with Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin states that the sultan repeated his wish to be buried in Damascus in his last days.[221]

There were presidents and independent governments in Lebanon and Syria at that period. However, as these countries were under France's mandate, the French government's permission was necessary to bury Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin in Damascus. For that reason, the family immediately got in touch with France in order to get the necessary permission. Sami Bey called French Consul Robert Armez who was in Ventimille town that was a few kilometres from them, and wanted him to come to San Remo immediately. Sami Bey and Armez had had an acquaintanceship for two years and the dynasty members got in touch with France via Consul Armez.

Consul Armez informed Paris about Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's death with a telegraph that he sent to the French Foreign Affairs Ministry**,** on 17 May 1926 morning. Consul Armez stated that he was going to go to San Remo for a personal matter upon Sami Bey's invitation while indicating that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin wished to be buried in Syria:

> Turkey's old sultan died in San Remo last night. We think he will be buried in Syria. His nephew Şehzâde Sami, who I know personally, wanted me to go to San Remo. Tomorrow, I will go for my personal matters not for official matters.[222]

The Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi who was in the position of the Ottoman

[220] Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 398.

[221] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 185-186.

[222] French Foreign Affairs Ministry Archives, Serie E, Levant Turquie 303.2.88, From: Murat Bardakçı. p. 397.

dynasty's head was residing in Nice. He sent a telegram signed in the name of Caliph Abdülmecid II to the Prime Minister of France on 18 May 1926. He asked for permission to bury Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's corpse in Damascus:

> I request to be allowed to send my cousin His Majesty Mehmed VI's corpse to Damascus, obeying his last wish. [223]

The Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi informed Kurdish Şerif Paşa the ambassador to Stockholm during Sultan Abdülhamid Sultan II's period, who was living in Paris. Then he made the required application to the French Government, by sending a telegram the same day. The Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi wanted Şerif Paşa to get in touch with the French Foreign Affairs Ministry to accelerate proceedings and to get them a positive decree. [224]

On the morning of 17 May 1926, the French Consul Armez, who came to San Remo, explained the situation to the French Foreign Affairs Ministry two days after his negotiations. There would be no ceremony in San Remo and the Italians would be tolerant about the body's being kept in Villa Magnolia till the French Government's decision. If the permission to bury the corpse in Damascus was attained, the coffin would be sent to Marsilles in a very plain way and would be buried in Damascus without a ceremony.[225]

Foreign Minister of France Barthelot sent a telegram to the French High

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[223] French Foreign Affairs Ministry Archives, Serie E, Levant Turquie 303.2.91, From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 399.

[224] French Foreign Affairs Ministry Archives, Serie E, Levant Turquie 303.2.95-96, From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 399-401. In the correspondences sometimes Syria and Beirut were mistaken with each other. Again by mistake, it is seen that Abdülmecid Efendi is mentioned as "Turkey's old Sultan Abdülmecid II."

[225] French Foreign Affairs Ministry Archives, Serie E, Levant Turquie 303.2.92, From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 399.

Commissioner Jouvenel who was working in Beirut on 19 May 1926. He explained that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, Turkey's former sultan wanted to be buried in Damascus. The Minister Barthelot stated that it was difficult to reject this wish and asked High Commissioner Jouvenel whether he saw any difficulty in carrying the corpse to Damascus.[226] The High Commisioner said that there was no obstacle to bringing Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's body to Damascus in his answer the next day, on 20 May 1926. Upon this answer, on 21 May 1926, the Foreign Affairs Ministry told the the Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi that the corpse of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin could be carried to Damascus.[227] Thus, the burial place of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin became definite.

The Debts to the Italian Tradesmen

While his family and relatives were getting ready to see Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin off on his last journey, an unexpected serious problem made everybody upset. San Remo tradesmen also heard about Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's death as a result of the unusual activity in the villa and the flowers coming from the Italian government and municipality. The family had become indebted to the Italian tradesmen, during the hard days that had begun with Zeki Bey's spending the sultan's money. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's corpse and coffin were exposed to the situation that his aide Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe described as "the disaster that he was very afraid of

[226] French Foreign Affairs Ministry Archives, Serie E, Levant Turquie 303.2.94, From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 399.

[227] French Foreign Affairs Ministry Archives, Serie E, Levant Turquie 303.2.98, From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 401. In the telegram Abdülmecid Efendi is mentioned as "Turkey's old sultan Abdülmecid." This mistake is seen in other documents and that period's newspapers.

witnessing."[228] The tradesmen came to the villa and wanted their credits; however, the family did not have any money to pay them. Then Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's small drawer in which he kept his valuable documents and money was thought of as a solution by the family members. A real disappointment occurred when it was opened. Only seventeen pieces of a quarter Ottoman gold coins, and an Ottoman Dynasty Decoration the valuable stones of which had been pulled out were found in his drawer, and nothing else was found. Some tradesmen went too far and said, "We do not set the sultan's corpse free! You have debts to pay us, first, you must pay them!" coming Villa Magnolia with the bailiffs.[229] All properties in the Villa Magnolia, from the carpets brought from İstanbul to the personal belongings of the household, were sequestrated and the rooms were sealed.[230] The corpse's departure from the villa would definitely not be allowed before all the debts were paid.[231]

The reason for the sealing of the belongings was the possibility that the household could walk away with them. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's death and burial process was carefully followed by the Republican government in Ankara. In his report at the beginning of June, the news agent informed the Foreign Affairs Ministry that San Remo tradesman who had begun to suspect upon Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's elder sister and his maid Nazife's going to Montecarlo rushed to the villa and caused many scandals. They thought that Aleviye *Kadınefendi* had walked away

[228] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. p. 184.

[229] Ref'i Cevad Ulunay. *Bu Gözler Neler Gördü?*, p. 40; Nevzat Vahdettin. *Nevzat Vahidettin'in Hatıraları ve 150'liklerin Gurbet Maceraları: Yıldız'dan Sanremo'ya*, p. 48-49; Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 183.

[230] Leone Pippione. *L'Esilio di Sanremo di Moammeto VI, Ultimo Sultano Ottomano: Dal Trono Imperiale Al Drammatico Epilogo*, (San Remo: Civitas Sancti Romuli, 1990), p. 9. From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 392.

[231] Cumhuriyet Arşivleri (CA), 030.10, 203.383.13, Vesika 2.

with Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's jewellery and other valuable belongings. The tradesmen were worried about their credits and sealed and sequestrated all of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahdeddin's belongings.[232]

The Claim that the Corpse Was Taken Away

Ref'i Cevad Ulunay claims that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's corpse was taken away by some men, including himself, from Villa Magnolia's back door as the debts could not be paid. According to Cevad Ulunay's narrative, the prominent people of the family and his aides were looking for a way to bury the corpse. However, apart from the debts to the tradesmen, money required to take Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's coffin to Damascus could not be found. Colonel Tahir Bey offered to ask for help from the Italian King to pay the debts. However, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's son-in-law, *Şehzâde* Ömer Faruk, who had come to San Remo upon his death, severely opposed this offer:

> It can never be. I cannot allow a sultan who had the caliphate power to be humiliated by begging, His Majesty the Caliph will pay the cost for carrying the corpse, and you can do whatever you want for credit matter.[233]

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[232] CA, 030.10, 203.383.13, Vesika 2.

[233] Ref'i Cevad Ulunay. *Bu Gözler Neler Gördü?*, p. 41.

His aides also advised Sultan Vahideddin to ask for help from the Italian King when they were in Italy. Sultan Vahdettin objected to this idea saying he was the caliph. There was a friendship between Sultan Vahdettin and the King Emanuelle who had met in İstanbul. While Emaunelle was crown prince**,** he came to İstanbul between the years 1890 and 1900 and was welcomed by Sultan Abdülhamid II. Sultan Vahdettin showed Crown Prince Emanuelle around in İstanbul, accompanying him.

In the secret information of the Turkish government, which was watching Sultan Vahideddin in San Remo, it is stated that the news that the last sultan of the Ottomans got assistance is not true.
CA, Dosya: 244121, Fon Kodu: 30..10.0.0., Yer No: 203.383..11. 10 Haziran 1926.

Şehzâde Ömer Faruk Efendi as he was the eldest men in the family called his father, The Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi and told him the situation. He gave the happy news to the family members who were waiting anxiously, saying, "My father is sending money to Sakallı Reşid Bey. He will take the corpse to Syria." After a short time, Sakallı Reşid Bey brought the money necessary to bury the corpse to the villa.[234]

As the family's debts to the Italian tradesmen were not paid, Tahir Bey decided to take the corpse away using the unused garden's door, whose handle was rusty. "Detain these men, and we shall take the corpse away during that period," he said.[235] A truck with one horse was brought in front of the door whose handle was rusty as it had not been opened for a long time. It was not evident that the chest was actually a coffin, the fact that a body was lying in it was not surmised. The men were ordered to cry out loudly tearing their collars. *Şehzâde* Faruk Efendi held the chest's head part and Tahir Bey held its fout. The chest was taken out through garden door put in the car. He continunes telling: "With Sakallı Reşid Bey, we went towards the station in a hurry, on the ruined pavement. Because of this collapse of the Ottoman Empire I became very sorry and shouted from my inside: - Great (Süleyman) the Magnificent! Come and see what happened to the (Ottoman) Empire you founded?"[236]

There is no source that confirms Cevad Ulunay's story which was firstly published as a serial in the newspaper. Neither Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's aide Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe, who was not with him, nor Şehzâde Ömer Faruk, who honestly wrote what he experienced at that period gives any information about Cevad Ulunay's

[234] Ref'i Cevad Ulunay. *Bu Gözler Neler Gördü?*, p. 42; Yılmaz Çetiner. *Son Padişah Vahdettin*, p. 375-376.

[235] Yılmaz Çetiner. *Son Padişah Vahdettin*, p. 375-376.

[236] Ref'i Cevad Ulunay. *Bu Gözler Neler Gördü?*, pp. 42-43.

narrative. If we remember that Cevad Ulunay's memories were first published in a newspaper[237] The possibility that the journalists turned this story into a tragic scenario thinking that it would actract more attention and be read seem logical.

The aide Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe states that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's debt was paid with the help coming from Hussein, the King of Hejaz, and Faysal, the King of Iraq, and Ömer Tosun Paşa from the Egyptian princes.[238] However, there is nobody to approve this information apart from the Aide Göztepe. When Vahideddin was healthy, he did not accept any monetary help from foreign or Muslim Kingdoms. Murat Bardakçı also evaluates the narratives of the coffin being taken away as 'imaginary stories' and says that the debt was paid and the sequestration was removed.[239] Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi sent "a small amount of money" with one of his attendants, Sakallı Reşid Bey and this money was spent for the tradesmen's credits. We do not have any information about how much money the caliph sent. Murat Bardakçı, taking the information from Ömer Fethi Sami who was in San Remo when Vahideddin died, indicates that the total debt to the tradesmen was 60.000 Italian Liras.[240] The "small amount of money" in question should be 60.000 Italian Liras at least, when the information that the "small amount of money" the caliph sent was enough for the debt to the tradesmen is taken into consideration. According to the information reaching Turkish officials in Ankara, Sultan Mehmed

[237] *Tercüman*, 22 November 1969.

[238] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 185.

[239] Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 402.

[240] *ibid.,* p. 392.

VI Vahideddin's debt to only the Italian tradesmen was 1.500 English pounds. [241]

When the money that the caliph sent was not enough to cover the expenses after Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's death, the sequestration was not removed. The sequestration of the corpse could be removed only when Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's daughter Sabiha Sultan sold a pair of earrings, from her last jewellery.[242] Şehzâde Ali Vâsıb Efendi, who had gone to San Remo after the sultan's death, was there when the corpse left the villa, also states that the funeral costs were provided by Sabiha Sultan.[243] In a document which is among Sabiha Sultan's documents, how the money obtained by selling the earrings, was spent is seen:

The Payment Done by Her Majesty Sabiha Sultan:	
Expense of washing and shrouding:	5200 Italian Liras
Payment done for the service of this process:	150 Italian Liras
Fee of the doctor who conducted the autopsy operation:	2200 Italian Liras
Payment done to Servant Emilia:	1000 Italian Liras
Total:	8550 Italian Liras[244]

Carrying the Corpse to Damascus

Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi asked for the corpse to be brought to Beirut with a ship war belonging to the Italian Navy, writing a letter to the Italian King while applying to France for the permission to bury the corpse in Damascus. Although the answer was not given according to the Italian press, the Ottoman dynasty hoped that the Italian

[241] CA, 030.10, 203.383.13, Vesika 1.

[242] Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 393.

[243] Ali Vâsıb Efendi. *Bir Şehzadenin Hâtırâtı-Vatan ve Menfâda Gördüklerim ve İşittiklerim*, pp. 192-194.

[244] Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 393.

Kingdom would accept this offer. [245] However, the Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi could not get an answer from the Italian Kingdom. [246]

It is clear that how Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin would be carried to the station from the villa was a discussion point when we look at the news in the Italian press. The newspapers announced that the coffin would be carried to the station in a carriage, as according to Islam, the funeral cars used by Christians could not be used in carrying Muslims.[247] Murat Bardakçı says that the coffin was carried with a horse cart belonging to San Remo's Green Cross. They tried to remove the cross on the car, however, the cross was not completely removed, the traces were still clear. However, Şehzâde Ali Vasıb Efendi, who witnessed the carrying process, states that the coffin was carried with a truck. There was no flower or wreath on the truck.

The coffin was brought to the station through back streets to avoid attracting attention.[248] A few automobiles were following the horse cart**.** In the first one, there were Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's two son-in-laws, Şehzâde Ömer Faruk Bey and Ali Haydar Bey; in the other one, there were his three wives and two people who had served him for years. The director of the railway station made a small railway car ready for the coffin and put a small black wreath on its door as a mourning sign. The dynasty members made the wreath be removed as it was inappropriate according to Islamic principles. The railway car was added to the railway train when the Trieste train came

[245] I came across the newspaper cutting in Italian whose name and date I could not find, among the documents about Sultan Vahideddin, in *Cumhuriyet Arşivi* (Turkish Repuclican Archive). CA, 030.10, 203. See: Figure. 26.

[246] The information note sent to French Foreign Affairs Andkil Barthelot by the French Ambassador Armez. French Foreign Affairs Ministry Archives, Serie E, Levant Turquie 303.2.105, From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 401.

[247] Figure. 26.

[248] For the photograph showing the coffin when it was carried from the garden of the villa. Figure. 27.

and it set out on 15 May 1926 when *Şehzâde* Ömer Faruk Efendi and the attendant of caliph, Sakallı Reşid Bey, got on the train.

Şehzâde Ali Vasıb Efendi, who came to San Remo to attend the funeral ceremony with his father and Ömer Hilmi Efendi by renting a car, describes these days as:

> Thinking there would be a ceremony, I bought a "bonjour" from Galerie Lafayette. We all wore these. When we went to the Villa Magnolia my father, Ömer Hilmi Efendi and I got very upset and stupefied, seeing there was no ceremony apart from greeting the corpse by standing in the villa's garden… The coffin of the dead Sultan was brought to San Remo's train station in a horse cart and set out to be put in a ship going to Genoa by being put in the train with Faruk Efendi and Chamberlain Sakallı Reşid Bey.[249]

An Italian who witnessed the coffin's being carried stated that the funeral ceremony was not appropriate for a King. In the small car across the station there was a coffin covered with a cheap cloth and a black man and three carriers were waiting there. The green crosses on the sides of the car had been removed but their marks were still visible. When the train came they put the coffin in a wagon with the black man's help.[250]

The train that departed from San Remo on 15 June 1926 arrived at Trieste the next day in the forenoon.[251] The letters that *Şehzâde* Ömer Faruk Efendi, who accompanied Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's coffin, wrote to his wife Sabiha Sultan during the journey give important information about the corpse's adventure. Ömer Faruk Efendi wrote, in his letter written on 17 June 1926 before he left Trieste, the difficulties he experienced and his fears about the possible hitches that he could come across as he

[249] Ali Vâsıb Efendi. *Bir Şehzadenin Hâtırâtı-Vatan ve Menfâda Gördüklerim ve İşittiklerim*, pp. 192-194.

[250] Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 403.

[251] CA, 030.10. 203.383.15

did not have a written document about the corpse's being brought to Damascus. The *şehzâde* wants his wife Sabiha Sultan to get in touch with Syria with the dynasty members' help:

> All necessary work seems to be well for the time being. However, as we do not have a document that says the corpse can go to Syria, I am afraid of coming across a difficulty there… If we go to Beirut and there they do not allow us to land, it will be an exact scandal. Inform him immediately of my note and tell him to see my father.[252]

The ship carrying the coffin arrived at Beirut after Jaffa. The coffin, accompanied by *Şehzâde* Ömer Faruk Efendi, was welcomed by all notables, local authorities and different committees. The smell of the corpse in the ship spread even to land. After a ceremony in the harbour, the corpse was brought to the mosque. The *müftü* of Beirut Mustafa Neca published an announcement and invited the people to attend the funeral ceremony.[253] The funeral prayer was performed with a crowded community in the mosque. The next morning, they set out to go to Damascus.[254] *Şehzâde* Ömer Faruk Efendi narrates the ceremonies in Beirut as:

> After we arrived at Beirut, we were welcomed by all the family members and all the notables of Beirut, local government and the committees… At four o'clock in the afternoon; we were in the harbour flat for the ceremony. There, the corpse was brought to the mosque with respect and a special ceremony, and to the station after the prayer that is performed in the funeral ceremony was performed. The crowd was beyond description.[255]

Ahmed Nami Bey, the dynasty's old bride-groom and the president of Syria

[252] Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 550-551. See: Figure.28.

[253] Fort he anncoucement, see: Figure. 29.

[254] *ibid.,* p. 408.

[255] *ibid.,* p. 552.

welcomed the corpse that was taken from Beirut to Damascus by trains, with a military ceremony in Damascus station. High officials of the government were also in the station. There were Syria's soldiers and gendarme on both sides of the platform. The corpse was brought to the Sultan Selim Mosque in the city centre in a car, accompanied by the high officials of the government, soldiers and the public. The members of the dervish lodges in Syria were at the funeral ceremony. *Mevlevî* dervishes and the members of the *Kadiri* and *Rufai dergâh*s were walking, singing hymns. The burial place of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin had not been determined yet and the corpse stayed in the mosque until the decision was made. He was covered with valuable shawls, a Kaaba cover, and Syrian soldiers stood guard of respect**.** [256]

Şehzâde Ömer Faruk Efendi says that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's corpse was welcomed with respect while narrating his arrival at Damascus. He claims that he felt as if he was in his hometown.

> After a train journey exceeding ten hours we arrived at Damascus… During all these ceremonies I felt that I was not in a foreign land and feltl sympathy as if I was in my hometown. As a result, I thought myself in my hometown. Our sole happiness! The corpse was transferred to Sultan Selim-i Evvel Mosque with similar respect and a special ceremony, and the ceremony was completed in this way.[257]

Although the corpse was brought to Damascus, the burial place was not definite. Due to some reasons that *Şehzâde* Ömer Faruk Efendi avoided explaning in the letter, the corpse was not allowed to be buried in the place that he defined as "the place which

[256] Şehzâde Ömer Faruk Efendi's letter to his wife Sabiha Sultan, From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 409.

[257] Şehzâde Ömer Faruk Efendi's letter to his wife Sabiha Sultan, From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 553.

was elected at first was thought inappropriate later because of some reasons."[258] As the second choice, the corpse's being carried to and being buried in the Selahaddin Eyyubi Tomb was determined, but this choice was also abandoned as a place for burial could not be found there.[259] The decision to bury the corpse in one of the rooms of the Sultan Selim Mosque was abandoned after water came out from the ground while digging a hole. Thus, it was decided to bury him in the mosque's courtyard. Although Şehzâde Faruk Efendi did not want it for fear that a tomb could not be built on it, he had to accept it as he had no other choice. He was relieved when the government promised to build a tomb in the future.[260]

I could not find on which date Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was buried. From the sentence "I will stay here until the burial ceremony takes place" in the letter of *Şehzâde* Ömer Faruk Efendi, it is understood that on this date the corpse was still not buried. Possibly, the corpse was buried in Damascus with a ceremony, a few days after this letter. Although his daughter Sabiha Sultan wanted a tomb to be built for Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin in the following years and even the project[261] was drawn fot it,

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[258] *ibid.,* p. 553.

[259] The aide Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe also states that as two Turkish martyrs had been buried in Selahaddin Eyyûbi Tomb previously, there was no opportunity to bury him in Selahaddin Eyyûbi Tomb. See: Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 185-186.

To enhance the prestige of the Ottoman Empire that was defeated in Balkan Wars and to make the Turkish people have a esteemed place in the aviation world that was developing quickly, to have a connecting airway service from İstanbul to Cairo. Fethi and Sadik Bey were assigned to this duty, and began their journey on 8 February 1914 with Bleriot XI type Muaannet-i Milliye plane, while Nuri and İsmail Hakki Bey began their journey with Deperdussin type Prince Celaleddin plane. Fethi Bey and Sadık Bey lost their lives falling near Taberiye Lake because of technical reasons on 27 February 1914 while flying to Jerusalem from Damascus. The head of the Turkish Airplane Community applied to the *Başvekâlet* (Prime Ministry) and demanded them to show the required interest or to bring them to Turkey, saying "the first airplane martyrs were in a very miserable condition" in Damascus. The Head Ministry ordered the necessary processes to be done to "enable the construction of the graves in their places".
CA, 030.10 193.321.10

[260] Şehzâde Ömer Faruk Efendi's letter to his wife Sabiha Sultan, From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 553.

[261] Figure.30

it could not be done. A Syrian called Ahmet Muhammet Ebu Süleyman, who was assigned by the Syrian government for the care and protection of the Turkish martyrdom in Süleymaniye *Külliye* (complex of buildings adjacent to a mosque) in Damascus, takes care of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's grave[262] in the *külliye* presently. Taking care, cleaning, and showing the visitors around and giving information about the history of the place, belong to Ahmet Muhammed Ebu Süleyman.[263]

[262] Figure. 31.

[263] Ümit Günaydin. "*Türk Şehitliği Suriyeli Ahmet'e Emanet,*" *Zaman*-Turkuaz eki, 16 Nisan 2006.

CHAPTER III

UNDERSTANDING THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF SULTANS IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In the second chapter, I delved into an in depth description of the Ottoman sultans' deaths and funeral ceremonies. In this chapter, I will set our subject in its context, explain it in detail and extract some results. I will argue the common points, and the meanings that they convey regarding the ceremonies. There will be six basic headlines in this analysis: "mourning shows," "*techîz*: *gasl* and *tekfîn* (equipping: washing and shrouding the corpse," "funeral prayers," "burial place," "people who attended the ceremony and their clothes," and "ceremony process."

Mourning Shows

The death of a sultan used to cause different mourning shows. The ones that were mostly and regularly seen were crying and bemoaning. Our sources, unfortunately, do not provide information on the mourning of the family of Sultan Mahmud II for his death. When the death of his successor and predecessor are taken into account, it can be predicted that especially the wife and children of Sultan Mahmud II felt deep sadness after his death. Women relatives probably did not refrain from screaming and crying after the death of the Sultan. Funeral attendants traditionally preferred dark colors for their clothes. The sources do not give any information about the clothes of the funeral

attendants but in line with tradition, it is highly possible that they used dark colored clothes, black is the color of mourning. As to the interest of the public, all Muslims, Christians and Jews in İstanbul poured into the streets to pay their final tribute to the deceased sultan. Women and children stood on one side of the roads while the men were on the other side. Thousands of people rushed to carry the coffin for a few meters. Historiographer Vakanüvis Lütfi Efendi, who personally participated in the funeral, describes the deep sorrow of the people as:

> … Men and women from every segment of society from *Bâb-ı Hümâyûn* to the tomb area had filled all the streets in Sultanahmed and Ayasofya, and mourning and sorrow were prevalent among the people. Perplexed people chanted verses from the Holy Koran. I never witnessed such consternation. Thousands of heaped people were sobbing and screaming loudly, saying, "You left us, our Sultan. Do not leave us."[264]

Meanwhile, there is no remark of sadness for the deceased sultan in the imperial edicts sent to local administrations by the imperial palace regarding the death of Sultan Mahmud II and the enthronement of Sultan Abdülmecid. Contrary, cannon shooting and festivals were ordered by the central authorities. There was no expression of sorrow for the death in the responses to the imperial edicts while it was said that festivals were held with gun shooting.[265]

The death of Sultan Abdülmecid deeply saddened his family. It can be said that the sadness stemmed from the fact that his wives and mother would no longer benefit from the grants of Abdülmecid, much of from his death. Cevdet Paşa, who was present at the funeral, expressed that public felt deep sorrow for the death of the sultan. Funeral attendants altogether sincerely prayed for Sultan Abdülmecid:

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[264] Ahmet Lütfi Efendi. *Va'kanüvis Ahmed Lütfi Tarihi*, p. 1007.

[265] BOA, Cevdet, Saray, no. 2666.

> A huge grief dominated İstanbul on the day when Sultan Abdülmecid passed away. I had attended the funeral ceremonies of ministers who were believed to go to Paradise but none of them were as crowded as the funeral of Sultan Abdülmecid.[266]

Like the edicts relating the death of Sultan Mahmud II, on the occasion of the death of Sultan Abdülmecid, the responses from local administration to the imperial palace edict just wished "mercy" for the sultan but did not express any sadness.[267]

The cause and time of the death certainly had a big role in the reactions of the dead person's relatives to the event. When it is seen from this perspective, Sultan Abdülaziz's sudden death and the fact that whether his death was a result of suicide or assassination caused great grief in the dynastic family. *Valide Sultan* and the women in the palace began crying loudly and they started to break the palace windows, when they entered the room and saw Sultan Abdülaziz bleeding. *Valide Sultan* cried and lay on her son who was still alive and blinking his eyes, and then she fainted. Upon this unexpected event, people began crying out in the palace; the shutters and windows were broken and moans were so loud that the soldiers who were guarding the palace directed their guns towards the windows as they did not know what was happening.[268] As lieutenant colonel İzzet Bey, the police station chief, found *Valide Sultan* in an unconscious state, they gave her water and carried her to another room and comforted her.

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[266] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Ma'rûzat*, p. 31-32.

[267] There are a lot of documents in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman Archives) showing this situation. For some of them, see: BOA, A.}MKT.UM.., Dosya: 480, Gömlek: 58, 24/Z /1277 (Hicrî); BOA, A.}MKT.UM.. Dosya: 481, Gömlek: 22, 26/Z /1277 (Hicrî); BOA, A.}MKT.UM.., Dosya: 486, Gömlek 42, 15/M /1278.

[268] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, p. 85; Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu. *Sultan Aziz : Hususî, Siyasî Hayatı, Devri ve Ölümü*, p. 126.

There was a special feature of mourning shows in terms of dressing. Generally, to take pains with clothes was not appropriate according to custom and decency.[269] We have two illustrations about Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral ceremony. Unfortunately, we do not have any idea about the colours of the dresses of people in the funeral ceremony as these illustrations are black and white. Other sources we have also do not give information about the colour of the clothes.

An important sign of mourning was the usage of tulles and black. Safranbolulu Mehmed Ağa, who witnessed Sultan Abdülaziz's corpse being carried to the Topkapı Palace states that the corpse that was laid on a shabby mattress was covered with a white curtain and a black shawl.[270] The white curtain should be the one that was laid on him and it was probably taken from the room that he died in. As it was laid on him urgently without thought, its white colour does not matter. Laying a black shawl was probably part of the mourning. During the turmoil of examination in the police station, no information was found about the person who laid it; however, we can assume that the black shawl was sent by Sultan Abdülaziz's relatives or servants from the Feriye Palace.

In comparing the peoples' reaction to Sultan Abdülaziz's death, we know that his funeral ceremony was not as crowded as his father Sultan Mahmud II's or his brother Sultan Abdülmecid's. As İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı states, not many people from the public attended the ceremony.[271] They were afraid of the wrath of the Minister of War. It is crucial to remember here that Mütercim Rüşdi, Hüseyin Avni, Midhat Paşa and Şeyhülislâm Hayrullah Efendi, who were called the "*erkân-ı erbâa*" (the four high

[269] This situation was a tradition that was just acquired by Turks; however, it was very natural for the Muslims. See: A. J. Wensinck. *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, (Amsterdam: 1917), p. 50.

[270] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, pp. 86-88.

[271] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, pp. 96-98.

officials) were ruling the country almost as dictators and the low attendance to the ceremony can only be understood in that regard.

Another reason for the low participation in the ceremony was the problem of timing. It was held in the same day that the sultan died and it was practised in great hurry. What is more, probably very few people were aware of the death due to the lack of mass media. However, this information should not be taken as given, and it should not be thought that nobody from the public attended the ceremony. In the two illustrations we have in our hand, this fact is exemplified and represented quite well. In these pictures, people are watching the corpse being carried to the tomb when the funeral troop for Sultan Abdülaziz was passing and the number of these people does not seem so few.[272]

The death of Sultan Murad V, about whose funeral ceremony we have the least information, was very ordinary. As his pains became intensified in his last days, his family was naturally expecting his death. For that reason, *Valide Sultan* who lived with him for twenty eight years, his son Selahaddin Efendi, and the women and the servants were worried upon the sultan's death. However, in comparison to Sultan Abdülaziz's sudden and controversial death, the mourning shows upon Sultan Murad V's death can be considered as much more moderate. In the close examination of the petitions that Selahaddin Efendi and *Valide Sultan* sent to Sultan Abdülhamid II, it becomes clear that they welcomed Sultan Murad V's death.[273] Since he was on the throne just for three months, Sultan Murad V was not a sultan who was widely accepted and loved by the

[272] Figure.1 and Figure. 2.

[273] BOA, Y.E.E, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 78, 24 Cemaziyelâhir 1322; BOA, Y.E.E, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 77, 17 Cemaziyelâhir 1322.

people. As a result, it is difficult to say that his death caused great mourning among the public. However, it is clear that people felt affection for Sultan Murad V, because of the difficult conditions he was experiencing in the Çırağan Palace and his imprisonment. Moreover, it is worth remembering here that death is seen as liberation from the problems of the world in Islamic culture, so it is possible to say that there were people among the public who thought that Sultan Murat V was released from the sorrows of "this world," including his brother Sultan Abdülhamid II's cruelty.

Although Sultan Abdülhamid II's death was very natural, it caused great grief in his family. Especially women began crying out when the former sultan gave out his last breath. Cries and wails went on the next day and there were people who fainted when Sultan Abdülhamid II's corpse was being taken from the Beylerbeyi Palace for burial. The fact that Dr. Atıf Hüseyin, the sultan's private doctor, was unable to attend the funeral ceremony due to the problems created by the people in the palace reveals the severity of the situation:

> I could not attend the funeral ceremony because, a day before, at the moment of the former sultan's death, *şehzâde*s, sultans, and poet women came to the palace. Because of the problems they caused and the people who fainted, I could not leave the palace.[274]

In the period that we examine, Sultan Abdülhamid II was the sultan on the throne for the longest period, for 33 years, and he is considered as "the last real sultan of the Ottomans" as he gained to control of the administration of the country.[275] In this period, schools that were easily available for the public to attend became widespread; and also

[274] Metin Hülagu. *II. Abdülhamid'in Sürgün Günleri: Hususi Doktoru Atıf Hüseyin Bey'in Hatıratı*, p. 346.

[275] There are a lot of historians who accept Sultan Abdülhamid II as the last real Ottoman sultan. Look at for an example: Ö. Faruk Bölükbaşı. *Tezyid-i Varidat ve Tenkih-i Masarifat, II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Mali İdare*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2005).

the construction of the *Hicaz* (Hejaz) Railway project and such accomplishments, together with the â*tiyye-i seniyye* (grand gift) and *sadakâ-i seniyye* (grand alms) he handed out to all sections of the public made Sultan Abdülhamid II a highly respected sultan among the people. If it is recalled that Sultan Abdülhamid II's philanthropic activities played a great role in his legitimization, which was centred in the Yıldız Palace, he was a great figure whose death would affect the public deeply.[276] People felt sympathy for this Ottoman sultan due to religious reasons, because he brought the Muslim identity to the foreground during his reign. For these reasons, in the period that we study, Sultan Abdülhamid II was the sultan for whose death people felt sorry and for whom they showed their respect and love by attending his funeral ceremony.

All the sources that narrate the funeral ceremony draw attention to the fact that the faces of all the people in the ceremony were sad. Certainly, people in a funeral are expected to be sad. However, our resources are insistent that those people were sincerely sad:

> The coffin was moving ahead with sad and effectual prays, *tekbîr*s and *tehlîl*s. People who saw the corpse got upset. A woman could not stop her sobs and was crying, leaning her head on the wall with her handkerchief on her eyes.[277]

Because of the high inflation that resulted from World War I, some women were crying out loud with sobs, saying "where are you going and why are you leaving us?" while some were crying out saying "we were not hungry in your period!"[278]

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[276] For a valuable work about Sultan Abdülhamid II's charities and how he used these for his government's legitimation see: Nadir Özbek. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet 1876-1914*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), pp. 117-136.

[277] Ahmet Refik. "Sultan Abdülhamid'in Na'şı Önünde," pp. 97-98.

[278] İsmail Hâmi Danişmend. *İzahlı Osmanlı Kronolojisi*, p. 439; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. "II. Abdülhamid'in Ha'li ve Ölümüne Dair Vesikalar," p. 729.

Another aspect that distinguishes Sultan Abdülhamid II's funeral ceremony from other sultans' is the massive participation. While the ministers of the state and almost all other statesmen and foreign representatives took their place in the ceremony, people also tried to see the coffin on the route which the troop was passing through. According to both Ahmet Refik's and İsmail Hâmi Danişmend's personal witnesses, the streets were filled with people. Trees, houses, windows, roofs were filled with women and children. The houses' windows were full of women. The main street and the streets going to the main street were also crowded. [279]

When it comes to the colours in the ceremony and the troop, there was an intense mourning atmosphere at this point. While Sultan Abdülhamid II's coffin was brought to the Topkapı Palace, "black, a convoy, all in black" is mentioned.[280] Also, there was a dark shawl with green embroidery on the stretcher that the corpse was on. After the corpse was washed, his toes were covered with a cloth that was nearly dark blue. Green satin was put on his head. The *ulamâ* preferred to dress in green and purple. Black, dark blue, green and purple, which symbolize mourning, were the leading colours of the funeral ceremony.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's death was also usual, as those of his predecessors. However, after the news of his death started to circulate in the palace, there were cries and faints. Moreover, there were rumours that the cries were heard even from the Beşiktaş vicinity. Servants took the dinner back as they brought it; nobody ate anything because of their sorrow, most people in the palace spent the night sleepless.[281] There was

[279] Ahmet Refik. pp. 97-98; İsmail Hâmi Danişmend. *İzahlı Osmanlı Kronolojisi*, p. 439.

[280] Ahmet Refik. "Sultan Abdülhamid'in Na'şı Önünde," pp. 97-99.

[281] Safiye Ünüvar. *Saray Hatıralarım*, p. 116.

a deeply sad atmosphere in the palace on the burial day. In the statement of İsmail Bey or İhsan Bey, "this time a cry that covered all the palace came out. Various moans expressing loyalty and sorrow were tinkling the ears and affecting the most insensitive of hearts."[282]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's death also caused sorrow among the public and thousands of people attended his funeral ceremony. People on Haliç shore sadly watched the troop carrying Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's coffin:

> Thousands of men and women on the route of the funeral troop followed the coffin of the docile and compassionate former sultan with prayers and eulogies, crying sadly.[283]

We do not have enough information about the colours dominating the ceremony and the equippings used. We only know that the coffin was covered with green Kaaba clothes and shawls.

The last Ottoman Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's death was also usual, but unexpected. His sudden death made his women, other family members and servants very upset. Women tore their hair out and threw themselves hither and thither. At every corner of the villa, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's women cried their hearts out; the veterans of the household wiped their tears with their sleeves.[284] People were also crying when the corpse was taken out from the villa in San Remo to be sent to Damascus.

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[282] Edhem Eldem. "İstanbul'da İlk ve Son Padişah Ölümleri," p. 60.

[283] Cenaze alayının geçtiği güzergahda bulunan erkek kadın binlerce halk gözlerinden hüzün ve elem yaşları saçarak, hilmî ve şefkatli padişah-ı mağfurun naaşını dua ve senalarla takip ediyorlardı.

[284] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*,p. 181-182; Yılmaz Çetiner. *Son Padişah Vahdettin*, pp. 370-375; Nevzat Vahideddin. *Nevzat Vahidettin'in Hatıraları ve 150'liklerin Gurbet Maceraları: Yıldız'dan Sanremo'ya*, p. 46-47.

Şehzâde Ömer Faruk describes this moment in his letter that he wrote to his wife, as follows:

> You cannot imagine in what grief I left the house. Especially I was exhausted as I heard those cries.[285]

We do not have the chance to evaluate the clothes and the colours as no ceremony was organized in San Remo and our sources do not give information on this subject.

Since Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin died abroad, people's mourning shows were not seen in the region where he was buried. However, both in Beirut and Damascus, his corpse was paid due respect by both the administrators and the notables. Although we do not see any description of mourning shows in *Şehzâde* Ömer Faruk's letters, it is seen that people reacted with sorrow and a kind of pity to Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's death. It can be said that this feeling resulted from the resentment that the sultan of *Devlet-i Âliye* (Grand State), who had been a great power once upon a time, could not be buried in his own land.

For the period under the study, the following conclusions can be deduced about the mourning shows of the sultans: Death is humane. The deaths of sultans made their family feel sad, as ordinary people. Mourning shows were also very natural; crying with sobs, cries and screams were the most common reactions. Women performed exaggerated cries and fainted, and this was the dominating theme of the mourning shows. The use of monotonous colouring, one of the main elements of mourning not only in the Ottoman Empire but also in many other cultures, occupies a significant place in the sultans' funeral ceremonies. It can be seen that black and dark blue were the dominant colours employed in making the corpse ready and in the clothes worn in the

[285] The letter of *Şehzâde* Ömer Faruk to his wife Sabiha Sultan. From: Murat Bardakçı. *Şahbaba*, p. 551.

ceremonies.

Concerning the public participation in the funeral ceremony and the respect that people showed, various factors played a role: In the simplest way, announcing the death and the burial time had the primary impact. Announcing the death late affected the participation. Burying the corpse on the same day also prevented public from participating in the ceremony. It was very clear in the example of Sultan Abdülaziz. The main motive behind the public participation in the sultans' funerals seems to be the amount of respect and love that people showed for their rulers. It is worth mentioning here that the amount of respect and love that the public had for their rulers was closely related to the duration of the sultanate. Sultan Abdülhamid II, who reigned for 33 years and who "made himself visible for the public without being seen"[286] in Selim Deringil's expression, was the sultan whose funeral was respected mostly.

Techîz: Gasl and *Tekfîn*

(Equipping: Washing the dead and Shrouding)

One of the important points in the burial process of a dead Muslim is *techîz* (equipping), the process of washing the dead and putting him in the coffin, and covering him with a shroud. The dead is laid on the *teneşir* (wooden bench on which a corpse is washed) or on a high place on his back and the part between his knees and belly is

[286] Selim Deringil. "Abdülhamit Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Simgesel ve Törensel Doku: 'Görünmeden Görünmek'," *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 62, Güz-Yaz 1993, pp. 34-56.

covered with a cloth. Teneşir is a high wooden table usually of cedar, which was made for washing the corpse. One person washes the dead and anothes pours water.

After the conquest of İstanbul, Ottoman sultans who died when they were on the throne were washed at the Topkapı Palace according to the dynastic traditions. Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin, who studied the funerals of the Ottoman sultans from Sultan Mehmed II to Sultan Ahmet I, do not give any information about how this practise became a tradition or whether there was a written regulation. None of the sultans in the period under the study died at Topkapı Palace. However, this tradition was followed with only one exception. Except for Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, who died in Italy and whose corpse could not legally be brought to Turkey, the sultans' corpses were brought to Sarayburnu with steamships and were carried to the Topkapı Palace from there. The coffins, which were put on the *musallâ* in front of *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi*,[287] were washed by *şeyh*s or *imâm*s.

There was not a common conception about the identity of the person who would wash the corpse. The corpse of Sultan Mahmud II was cleaned and shrouded by Ayasofya Mosque *şeyhi* (spiritual leader), Sultanahmet Mosque spiritual leader, *imâm* of Süleymaniye Mosque and Sultan's First *İmâm*. While Sultan Abdülaziz's corpse was washed by *imâm*s and preachers from Sultanahmet Mosque and Ayasofya Mosque, Sultan Murad V's corpse was washed by the *imâm* of *Şeyh Yahya Efendi Dergâhı*. Sultan Abdülhamid II's was washed by the *şeyh*s of Sazili Derviş Convent, which he was a member of, and the corpse of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was washed by the *imâm*s of the Hagia Sophia Mosque. The attitude of the sultan's family was effective in determining the person who would wash and shroud the corpse. In the examples we have

[287] For the meaning and importance of *Hırkâ-ı Saâdet*: Y. O. "Mukaddes Emanetler," *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*, V. 1, No. 5, Haziran 1965, pp. 39-46.

in before us, we see that the *şeyh*s of the dervish convents that the sultan was the member of or the *imâm*s of the mosques that were built by the sultan washed and shrouded him.

While the corpse was being washed, the reading of the Holy Koran was a part of the tradition, which was practised by *Enderun Ağa*s, *şeyh*s and other people. Apart from Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's, this tradition was performed in all the funeral ceremonies. Covering the shrouded corpse with green shawls, laying Kaaba clothes at the top, putting valuable belts that were the symbols of the dynasty and putting a fez on the coffin's head were the elements of shrouding and these can be observed in all the sultans' shrouding.

It can be seen that the equipping practices were performed in accordance with Islamic rules. The corpses were washed and shrouded around a space where there was a reliquary, with great respect. At this moment, it was usual to see people praying and reading the the Holy Koran. However, although using valuable belts and shawls in shrouding does not clash with Islam, it is also difficult to say that it conforms to it. Islam preaches equality and plainness among people, so turning the equipping procedure into a kind of ceremony is not welcomed.

Funeral Prayer

Prayer was an important part of the funeral. It was necessary that the prayer be performed in the shortest time after the corpse was washed and shrouded. Funeral prayers of ordinary Muslims were performed in the court of a mosque under the leadership of an *imâm*. In the Classical Period of the Ottoman Empire, the funeral

prayers of the Ottoman sultans were performed in the courts of the mosques that were built in their name. According to practice, which was traditionalized in time, the funeral prayers of the sultans were performed in the court of the Topkapı Palace, and the *şeyhülislâm* led the prayer as the *imâm*.

Regarding the funeral prayers of Sultan Mahmud II and *imâm*, the dynasty procedures were seen to be abided. The corpse of Sultan Mahmud II was washed and shrouded at Topkapı Palace. His funeral prayer took place in front the *Bâbü'ssâde*. Sultan's first *imâm* Nuri Efendi led the funeral prayers. Like his antecedents, Sultan Abdülmecid was not present at the funeral ceremony of his predecessor. Funeral prayers of Sultan Abdülmecid also took place at Topkapı Palace.

In the period under study, the sultan whose funeral ceremony should be stressed the most is Sultan Abdülaziz. According to the official reports, Sultan Abdülaziz had committed suicide. It is a controversial issue in *fiqh* whether the funeral prayer of a person who committed suicide can be performed or not. The Islamic scholars vary in their explanations on the issue: Some scholars argue that the funeral prayers of people who committed suicide as a result of unbearable pain, as a result of insanity or a capture, and which did betray a secret that is disadvantageous to Muslims, can be performed. Since Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral prayer was performed, he must have been accepted as insane. While it is stated in the available sources that Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral prayer was performed, there is not any information about the identity of the *imâm* of the prayer.[288]

[288] Cevdet Paşa attended the prayer and wrote what he saw. See: BOA, Y.E.E, Dosya: 39, Gömlek: 1, 06/R/1327.

There is no indication that there was a debate about whether to perform Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral prayer or not. It can be considered that the *şeyhülislâm*, who was the usual *imâm* of the funeral prayers of the sultans, kept away from this task, maybe because of the possibility of a debate like this. The other possibility might be that the ministers of state took a special permission from the *şeyhülislâm* to be able to perform the funeral ceremony of Sultan Abdülaziz who committed suicide according to the official reports.

Another important point about the funeral ceremonies is whether a sultan who just ascended the throne or who was on the throne attended the funeral prayers of his predecessor or not. During the period from Sultan Mehmed II to Sultan Ahmet I, with the exception of Sultan Selim II, the new sultan always attended the prayer. This practise started to change after Sultan Selim II and the Ottoman sultans began not to attend the funeral ceremonies of their predecessors. At the time of the funeral, Sultan Selim II was not in İstanbul. Possibly, as Vatin and Gillestein emphasize, his absence as a result of extraordinary political conditions was seen as a determining factor.[289] There were also some Ottoman sultans who attended the funeral prayers of their predecessors. For instance, Sultan Selim III performed Sultan Abdülhamid I's funeral prayer in front of the *Arz Odası Kapısı*.[290]

In Sultan Murad V case, he did not attend Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral prayer and he did not observe his equipping. Sultan Murad V was already shocked and he was too busy fainting when he learned about the death, so it is comprehensible that he did not

[289] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. "II. Mehmet'ten I. Ahmet'e Osmanlı Sultanlarının Cenaze Törenleri," in: Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin. (éd), *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations*, p. 189.

[290] Esad Efendi. *Osmanlılarda Töre ve Törenler*, (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1979), pp. 109-110.

join the ceremony. Would Sultan Murad V have attended the funeral if he had not had the shock of the controversial suicide? My personal answer is he would not have although he did not have a personal grudge against Sultan Abdülaziz. Sultan Murad V was very devoted to the traditions of the dynasty. Although the ministers of state opposed Sultan Abdülaziz's equipping at the Topkapı Palace, Sultan Murad V ordered his predecessor's equipping to be in *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* (palace of the dynasty-Topkapı), in accordance with dynastic tradition.

When it comes to Sultan Murad V, according to Ziya Şakir's narrative, although his washing and shrouding took place in the Topkapı Palace, his funeral prayer was performed in the Hidayet Mosque in Eminönü, instead of the Topkapı Palace. The *imâm* was not *şeyhülislâm* as was expected, but the *imâm* of the Yahya Efendi Dergâhı. In my opinion, two factors influenced this decision: As Sultan Murad V went mad; *şeyhülislâm* did not want to perform the funeral prayer of a mad person. A stronger possibility is Sultan Murad V's will. The former sultan might have wanted to be buried in the Şeyh Yahya Efendi graveyard. I think it is a strong possibility that a person who wanted this would also want his funeral prayer to be performed by this dervish convent's *şeyh*s.

While the funeral prayers should have been performed at the Topkapı Palace in accordance with dynastic tradition, our writer Ziya Şakir does not express his opinion about why this practice was not performed. If Sultan Murad V had not had his *equipping* at the Topkapı Palace, probably his funeral prayer would not have been performed there and it would be easier to find its reasons. The first reason that I can think would be that Sultan Murad V was excluded as he went mad. The second reason might be Sultan Abdülhamid II's character and his attitude towards his predecessor. However, as Sultan Murad V had his equipping at the Topkapı Palace, it is very difficult to find answers to

this question because of our limited knowledge about the subject. There is no information that indicates that the funeral prayer was not performed at Topkapı Palace with Sultan Abdülhamid II's order; however, it is necessary to say that at that period it was not easy to perform a practice about such an important subject without Sultan Abdülhamid II's permission. It is very natural that the funeral prayer was performed at Hidayet Mosque, because this mosque is just next to the Havâtin Cedîd Tomb (New Woman) where Sultan Murad V would be buried.

As far as we could determine Sultan Murad V's funeral prayer is the only one that was not performed at the Topkapı Palace after Sultan Selim II. It means that for the ones who were aware of Sultan Murad V's death, it was the only funeral prayer that was open to the public after Sultan Selim II. Sultan Abdülhamid II did not attend the former sultan's funeral prayer, obeying the dynastic tradition of the last period. However, dynastic tradition is not enough to explain Sultan Abdülhamid II's absence at his predecessor's funeral prayer. After his move to the Yıldız Palace, Sultan Abdülhamid II did not go out of the palace except for his visits to the Yıldız Mosque for Friday Prayers, except for really exceptional situations. At a time when he had just ascended the throne and if we take into consideration his almost paranoiac security concerns, it is not rational to expect Sultan Abdülhamid II to attend a ceremony that would be crowded.

In Sultan Abdülhamid II's funeral, dynastic traditions were observed in terms of the funeral prayer and the selection of the *imâm*. The funeral prayer of Sultan Abdülhamid II, who had his equipping at the Topkapı Palace, was performed there, in front of the *Bâbü's-saâde* door. *Şeyhülislâm* Kazım Efendi was the *imâm* of the prayer. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad also did not attend his predecessor's funeral prayers.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral prayer was also performed in the *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* (the dynastic Topkapı palace) in accordance with tradition and *Şeyhülislâm* Kazım Efendi was the *imâm*. The last sultan's funeral prayer, performed in İstanbul, is different from other examples in the period that we study, because Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin who was on the throne participated in the ceremony unlike his predecessors. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin visited Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's corpse coming in front of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi* before the funeral prayer, after the *biat* (acknowledging) ceremony was finished. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin saw the funeral off, following it until the outer door of the palace and then following it with his eyes. After the funeral arrived in Eyüp, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin personally attended his brother's burial. Sending his predecessor off until the outside door, going to the tomb, and attending the burial is an important difference not only for the period that we study but also for the ceremonies after Sultan Selim II.[291]

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, the last sultan of the Ottoman Empire, died in Italy. While he was being taken to Syria because of the desire to bury him in Muslim and former Ottoman lands, his funeral prayer was performed in Beirut and then Damascus. Since there was no opportunity to bring him to İstanbul because of the attitude of the Turkish Republic that was recently founded in place of the Ottoman Empire, he did not have his equipping at the Topkapı Palace and his funeral prayer was not performed there. As there was not a *şeyhülislâm* position anymore, in the funeral prayers that were performed in different cities, notable *imâm*s of the region led the prayers.

[291] We will give our interpretation and suggestions about the ideas with which Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin attended the funeral prayer of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, in the part under the title of "People who Attended the Ceremonies and Their Clothes."

In the period that we study, none of the sultans attended their predecessors' funeral prayers except Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, who was a special case. However, it should be remembered that after the conquest of İstanbul, the Topkapı Palace was used as the main palace of the dynasty. Then Sultan Abdülmecid built the Dolmabahçe Palace, and he made it the palace of the dynasty. Later, the Yıldız Palace was built by Sultan Abdülhamid II who had security concerns and was used as the dynastic palace. Since the sultans' funeral prayers were performed at the Topkapı Palace, the sultans of the period that we study would have to go to the Topkapı Palace from Dolmabahçe or Yıldız to attend their predecessors' funeral prayers. It was clearly a more serious decision and a more conscious choice when compared to the participation of the sultans who were living at the Topkapı Palace, in which the funeral prayers were performed next door.

Burial Place

The dead sultan's wish for a special burial place was not enough to determine the place that he would be buried in. His successor who ascended the throne when he died was the only sultan; that is, the only *efendi*. Our first example, Sultan Mahmud II had willed to be buried in the land of his sister Esma Sultan, situated in Divanyolu. The deceased sultan was buried there when his successor Sultan Abdülmecid approved his will. It should be kept in mind that Sultan Mahmud II orally expressed his will to be buried in Divanyolu and did not build a tomb for himself when he was healthy.

Sultan Abdülmecid, for his part, openly marked the tomb site for himself by building his tomb before his death. His tomb was near the tomb of Selim the Grim (Sultan Selim I), whom he liked and respected the most among his ancestors. But, Sultan Abdülmecid realized that the dome of his tomb was a little higher than that of Selim the Grim. Then he had it put down and built a lower one, saying that it would be arrogance and disrespect to build a tomb higher than that of a Selim the Grim.[292] When Sultan Abdülmecid passed away, his successor Sultan Abdülaziz did not hinder the fulfillment of his predecessor's will to be buried near the tomb of Selim the Grim, and Sultan Abdülmecid was buried in a tomb prepared by himself. Meanwhile, the former foreign minister Damad Şerif Paşa argued that the sultan, who had avoided things reminding him of death, had had the tomb built for his sons who had died at early ages, and was inevitably buried in this tomb after his death. However, there is no other source which cites such a claim.[293] The main reason why Sultan Abdülmecid had a tomb built for himself when he was alive was his deep love and respect for Selim the Grim. Neither do our sources put forward other reason, nor can we bring forth a reasonable proposal or speculate.

We do not know whether Sultan Abdülaziz had a desire or will about his burial place. Although his death was examined very carefully in the Yıldız Court, there is no sign or rumour about where he wanted to be buried. Sultan Murad V ordered his uncle Sultan Abdülaziz to be buried in his father, Sultan Mahmud II's tomb. The tomb of Sultan Mahmud II, Sultan Abdülaziz's father, was the first place to be considered and was the most reasonable place.

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[292] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. *Tezâkir-i Cevdet*, v.2, pp. 141-142.

[293] Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu. *Asırlar Boyunca İstanbul: Sarayları, Camileri, Âbideleri, Çeşmeleri*, p. 137.

Besides, the second chamberlain Seyid Bey had come smiling, and said that "the man who will be buried in the Sultan İbrahim's tomb, May God give you life, has died."[294] Also the ministers of the state opposed Sultan Abdülaziz's equipping at the *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn*. From these two facts, it can be deduced that Sultan Abdülaziz was excluded as he went mad and committed suicide and it was probably considered inappropriate for him to be buried in the sultans' tomb. Notwithstanding these expectations, Sultan Murad V ordered the burial of Sultan Abdülaziz in Sultan Mahmud II's tomb. It is seen that Sultan Murad V disagreed with the *paşa*s and the ministers around him who had deposed Sultan Abdülaziz.

Sultan Murad V again and again bequeathed to his son Selahaddin Efendi that he wanted to be buried in the neighbourhood of Şeyh Yahya Efendi Tomb. As we showed the process and the correspondences, Selahaddin Efendi told his father's wish to Sultan Abdülhamid II. He first agreed with this wish, but then he changed his mind with the influence of *Şeyh* Ebülhüda Efendi's suggestion and decided that Sultan Murad V was to be buried next to his mother. When we examine the correspondences' dates, it seems possible that Sultan Abdülhamid II decided Sultan Murad V's corpse was to be buried next to his mother Şevkefza Hatun, in Cedîd Havâtin Tomb, before receiving the will that Selahaddin Efendi informed him about.[295]

Hakkı Önkal, who is studying the tombs of the Ottoman sultans, explains the process of determining the burial place. According to Hakkı Önkal, Sultan Mustafa I, Sultan Murad V and Sultan İbrahim were nicknamed mad, their madness was clearly

[294] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız Mahkemesi*, p. 88.

[295] BOA, İ.HUS 120/1322 C-42, 17 Cemaziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 1; BOA, YEE, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 79, 18 Cemâziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 1; BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK, Dosya: 72, Gömlek: 108, 18 Cemaziyelâhir 1322.

indicated in the Ottoman sources and documents, and they were not only dethroned because of their illness but also excluded after their death and were not accepted to any sultan's tomb with a conscious attitude. For example he states that in determining Sultan İbrahim's burial place, "his being a sultan who was fond of pleasure and dissipation, and his spending the money from the national treasury for this aim" had a definite role. [296]

While putting forward this idea, Hakkı Önkal shows the Sultan Mustafa I case as an example its corpse was kept on the *musallâ* stone for seventeen hours as there was no empty place to bury him.[297] Hakkı Önkal, who examined whether there was enough place for a new corpse in the sultan tombs, concludes that those tombs were not full. He explains the situation as "his burial in the previous sultan tombs was not deemed appropriate because of his madness."[298] For Sultan Murad V's burial in Cedîd Havâtin Tomb, the base of the argument was the rumour that he was buried by the palace community consisting of eight people, without a funeral ceremony, and the fact that Sultan Murad V's madness was known publicly. In other words, as Sultan Murad V was not a respected sultan who was worthy of the dynasty, he was excluded after his death.

These criticisms can be made for Hakkı Önkal's explanation: Firstly, we are not certainly sure when Sultan Abdülhamid II was informed about his brother Sultan Murad V's will. According to the documents we have, the will reached him after he had made

[296] Hakkı Önkal. "Türbeleriyle de Dışlanan Üç Osmanlı Sultanı," *Geçmişten Günümüze Mezarlık Kültürü ve İnsan Hayatına Etkileri Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, (İstanbul: Mezarlıklar Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), pp. 83-89.

[297] Evliya Çelebi tells this in his *Seyahatname*: "Vefat ettiğinde cümle padişahların merkadleri, müluk-ı selef ve selatin ve şehzedegan ile memlu olduğundan, Mustafa Han'a yer bulunamadığından naaşı onyedi saat meydan-ı musallâda meks ettirildi," See: Hakkı Önkal. "Türbeleriyle de Dışlanan Üç Osmanlı Sultanı," pp. 83-89.

[298] Hakkı Önkal. "Türbeleriyle de Dışlanan Üç Osmanlı Sultanı," pp. 83-89.

his decision and this situation had been announced in the newspapers.[299] Secondly, Sultan Murad V's funeral ceremony was not arranged in a way that was appropriate for a sultan. However, it cannot be said that the rituals that are seen in sultans' funeral ceremonies were not performed. Bringing the corpse to the Topkapı Palace and washing it in front of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi*, one of the most important practices in the Ottoman sultans' funeral ceremonies, were performed for Sultan Murad V's corpse. Besides this, Sultan Abdülhamid II, who learnt that a *sanduka* (sarcophagus) was not built on his brother's grave although four years had passed from Sultan Murad V's death, stated that his brother's grave being in a miserable situation could not be accepted, in his order that he sent to the *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezâreti* (Ministry of Dynastic Charitable Foundation); he gave the order for them to begin building a sarcophagus on Sultan Murad V's grave with respect and care. [300]

Despite these possible criticisms of Hakkı Önkal, it is seen that there was the thought that the sultans whose names were remembered with madness were excluded and "should be buried in some kind of tomb for the mad."[301] When it is seen from this perspective, it is necessary to accept that the most rational explanation is Hakkı Önkal's, at this point. As to the reason why Sultan Murad V was not buried in Şeyh Yahya Efendi Tomb as he bequeathed, it can be thought that it was a dervish order tomb and that until that period they preferred not to bury the Ottoman sultans in dervish order convents.

In our opinion, another reason why Sultan Murad V's will was not realized is that the Şeyh Yahya Efendi Dergâhı was outside the *suriçi* (in the city wall) region. After the

[299] BOA, İ.HUS 120/1322 C-42, 17 Cemaziyelâhir 1322, Vesika 1.

[300] BOA, İ.HUS, 169/1326, 2 Şaban 1326.

[301] Hakkı Önkal. "Türbeleriyle de Dışlanan Üç Osmanlı Sultanı," pp. 83-89.

conquest of İstanbul, the corpses of all Ottoman sultans - except the last Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin- were buried in *suriçi* until Sultan Murad V. *Suriçi* was very important, because of its spiritual meanings. It was because of this appreciation that a sultan's personal consent was required to be able to bury somebody in *suriçi*.[302]

As conquering İstanbul could be realized by passing over the ramparts, the *suriçi* region was always seen as "the real İstanbul" and had a special importance. During the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, the centre of the city was thought to be the region that was covered with ramparts, as it was in practice also. After the conquest, the headquarters of the state was brought there; thus, the city that was founded as the centre of a city survived in the same way until the beginning of the twentieth century. In the Ottoman period the Western Christians did not push themselves into *suriçi* where only Iran was allowed to open its embassy as they were Muslims; *suriçi* people were generally Muslims, and only the non-Muslims who were accepted as Ottoman citizens found the opportunity to live there. This importance of *suriçi* and the dynastic tradition performed without any exceptions might have affected Sultan Abdülhamid II. However, even in this situation, Sultan Murad V's corpse was expected to be buried in his father's or grandfather's tomb, not in Cedîd Havâtin tomb. For that reason, it is necessary to accept Hakkı Önkal's suggestion as the strongest probability.

The other sultan whose wish of burial place was not realized was Sultan Abdülhamid II, who had personally prevented his brother's wish from being realized. Ali Fuad Bey, the head chamberlain of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad who was on the throne when Sultan Abdülhamid II died, states that the former sultan desired to be buried in Sultan Mehmed II's Tomb, but this wish was not approved by *Harbiye Nâzırı* (Minister

[302] Gilles Veinstein. "Önsöz," in: Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin. (éd) *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations*, p. 9.

of War) Enver Paşa. Certainly, Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror is the brightest name among the Ottoman sultans as he was the one who conquered İstanbul. He was very important for both the dynasty and the public. A sultan who would be buried next to him should have been a sultan as important as him; nobody could have expected to be buried next to him. Enver Paşa also emphasized to the point that nobody's burial in Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror's tomb would be appropriate. Consequently, Sultan Abdülhamid II was buried in his grandfather, Sultan Mahmud II's, tomb.[303]

It was not a common practice for the Ottoman sultans to have their tombs built before their death. However, in the Classical Period the great mosques that they had built were pointed out as the places where they wanted to be buried. Because sultans were buried in the courts of the mosques and tombs were built on their graves by their successors. There are people who see it as "bad luck" to have tombs built before death. From the Islamic perspective, although it is not forbidden, it is not welcomed.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad had a tomb built in Eyüp for himself when he was alive, during the years that he had just ascended the throne. This attitude meant that he was directly pointing out the place where he wanted to be buried. When he died, his wish was realized by his successor Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin and the *paşa*s of the Committee of Union and Progress that was influential in the administration of the state. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's wish was fulfilled due to the fact that the tomb was not built in a controversial region and he was very concordant with the policies of the Committee of Union and Progress, and he had close relations with his brother Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin.[304]

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[303] Ali Fuad Türkgeldi. *Görüp İşittiklerim*, p. 129; Ziya Şakir. *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri*, p. 267.

[304] Ali Fuad Türkgeldi. *Görüp İşittiklerim*, p. 129-137.

Although building a tomb for oneself was not a dynastic tradition and it was a controversial issue in Islam, why did Sultan Mehmed V Reşad build a tomb for himself in the first years of his sultanate? Certainly, the primary motive that urged him to build a tomb for himself was what was done to his brother Sultan Murad V's corpse. That his corpse was buried in Havâtîn-i Cedîd Tomb which was not accepted as a sultan's tomb but was considered to be women's tomb, without much respect and care, must have made Sultan Mehmed V Reşad think about his end. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, who feared that what happened to his brother could be deemed proper for him, did not abstain from having a tomb built for himself, although his successor had the right to decide.

There is another sign that shows that Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was seriously thinking about his end. When he was having his tomb made, almost seven years before his death, he reserved his funeral costs from his own allowance. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad once said "I do not wish my funeral to be covered by *fermân* after I die" and commended the required money to Hacı Feyzi Efendi, the *Hazîne-i Hassâ* (the Private Treasury) General Director.[305] It is clear that the sultan even thought of the possibility of his corpse's being left unclaimed. On this thought, the attitude of the Committee of Union and Progress towards the dynasty, and the hard years the state experienced must have had an effect.

We come across a more concrete sign that shows how seriously he thought about his own end and he studied about this issue. There is an arrangement about the burial of dynasty corpses, under the title of "The regulations book on the rules that should be obeyed during the funeral ceremonies of the dead people from the Sultanate Dynasty," which was prepared by head chamberlain Ali Fuad with Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's

[305] *ibid.*, p. 137.

instructions, on 22 February 1914.[306] In the regulations all the details about who would attend the ceremony, under which title, and in which row they would be, were considered.

That Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's tomb was not in the *suriçi* region distinguishes him from the region where there were other Ottoman sultans' tombs. Until him, all the graves of the Ottoman sultans who died in İstanbul were in the *suriçi* region. The desire to be buried in *suriçi* arises from its spiritual value for the Ottomans and there is no exception about this issue. It cannot be considered that Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was unaware of this fact; however, to put forward an idea about why he did not obey it is difficult because of the limited knowledge we have. We think that on his choosing Eyüp, that the tomb of Eyüb-el Ensârî, who has spiritual value for the Muslims, has an effect; however, we are not sure whether this was so important that it would prevent him from obeying a dynastic tradition.

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was the last Ottoman sultan; so he did not have a successor who would have a role in determining his burial place. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin died on Christian land, in Italy. Doubtlessly, it can be supposed that he wanted to be buried in İstanbul as his predecessors. However, since the Turkish Republic was founded in place of the Ottoman Empire, it prevented the dynasty members from returning home. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, who was aware of this fact, always said that he wanted to be buried in Damascus, a Muslim and former Ottoman land, in Selahaddin Eyyûbi Tomb neighbourhood.[307] As Syria was under

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[306] BOA, DH.EUM. VRK. Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 79, 20 Ra 1334; *Hanedân-ı Saltanât-ı Seniyyeden İrtihâl Edenlerin Cenaze Merâsiminde Riâyet Olunması Lâzım Gelen Usûlü Hâvi Ta'lîmâtnâmedir*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Askerî, 1331).

[307] Tarık Mümtaz Göztepe. *Osmanoğullarının Son Padişahı Vahideddin Gurbet Cehenneminde*, p. 185-186.

French control at that period, the corpse was buried in Damascus after a very difficult process, after the necessary permission was taken from France.

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin is the only Ottoman sultan whose grave is out of contemporary Turkey's boundaries. Sultan Murad I died in Kosovo. Although his internal organs were buried there, his corpse was brought to Bursa and buried there and a tomb was made for him.

When we look from the perspective of burial time, Islam suggests that the dead should be washed, shrouded, and buried after his funeral prayer is performed. Keeping the corpse waiting is not accepted to be proper. While Sultan Abdülaziz was buried on the same day that he died, the other sultans apart from Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin were buried at noon after their corpses were prepared the next morning. As a conscious choice and as they did not need to keep the corpses waiting to be buried, sultans washed in the Topkapı Palace were never mummified. Islam also bans mummifying. According to Islam, man was created from earth, after he dies he will return to earth, become a united whole with the earth and will again become earth.[308]

People who attended the Ceremony and their Clothes

It is useful for us to deal with who attended the ceremony and their clothes as far as we can determine. The first question coming to mind is naturally whether the sultan who just ascended the throne or who was already on throne attended his predecessors'

[308] "Who say when afflicted with calamity: 'To Allah we belong and to Him is our return." 156th verse of the Surah of Bakarah in the Holy Koran.

funeral or not. Since the early periods of the state, until Sultan Selim II, the sultans had attended their predecessors' funerals. This situation changed after Sultan Selim II and the Ottoman sultans did not attend their predecessors' funerals after him. By funeral we mean the corpse's equipping, funeral prayers, being taken to the place where he would be buried from the Topkapı Palace, and lastly, his burial. Although we come across an exceptional situation such as Sultan Selim III's attending Sultan Abdülhamid I's funeral prayer, after Sultan Selim II, the sultans kept away from the process of the corpse's being carried to the tomb and his burial and as far as we can determine, there is no exception on this point. Sultan Selim II was not in İstanbul during the funeral. As Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein point out, his absence resulting from extraordinary political conditions was seen as an example. In all situations, Sultan Selim II's successors went to their new sultan flat when the corpse was carried to the grave by the viziers, *ulamâ* and palace people who attended the funeral prayer. [309]

The sources from Sultan Selim II's period or the period just after him do not express any opinion on the ideas and reasons that led the sultans to pioneer to form such a choice. This situation surprised me as well, like Vatin and Veinstein,[310] who studied this period. Gülru Necipoğlu suggests that Ottoman sultans kept away from their predecessors' funerals to prevent death from spreading over them, by not touching death. Gülru Necipoğlu puts forward this suggestion by giving the same practice of the

[309] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. "II. Mehmet'ten I. Ahmet'e Osmanlı Sultanlarının Cenaze Törenleri," in: Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin. (éd), *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations*, p. 189; Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. *Le Sérail ébranlé*, pp. 411-413.

[310] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein who studied this subject together reveal the bewilderment that they experienced about the sources' keeping silent about this subject: "Whatever the reason for Sultan's not attending the burial process, even if Selim II's attitude was related to coincidence, we would expect the sources to tell their opinion about the issue." *ibid.*, p. 189.

emperors of Rome as an example.[311] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein also think that the suggestion of Gülru Necipoğlu about the preventing the sultan from touching the dead can be found acceptable to some extent.[312] Our authors have already put forward their ideas as suggestions and there are no important points that these suggestions depend on. Though we cannot put forward a suggestion, we cannot agree with Gülru Necipoğlu's idea. Because the reference point of this suggestion is the emperors of Rome. As, according to Islamic and Ottoman culture, it is a superstition, we do not deem it likely.

The most reasonable suggestion about why Ottoman sultans did not attend their predecessors' funerals comes from Kadir Mısıroğlu. Ottoman *şehzâde*s lived as ordinary persons until they succeed to the throne but they did not attend the funeral ceremonies of their sons, brothers, fathers and mothers when they ascended the throne. The authority of the state was the most significant thing for them. Ottoman sultans believed that as human beings they might cry if they participated in the funerals of their families. They also thought that their authority and image as powerful sultans would weaken if they cried in the ceremonies.[313] Also, Hakan Karateke's claim that the sultans did not want to show signs of weakness by crying during the funeral and this had a share in the continuity of this tradition seems like a reasonable explanation. [314]

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[311] Gülru Necipoğlu. "Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in İstanbul," in: J-L. Bacque Grammont ve A. Tibet (eds), *Cimiteries er traditions funeraries dans le monde islamique*, c. II, (Ankara: 1996), pp. 23-36.

[312] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. "II. Mehmet'ten I. Ahmet'e Osmanlı Sultanlarının Cenaze Törenleri," in: Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin. (éd), *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations*, p. 189; Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. *Le Sérail ébranlé*, pp. 411.

[313] Kadir Mısıroğlu. *Osmanoğulları'nın Dramı*, (İstanbul: Sebil, 1992), pp. 65-66.

[314] Hakan K. Karateke. *Padişahım Çok Yaşa!: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler*, (İstanbul: Kitap, 2004), p. 36

The Ottoman sultans in the period under study -apart from Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin- obeyed dynastic tradition and did not attend their predecessors' funerals. However, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin disobeyed the dynastic tradition that had been going on for centuries by attending the funeral of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, who was the last sultan who died in İstanbul and was buried there.

An exclusive funeral ceremony was held for Sultan Mahmud II. State ministers, notables, scholars, princes and some envoys participated in the funeral ceremony. People in the city largely came to the funeral. Historiographer Vakanüvis Lütfi Efendi, who personally participated in the funeral, described the crowd as, "Men and women from every segment of society from *Bâb-ı Hümâyûn* to the tomb had filled all the streets in Sultanahmed and Ayasofya."[315] Another source[316] underlines that the members of the ewish and Christian communities were on the roads of the cortege route to pay their final respects to Sultan Mahmud II. The dynastic tradition was also observed at the funeral of Sultan Abdülmecid as the participants were generally people with the same epithets. Again the people of İstanbul intensely attended the funeral in large numbers. In both cases, the successors did not attend the funeral ceremonies of their predecessors.

We know that a funeral special to sultans was made for Sultan Abdülaziz., too. About the people who attended the ceremony, our sources only mention *Enderûn Ağa*s and the ministers of the state. However, as it was a sultan's funeral, it should be considered that participation was intense. As a matter of fact, although we question its validity, the illustrations we have show that there were palace servants, some state high officials, ecclesiastics, and the military band team in the funeral troop. When we look at

[315] Ahmet Lütfi Efendi. *Va'kanüvis Ahmed Lütfi Tarihi*, p. 1007.

[316] G. Rosen, p. 300, From Ali Akyıldız. "Sultan II. Mahmud'un Hastalığı ve Ölümü," pp. 69-70.

the illustrations, it is understood that people who attended the funeral were in official dress according to their jobs and ranks. For instance, the soldiers wore uniforms as expected. While the military band team attended the ceremony in official dress, we see ecclesiastics attended with their robes and turbans.[317]

When we examined the protocol registers about Sultan Abdülaziz's death, we could come across neither local protocol high officials nor any information showing that invitation cards were sent to ambassadors or other foreign representatives. When it is considered that the corpse was buried on the same day, the probability that this process was skipped comes to mind. However, from this situation, it is not possible to conclude that foreign people did not attend the ceremony.

Our sole source about Sultan Murad V's funeral, Ziya Şakir, says that *hazine kâhyası*, *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn erkânı, Has Odalılar*, *Enderun ağa*s, other palace men, Ministers of Internal Affairs and Zaptieh, *şehremini*, Beşiktaş Police Chief, some *paşa*s and a lot of civil and official police officers related to İstanbul, Beşiktaş and the Beyoğlu police attended the funeral.[318] Unfortunately, he does not mention their clothes.

In the period that we examine, the funeral ceremony in which the participation of both statesmen and the public from different classes was the most extensive was Sultan Abdülhamid II's. The funeral ceremony instructions that were prepared by Sultan Mehmed V Reşad were for the first time applied for a sultan. All ministers of the state, scholars, diplomats and ecclesiastics, *şehzâde*s, bridegrooms, dynasty members, palace servants, directors and officers from all spheres of the state, the members of the Deputy Assembly that was closed temporarily for the ceremony, ambassadors and other foreign

[317] Figure. 1 and Figure. 2.

[318] Ziya Şakir. *Çırağan Sarayı'nda 28 Sene: V. Murad'ın Hayatı*, pp. 237-238.

representatives attended the ceremony. While the *ulamâ* attended the ceremony in green and purple clothes with wide arms and silver on the chest, all the participants including Şehzâde Vahideddin attended the ceremony in their official uniforms. Only the bridegrooms came to the ceremony with civil clothes due to a rule peculiar to them.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral troop also drew extensive participation, obeying all protocol rules. As he died nearly six months after Sultan Abdülhamid II, the statesmen who attended Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral were almost the same men. The difference between them was that the public's participation and respect was much more in Sultan Abdülhamid II.

There is a very important exception that distinguishes Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral from our examples in terms of the participants. After Sultan Selim II, for the first time, a sultan who was on the throne attended his predecessor's funeral. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin visited the corpse that was waiting on the *musallâ* stone after being washed and saw the coffin off to the outer door of the palace. Then he attended burial which was the last phase of the ceremony, going to the tomb in Eyüp, although he did not attend the troop.[319]

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's attending his predecessor's funeral ceremony also called the foreign press's attention. Chamberlain Lütfi Bey, who learnt of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's death from newspapers in Germany, also welcomed Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's demolition of this dynastic tradition, with surprise and joy:

> Newspapers coming from Berlin proved that this black news [death of Sultan Reşad] was true… That the new sultan attended the old sultan's funeral ceremony was among the news. This last news relieved my sorrow because of Sultan Reşad's death, a bit. I cannot think a situation worse than a sultan's not attending

[319] BOA, A.TŞF, 281/36, 24 Ramazan 1336, Vesika. 4.

> his predecessor's funeral ceremony. This attitude and disrespect that was never seen among Western kings is a usual one for us.[320]

Well, how can we explain Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's attending Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral ceremony although his predecessors had not attended the funerals since a long time? We are unlikely to find a satisfactory and concrete answer. The most appropriate answer to give is that it was Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's personal choice and to argue around this point. As Sultan Mehmed V Reşad died when he was on the throne, if we do not take Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin into consideration, he is different from our other examples. On the very day when Sultan Mehmed V Reşad would have his equipping in *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* and his funeral prayer would be performed, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was in the palace for the *biat* ceremony. After the *biat*, he visited the corpse in front of *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi* and then attended his funeral prayer. Before the period I examine, also, when sultans died when they were on the throne, their *biat* and burial ceremonies were made in *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* on the very same day; however, the sultan on throne did not attend his predecessor's funeral. For that reason, the idea that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin attended Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral ceremony as he was already in the palace – because of physical circumstances- would be a very simple answer far from persuasiveness. Indeed, although it was further than the other sultan tombs, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin attended the burial ceremony going to Eyüp.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad attracted attention as a very compliant, compassionate sultan who was treated dynasty members with love. Although he did not make him have a dungeon life, his predecessor, Sultan Abdülhamid II, had preferred to keep him under

[320] Lütfi Simavi. *Osmanlı Sarayı'nın Son Günleri*, pp. 374.

his control. Despite this, after his predecessor was deposed, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad treated him with love. He never forgot that Sultan Abdülhamid II was his brother and warned palace officials and authorities about showing respect to his brother. Again in the same way, he treated crown prince Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin in a very compliant and understanding way and he never made him live a dungeon life. For that reason, it can be considered that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin attended his predecessor Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral as a result of the love and respect he had for him.[321] Moreover, the psychological condition formed by the hard days following Ottoman defeat in World War I and the premonition that the empire "coming to its end" had a role in the personal choice of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin.

In Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's funeral, while there was only Şehzâde Ömer Faruk Efendi from the dynasty, in Beirut and Damascus the local authorities attended the funeral with the army, arranging an official ceremony. Also, there were ordinary people attending the ceremony.

When people who attended the ceremony, especially their clothes and troop arrangement are considered, it is possible to make this evaluation: if Sultan Murad V is not taken into consideration as a complete sultan's ceremony was not arranged for him, funeral troops were arranged as official troops instead of religious troops and performed in this way. In Sultan Abdülaziz's troop, while there were two rows of soldiers on both sides of the road, the coffin was brought to the tomb where he would be buried by the participants walking in a very orderly way. In Sultan Abdülhamid II's and Sultan

[321] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad also had love and respect for his predecessor Sultan Abdülhamid II but he did not attend his funeral. For that reason, to the idea, "Well, why did other sultans who had love and respect for their predecessors, not attend the funerals? This cannot be the reason of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's attitude" that can come to mind, we want to say: We are not searching for a generalization, here. The source of the exceptional example we have is Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's personal choice. That the situations are the same or similar does not require people to make the same choices. What we try to understand is what had a role in this attitude of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin.

Mehmed V Reşad's troops, every detail from who would walk in which row to the number of the soldiers was already considered, in accordance with the available instructions. Furthermore, participants attended the ceremony in official dress. The military band team, which was completely an element of the official troops, took their place in the troops of the ceremonies of Sultan Abdülaziz, Sultan Abdülhamid II and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. According to Islam, there are no class differences between Muslims and the only point that would distinguish them from each other is *takva*, godliness-degree of sincerity in worship, which can only be appreciated by God. The sole aim of the funeral ceremony is to see the dead off to his last journey with good wishes and in this ceremony, plainness is the principle. For that reason, the serious protocol rules that are applied to Ottoman sultans in their ceremonies clearly show that these ceremonies were the official troops rather than religious ones.

Ceremony Process

After all these points, finding answers to these questions makes it possible for us to visualize the ceremony process: what was the process that goes on from an Ottoman sultan's death to his burial? Who were commissioned for different task at the funeral? Who attended the process in what dress? Nicolas Vatin, Gilles Veinstein and Zeynep Tarım who studied the Classical period of the Ottoman Empire do not mention any written instructions or *fermân*. It is more appropriate to talk about tradition formed as a result of practice. That the sultan was the sole man having a as in this matter, although there was dynastic tradition, should be remembered. For that reason, we sometimes

come across practices that depart from dynastic traditions. About dynasty funerals, we come across an arrangement about the burial of dynasty corpses, under the title of "The regulations book on the rules that should be obeyed during the funeral ceremonies of the dead from the Sultanate Dynasty," which was published by head chamberlain Ali Fuad with Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's instructions, on 22 February 1914.[322] In these regulations, all the details about who would attend the ceremony, under which title they would attend and in which row they would be, were considered. This regulations book is the detailed written form of the practices of the period.

The funeral process of the period that we examine was such: if one of the sultans who was deposed died, the sultan on the throne was informed about the situation. Then, he immediately commissioned a committee among whom there were foreign doctors, too, to examine the dead sultan, in detail. The doctors who examined the dead sultan stated that death – most probably- occurred very naturally and that external factors had no role in it. If a sultan who was not deposed died, the new sultan received congratulations for his ascend to the throne and a *biat* ceremony was arranged. The sultan on the throne or who just ascended the throne determined where his dead predecessor would be buried and how the funeral ceremony would be done. Protocol officers sent invitation cards to necessary people. The chamberlain prepared the reports about the death and the invitation text published in the newspapers.

The sultan's corpse was carried to *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi* in the Topkapı Palace, on the same day or the next day, in respect of death hour. It was a tradition to keep him waiting there after he was washed and shrouded there. Meanwhile, the new sultan came

[322] BOA, DH.EUM.VRK, Dosya: 22, Gömlek: 79, 20 Ra 1334; *Hanedân-ı Saltanât-ı Seniyyeden İrtihâl Edenlerin Cenaze Merâsiminde Riâyet Olunması Lâzım Gelen Usûlü Hâvi Ta'lîmâtnâmedir*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Askerî, 1331).

to where the coffin was with *şehzâde*s, viziers and other statesmen, and attended the prayer that Hagia Sophia head *imâm* was doing. For that reason, sultans were not in *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* on the funeral day. Despite the tradition of visiting the corpse on the *musallâ* even if they did not attend the funeral prayers, three sultans were not in *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* on the funeral days. Meanwhile, it is necessary to remember that Sultan Abdülaziz's and Sultan Murad V's funerals could not be seen as natural. Then, the corpse was carried to the *musallâ* outside *Bâbü's-saâde*. Although there were exceptions, generally the funeral prayers of the sultans were performed by the *şeyhülislâm*. Then, the coffin was carried to the burial place with palace officials, *imâm*s, and viziers behind the soldiers on both sides of it and statesmen who were chanting the *tekbîr*. The corpse was buried according to religious rules.[323]

[323] Ali Seydi Bey. *Teşrifat ve Teşkilatımız*, (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1970), p. 148.

CHAPTER IV

COMPARING THE LATE ERA FUNERALS WITH THE EARLIER ONES AND SOME WESTERN ELEMENTS IN THE POST-*TANZÎMÂT* ONES

After studying the funerals of the last seven Ottoman sultans in detail and evaluating them, it is necessary to see the position of these seven Ottoman sultans' funerals in the whole. This undertaking enables us to deal with the funerals superficially and to to determine the common points. By comparing the funerals to the ones until this period, we can reveal the common points and differences between them. By looking at the background of the common points and differences that we determined, the mentalities that had a role in these changes can be discussed. Hence, it can be seen whether the concept of Westernization, which had a great role in the Ottoman Empire's giving shape to itself in the nineteenth century, had an effect on funeral ceremonies or not.

Funeral Practices until the *Tanzimât*

In the Ottoman Empire, the funerals of sultans underwent many changes after the establishment of the state; various practices according to time, place and conditions were seen. Before the conquest of İstanbul, generally the sultans died on the battlefield or in a

war preparation. Therefore, sultans' corpses used to be buried in a plain way without any protocol rules. When the Topkapı Palace became the main residence after İstanbul was conquered, the funeral ceremonies began to take place there and protocol rules were put into practice.[324]

During the Period of Foundation that lasted until İstanbul was conquered, the corpses of the sultans were either buried in Bursa or were carried there later. Sultan Osman Bey, on whose death date there is no agreement, was firstly buried in Söğüt, in his father Ertuğrul Bey's tomb. When Bursa was conquered by his son Sultan Orhan Bey, he was carried to a Byzantine monastery that he had bequeathed to be buried in, saying, "put me under this dome," after it was turned into a tomb.[325] After Sultan Orhan Bey left his sultanate to Sultan Murad I, he lost his life in Bursa and was buried next to his father in Gümüşlü Kümbet, in Bursa.[326]

The corpse of Sultan Murad I, whose internal organs were buried where he was murdered by a Serbian soldier at the end of the Kosovo War, was carried to Bursa and buried in a tomb in the Çekirge district. A tomb was built where his internal organs were buried, in Kosovo.[327] As to Sultan Yıldırım Beyazid, his corpse was temporarily buried in Seyyid Mahmud Hayranî Tomb, after he was taken prisoner during the Ankara War and died in Akşehir. After Timur said to Sultan Yıldırım Beyazid's son Musa Çelebi that his father's funeral should be appropriate to his sultanate position, his corpse was carried to Bursa upon his will, and was buried next to the mosque having his name, almost a

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[324] Dündar Alıkılıç. *Osmanlı'da Devlet Protokolü ve Törenler: İmparatorluk Seremonisi*, (İstanbul: Tarih Düşünce Kitapları), p. 158.

[325] *ibid.*, p. 158; Necdet Sakaoğlu. *Bu Mülkün Sultanları*, p. 30.

[326] Necdet Sakaoğlu. *Bu Mülkün Sultanları*, pp. 40-41.

[327] Edhem Eldem. *Death in İstanbul: Death Rituals in Ottoman- Islam Culture,* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Yayınları, 2005), p. 80.

year after his death. Some sources indicate that Sultan Yıldırım Beyazid's corpse was kept waiting after being mummified.[328]

Sultan Mehmed I died in Edirne, his death was kept a secret so as not to cause any disorder, for forty-one days. After his son Sultan Murad II ascended the throne, his corpse was sent to Bursa like the other sultans and was buried in his tomb built on a hill. Also, when Sultan Murad II died in Edirne, his death was kept secret for nineteen days until his son Sultan Mehmed II came to the city and ascended the throne. He was buried in the garden of the mosque that he had built in Bursa and an open-top tomb was built on his grave in accordance with his will. [329]

When the burial practices of the first six sultans are examined, these points are revealed: the burial of corpses in Bursa was very important. Even if a sultan died somewhere else because of a military expedition, the internal organs were buried there and then he was taken to Bursa and buried there. Even if the corpse was buried outside Bursa, he was carried to Bursa at the first opportunity, although much time had passed since then. Although the capital became Edirne after it was conquered, sultans preferred to be buried in Bursa. It can be considered that a spiritual link that arises from Bursa's being the city where the state began to expand had a role in this collective will.

After the conquest of İstanbul, the Ottoman sultans began to be buried there. Sultan Mehmed II, Sultan Beyazid II, Sultan Selim I the Grim and Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent were buried next to the mosques that they had built in their names and tombs were built on them as a Turkish-Ottoman tradition. Some Ottoman sultans after Sultan Selim II were buried in the Hagia Sophia Mosque's court or in a tomb that the

[328] *ibid*. pp. 66-67.

[329] *ibid.* pp. 91-92.

previous sultans had built. After this period also, burial were performed according to certain rules.

Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror who left İstanbul for a military expedition to the East but who became sick just at the beginning of the expedition could not go further than Gebze. Despite the doctors' intensive treatment, Sultan Mehmed II died there. The Conqueror's death was concealed and the *şehzâde*s were informed about the situation. Sultan Beyazid II who was in Amasya ascended the throne, moving faster than his brother Şehzâde Cem. The Conqueror's corpse, which had been waiting for fifteen days, was taken care of only after the accession ceremony; so, nobody could approach the corpse because of its bad smell. The corpse of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, who was the first sultan to be buried in İstanbul, was taken out of the *Enderun* with a ceremony and was buried next to the mosque having his name, with a splendid funeral cortege. That Sultan Beyazid II helped to carry the coffin shows that he behaved as a son rather than as a sultan.[330] Sultan Beyazid II who left the throne to his son Sultan Selim I, died around Edirne, when he was going to Dimetoka where he would spend the rest of his life. His corpse that was shrouded there was welcomed by high state officials and the sultan who were in black.[331] Although he had bequeathed to be buried in an open-top tomb, his corpse, which was brought to İstanbul, was buried in the mosque having his name with Sultan Selim I's participation, and a tomb was built on it.[332]

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[330] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein, "II. Mehmed'in Ölümü," pp. 166-168; A. S. Ünver. *Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Ölümü ve Hadiseleri Üzerine Bir Vesika*, (İstanbul: 1952).

[331] Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ. *XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti'bde Cülûs ve Cenaze Törenleri*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999), pp. 91, 93.

[332] Necdet Sakaoğlu. *Bu Mülkün Sultanları*, p. 125.

According to the narratives, Selim the Grim died around Çorlu when he was on expedition, a few days after becoming ill because of the abscess on his back. His death was kept as a secret for the fear that the janissaries would revolt. The corpse was temporarily buried where his bed was, after he was washed and shrouded. When Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent ascended the Ottoman throne after arriving in İstanbul in four days from the Bozdağ pasture, Sultan Selim the Grim's death was announced and his corpse was sent to İstanbul. The new sultan, who welcomed the corpse in Edirnekapı, walked in front of the funeral till the place where his father would be buried after funeral prayer. For Sultan Selim the Grim, who was buried in the court of the Sultan Selim Mosque which was in front of the place called Mirza Palace, his son Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent had a tomb built.[333]

Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent personally attended the Sigetvar expedition despite his old age and illnesses. He, who was pursuing the siege in his tent, died while the siege was going on. The Magnificent's right hand, Sokullu Mehmed Paşa, hid the sultan's death even from the other viziers. His internal organs were buried where his bed was and his corpse was mummified. Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent's death was concealed for forty-eight days until Sultan Selim II welcomed the army in Belgrad. The corpse, which was carried to İstanbul in a hurry, was buried in the court of the Süleymaniye Mosque which has his name.[334]

While the stories which claim that Sultan Selim II died as a result of a coma he went into have priority, some sources indicate that the sultan died as a result of fever and plaster treatment. Haseki Sultan Nurbanu did not allow her husband Sultan Selim II's

[333] Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ. *XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti'bde Cülûs ve Cenaze Törenleri*, pp. 96-99; Edhem Eldem. *Death in İstanbul,* p. 88.

[334] Edhem Eldem. *Death in İstanbul,* p. 90; Necdet Sakaoğlu. *Bu Mülkün Sultanları*, pp. 156-158.

death to be announced and hid the corpse in the palace's icebox. She called his son, the governor of Manisa, Şehzâde Murad to İstanbul, by sending news to him. Sultan Murad III who ascended the Ottoman throne after a week, had his five brothers choked to death, and had his father buried in the tomb whose construction was going on in the Hagia Sophia Mosque, after the accession ceremony. Sultan Selim II, who was the fifth of the sultans after the conquest, was the first sultan who died in İstanbul.[335]

In the last days before Sultan Murad III's death, his fatal illness was about spoken in the capital İstanbul. Sultan Murad III died when various treatments could not cure him, but this was not announced officially despite the rumors which claim there was no one who did not know it. Şehzâde Mehmed ascended the Ottoman throne after ten days, coming to İstanbul from Mudanya with a boat as his father had done twenty years ago. Sultan Murad III was buried next to the Sultan Selim II Tomb in Hagia Sophia's court, after his death was officially announced. Later, Sultan Mehmed III had a tomb built there for his father and for his brothers whom he had choked.[336]

Although it is not certain, it is said that Sultan Mehmed III died from the plague. On the night he died, his son Sultan Ahmed I became the sultan with *biat* (acknowledment). After his corpse was buried next to his father Sultan Murad III's tomb, a tomb was built on his grave by his son Sultan Ahmed I.[337] Sultan Ahmed I died from stomach cancer and malaria at an unexpected time when he was just twenty-eight years old. While his sudden death surprised the top men of the state, those who administrated the state made the sultan's brother Şehzâde Mustafa ascend the throne

[335] Necdet Sakaoğlu. *Bu Mülkün Sultanları*, pp. 175-176.

[336] *ibid.* pp. 196-197.

[337] *ibid.* p. 219.

instead of sultan's son Şehzâde Osman, this being incongruous with the Ottoman dynasty's lasting traditions. That it was the first time that a dead sultan's brother was still alive should be accepted as a cause for not obeying tradition. Sultan Ahmed I's corpse was buried in the court of the mosque that had his name and was about to be finished.[338]

About the funerals that took place until the "*ekber-erşâd*" system was adopted- that is, adopting the principle of the sultanate's transfer to the one who was the eldest and the cleverest- which was a fundamental change in the Ottoman dynastic structure, it is appropriate to determine these: As it is known, the essence of Ottoman understanding is the permanence of the Great State (*Devlet-i Âliye'nin bekâsı*). As it can be seen in Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror's approval of brother-assassination, the essence of all the laws is directed at providing the permanence of the state. For that reason, when a sultan dies, his death is kept a secret to prevent civil strife. Who died is of no importance in this situation. Even the deaths of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror and Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent who have the brightest careers of Ottoman history were not announced for a long time.[339]

Even though it was necessary to hide the death of the sultans by telling lies, we see that the corpses themselves were not shown respect at all. A historiographer of the time, Tursun Bey could not help saying "those who are in trouble have no friends," upon the stinking corpse of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror.[340] When faced with death, the sultan cannot even be an ordinary Muslim; the understanding of the permanence of the

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[338] *ibid.* p. 229.

[339] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein, "II. Mehmed'in Ölümü," in Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin. (éd) *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations*, pp. 166-168.

[340] *ibid.*, pp. 166-168.

state keeps him from the respect and traditions that would have been immediately put into practice under normal conditions. Thus, the necessity of concealing their death prevents the immediate burial of the sultans' corpses who sat on the throne for long years.

During the period when the Ottoman Empire came to a stop politically and economically, or with the terms that are used often, in the period when it began to retrogress, it is seen that Ottoman sultans changed very often when compared to the past and their duration of being on the throne decreased. The change in the system of ascending the throne affected the Ottoman sultan's funeral ceremonies. From then on, the principle of transferring the sultanate to the one who was "*ekber-erşâd*" – that is the oldest and the cleverest- was adopted instead of the transference from father to son. With this system, the system of *şehzâde*s being governors of a *sancak* (subdivision of a province) was abolished and the *kafes* (cage) system was adopted instead. With the abolition of the sanjak system, şehzâdes began to be imprisoned in the palaces. The political and economic problems of the Ottoman Empire naturally caused domestic chaos; sultans changed very often as strong sultans were not on throne due to the effect of the "*ekber-erşâd*" system. The tradition of sultans' not attending their predecessor's funerals that began in Sultan Selim II's period went on in the "*ekber-erşâd*" period and was carried out until the Ottomans' last Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin.

Definitely, the most important innovation that the "*ekber-erşâd"* system brought to funeral ceremonies is that it was no longer necessary to keep the death secret. There was no need to conceal the death, as who would ascend the throne was very clear when the sultan on the throne died according to this system. With the "*ekber-erşâd"* practice, when a sultan died or was deposed, the next one immediately took his place. After the

accession ceremony, his predecessor's corpse was buried with the new sultan's command. *Şehzâde*s were in İstanbul because they were "kept waiting" in the palaces instead of being sent to the provinces to gain experience, as required in the cage system, which is one of the points that abolished the need to conceal the death.

During the period when the "*ekber-erşâd"* system was practiced, the sultan was the only one with the right to have a word on the matters about the arrangement of the funeral ceremony and the forming of a splendid cortege or not, as in the previous periods. In the decision of the new sultan, the influence of his relationships whether his predecessor was his father, uncle or brother, and how his predecessor had behaved towards the new sultan when he was a şehzâde, had a great role. As well as these factors, the sultan's reign and his credit among the public also had a role in the degree of the respect shown for him.

From the sixteenth century to the twentieth century, there were sultans who suffered from neural problems, in other words, who behaved in a strange and abnormal way due to the compulsory imprisonment in the palaces because of the cage system. Apart from Sultan Murad V in the period that we examine, Sultan Mustafa I who ascended the throne with the "*ekber-erşâd"* system and Sultan İbrahim who was known as "mad," were the other examples. Sultan Mustafa I's corpse "had to be kept waiting at the square of the *musallâ* for seventeen hours, as all the sultan tombs were full of the former sultans and *şehzâde*s."[341] Sultan Mustafa I's and Sultan İbrahim's corpses were buried by obeying the religious practices at a minimum; funerals were not arranged. These two sultans were "excluded" also with their tombs.[342]

[341] Hakkı Önkal. "Türbeleriyle de Dışlanan Üç Osmanlı Sultanı," p. 89.

[342] *ibid.*, p. 89.

In the sixteenth century, an important element was added to the practices of sultans' funerals, which was equipping the corpse in front of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi* in the Topkapı Palace. *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi* was formed by Prophet Muhammad's holy trusts that Sultan Selim the Grim had brought with him after conquering Egypt.[343] The dead sultans were brought to *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* and were buried after being washed and shrouded there, as far as we could determine, whether they died in *Sarây-ı Hümâyûn* or in another palace or place.[344]

Similarities and Differences between Earlier and the post-*Tanzîmât* Funerals

While families' cries and wails continued in mourning shows, a decrease in the use of clothes and colors as a sign of grief, which was another element of mourning shows, was seen. When a sultan died, naturally, his family got sad; women and concubines mostly cried and wailed. During the or when preparing the corpses, wearing dark colors was preferred. However, attending the funeral cortege in official uniforms began to be seen intensively and dynasty members also paid great attention to putting on the signs given to them on their uniforms.

The difference about mourning in the period that we examine is that newspapers were included in this process. While *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* began to be published as the Ottomans' first newspaper in İstanbul in 1831, the second half of the nineteenth century

[343] For the significance and practices in *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi*, see: Hakan Karateke. *Padişahım Çok Yaşa!: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler*, pp. 195-199.

[344] Dündar Alikılıç. *Osmanlı'da Devlet Protokolü ve Törenler: İmparatorluk Seremonisi*, pp. 158-159; Ali Seydi Bey. *Teşrifat ve Teşkilatımız*, p.148.

was the period when newspapers began to become widespread. While the limited number of newspapers focused on the suicide-assassination discussion of Sultan Abdülaziz, nothing apart from an official announcement was published about Sultan Murad V. The newspapers whose numbers, publication quality and journalism had developed much made publication in favor of the dynasty became an element of mourning in Sultan Abdülhamid II's and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's deaths. The newspapers tried to create a feeling of "national mourning." To illusrate, *Tanîn* wrote for Sultan Mehmed V Reşad:

> The sultan who has conquered his fellow-citizens hearts with his nature and highly moral sultanate migrated to Heaven yesterday, Wednesday at ten past seven, after being bedridden for eight days because his diabetes which he has suffered from for severel years became worse... The people loved him very much. He resisted all the troubles that the Empire faced. He calmed all Ottomans.[345]

The tradition that was formed until the post-*Tanzîmât* period about the equipping place was performed for the Ottoman sultans in the period under study with the exception of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin. Although the sultans of the post-*Tanzîmât* period did not die here, they were washed and shrouded here as tradition when they died. The equipping process took place in front of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi* which was holy for Muslims, holy covers and belts belonging to the dynasty were put on the corpse. We do not come across different practices in equipping. The dynastic tradition that was formed until this period was practiced in exactly the same way.

The funeral prayer was naturally performed for the last seven Ottoman sultans. While funeral prayers of all sultans except Sultan Murad V under this study were performed in the Topkapı Palace's court in accordance with the practices until that

[345] "Teblîgât-ı Resmiyye ," *Tanîn*, 4 July 1918, p. 1

period, Sultan Murad V's funeral prayer was performed in Hidayet Mosque. We could not find any answer to the question of why Sultan Murad V's funeral prayer was not performed in the Topkapı Palace as his predecessors' had been done. If the washing and shrouding processes had not been in the Topkapı Palace, the answer to this question could have been Sultan Abdülhamid II's attitude to his predecessor, but it is not. The choice of Hidayet Mosque is related to the fact that the *Cedîd Havâtin Tomb* (New Women Tomb), the place where he would be buried, is just next to this mosque. About the subject of the *imâm* who performed the prayer, we come across the continuity of the previous practices, too. The *şeyhülislâm* or an *imâm* of one of the great mosques was the *imâm* of the prayer.

While the sultans' death was kept as a secret until the new sultan ascended the throne until the period when the new sultans began to be chosen according to "*ekber-erşâd*" system, after this system concealing the death was not necessary and the death of the sultan was announced under normal conditions. In the period under study, in which the sultan was chosen according to the "*ekber-erşâd*" system, the sultan's death was announced to the public immediately. Thus, dead sultans were buried in the shortest time possible, as Islam orders. Sultan Abdülaziz, who died in the morning, was buried on the same day; Sultan Murad V, Sultan Abdülhamid II and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad who died in the evening were buried the next morning. However, our exception, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, was buried nearly after forty days, after burial place and sequestration matters were solved.

Always the new sultan was the only one who had the right to decide where the dead sultan would be buried. It was the sultan who had the last word about the burial place; however, the *sadrazam*, *kadınefendi*, *şeyhülislâm* or other notables could affect

his decision. While Sultan Murad V made his own decision despite the advice of the ministers of the state about Sultan Abdülaziz's burial place, Sultan Abdülhamid II made his decision, under the influence of the dervish convent's *şeyh*, according to a story.[346] For these two examples, the tradition that the sultan was the only one having the right to decide was practiced.

The changes in the state's administrative structure and other elements' sharing the administration naturally affected the decisions about the burial place. The Declaration of Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 and Sultan Abdülhamid II's being deposed just after its announcement caused great changes in the Ottoman administrative structure. The sultan's power of administration decreased greatly and the influence of the notable *paşa*s in the Committee of Union and Progress increased gradually. The Minister of War Enver Paşa opposed Sultan Abdülhamid II's will to be buried in Fatih Mosque and consequently Enver Paşa's attitude was the determining factor**.**[347]

For this reason, it can be said that the sultan's absolute power declined in this respect with the changes in the administrative structure. It is seen that the Committee of Union and Progress would assent to a will that needed no discussion, but would not admit "difficult and disputed" desires. This situation would be evaluated according to the day's conditions and a decision would be made. However, while talking about the funeral ceremonies, it should be accepted as an important change that elements outside the dynasty also had a share in determining the burial place.

Sultan Abdülmecid and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in a sense imposed their desires by having his tomb built when they were healthy. However, despite this insistence, he

[346] Süleyman Kâni İrtem. *Sultan Murad ve Ali Suavi Olayı*, pp. 132-133.

[347] Ali Fuad Türkgeldi. *Görüp İşittiklerim*, p. 129; Ziya Şakir. *Sultan Hamid'in Son Günleri*, p. 267.

needed his successor's approval and neither Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin nor the Committee of Union and Progress's *paşa*s opposed his will. Having a tomb built for oneself when healthy –or in other words when on duty– was a very rare situation; in fact, we do not have any example apart from Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent on this issue. It is possible to relate Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's having his tomb prepared to his anxiety about his end, which occurred because of what happened to his brother Sultan Murad V. As Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's was a personal choice, it should be admitted as an important deviation from tradition.

If we look at the burial place itself, we come across an important deviation. After İstanbul was conquered, the Ottoman sultans were buried in the area called *suriçi*. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was buried in his tomb in Eyüp by his own choice. His tomb in Eyüp is the sole example that is outside the *suriçi* after the conquest of İstanbul. In the example of Sultan Murad V, who was buried in *Cedîd Havâtin Tomb*, which was not accepted as a sultan's tomb, the dynasty tradition can be said to be going on. As Hakkı Önkal tells us, the Ottoman sultans who were openly known to have gone mad were excluded in tomb choices and this tradition was valid for Sultan Murad V.

While Sultan Abdülaziz and Sultan Abdülhamid II were buried according to previous practices, the last Ottoman Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin is different from his predecessors on a few points. Firstly, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin is the first and the last sultan who died outside İstanbul, after Sultan Süleyman the Magnificant. Ottoman sultans began not to attend military expeditions and this situation went on until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after him. Although some sultans set out on journeys abroad, all lost their lives in the capital. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, who left

İstanbul thinking that leaving the country at such time would be appropriate, died in Italy.

Besides this, the Ottoman sultans' funeral ceremonies were arranged in Bursa until İstanbul was conquered. They were arranged in İstanbul after the conquest and this practice never changed. As the Turkish Republic had been founded on the Ottoman Empire's remains when Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin died, and because of the Turkish Republic's attitude, his funeral was arranged in Damascus in a dully way and he was buried there. The corpses or the internal organs of the sultans who died outside İstanbul because of expeditions were temporarily buried where they were; however, they were carried to Bursa or İstanbul, later. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin is the sole sultan whose corpse is outside Bursa or İstanbul, in fact outside Turkish land. The reason why Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was very different from the Ottoman sultans at some points is very simple and clear, there is no need to look for other reasons: Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was the last sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

When it comes to the people who attended the ceremony, what makes the ceremonies in the period that we study different is the participation of foreign ambassadors and officials. The period when foreign states began having their ambassadors reside regularly in İstanbul is the eighteenth century. However, in the nineteenth century there were ambassadors and officials of many states in the capital. Certainly foreign people, temporary or permanent ambassadors or officials of many countries had attended the funerals of the previous periods. Although some foreign ambassadors had attended a number of funerals before Sultan Abdülaziz, foreign ambassadors became an element of funerals in the period we study. In this period, invitation cards were sent to embassies and other foreign representatives by the Protocol

Department. Top level foreign agents were present in the court of the Topkapı Palace in Sultan Abdülhamid II's and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funerals.

The Effect of Westernization on Funeral Ceremonies

In Ottoman history studies, if a period after *Tanzîmât* Edict of 1839 is examined, we come across the concepts, "Europeanization, Westernization, and Modernization" whatever the subject is. We also began to wonder whether Westernization efforts had an effect on funeral ceremonies and if so what they were, when we decided to study funeral ceremonies. When the structure of the funeral ceremonies in this period and how they were arranged is examined, it is revealed that they had an official aspect as well as a religious aspect. Moreover, it is seen that new elements were added to the funeral ceremonies in the last period and these were taken from Europe.

Muslims believe that death is from God and it is the beginning of an eternal life. The body of a dead Muslim is washed, symbolizing material and spiritual purity. He is covered with white shroud which symbolizes purity and innocence, too. While these transactions take place, people pray continuously, beg God to forgive the dead person's sins, if there are any. For that reason, it is necessary to deal with the ceremonies of the funeral process within the context of religion. As there is no class distinction among Muslims, as the difference between Muslims can be measured with piety and this can only be done by God, the deaths of Ottoman sultans should be dealt with in the context of religion. As a matter of fact, after Egypt was conquered by Sultan Selim the Grim, the

holy trusts of Islam were brought to İstanbul, making Ottoman sultans the caliphs of Islam from then on.

Well, did the funerals of the Ottoman sultans in the period we study occur within the axis of religion? When parts and the practices of the ceremony are examined, the religious emphasis is seen. Washing and shrouding form the essence of the funeral practice and in our examples they are given great importance. In fact these transactions were performed in front of the *Hırkâ-i Saâdet Dâiresi*, expecting God's mercy and grace. The funeral prayers were performed by the *şeyhülislâm* who was the most respected ecclesiastic, or by notable dervish convent *şeyh*s. Kaaba clothes were put on the coffin and people prayed, reading the Holy Koran.

Despite religious practices, the funeral cortege was arranged and functioned as an official cortege rather than as a religious practice, if Sultan Murad V is put aside as a complete sultan's ceremony was not arranged for him. In the corteges of Sultan Mahmud II, Sultan Abdülmecid and Sultan Abdülaziz, while there were soldiers on both sides, their coffins were carried to the tomb where they would be buried in a very orderly manner. In Sultan Abdülhamid II's and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's corteges every detail from who would walk in what row to the number of the soldiers was already planned according to the present regulations of the time. Furthermore, the participants attended the ceremony in their official uniforms.

The military band, which is completely an element of parade cortege, took their place in Sultan Abdülaziz's, Sultan Abdülhamid II's and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's ceremonies. The band did not play in front of the dead sultans' corpses. However, the military band played *resm-i selâm* (the official salutation) in front of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's corpse and went on playing without stopping until the end of the accession

ceremony, as there was Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's *biat* ceremony just next to him when he was being washed.[348]

According to Islam, the only aim of the funeral ceremony is to send the dead person with good prayers on his last journey and plainness is the principle in this ceremony. However, the strict protocol rules practiced in Ottoman sultans' funeral ceremonies and their irreligious elements clearly show that the official cortege side of these ceremonies gained priority when compared to their religious side.

That the funeral troops were arranged as an official parade rather than as a religious practice and that the elements which did not exist in dynastic traditions began to be seen in funeral ceremonies should be stressed. Determining these new elements and their sources, examining why they were added to the ceremonies as "invented tradition"[349] will greatly contribute to the analysis of the concept of Westernization.

Within the context of Westernization, the existence of the military band that is known as the *Muzıka-ı Hümâyân* in the cortege is the first example we must look at. Sultan Selim III saw the janissaries as one of the sources of the problems that the empire had. For that reason, he was planning to organize a new army, taking Europe as a model. As a result of the janissary revolt, this idea could not be realized in Sultan Selim III's period but Sultan Mahmud II laid the foundation of an army by taking European armies as an example and by dissolving the Janissaries. European military counselors helped to form a new army in dress, equipping and organization. Also, Giuseppe Donizetti, who was an important actor in this process states that the establishment of the *Muzıka-ı Hümâyûn* instead of *mehter* (traditional Ottoman military band) was the idea and

[348] Hakan Karateke. *Çok Yaşa!: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler*, p. 34.

[349] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*,

command of Sultan Mahmud II. In his eyes, Sultan Mahmud II, who was a brillant sultan, wanted to replace the old and outdated Janissary music with a new modern European band.[350]

Furthermore, an unexpected problem that occurred during ceremony marches led the responsible people to think. The soldiers, who were trained to march with European ceremony music, could not keep up with the *mehter.* The *mehter* band, which walked in a sloppy way among the voice of big drums, disturbed the ceremony. The idea to close the *Mehterhâne* and to form a military band in European style was put on the agenda with this problem. The *Mehterhâne* was closed in 1828 by Sultan Mahmud II and a Western copy, a palace band school called *Muzıka-ı Hümâyûn* was formed by Giuseppe Donizetti, the retired band officer of Sultan Selim III's close friend the French Emperor Napoleon.[351] Giuseppe Donizetti, who was invited to İstanbul, was appointed as the General Instructor of the Military Bands of the Ottoman Empire. After this period, sultans had marches composed for themselves and these were played in the ceremonies.[352]

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[350] Giuseppe Donizetti. "Türkiye'deki Müzik ve Osmanlı İmparatorluk Marşı Üzerine Toplu Bir Bakış," in: Süha Umur. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Resmi Marşlar," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 35, Kasım 1986, pp. 5-9.

[351] For foundation of *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn* as a military band instead of mehterhâne and for the improvements in this process see: Cemal Ünlü. "Mehterhane Yerine Bando: Mızıka-ı Hümâyûn," http://www.kalan.com/scripts/Dergi/Dergi.asp?t=3&yid=2944; Süha Umur. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Resmi Marşlar," pp. 5-9.

[352] Donizetti Paşa presented the march that he had just composed to the sultan in the *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn* concert that was performed with Sultan Mahmud II's presence, in the spring of 1831, in the Beylerbeyi Palace. The sultan who was pleased with the performance of his new band and the march rewarded Donizetti with "pride sign." "Mahmudiye" or "*Marche Imperiale Ottomane*" (Ottoman National Anthem) was accepted as the first Ottoman national anthem. Sultan Abdülmecid who ascended the throne in 1839 wanted Donizetti to compose the march that would later be known as the Mecidiye March. The Mecidiye March was played as the national anthem in ceremonies during this sultan's reign. When Sultan Abdülaziz ascended the throne in 1861, that period's *Muzika-i Hümâyûn* chief Guatelli composed and presented the Aziziye March to the sultan**.** In Sultan Abdülaziz's period, this march was used as the national anthem. Sultan Murad V who took his place did not want a new march to be composed. He put the Mecidiye March that was composed for his father Sultan Abdülmecid on the agenda, again. He chose this march as

It is definite and clear that the inspiration for the establishment of *Muzıka-ı Hümâyûn*, and Ottoman sultans' having marches composed for themselves and making the military band play them in the ceremonies was as part of Western culture. The military band was formed to complete the Western army idea. As Giuseppe Donizetti underlines, Sultan Mahmud II replaced old and outdated Janissary music with a new modern European band.[353] People who founded the military band and who educated the soldiers who would perform were top level instructors brought from Europe.

We could not determine whether a military band attended Sultan Mahmud II's and Sultan Abdülmecid's funeral ceremonies or not. However, we know that Italian Bartolomeo Pisani who was the head of *Muzıka-ı Hümâyûn* for some time, composed a Funeral March with the opening "A Drop of Tear on Abdülmecid's Grave." [354] Our sources do not give any information on whether this funeral march was played in Sultan Abdülmecid's funeral or not. However, this march might have been prepared when Sultan Abdülmecid was healthy, with his knowledge, comission or instruction.[355] Although we question its reliability, in the illustration we have, it is seen that the military band attended Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral troop. We know that for sure the

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the national anthem. Necip Paşa composed the national anthem that was used during Sultan Abdülhamid II's long reign. The Hamidiye March, which was the first oral march at the same time, was also known as *Marş-ı Âli Hamidî*. The Reşadiye March that Italo Selvelli composed polyphony, was taken in repertoire as the national anthem when Sultan Mehmed V Reşad ascended the throne. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin did not want a march composed for him, he used the Mahmudiye March which Donizetti had composed for Sultan Mahmud II.

For Ottoman marches see: Süha Umur. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Resmi Marşlar," pp. 5-9.

[353] Giuseppe. Donizetti, "Türkiye'deki Müzik ve Osmanlı İmparatorluk Marşı Üzerine Toplu Bir Bakış," in Süha Umur. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Resmi Marşlar," pp. 8-9

[354] Musician and musicologist Dr. Emre Aracı, collected the works that were composed for Ottoman sultans in West music form, in his album called "Boğaziçi Mehtaplarında Sultan Portreleri (Sultan Portraits in the Bosphorus Moonlight)." The funeral march that Pisani composed for Sultan Abdülmecid is also in this album. For the story of the march, see the booklet of the album. p. 15.

[355] With Sultan Abdülmecid's death, the Italian musician became Sultan Abdülaziz's musician and was committed to the new sultan.

military band attended Sultan Abdülhamid II's and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral troops. This situation strengthens the validity of the illustration which shows that a military band attended Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral troop.

Being copied from the West, and not a part of Ottoman tradition, the military band's attendance at the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans can be explained with the idea of Westernization that was at its peak in the nineteenth century. Ottoman sultans who were influenced by the West in many areas and took the Western practices as examples made the Western military band an element of funeral ceremonies. We do not say that the Western originated military band was added to the Ottoman ceremonies as a new element. The *mehter*, which was the military band in the Ottomans and existed as an important Ottoman tradition until the *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn*'s foundation, was replaced by it. What we want to stress is the changing of an institution in Ottoman tradition with its Western equivalent and that this change occurred as a result of the Westernization process.

The second example that shows Western elements added to funeral ceremonies is the usage of a register of condolence. We could not determine whether registers of condolence were prepared for the visitors to sign when Sultan Abdülaziz and Sultan Murad V died. However, a register of condolence was prepared for the visitors when Sultan Abdülhamid II and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad died. For Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, who died in Italy and was buried after a difficult process, a condolence notebook was prepared in the villa. In the announcement made by the Protocol Department about the ceremony, it was stated that a condolence notebook would be prepared and this situation was announced in the newspapers. Unfortunately, we could not reach these notebooks in our research at the Ottoman State Archives. If we had

reached the notebooks, we would have had the chance to determine who liked this practice more; however, we lack this chance.

A condolence notebook was not a practice that had a place in Turkish, Ottoman and Muslim tradition. It was tradition of Western culture in which Christian elements had dominance. In fact, the use of registers of condolence cannot be explained with a simple idea such as "Let us Westernize." This practice is the result of a process. The foreign states generally began having permanent ambassadors or representatives in the capital, İstanbul, in the eighteenth century. With the nineteenth century, there were embassies of many countries in İstanbul. Naturally, the Ottoman Empire also had embassies in many foreign countries. Not only diplomatic communication increased but relationships in various areas of social life were formed and developed between the Ottoman dynasty and European kingships with the foundation of these embassies. The Ottoman dynasty and European kingships sent invitations to each other and accept each other's invitations on special days such as marriage, birthdays and anniversaries.[356] Hence, dynasties and kingships became informed about each other's traditions and these traditions became a kind of communication means among them.

The inclusion of a Western-style military band into the funeral ceremonies and the initiation of the condolences notebooks at the funerals of the Ottoman sultans can also be explained by the concept of "Ottoman image management and damage control,"

[356] Ottoman sultans were in close contact with European kings and took pains on sending representatives or congratulations to an insignificant ceremony. In deaths or wars, condolences were definitely sent. Their drawees answered Ottoman sultans kindly. These examples can be shown for this: *Cevapnâme-i Hümâyûn* (Answer of the Dynasty) as a response to the Queen of England's congratulations for the sultan's birthday, offering their condolences to the king of France for his son's death, *teşekkürnâme* (letter of thanks) that comes as a response to the condolence letter that was written for the death of the brother of Sweden and Norway. See: BOA, Y..PRK.UM.. Dosya No: 13 Gömlek No: 122, 29/Ca/1306.

developed by Selim Deringil.[357] He argues that the Ottoman Empire attempted to present itself as a member of the world, naming the Ottoman Empire as protocol and world state.[358] What the Ottoman Empire tried to do was to present itself as a part of Europe. The basic aim in the nineteenth century was to make the Ottoman Empire known by the European kingdoms and to single out the Ottoman dynasty as a part of the European community. So, Western-style practices with a mentality of "we are like you," were added to the Ottoman traditions.

Besides these, we have stated that funeral corteges were arranged and performed as official rather than religious ceremonies. In Sultan Abdülaziz's cortege, while there were soldiers on both sides, the coffin was carried to the tomb where he would be buried in a orderly manner. In Sultan Abdülhamid II's and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's corteges, every detail from who would walk in what row to the number of the soldiers was regulated. Furthermore, the participants attended the ceremony in their full official uniforms. Although it was the tradition not to take pains over dressing, Ottoman dynasty members attended the funeral troops in their official uniforms and did not neglect to put the signs given to them on their uniforms. Şehzâde Vasip Efendi did not neglect to take his brooch with him while going to San Remo for Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's funeral.[359]

The illustration dated 1861 that was drawn by artist and architect Pierre Montani reveals the influence of Westernization on Sultan Abdülmecid's funeral ceremony. In

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[357] Selim Deringil. *The Well-Protected Domain: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998).

[358] Selim Deringil provides striking examples of the issue in question. See: Selim Deringil. *The Well-Protected Domain,* pp. 145-152.

[359] Ali Vâsıb Efendi. *Bir Şehzadenin Hâtırâtı-Vatan ve Menfâda Gördüklerim ve İşittiklerim*, pp. 192-194.

the illustration, the soldiers are lined up as they were in a modern *Tanzîmât* ceremony, cries, and wails are out of the question. The military order and the changes in dress that were outcome of the reforms are clearly seen in this illustration. While getting slightly closer to Islamic tradition, in a sense, an approach to the tradition of orderly official parade is perceived.[360] Also in the photograph that shows Sultan Abdülhamid II's funeral ceremony in 1918, the soldiers, fezs, the sultan's fez on the coffin are seen; however, clothes with verses of the Holy Koran were put on the coffin.[361]

Although our subject is the funeral ceremonies of Ottoman sultans, it is possible to come across official parades in other funeral corteges in the Ottoman Empire. In the picture dated 1877 that shows Kabuli Paşa's funeral, there is again an order with uniforms, an adjacent order. Two points that do not take place in the picture but exist in its interpretation should be mentioned: the first detail is the military band's walking in the front; the second detail is the horses of *paşa*s walking behind the funeral. This shows that traditional Turkish ritual was performed. It is possible to show this example as a funeral which assembles modernism, change and continuity; and the most evident element of this is the fez put on the coffin. The headgear tradition goes on, but the fez is used instead of the quilted turban. However, it is also possible to see that a tradition's self-conveyed aesthetics is corrupted while trying to make the tradition live.[362]

It is possible to give other examples of the inspiration from European death culture in Ottomans. As Edhem Eldem points out, some elements that are obviously

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[360] Edhem Eldem. *Death in İstanbul*, p. 96; Edhem Eldem. "Osmanlı Müslüman Ölüm Ritüellerinde Devamlılık ve Değişimi," Ottoman Bank Voyvoda Street Meetings 2005-2006, http://www.obarsiv.com/vct_0506_edhemeldem.html.

[361] Figure. 15 and Figure. 16.

[362] Edhem Eldem. *Death in İstanbul,* p. 66; Edhem Eldem. "Osmanlı Müslüman Ölüm Ritüellerinde Devamlılık ve Değişimi,"

Western did occur particularly at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. In a caricature published in *Karagöz* magazine, which is a typical example of this situation, the representation of death with a skeleton holding a scythe beside a cholera microbe was taken from European culture. Another important European tradition, the black frame, is a typical European element that we see in death announcements. [363]

[363] Edhem Eldem. *Death in İstanbul,* p. 98.

CHAPTER V

CONLUSION

As death is an important means of understanding the cultures of communities and states, it is necessary to examine the demise and funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans to learn more about the dynasty. Studying the funerals of the Ottoman sultans in "the longest century of the empire," the nineteenth century,[364] and in the twentieth century when the empire vanished, allows the researchers to examine the Ottoman dynasty from different perspectives.

In our study, which consists of five chapters, we accounted the deaths and funeral ceremonies of Sultan Mahmud II, Sultan Abdülmecid, Sultan Abdülaziz, Sultan Murad V, Sultan Abdülhamid II, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad and Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin. Due to the lack of a previous study for this period, we found it more appropriate to prepare a monographic and descriptive chapter to allow the readers to reach the detailed information compiled from archives, newspapers and diaries. We preferred to present information in the first section instead of engaging in a discussion.

After giving information on the demise and the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans in the second chapter, we tried to examine and to analyze the demise and funerals from specific perspectives to contextualize the issue and to reach certain convictions in the third chapter. We tried to detect the similarities and differences between funeral ceremonies, and their meanings, taking up the elements of mourning

[364] İlber Ortaylı. *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (İstanbul: Hil, 1983).

shows, death place, the washing and shrouding of the corpse, funeral prayers, the formation of the funeral cortege, and the burial place.

We deducted the following results regarding the mourning rituals for the deceased sultans in the period we studied: Death is a phenomenon with a humane dimension. The demise of the sultans inflicted deep sorrow on the dynasty members as the death of an ordinary people saddens his relatives. Mourning rituals are natural incidents; sobbing, crying and tearing off hair were the common reactions. The exaggerated crying of the women and their fainting were the main components of the mourning shows. The color, which is the basic element of mourning rituals, is an important representation of the death of the sultans. Black and dark blue were the dominant colors of the clothes during the preparation of the coffin and the funeral ceremony.

The announcement of the death and the timing of the burial naturally had an impact on the number of the funeral attendants. The image of the sultan among the people and his dedication to the people were central in terms of their respect for the funeral. The people's reverence to the sultan was seriously linked to the tenure of the sultan. The funeral of Sultan Abdülhamid II who remained in power for 33 years and was known as the sultan "who was visible without being seen," [365] to use the words of Selim Deringil, received the highest respect. Bearing in mind the fact that people show solidarity in times of hardship, it could be deducted that the funeral ceremonies of Sultan

[365] Selim Deringil. "Abdülhamit Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Simgesel ve Törensel Doku: 'Görünmeden Görünmek'," pp. 34-56.

Abdülhamid II and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad received high attendance as the Ottoman Empire was collapsing.

The equipping practices of the funeral ceremonies were generally in alignment with Islamic principles. The corpses were cleaned and shrouded with great reverence outside an area in the Topkapı Palace where the holy relics were preserved while the verses from the The Holy Koran and prayers were recited. The usage of the precious dynastic gilds and shawls at the shrouding does not conflict with Islamic teaching but it cannot be seen as appropriate. As Islamic teaching prioritizes equality and simplicity among the believers, the ceremonial shrouding of the sultans was not plausible.

The will of the deceased sultan about the place of his burial was not sufficient to determine the burial place. The new sultan, who had absolute authority, was the only *efendi* with the right to say the last word. In terms of the timing of the burial, Islamic teaching prefers the cleaning, shrouding, the funeral prayers and the burial of the corpse to be performed in the shortest time possible. The keeping of the corpse to await the burial is not approvable practice. Apart from Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin who passed away abroad, the last six Ottoman sultans were buried either on the day they died or on the following day.

It is an important question whether the new sultan should attend the funeral cortege and ceremony of his predecessor. From the foundation period to the era of Sultan Selim II, the new sultans were present at the funeral ceremonies of their predecessors. The tradition gradually changed after Sultan Selim II, and Ottoman sultans began not to attend the funeral ceremonies of their predecessors. Excluding the participation of Sultan Selim III in the funeral ceremony of Sultan Abdülhamid I, the

sultans after Sultan Selim II's era preferred not to attend the funeral ceremony and burial of their predecessor. We could not detect any exception to that tradition.[366]

The sources of the Sultan Selim II era and of the following period do not cite any reason why the sultan prefers not to attend the funeral ceremony of his predecessor. Gülru Necipoğlu argues that Ottoman sultans, like the Roman Emperors, had tried to prevent death from reaching them, by obstructing a possible contact with death, thus not attending the funeral ceremonies.[367] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein also back this argument of Gülru Necipoğlu.[368] The reference point of Gülru Necipoğlu's argument was the Roman Emperors. As Islamic and Ottoman culture judge it as superficial belief, we deem the argument to be a weak possibility. We think that the most reasonable explanation about the sultans' absence from the funeral ceremonies of their predecessors comes from Kadir Mısıroğlu. The sultans' wish to conceal their weakness -which would be revealed by weeping during the funeral ceremonies- kept the tradition alive.[369]

Our examples, except for Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, followed the dynastic tradition and did not attend the funeral ceremonies of their predecessors. The last Ottoman Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin, however, broke the century's long dynastic tradition, attending the funeral ceremony of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad who died and was buried in İstanbul. Although we cannot explain Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's action

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[366] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. "II. Mehmet'ten I. Ahmet'e Osmanlı Sultanlarının Cenaze Törenleri," in: Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin. (éd), *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations*, p. 189; Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. *Le Sérail ébranlé*, pp. 410-413.

[367] Gülru Necipoğlu. "Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in İstanbul," pp. 68-69.

[368] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. "II. Mehmet'ten I. Ahmet'e Osmanlı Sultanlarının Cenaze Törenleri," in: Gilles Veinstein and Nicolas Vatin. (éd), *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanances et mutations*, p. 189; Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein. *Le Sérail ébranlé*, p. 411.

[369] Kadir Mısıroğlu. *Osmanoğulları'nın Dramı*, pp. 65-66; Hakan Karateke. *Padişahım Çok Yaşa!: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler*, p. 36.

with concrete reasons, the best explanation will be that it was his personal choice. Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin was at the palace for the *biat* ceremony on the day when the funeral ceremony for the deceased Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was taking place at the palace of the sultan. However, Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin preferred not to attend the funeral ceremony despite the physical vicinity. He, however, attended the burial ceremony of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in the quarter of Eyüp although the burial site in Eyüp was far away. So, the attitude of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin should be evaluated as a deliberate choice.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was known for his calmness, his compassionate and fatherly attitude towards the members of the dynasty. While he was on the throne, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad treated his heir Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin very calmly and with consideration, and never sent the crown prince to jail. Thus, it can be said that Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin attended the funeral of his predecessor due to his respect and love for Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. The defeat experienced at World War I and the deteriorating situation in the country could also have been psychologically effective in the personal choice of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin during hard times.

It will be beneficial to look at the place of the funeral ceremonies of the last seven Ottoman sultans among the funeral ceremonies of all sultans. We tried to assess the place of the funeral ceremonies of the last seven sultans in the entire process, examining the common points by roughly studying the former ceremonies. The similarities and differences could be figured out by making comparisons between the former funeral ceremonies and the funerals of the period we studied. Tracing the background of the differences and changes, the role of the mentality behind this transformation could be perceived. Thus, it can be assessed whether the Westernization

process which played an important role in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century had an impact on the funeral ceremonies.

The funeral ceremonies of Ottoman sultans had differed since the foundation of the empire; different practices could be detected, depending on time, place and conditions. Ottoman sultans had generally died either at the battlefields or during war preparations before the conquest of İstanbul. That is why the sultans were buried in a simple and ordinary way. The funeral ceremonies and protocols began to take place at the Topkapı Palace after the conquest of İstanbul.[370]

When the funeral ceremonies of the first six sultans of the Ottoman Empire are taken into account, there was a strong inclination to bury the sultans in the capital Bursa. If the sultan passed away on the battlefield, the internal organs of the deceased sultan were buried there while the remains were taken to the capital Bursa for burial. The tomb would be transferred to Bursa even if a long time had elapsed since the burial. The Ottoman sultans preferred to be buried in Bursa even after the capital was moved to Edirne following the conquest of the city. A moral bond with Bursa where the empire was born and flourished could be the reason behind the will of the sultans to be buried in that city.

The funeral ceremonial procedures which were pursued until the adoption of the revolutionary "*ekber-erşâd*" system -election of the eldest and wisest heir as the new sultan- were mainly as follows: the gist of Ottoman mentality was "permanency of the empire" as before the conquest of İstanbul. All laws, including the controversial imperial act of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror which stipulated the killing of brothers, gave priority to the permanency of the empire. The death of a sultan was kept secret until the

[370] Dündar Alikılıç. *Osmanlı'da Devlet Protokolü ve Törenler: İmparatorluk Seremonisi*, p. 158.

new sultan took over to prevent internal conflicts. The death of the sultan as an individual had no importance. Even the deaths of sultans like Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror and Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, who were great names in Ottoman history, were kept secret for a long time. We see that there was no huge respect paid to the corpse if it was necessary to create plots to pretend that the sultan was still alive. Historiographer Tursun Bey could not refrain from saying that "the fallen has no friend," in reference to the corpse of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror, which had begun to smell.[371] In the face of death, for the permanency of the empire, the deceased sultan was not treated even as a simple Muslim citizen.

The system of "*ekber-erşâd*" also affected the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans. The first effect of the "*ekber-erşâd*" system on the ceremonies was the fact that there was no longer a need to conceal the death, as the "*ekber-erşâd*" system clearly draws the echelons of the crown sultans and their turns when a sultan passes away. Like the previous periods, in the era when "*ekber-erşâd*" was implemented, the sultan was the sole authority to determine how the funeral ceremony would take place and whether there would be a pompous funeral cortege.

There was a tendency in the period under study to wear official uniforms and to attend the funeral ceremonies in large numbers. The dynasty members also began to wear medals on their uniforms. We do not see any difference in the place of the equipping. The ongoing tradition continued in that era. However, there was a significant deviation from tradition in terms of the burial place. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad ordered the construction of his own tomb and thus imposed his will on his heirs regarding the his burial site. After the conquest of İstanbul, Ottoman sultans preferred to be buried in the

[371] Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein, "II. Mehmed'in Ölümü," pp. 166-168; A.S. Ünver. *Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Ölümü ve Hadiseleri Üzerine Bir Vesika*, pp. 3-6.

area *suriçi* (encircled by the walls, the old İstanbul), but Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was buried in a tomb constructed in Eyüp, outside the walls.

The transformation in the state administration and the inclusion of other factors into the state naturally affected the selection of burial places. The declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy (1908) and the dethroning of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1909) prompted important changes in the empire. The authority of the sultan over the government was curbed while the influence of the prominent figures of the Committee of Union and Progress gradually increased. Hence, the Minister of War Enver Paşa had a strong role in determining the burial place of the toppled Sultan Abdülhamid II. In addition, the main difference between the previous funeral ceremonies and those we studied was the presence of foreign representatives and officials in the latter. This is also related to the appointment of permanent ambassadors in the capital, İstanbul.

The emphasis on religion could be seen in the procedures and practices of funeral ceremonies of the sultans from the late nineteenth century on. The cleaning and shrouding constitute the core of funeral practices in Islamic teaching, and they were underlined in the given examples. These practices were executed outside the hall where the Holy Relics were being kept, with a hope of compassion from God. The funeral prayers were mostly led by the chief religious cleric or by a popular leader of a religious sect. The coffin was covered with a veil from the shawl of Holy Kaaba, while verses from the Holy Koran were cited during the entire cleaning and shrouding practices.

Despite these religious practices, except for the funeral ceremony of Sultan Murad V, the funerals were designated as official ceremonies rather than as religious funerals and they were executed as state funerals. The coffin of Sultan Abdülaziz was taken to the tomb by the marching order of the attendants as the military units lined up

on two sides of the funeral cortege. The details, including the names of the attendants and the marching order of the soldiers were prepared during the funeral cortege of Sultan Abdülhamid II and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, according to the relevant edicts. The participants wore official uniforms during the funeral ceremonies.

The military bands which were components of official ceremonies took their place in the funeral ceremonies of Sultan Abdülaziz, Sultan Abdülhamid II and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. According to Islamic tradition, the only aim of holding a funeral ceremony is to say farewell to the deceased person, good wishes and simplicity is fundamental to the ceremony. Nevertheless, the strict participation rules employed at the funerals of the Ottoman sultans along with secular factors turned the funerals into state ceremonies rather than religious ones.

New elements were included in the funeral ceremonies of the post-*Tanzîmât* era and they were mostly of Western origin. The appearance of the military bands instead of the classical Ottoman band (*mehter*) in the funeral corteges was the first example which showed Western influence. The military revision efforts of Sultan Selim III continued with the abolition of the janissaries by Sultan Mahmud II and with the formation of the Western-like army. The closure of the Ottoman band (*mehter*) and the establishment of the Western military band took place within this context. Following the dissolution of the *Mehterhâne*, retired officer Giuseppe Donizetti, who was the close friend of Sultan Selim III, was ordered by the sultan to establish the *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn* (Imperial Musical Band) musical school at the palace.

It is undeniable that European culture inspired the Ottoman sultans to order the formation of the *Muzıka-ı Hümâyûn*, the composition of field music in honour of the sultans and their performance at the military ceremonies. The military band was

established to become like a Western-style army. The founders of the military bands and the trainers of the musicians were senior officers from Europe. The appearance of the military bands- which were just imitations from the West- at the funeral ceremonies of the sultans was the outcome of the pro-Western mentality which reached a state of delirium in the nineteenth century. Ottoman sultans, who were largely inspired and affected by Western-style practices, made the Western-style military bands a part of the funeral ceremonies.

The introduction of the condolence notebooks after the funeral ceremonies was another example of Western influence. Condolence notebooks normally did not exist in Ottoman, Muslim and Turkish traditions. They were a part of Western tradition shared by Christianity. The usage of the condolence notebook at the funeral ceremonies cannot be explained with the simple logic: "Let us get Westernized." It should be associated with the appointment of permanent Western ambassadors and embassies in İstanbul, and with the gradually intensifying relations between the Ottoman dynasty and the kingdoms and states in Europe.

The inclusion of the Western-style military band into the funeral ceremonies and the initiation of the condolence notebooks at the funerals of the Ottoman sultans can be explained by the concept, "Ottoman image management and damage control," developed by Selim Deringil. He argues that the Ottoman Empire attempted to present itself as a member of the world, naming the Ottoman Empire as a protocol and a world state. What the Ottoman Empire tried to do was to present itself as a part of Europe. The basic aim in the nineteenth century was to make the Ottoman Empire known by the European kingdoms and to single out the Ottoman dynasty as a part of the European

community. So, Western-style practices with a mentality of “we are like you” were incorporated into the Ottoman traditions through the funerals of its last seven sultans.

APPENDIX

The Death report of Sultan Abdülaziz

Ber-muktezây-ı İrâde-i seniyye-i Cenâb-ı Şehensâhi vükelâ-yı fihâm hazerâtı tarafından verilen emr üzerine 11 Cumâda-l-ulâ sene 93 ve 23 Mayıs 92 pazar günü öğleden bir saat evvel Hüdâvendigâr-ı sâbık Abdülaziz Han'ın sebeb-i mevtini tahkik etmek için Çırağan Saray-ı Hümâyunu ittisalinde bulunan karakolhaneye gidecek orada bizi alt katta bulunan bir odaya götürdüklerinde yerde serilmiş bir şilte üzerinde üzeri cedid ile örtülmüş bir cesed gördük. Örtüyü kaldırdığımızda Hüdâvendigâr-ı sâbık Abdülaziz Han'ın cesedi olduğunu tanıdık. Lede'l muayene bilcümle a'zâsı soğuk, kansız ve soluk ve ba'zı mahalleri dem-i mütehassir ile mestur olup cesed ise henüz donmamıştı. Göz kapakları açıkça, karîne-i lâmiası hafifçe kesif ve ağzı dahi biraz açık ciddi ve kolları ile ayaklarını setreden bezler kan ile mülemma' olup kolundaki bezi kaldırdığımızda sol kolunun bükümünün biraz aşağısında beş aşîri zira' (beş cm) tûlünde üç aşîr-i zira' umkunda bir cerîha müşâhede eyledik. İşbu cerîhanın kenarları pürüzlü ve gayr-i muntazam olup istikameti ise yukarıdan aşağıya ve dâhilden hârice doğru idi. Mezkûr nâhiyenin evridesi kesilmiş ve şiryân-ı zendî takriben hurûc eylediği noktadan çapının üç rub'u açılmış idi. Sağ kolunun büküm mahallinde dahî iki buçuk aşîr-i zira' tûlünde kezalik pürüzlü ve biraz münharif bir cerîha müşâhade eyledik. İşbu mahaldeki cerîha küçük çaplı evride üzerinde olup şerâyîn sâlim idiler. On aşîr-i zira' tûlünde ve ziyade keskin bir kolunun ucuna yakın yan tarafında ufak bir düğmesi bulunan bir mıkrâz (makas) irâe olundu: Mezkur mıkrâz kanlı olup Hüdevendigar-ı sâbıkın bâlâda zikrolunan cerîhaları bununla icra etmiş olduğunu bizlere beyan ettiler. Ba'dehu bizleri Hüdevendigar-ı merhumun ikametgahı olan deniz tarafındaki büyük odaya götürdüler. Bu odada bir pencerenin kurbünde bulunan köşe minderi üzeri kan ile göl kesilmiş ve hasırın üzerinde dahî pıhtılaşmış vâfir miktar kan bulunduğu gibi hasırın ötesinde berüsünde dahî kan lekeleri müşâhede olunmuştur.

İşte sâlif-üz-zikr ahvâlden cümlemiz müttahiden ati-z-zikr kararı verdik:

Evvelâ--- Hüdevendigar-ı sâbık Abdülaziz Han'ın vefatına kol bükümlerindeki ev'iyenin kat'iyle hâsıl olan seyelân-ı dem sebeb olmuştur.

Sâniyen--- Bize irâe olunan alet cürûh-i mezkureyi husûle getürebilir.

Sâlisen--- Cürûhun heyet ve istikametinden ve bunları husûle getirmiş olan alet-i cârihadan bir intihar, yani telef-i nefs vukua geldiği istidl'al olunuyor. Binaenaleyh Çırağan Çaray-ı Hümayunu karakolhanesinde yapmış olduğumuz işbu mazbata-i acizanemiz imza ve takdim kılındı.

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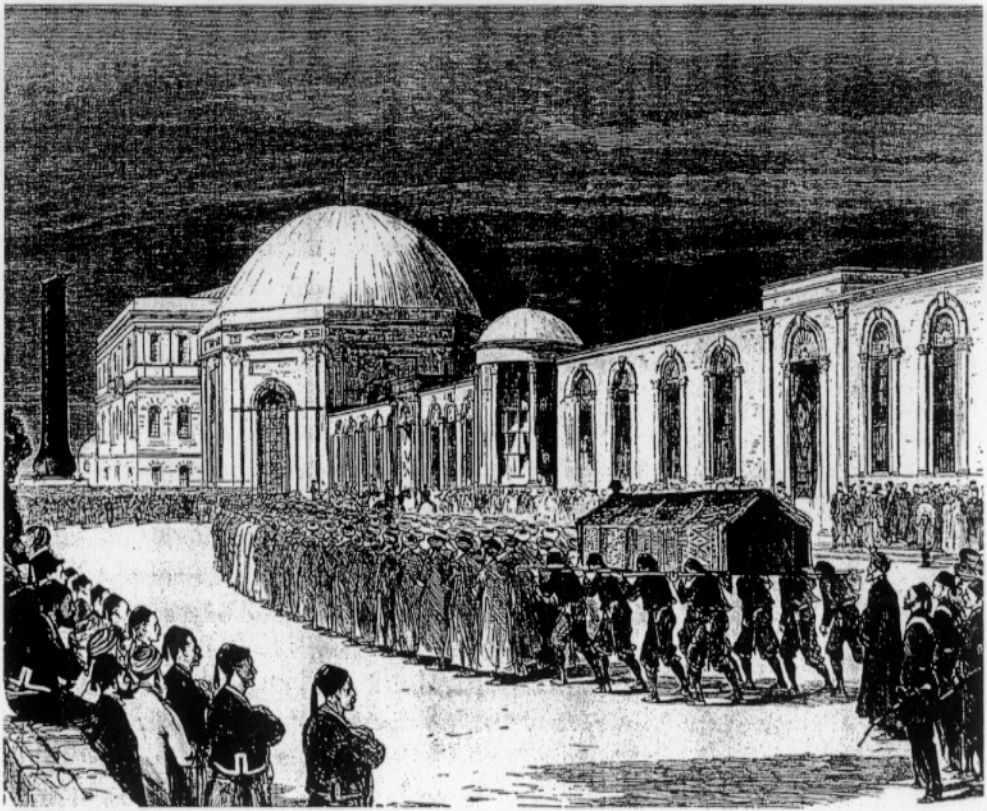


Figure 2

Illustration of Sultan Abdülaziz's funeral.



Zabıt Varakası

Figure 4.

Statement of the *imam* of the Ayasofya Mosque Hafız Mustafa Efendi, who washed the corpse of Sultan Abdülaziz.

Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Ba

Figure 5.

Death report of Sultan Murad V.



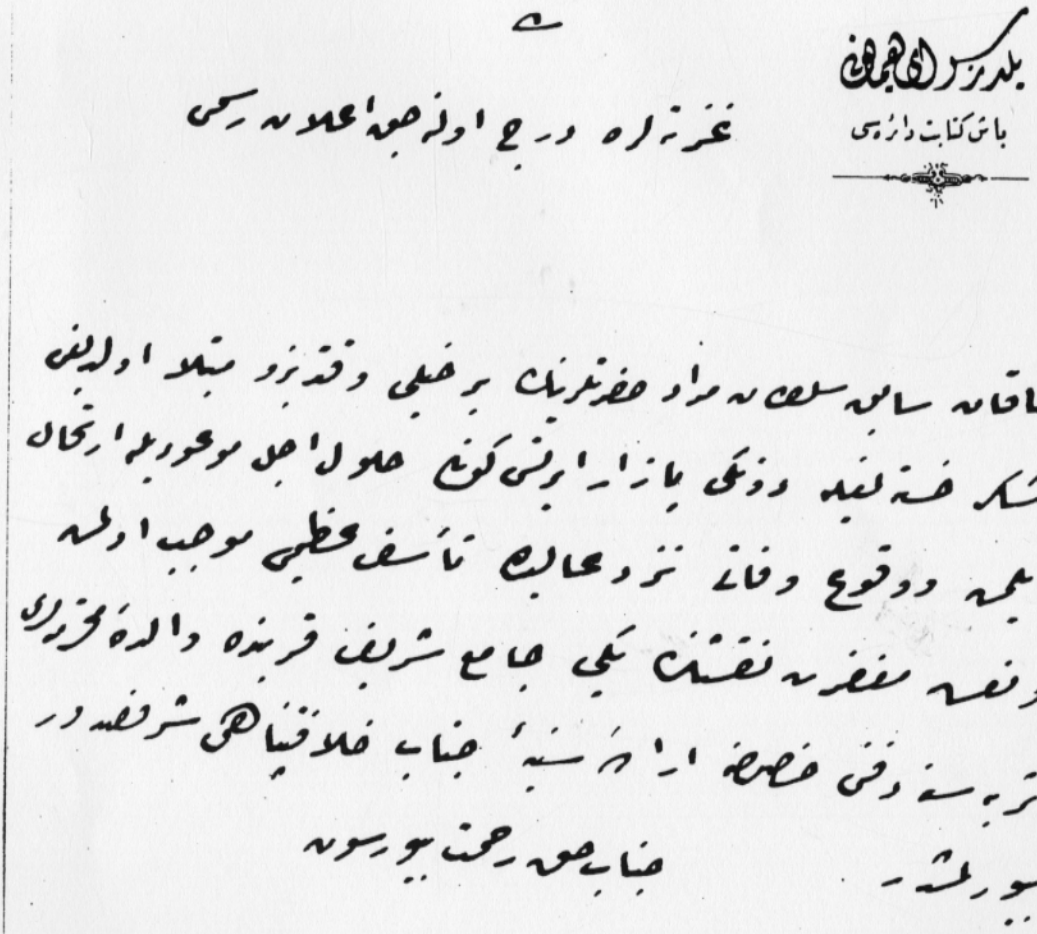


Figure 6.

Ferman ordering newspapers to announce the death of Sultan Murad V.

نسخه‌سی ۱۰ پاره‌در — نومرو ۳۶۶۷ — سالی اون برنجی سنه — نسخه‌سی ۱۰ پاره‌در

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توجیهات

سلوی قاضیلغی عزتلو رفعت افندی‌یه حسن خدمتی بناءً ترفیعاً رتبهٔ ثانیه صنف ثانیسی حس خدمتله مبنی مصر چاوشوسی نجاردن مرتضی اسماعیل حقی بك رتبهٔ ثانیه صنف ثالثیسی سیرو زمتصرفلغی معینته مأمور مکتب ملکیهٔ شاهانه مأذونلرندن رفعتلو عارف بك اعلیته مبنی رتبهٔ ثانیه

حسن خدمته مبنی شورای بحریه نظام دائره‌سی کتبه‌سندن قوتلو محمد صبری افندی‌یه رتبهٔ رابعه توجیه بیورلمشدر.

تشکر

حسن خدمته مبنی شورای بحریه اعضا. سندن میرالای عزتلو حاجی سامی بك اوچنجی رتبه‌دن عثمانی

وظیفهٔ مأمورینی حسن ایفاده مشاهد اولان مساعی حمیده‌سندن دولایی درسعادت استیناف محکمه‌سی ضبط کتبه‌سندن فائز بك‌دردنجی رتبه‌دن مجیدی

حسن خدمته مبنی بحریه نظارت جلیله‌سی یوزباشی قلمی کتبه‌سندن احمد افندی‌یه بشنجی رتبه‌دن مجیدی نشان ذیشانلری احسان بیورلمشدر.

مدالیه

تخلیص جان خصوصنده مشهود اولان حسن خستارینه مبنی دکرقول سندالجایرتدن حویه‌لی منان واتمه‌لی حسین بن یعقوب وسورمه‌لی علی بن حسین وبکر بن علی‌یه تخلیصیه مدالیه‌سی احسان بیورلمشدر.

تبلیغات سنیه‌سی

خاقان سابق سلطان مراد حضرتلرینك برخیلی وخدمتی مبتلا اولدیغی تکرخسته‌لیله دونکی پازار ایرتسی کونی حلول اجل موعودیله ارتحال ایلمش ووقوع وفاتی نزد عالیده تأسف عظیمی موجب اولمش ونعش مغفرت نقشینك یکی جامع شریف قرینده والدهٔ محترمه‌لری تربه‌سنه دفنی خصوصنده ارادهٔ سنیهٔ جناب خلافتپناهی شرفصدور بیورلمشدر.

جناب حق رحمت پیورسون

***

حمیدیه حجاز تیمور یولی قومپیسیون عالیسی اعضاسنی خاکپای سامی حضرت صدارتپناهی‌یه وکاتب ثانی حضرت شهریاری فرمای جناب پادشاهیدن دولتلو عزت پاشا حضرتلرینه واردولان تلغرافنامه‌لرك صورتیدر:

اعاظم آثار عالیهٔ جناب ولی‌نعمت اعظمیدن اولان حمیدیه حجاز تیمور یولی خط کیرینك سابقه تونیفاتوایهٔ حضرت خلافتپناهیده رسیدهٔ حسن ختام اولان معان قسم مهمنك جلوس همایون سعدتمقرون جناب خلافتپناهی‌یه شرفصادف روز فیروزه‌وزده تیمناً رسم‌یمین افتتاحده بولنق اوزره اجرای مأموریتلرینه مساعدهٔ کرامت‌عنادانه‌جناب خلافتپناهی اردوان‌یولدیلان هیئت محترمه‌نك ترن مخصوصله بوکون بیروندن حرکتلری خبری اوزرینه پشنجی اردوی همایون مشیری حقی پاشا و اتباعات و معاملات نظری یاوران حضرت شهریاریدن مشیر کاظم پاشا حضراتی و ارکان و رؤسا ومتحیزان ومأمورین ملکیه وعسکریه و پرچوق معتبران ایله شام شریفه قدر یکیوز کیلومتروده واقع رفیق استاسیونه‌سی ترن مخصوصله کیدیلدیکی مراسم استقبالیه‌یه اجرا اوراده اوکله طعامی و برلدکدن صکره و لعف مال‌العال اولدیغی هیئت محترمه‌نك اهرامی حقنده شایان بیورلدیلان مساعدات و تعطفات جناب جهانبانی‌یی استبشار ایدن المعجل وسائر عربان بادیه رؤساسی ریاقه کلدکدن (اه ینصر السلطان) دعاسنی تکرار ایله ترجمان زبان عبودیت ایلملریی متعاقب عادات عربان وجمله آثار اوبتادیله‌رق شادمانی اجرا ومفق بلده طرقدن دعای حضرت پادشاهی غایت بلیغ پرصورتده ایفا ایدلدکدن صکره شام شریفه متوجهاً حرکت اولنمش واثنای راهده استاسیونلر جوارندهکی قرا اهالیسی یولاره دوکیلهرك دعای مفروض الادای جناب تاجدارینك تکرارایله ترجمان لسان مصادقت ایتمش و شامه مواصلتده دخی اشبو الطاف جهاندرجات جناب ملوکانه‌دن طولایی مفتخر ومسرور اولان علما واشراف ومعتبران مملکت ومأمورین حکومت برامکه موقفنده مجتمع وحکومت دائره‌سنه قدر کدرکاهك ایکی طرفنده عساکر شاهانه زاندارمه وپولیس افرادیله مکاتب اعدادی ملکی وعسکری طلبه‌سی صف بسته احترام اولدقلری حالده یولك ایکی طرفنه دوکلمش وحتیجا حتیج رحاله کلمش اولان یوزیکرمیجره اهالی صادقه (اه ینصر سلطاننا عبدالحمید) درود اجابت تمویجی وفع بارکاه احدیت ایتمش ودائرهٔ حکومته مواصلتله برابر علمای بلده جانبندن تمادی عمر وعافیت وتعالی شان وشوکت حضرت شهنشاهی‌یی متضمن تلاوت اولنان دعالره حاضرون آمین خوان اولدقلری بو وسیله ایله‌ده تحدیث نعمت حضرت ولی نعمت بی منت اعظمی ایله تزین لسان عبودیت قلنمش و الطاف سنیهٔ جناب خلافتپناهی‌یی تقدیس ایدن بتون علما واشراف مملکت طرقدن وبرلین تشکرنامهٔ عمومی سورتی زیره درج ایله عرض اولنمش اولمغله اولبابده فرمان فی ۱۵ اغستوس سنه ۳۲۰

حمیدیه حجاز تیمور یولی قومپیسیون عالیسی اعضاسندن سوریه والیسی ناظم

صورت

اللهم اناتوسل الیك بأشرف انبیائك صلی اه علیه وسلم ان تؤید وتؤید وتشید ارکان سریر صاحب الخلافة العظما والملك الرفیع الاسمی خلیفة الرسول الامین وقرة العیون المسلمین سیدنا ومولانا السلطان الغازی عبدالحمید خان الثانی الذی قد تفضل تجدید الخط الحجازی العالی تسهیلاً لاداء فریضة الحج علی آلاف الوفود من المسلمین والمسلمات وتمتعهم بزیارة روضة سیدالمرسلین واعماراً تلك البقاع المبارکة ونتعم سکانها بنعمة الحضارة والمدنیة وان نفضله هذه المرة ایضاً بالاحتفال بإیصال هذا الخط الحمیدی الی معان بهذا الیوم المبارك المصادف لیوم الجلوس المأنوس الذی هو مبدأ فلاح الامن ونجاح البلاد واعزامه نخبة من عبده الرجال العظام لحضور هذالاحتفال الجلیل کان لعمته قابلها جمیع عبیده بالحمد والشکر فلترفع اکف الضراعة والابتهال لحضرة ذی الجلال ان یدیم للدین والدولة ذاته السنیة متحفاً بالصحة والاقبال مرفوع الالواء معزز الارکان بجاه سید ولد عدنان

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نشانه

حسن خدمته مبنی شورای بحریه اعضا. سندن میرالای عزتلو حاجی سامی بك اوچنجی رتبه‌دن عثمانی

وظیفهٔ مأمورینی حسن ایفاده مشاهد اولان مساعی حمیده‌سندن دولایی درسعادت استیناف محکمه‌سی ضبط کتبه‌سندن فائز بك‌دردنجی رتبه‌دن مجیدی

حسن خدمته مبنی بحریه نظارت جلیله‌سی یوزباشی قلمی کتبه‌سندن احمد افندی‌یه بشنجی رتبه‌دن مجیدی نشان ذیشانلری احسان بیورلمشدر.

مدالیه

تخلیص جان خصوصنده مشهود اولان حسن خستارینه مبنی دکرقول سندالجایرتدن حویه‌لی منان واتمه‌لی حسین بن یعقوب وسورمه‌لی علی بن حسین وبکر بن علی‌یه تخلیصیه مدالیه‌سی احسان بیورلمشدر.

تبلیغات سنیه‌سی

خاقان سابق سلطان مراد حضرتلرینك برخیلی وخدمتی مبتلا اولدیغی تکرخسته‌لیله دونکی پازار ایرتسی کونی حلول اجل موعودیله ارتحال ایلمش ووقوع وفاتی نزد عالیده تأسف عظیمی موجب اولمش ونعش مغفرت نقشینك یکی جامع شریف قرینده والدهٔ محترمه‌لری تربه‌سنه دفنی خصوصنده ارادهٔ سنیهٔ جناب خلافتپناهی شرفصدور بیورلمشدر.

جناب حق رحمت پیورسون

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حمیدیه حجاز تیمور یولی قومپیسیون عالیسی اعضاسنی خاکپای سامی حضرت صدارتپناهی‌یه وکاتب ثانی حضرت شهریاری فرمای جناب پادشاهیدن دولتلو عزت پاشا حضرتلرینه واردولان تلغرافنامه‌لرك صورتیدر:

اعاظم آثار عالیهٔ جناب ولی‌نعمت اعظمیدن اولان حمیدیه حجاز تیمور یولی خط کیرینك سابقه تونیفاتوایهٔ حضرت خلافتپناهیده رسیدهٔ حسن ختام اولان معان قسم مهمنك جلوس همایون سعدتمقرون جناب خلافتپناهی‌یه شرفصادف روز فیروزه‌وزده تیمناً رسم‌یمین افتتاحده بولنق اوزره اجرای مأموریتلرینه مساعدهٔ کرامت‌عنادانه‌جناب خلافتپناهی‌یه ارزانی بیورلدیلان هیئت محترمه‌نك ترن مخصوصله بوکون بیروندن حرکتلری خبری اوزرینه پشنجی اردوی همایون مشیری حقی پاشا و اتباعات و معاملات نظری یاوران حضرت شهریاریدن مشیر کاظم پاشا حضراتی و ارکان و رؤسا ومتحیزان ومأمورین ملکیه وعسکریه و پرچوق معتبران ایله شام شریفه قدر یکیوز کیلومتروده واقع رفیق استاسیونه‌سی ترن مخصوصله کیدیلدیکی مراسم استقبالیه‌یه اجرا اوراده اوکله طعامی و برلدکدن صکره و لعف مال‌العال اولدیغی هیئت محترمه‌نك اهرامی حقنده شایان بیورلدیلان مساعدات و تعطفات جناب جهانبانی‌یی استبشار ایدن المعجل وسائر عربان بادیه رؤساسی ریاقه کلدکدن (اه ینصر السلطان) دعاسنی تکرار ایله ترجمان زبان عبودیت ایلملریی متعاقب عادات عربان وجمله آثار اوبتادیله‌رق شادمانی اجرا ومفق بلده طرقدن دعای حضرت پادشاهی غایت بلیغ پرصورتده ایفا ایدلدکدن صکره شام شریفه متوجهاً حرکت اولنمش واثنای راهده استاسیونلر جوارندهکی قرا اهالیسی یولاره دوکیلهرك دعای مفروض الادای جناب تاجدارینك تکرارایله ترجمان لسان مصادقت ایتمش و شامه مواصلتده دخی اشبو الطاف جهاندرجات جناب ملوکانه‌دن طولایی مفتخر ومسرور اولان علما واشراف ومعتبران مملکت ومأمورین حکومت برامکه موقفنده مجتمع وحکومت دائره‌سنه قدر کدرکاهك ایکی طرفنده عساکر شاهانه زاندارمه وپولیس افرادیله مکاتب اعدادی ملکی وعسکری طلبه‌سی صف بسته احترام اولدقلری حالده یولك ایکی طرفنه دوکلمش وحتیجا حتیج رحاله کلمش اولان یوزیکرمیجره اهالی صادقه (اه ینصر سلطاننا عبدالحمید) درود اجابت تمویجی وفع بارکاه احدیت ایتمش ودائرهٔ حکومته مواصلتله برابر علمای بلده جانبندن تمادی عمر وعافیت وتعالی شان وشوکت حضرت شهنشاهی‌یی متضمن تلاوت اولنان دعالره حاضرون آمین خوان اولدقلری بو وسیله ایله‌ده تحدیث نعمت حضرت ولی نعمت بی منت اعظمی ایله تزین لسان عبودیت قلنمش و الطاف سنیهٔ جناب خلافتپناهی‌یی تقدیس ایدن بتون علما واشراف مملکت طرقدن وبرلین تشکرنامهٔ عمومی سورتی زیره درج ایله عرض اولنمش اولمغله اولبابده فرمان فی ۱۵ اغستوس سنه ۳۲۰

حمیدیه حجاز تیمور یولی قومپیسیون عالیسی اعضاسندن سوریه والیسی ناظم

صورت

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البندالمامی مفتی الشام الشریف صالح، خادم الحدیث الشریف الشریف کتبری زاده سالم، مفتی الشافعی محمد امین، عطار زاده نجیب، ابوالی زاده محمد علی، دوردی زاده عبدالرزاق، عمری زاده محمد سلیم، جیلانی زاده محمد، خادم العلم الشریف مفتی زاده توفیق، خادم العلم الشریف چلبی زاده محمد علی، مدرس الکبکه السلیمیه عطار زاده حامد، سادات زاده واعظ، حنی زاده مسلم، الدامی محاسن زاده خیری، خادم العلم الشریف اسطوانی زاده عبدالحسن، خادم العلم الشریف الحریف سکتانی زاده محمد، خادم العلم الشریف قرا زاده محمد، خطیب المولا خالد محمد نجم الدین، حزاوی زاده عبدالکریم، طبی زاده محمود، بیطار زاده عبدالرزاق، کتبری زاده محمد، حزوری زاده احمد، بیطار زاده محمد امین، قاسمی زاده جمال، عظم زاده فوزی، محافظ جمع شریف عبدالرحمن، عابد زاده مصطفی، امیر زاده عبدالله، امیر زاده علی، عظم زاده خلیل، مرزوق زاده سامی، مرزوق زاده وحید، بکتری زاده عطا.

کاتب ثانی حضرت شهریاری فرمای جناب پادشاهیدن دولتلو عزت پاشا حضرتلرینه

صباحکی تلغرافنامهٔ عاجزانه‌مده عرض اولندیغی اوزره ساعت اون ایکی واده‌لرنده پیروتدن مفارقت اولندی. والی پاشاحضرتلریله مأمورین ومعتبران استاسیونه شتابان اولهرق جمله‌سی راسمهٔ تشییعده حاضر بولندیلر. ترن جبل لبنانه داخل اولدقدن صکره متصرف پاشا حضرتلری برای استقبال ترنه کلدکلری منطقه‌لری حدودینه قدر برلکده کیدلدی واثنای راهده تصادف اولنان بالعموم استاسیونلردایات ظفر آیات شاهانه ایله تزین قلندیغی کبی اطراف وجواردهٔ بولنان قرا اهالیسی استاسیونلره طولیلانه‌رق جمله‌سی یردن شهریار معظم افندمز حضرتلرینك دوام عافیت وتوافر شان و شوکت همایونلری دعاسنی یکزبان اولهرق رفع قبولکاه احدیت ایلدیلر وهیئت جاکرانه‌مزه اعزاز واکرام ایلمك اوزره استاسیونلرده بولنان ترتیب اولنه‌رق دوندرمه لیمونادله وپاسته‌لر اعطاقلندیغی وباخصوص سوقار استاسیوننده ترتیب اولنان غایت مطنطن بوفه جبل لبنان اهالیسنك متخلق اولدیغی حسیات صداقت وعبودیتی میدان تظاهره وضع ایلمشدر استاسیونلرك اکثریسنده شهریار معظم افندمز حضرتلرینك محامد سنیه‌لریی معلن ونائلیت وموفقیتلرینك تضرعاتی حاوی حربی العباره تلغرافلر ایراد قلنمش وطرف جاکرانه‌مدن دخی بیان تشکرات اولندیغی کبی جبل اهالیسنك متبوع مفخملریسنك حق همایونلرنده پروردهٔ ایلدیکی حس صداقت وعبودیتك تمثالی اولان اشبو حرکات مهمان نوازیلری لطفاً نزد همایون ملوکانه‌ده مظهر تقدیر بیوریلمه‌جنه‌امین اولدیغمدن سدهٔ سنیهٔ ملوکانه‌یه رفع واعلاییه مسارعت ایدیلمکجه اقدامه‌وبیان ایله مقابله‌ده بولندم. فی الحقیقه جبل اهالیسی طرقدن کوستریلن مهمانتوازلق فوق العاده پارلاق اولدیغی مقام تحدیدنده عرض ایلرم. ترن ورياقه مواصلتله‌جه سوریه والیسی پاشاحضرتلری ایله خط عالی ناظری واردوی همایون مشیری پاشالر حضراتی وبرخیلی مأمورین علیه وملکیه وعسکریه ریاقده ترنك مواصلته منتظر بولنیورلردی. راسمهٔ خوش آمدی بعد الایفا دعاکو اقدمی طرقدن خلافتپناهی افخم وشهریار معظم افندمز حضرتلرینك دوام عمر وعافیتلری دعاسی یاد وتلاوت وبالعموم حاضرون آمین خوان اولدقدن صکره احضار قلنان اوکله طعامی تناول وبرآزده استراحت ایدیلدکدن صکره ترنه راکباً شامه متوجهاً حرکت اولندی. ریاقدن شامه مواصلت ایدنجیه قدر استاسیونلرده اهالی طرقدن عین صورتله استقبال ایدیلدکدن شام شریفه مواصلت ایدلدی. پورادهٔ استاسیوننده بالعموم مأمورین علیه وملکیه وعسکریه یوك اونیفورمه‌لریی لابس اولدقلری حالده راسمهٔ استقبالی ایفا ایدلدکدن صکره عساکر شاهانه‌دن سفیه‌سنه احترام اولمقده یوزبیك قدر اهالی ومکتب طلبه‌لری سوقاقلره دوکیلهرك ولی نعمت بی منت شوکتمآب افندمز حضرتلرینك خاکپای عاطفتلرینه دوکولوب بوده محضا مشارالیهك بوسه‌کاه‌مآب افندمز حضرتلرینك خاکپای سعادت وعمران ورفاه وسامان ایله اعصار سالفه‌یه غبطه رسان ایلین خلیفهٔ دیانت شعار ولی نعمت بی‌منتمز افندمز حضرتلری حضهٔ مبارکهٔ هجازیه‌نك علویت وقدسیتیله متناسب بر صورتله تعالی وترقیسنی دخی پیش انظار دیانت پروری همایونلرندن دور بیورمیوب یوندن اوچ سنه اقدم حضهٔ مذکوره‌یه‌قدر برتناسق خط کیری تأسیس بیوره‌رق هجاریات دستیه‌یی تسریع وحجاج مسلمینك مآلهاریله اولان علاقاتی دخی تسهیل بیورمش ایدیلر. قبلهکاه انام اولان مقامات مقدسه‌یه جبه سای اولمق اوزره عهد وچیندن وآسیانك اك همجری محلرندن والحاصل دنیانك هر طرقدن کلن حجاج مسلمین قولتری هر درلو نوع واحساه مستغرق بیورلدقلرندن بشقه بونلرك بر قسم اعظمی بلا اجرت مخصوص واپورلر ایله احرام قلنمق کبی تأمل اولدقلری بویوکلکلر تاجدار اعظم ولی نعمت افخم افندمز حضرتلرینك من طرفاه مظهر بیورلدقلری علویته سبب انظار مراحم آثارملوکانه‌لرینه کوچك کوریلدکدن حجاج مسلمین قولتریتك وظیفهٔ مقدسهٔ دینیه. لریق کال یسر وسهولتله ایفا ایلمك اوزره شمدیه‌یه قدر کیسه‌یه نصیب اولیان ومقدرات الهیه‌نك ذات جلیل الصفات حضرت تاجدارلرینه میسر قیلدیغی آشکار کوریلن جدیده حجاز تیمور یولی خط حسینیك سمانه قدر اولان برقسم مهمنك رسم کشادی مراسمنده بولنمق اوزره ولی نعمت یمتمز شهریار معظم افندمز حضرتلری هیئت بندکاه‌مزی یورولره اعزام بیوردیلر. ذات سامی ولایتپناهیلریله مشیر حق وکاظم پاشالر حضراتنك خط عالینك دخولیله معان اکتساء حضرت شهریاری دائرهٔ نجات باهره‌سنده مسبوق اولان خدمات برکریده. لریسنك نزد الهام وقد حضرت خلافتپناهی اعظمیده لطفاً قرین تقدیر عالی بیوردیغی درکاردر. هیئت ماجراه‌مز حقنده عموم طرقدن اظهار بیورلان مأثر مهمان نوازی‌یه بیان تشکرات ایدر وحق بندکاه‌مزده ابراز امتنان التدات داورانه‌لرینه عرض متشکراندن ایلرم. شام. حرکات تراکتیروراه ومهمانلق نوازانه‌سیله شوکتپناه افندمز حضرتلریله قارشو متصف اولدیغی فرط عبودیت وصداقتی بودفعه‌دخی موقع تظاهره وضع ایلمش اولدیغندن ذات معالی‌صفات حضرت شهریارلرینك یوحسن قبولدن طولایی لطفاً مخطوط اولهجقلریی بیلدیکمدن مشهودات جاکرانه‌می خاکپای شاهانه‌لرینه عرض واعلایه مسارعت ایدم. همان جناب حق خلیفهٔ حید الاقبال افندمز حضرتلرینك عمر وعافیت جهانبانیت شاهانه‌لریی مزداد وفراوان بیوره‌رق یوکی نجه نجه آثار سنیه‌یه موفقیتله عالم السانیی هر آن یکباشدن منتکر ومتمادر براقسون آمین.

(پادشاهم چوق یشا)

شامدن تلغراف

شام ۱۶ اغستوس کیجه ساعت ۱

ذات اقدس جناب خلافتپناهینك مظهرت معنویه‌یه نائلیتلرینه وروح پاك حضرت پیغمبرینك خشنودیتنه بر دلیل جلیل اولان خط عالینك سور کشادنده حاضر بولنه‌رق عالم سلامك درجهٔ مساعات فوق العاده‌سنی ارائه ایلمك اوزره مدینهٔ منوره سادات واشرافندن یوز الی فاتك هیئتی ایله معانه مواصلتلریی وجمله مشایع عربانك سور مبارکده حاضر بولنه‌جاقلریی تبشیر ایلدیلر.

اولکی کیجه کلن تلغرافلر

[اولکی کیجه جریده‌مزك چن طاقمه مطبعه‌سنه تسلیم ایدلدکه بالضروره آخر الدقه تحریر قلمه‌لریی یوزیه قریب درج جرئة مباحات ایدیلدی]

کاتب ثانی حضرت شهریاری فرمای جناب پادشاهیدن دولتلو عزت پاشا حضرتلرینه

صباحکی تلغرافنامهٔ عاجزانه‌مده عرض اولندیغی اوزره ساعت اون ایکی واده‌لرنده پیروتدن مفارقت اولندی. والی پاشاحضرتلریله مأمورین ومعتبران استاسیونه شتابان اولهرق جمله‌سی راسمهٔ تشییعده حاضر بولندیلر. ترن جبل لبنانه داخل اولدقدن صکره متصرف پاشا حضرتلری برای استقبال ترنه کلدکلری منطقه‌لری حدودینه قدر برلکده کیدلدی واثنای راهده تصادف اولنان بالعموم استاسیونلردایات ظفر آیات شاهانه ایله تزین قلندیغی کبی اطراف وجواردهٔ بولنان قرا اهالیسی یولاره سیونلره طولیلانه‌رق جمله‌سی یردن شهریار معظم افندمز حضرتلرینك دوام عافیت وتوافر شان و شوکت همایونلری دعاسنی یکزبان اولهرق رفع قبولکاه احدیت ایلدیلر. استاسیونلرده هریه‌اره راکباً برخیم غفیر آرمسندن طوغریجه حکومت قوناغنه عزیمت واورادهٔ ورود زبان کافهٔ اهل ایمان اولان تمادی عمر وعافیت حضرت خلافتپناهی درود خیریت نمودی یاد وتلاوت قلنه‌رق برآز آرامدن صکره هیئت اعضاریله زوارکندیلرینه تخصیص قلنان اقامتکاه‌لرینه عزیمت ایلدیلر. هیئت مجلوکانه‌مز حقنده سوریه والیسی پاشاحضرتلری طرقدن ابراز بیورلدیلان مأثر مهمان نوازی ورسم قبولك مشعشع پرصورتده اجرای خصوصنده مصروف اولان همت وغیرتلری الحق شایان تشکر وتبریك اولوب بوده محضا مشارالیهك بوسه‌کاه‌مآب افندمز حضرتلرینك خاکپای سعادت وعمران ورفاه وسامان ایله اعصار سالفه‌یه غبطه رسان ایلین خلیفهٔ دیانت شعار ولی نعمت بی‌منتمز افندمز حضرتلری حضهٔ مبارکهٔ هجازیه‌نك علویت وقدسیتیله متناسب بر صورتله تعالی وترقیسنی دخی پیش انظار دیانت پروری همایونلرندن دور بیورمیوب یوندن اوچ سنه اقدم حضهٔ مذکوره‌یه‌قدر برتناسق خط کیری تأسیس بیوره‌رق هجاریات دستیه‌یی تسریع وحجاج مسلمینك مآلهاریله اولان علاقاتی دخی تسهیل بیورمش ایدیلر. قبلهکاه انام اولان مقامات مقدسه‌یه جبه سای اولمق اوزره عهد وچیندن وآسیانك اك همجری محلرندن والحاصل دنیانك هر طرقدن کلن حجاج مسلمین قولتری هر درلو نوع واحساه مستغرق بیورلدقلرندن بشقه بونلرك بر قسم اعظمی بلا اجرت مخصوص واپورلر ایله احرام قلنمق کبی تأمل اولدقلری بویوکلکلر تاجدار اعظم ولی نعمت افخم افندمز حضرتلرینك من طرفاه مظهر بیورلدقلری علویته سبب انظار مراحم آثارملوکانه‌لرینه کوچك کوریلدکدن حجاج مسلمین قولتریتك وظیفهٔ مقدسهٔ دینیه. لریق کال یسر وسهولتله ایفا ایلمك اوزره شمدیه‌یه قدر کیسه‌یه نصیب اولیان ومقدرات الهیه‌نك ذات جلیل الصفات حضرت تاجدارلرینه میسر قیلدیغی آشکار کوریلن جدیده حجاز تیمور یولی خط حسینیك سمانه قدر اولان برقسم مهمنك رسم کشادی مراسمنده بولنمق اوزره ولی نعمت یمتمز شهریار معظم افندمز حضرتلری هیئت بندکاه‌مزی یورولره اعزام بیوردیلر. ذات سامی ولایتپناهیلریله مشیر حق وکاظم پاشالر حضراتنك خط عالینك دخولیله معان اکتساء حضرت شهریاری دائرهٔ نجات باهره‌سنده مسبوق اولان خدمات برکریده. لریسنك نزد الهام وقد حضرت خلافتپناهی اعظمیده لطفاً قرین تقدیر عالی بیوردیغی درکاردر. هیئت ماجراه‌مز حقنده عموم طرقدن اظهار بیورلان مأثر مهمان نوازی‌یه بیان تشکرات ایدر وحق بندکاه‌مزده ابراز امتنان التدات داورانه‌لرینه عرض متشکراندن ایلرم. شام. حرکات تراکتیروراه ومهمانلق نوازانه‌سیله شوکتپناه افندمز حضرتلریله قارشو متصف اولدیغی فرط عبودیت وصداقتی بودفعه‌دخی موقع تظاهره وضع ایلمش اولدیغندن ذات معالی‌صفات حضرت شهریارلرینك یوحسن قبولدن طولایی لطفاً مخطوط اولهجقلریی بیلدیکمدن مشهودات جاکرانه‌می خاکپای شاهانه‌لرینه عرض واعلایه مسارعت ایدم. همان جناب حق خلیفهٔ حید الاقبال افندمز حضرتلرینك عمر وعافیت جهانبانیت شاهانه‌لریی مزداد وفراوان بیوره‌رق یوکی نجه نجه آثار سنیه‌یه موفقیتله عالم السانیی هر آن یکباشدن منتکر ومتمادر براقسون آمین.

(پادشاهم چوق یشا)

شامدن تلغراف

شام ۱۶ اغستوس کیجه ساعت ۱

ذات اقدس جناب خلافتپناهینك مظهرت معنویه‌یه نائلیتلرینه وروح پاك حضرت پیغمبرینك خشنودیتنه بر دلیل جلیل اولان خط عالینك سور کشادنده حاضر بولنه‌رق عالم سلامك درجهٔ مساعات فوق العاده‌سنی ارائه ایلمك اوزره مدینهٔ منوره سادات واشرافندن یوز الی فاتك هیئتی ایله معانه مواصلتلریی وجمله مشایع عربانك سور مبارکده حاضر بولنه‌جاقلریی تبشیر ایلدیلر.

اولکی کیجه کلن تلغرافلر

[اولکی کیجه جریده‌مزك چن طاقمه مطبعه‌سنه تسلیم ایدلدکه بالضروره آخر الدقه تحریر قلمه‌لریی یوزیه قریب درج جرئة مباحات ایدیلدی]

حمیدیه

حجاز تیمور یولی خط عالیسی

— مخابر مخصوصمز عبداه زهدی بك افندیدن —

دون ودون کیجه کلن تلغرافلر

برنجی تلغراف

مقامات مبارکه زیارتی

شام ۱۶ اغستوس ساعت ۷

هر قبضهٔ خاکدهابرار اسلامدن بری مدفون خاك معطر بولنان دمشق الشامده‌کی مقامات مبارکه‌نك فیوضات معنویه وقدسیه‌سندن استمداره ایتمك اوزره هیئت محترمه ارکان کرامی وسوریه والیسی دوتلو ناظم پاشا حضرتلریله اکابر مأمورین ولایتدن بعض ذوات مشهور جامع اموی ایله انبیای عظامدن یحیی علیه السلام حضرتلرینك تربهٔ شریفه‌سنی، سبطین مکرمینden امام حسین رضی‌اه عنه افندمز حضرتلرینك مقام عالی مبارکلرینی، حضرت صلاح الدین ایوبیدك مرقد منورینی، مؤذن جناب رسالتپناهی بلال حبشی رضی‌اه عنه حضرتلرینك تربهٔ لمعه‌دارینی زیارتله اکتساب فیض جاودانی ایلدیلر. زیارتکاه عامهٔ مسلمین اولان بومحال مبارکه‌دن هربرینك تراب پاکی تزین جباه صدق وخلوص ایلدیکجه ادعیهٔ مفروضهٔ حضرت خلافتپناهی مخلوص البال تکرار قلنه‌رق پادشاه ذیشان افندمز حضرتلرینك تمادی توفیقات همایونلری تمنیات قلبیه‌سی زبور زبان عبودیت اولمش ونام سامی حضرت ظل الهی‌یه اولهرق هر محل مبارکده فقرا ومحتاجینه بذل صدقات اولنمشدر.

ایکنجی تلغراف

شام ۱۶ اغستوس ساعت ۸ دقیقه ۲۰

هیئت محترمه وقاقشده‌کی ذوات ایجون بیلدیردیکم وجهله درت قطار ترتیب اولنمشدر. برنجی قطار صالی کونی (بوکون) صباحلین اون ایکیده حرکت وایرتسی صباح اون بکچی یکرمی بش دقیقه‌یه‌جکمه‌نه مواصلت ایده‌جکدر. ایکنجیسی ساعت ایکیده، اوچنجی درتده، دردنجی التیده حرکت ایده‌جکدر. قطارلر حرکتلرندن اعتباراً یکرمی درت ساعت یکرمی بش دقیقه مکرره معانه واصل اولهجقلردر. قطارلر بر ایکی دقیقه‌دن زیاده بررده توقف ایتمیه‌جکلردر. قطارلردن برنجیسی معاندن جمعه کونی صباح ساعت برده دیکرلری بنه ایکیشر ساعت فاصله ایله عودت ویکرمی درت ساعت یکرمی بش دقیقه مکرره شامه مواصلت ایده‌جکلردر. قطارلرك کدرکاهنده‌کی قرا اهالیسیله عربان وعشائر رسم خوش آمدی‌یی شعشه‌لی صورتده ایفایه حاضر اولهجقلرندر.

حمیدیه

حجاز تیمور یولی خط عالیسی

— مخابر مخصوصمز عبداه زهدی بك افندیدن —

دون ودون کیجه کلن تلغرافلر

برنجی تلغراف

مقامات مبارکه زیارتی

شام ۱۶ اغستوس ساعت ۷

هر قبضهٔ خاکدهابرار اسلامدن بری مدفون خاك معطر بولنان دمشق الشامده‌کی مقامات مبارکه‌نك فیوضات معنویه وقدسیه‌سندن استمداره ایتمك اوزره هیئت محترمه ارکان کرامی وسوریه والیسی دوتلو ناظم پاشا حضرتلریله اکابر مأمورین ولایتدن بعض ذوات مشهور جامع اموی ایله انبیای عظامدن یحیی علیه السلام حضرتلرینك تربهٔ شریفه‌سنی، سبطین مکرمینden امام حسین رضی‌اه عنه افندمز حضرتلرینك مقام عالی مبارکلرینی، حضرت صلاح الدین ایوبیدك مرقد منورینی، مؤذن جناب رسالتپناهی بلال حبشی رضی‌اه عنه حضرتلرینك تربهٔ لمعه‌دارینی زیارتله اکتساب فیض جاودانی ایلدیلر. زیارتکاه عامهٔ مسلمین اولان بومحال مبارکه‌دن هربرینك تراب پاکی تزین جباه صدق وخلوص ایلدیکجه ادعیهٔ مفروضهٔ حضرت خلافتپناهی مخلوص البال تکرار قلنه‌رق پادشاه ذیشان افندمز حضرتلرینك تمادی توفیقات همایونلری تمنیات قلبیه‌سی زبور زبان عبودیت اولمش ونام سامی حض

Figure 8.

Letter of Selahaddin Efendi requesting that his father Sultan Murad wanted to bury in Şeyh Yahya Efendi graveyard.

Osmanlı Arsivi Daire Baskanlığı

Figure 9.

Envelop of reports about Sultan Murad V's death.

Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı

بلدرسس الكاجمرلق
باش كتابت دائرسى
٤٤٨٦

Figure 10.

Ferman ordering to build a sarcophagus on Sultan Murad V's grave.

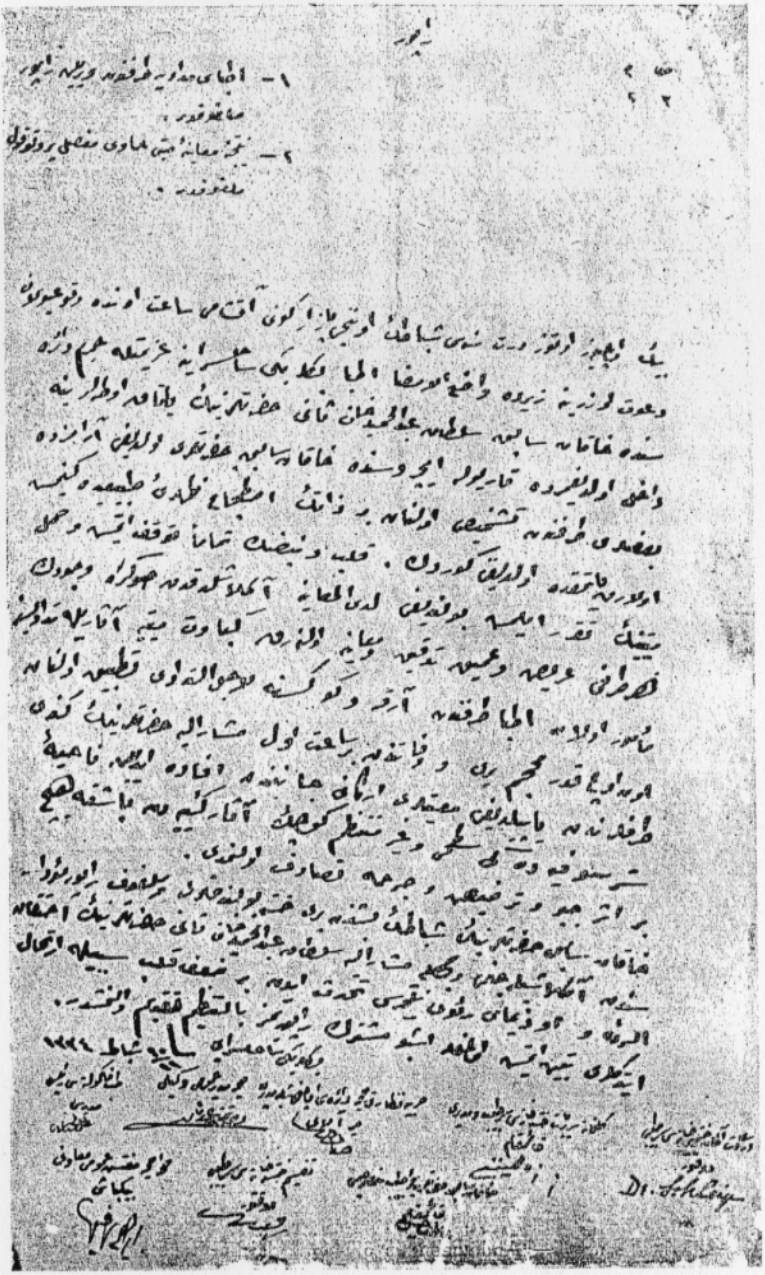


Figure 11.

Death report of Sultan Abdülhamid II.

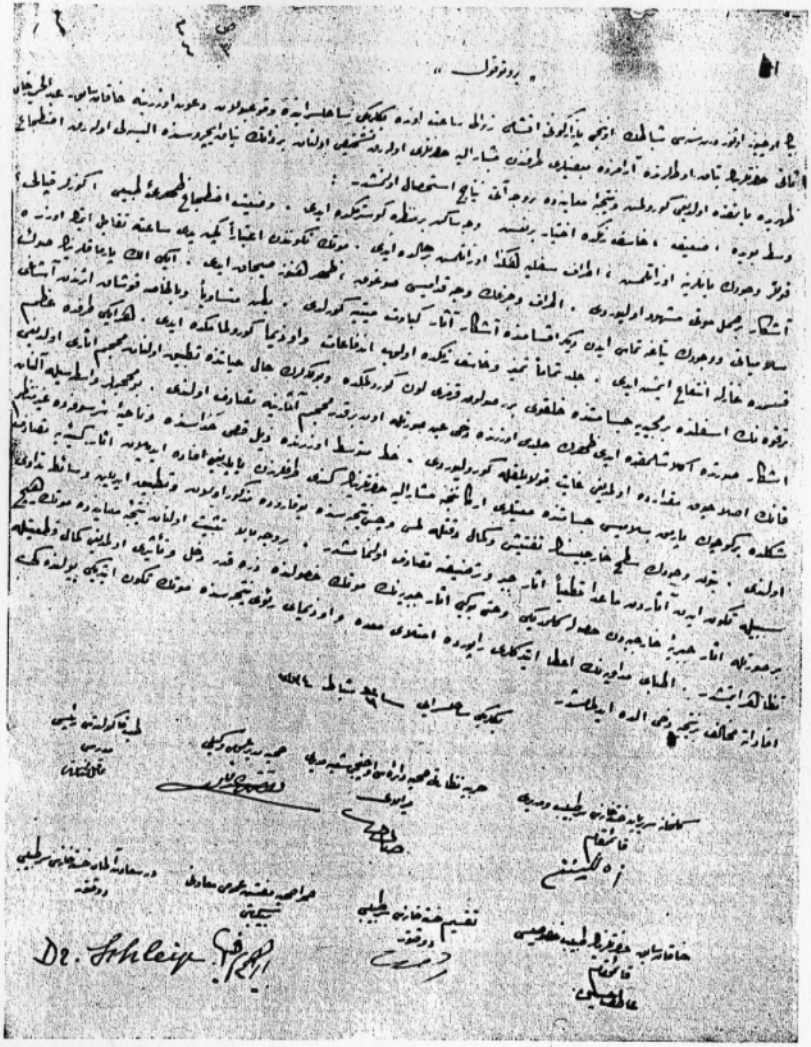


Figure 12.

Death protocol of Sultan Abdülhamid II.

A. TSF 278/14 1336 Ra 27
HAMID
Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı

TELEGRAMME تلغرافنامه

دولت علیهٔ عثمانیه تلغراف اداره‌سی

ADMINISTRATION DES TELEGRAPHES DE L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN

L'état n'accepte aucune responsabilité à raison du service de la télégraphie

دولت تلغراف معاملاتندن دولایی مسئولیت قبول ایتمز

[نمونه ۸۰۱]

Retransmission ou Expédition تکرار کشیده ویا سوق				RECEPTION اخذ			
سوق نومروسی N° d'expédit.	کشیده اولنان مرکز transmis à	Date تاریخ	مأمور امضاسی Signature de l'employé	مأمور امضاسی Signature de l'employé	Date تاریخ	واسطه مرکزی Reçu de	صیره نومروسی N° d'ordre
		دقیقه ساعت H. M.			دقیقه ساعت H. ۱۰ M. ۱۵		

De Pour عرضی موردی

N° Mots Date H. M. وصول کلمات غروب تاریخ ساعت دقیقه

Voie Indic. Eventuelles اشارات مخابراتیه

حضاره سابقه سلطان عبدالحمید خان ثانی حضرتلرینك بوكره ارتحالری دولتمز
شیاع ایتمه مقتضی تقدیرنامك وجهله سلطنت سنیه یه توفیقاً
نامیه صاحب بلكلرك رای عالیلرینه عرض مصلحت ده اولدیغی حالده رای
عالیلرینه تقدیم اولنان تجهیز وتكفینلری اجرا وصلاة جنازه ادا
اولندقدن صكره ازمنهٔ سابقه مقتضی اوزره ترتیب اولنه جمعه رای
وارای ایله قالدیریلیه رقه عبدالمجیدی سلطان محمود خان ثانی حضرتلری
زینت سریر لرینه دفتری مقتضای ارادهٔ سنیه حضرت پادشاهی دیه اولنمغله
ایجاب ایدنلره تبلیغاتك لازمه سنه ایفا یه یورلمق بابنده
مراسم تشییع جنازه حضرت پادشاهی نك شرح اوزره

Figure 13.

Announcement of Sultan Abdülhamid II and funeral program.

مطبعهٔ احمد احسان وشركاسی
AHMED IHSAN & CIE - CONSTANTINOPLE

نومرو ۱۰۱٤٤ — ۳۰ ربیع الاخر ۱۳۳۶ — سالی — ۱۲ شباط ۱۳۳٤—۱۹۱۸ — [یکری طقوزنجی سنه]

محل اداره‌سی

باب عالی جاده‌سنده سباح مطبعه‌سی

مرتبه عائد خصوصات ایچون مدیر مسئول آلکسان افندی‌یه مراجعت اولنور.
مکاتیب واوراق وارده درج اولنسون اولنماسون اعاده ایدلز.

تلفون نومره‌سی استانبول : ٤١٤

صباح ۱۳۰۷

آبونه شرائطی

یوسته اجرتی داخل اولدیغی حالده

استانبول وولایات ایچون سنه‌لکی ۱۹۰ آلتی آیلغی ۱۰۰ اوچ آیلغی ۵۰ غروش
ممالک اجنبیه ایچون » ۲۷۰ » ۱٤۰ » ۷۰ »

تلغراف آدرسی : استانبول سباح

نسخه‌سی ۲۰ پاره — مرکون نشر اولنور — برهفته اولکی نسخه‌لر ۵ غروشدر

قانلی عصر

اتلاف مملکتلرنده بر آره‌لق خلقك والخاصه سوسیالیستلرك تضییقاتی اوزرینه زمامداران حکومت تعدیل فکر ومسلك ایدرکی کورونمش وآلمانیا باش وکیلی ایله آوسترویا خارجیه ناظرینك تطفلرینه ینه او آهنك ادا ایله مقابله اولونه‌جغی ظن ایدلمش ایکن ومدسایلك باغجه‌لری آره‌سنده طویلانان سیاسی وعسکری مجلس حرب امید وانتظارك بوسبوتون خلافنده برقرار ویردی : بوقرارك اسباب موجبه‌سی اوقدر چوروك، حقیقت حالدن اوقدر اوزاقدر که تدقیقه کندی مطبوعاتی بیله لزوم کورمدی. وه‌رسایل مجلس حربنك اولدن حاضرلانمش برفکر ایله ومعین برتیجه‌یی تثبیت امیله طویلاندیغی شبهه‌سزدر. چونکه بومجلسده موضوع بحث ایدیلن بیانات، یعنی اتفاق رجالنك سوزلری منصف وحق شناس وجدانلره تصادف ایتمه‌یدی‌هیچ اولمازسه‌مذاکره‌ایچون برمنفذ براقیلیر، السنایت دها برمدت اویالانه‌بیلیردی. آنجق، اوته‌دنبری سوبله‌یکمز وجهله، بزنه‌یاپاسه‌ی یاپالم، نه‌دوشونه‌جکمزی دوشونه‌لم، نه‌یولده برفکربیان ایدرسه‌ك ایدهم دشمنلرمز بونی پاکندی مقصدلرینه کوره تأویل، یاخود غیر واقع شکلده تفسیر ایتمکی مسلك ایدینمشلردر. نتیجه‌کیم اتفاق مربعك ایلك دفعه اولهرق دشمنلرینه تکلیف ایتدیکی صلح مذاکره‌سندن سوکره یاپالمق مقامنك توسط انسانپرورانه‌سندن بوکونه قدر صلح ایچون هرنه‌صورتله تثبت واقع اولدی ایسه اتلاف بونك قارشیسنه قوجه‌مان بر دیوار جیقارمش، هردفعه‌سنده کندیسنی حقل وبزی حقسز کوسترمه‌جك سیلر یولش اولمسی بونك الیم‌لاق دلیلدر.

بکیرده‌وه‌رسایلده برمجلس حرب طویلانه‌جغی تلغرافرتبلیغ ایتدیکی زمان بز آرتق آلدانمایه‌جق قدرقوتلی اولان تجربه‌لرمزه استناداً بومجلسك‌ده اولکیلرینه مشابه بر ذهنیتله اجتماعه دعوت اولندیغی ویا هیچ اولمازسه‌اولکیلری طرزنده برقرارله طاغیله‌جغی کدیرمش ایدك. چونکه شرق عالمی غریبلرك حسابندن وآلتدن بوسبوتون قاچدیغی، دول مرکزیه جبهه‌لرینی فیضانه‌رق دشمنلرینه دها فعال ومتکاثف قوتلر جیقارمق فرصتنه نائل اولدیغی برصره‌ده اتلافك سیاست عسکریه‌سی ایچون بوندن باشقه بایله‌جق‌شی یوقدی. اتلاف زمامدارانی بوایشده، برپارچه حسن نیت وحس الصافه رغبت کوسترسه‌لر بیله، زیونکشلك خاصه‌سی تصور ایدهرك مذاکره‌دن چکینه‌جکلری محقق اولمقسزین مذاکره‌یی کسمکه موافقت ویا جرأت ایدهمز. صلح ماصه‌سی باشنده‌کی مناقشات تلغراف تلاریله اوزاقدن تعاطی ایدیلن سوزلره، غزته ستونلرنده علی‌الاکثر کوزه چارپان فقره‌لره بکزه‌مز. اورادہ موسیو (فله‌مانسو) آلمانیانك جهانکیرلك امللرینی، موسیو (لوید جورج) بروسیا حاکیت عسکریه‌سنده کوردیکی تهلکه‌لری، مستر (ویلسون) اوروپا ملتلرینك مقدرات حاضره‌لرنده تصور ایتدیکی اسارتی اثباته مقتدر اولهمازلر. بوکون قورولهجق برصلح ماصه‌سی الحرافده اتلافجیلرایچون موفقیت امیدی‌یوقدر. بناءً علیه ایشك اك کدیرمه طرزی خصمه اسناد قباحت ایتمك وحق کندی طرفنده کورمك ایدی. ایشته بوقاریکی اسباب ومطالعاته بناءً بویله حاضر برفکر وقرار ایله ومرسایه کیدن اتلاف مرخصلری حقیقتاری تحریف ایتمکده بربأس کورمیه‌رك، حتی بزم مغلوب روسیه طوپراغندن بیله چکلمکه راضی اولیتیمزی دیکر طرفلره‌ده قابل تطبیق برحسن نیت اثری تلقی ایتمه‌رك آلمانیا ایله متفقلرینه جهانکیرلك املری، اوفاق ملتلره قارشی اعتسافکارلق حسلری بولدقلرینی، قوتله(هه‌رتلیغ) وقوتله (جرنین) ك تطقاری یوندن باشقه بر یولده تفسیر ایدیله‌میه‌جکنی ـ تحلیل واثباته حاجت کورمکسزین ـ ادعا ایتدیلر. بودعوای کاغذ اوزرینه نقل ایدن وحدذاتنده برز علم و ذکا صاحبی اولدیغی تردد کتورمه‌ین مرخصلرك سیمالری برحجاب ایله قیزاردی‌می، یوقسه‌دوداقلری ظالم برتبسم ایله آچیلدی‌می بونی بیله‌مزسه‌ده آزالسلره توديع ایدیلن بیاننامه‌نك سهولت افاده‌سنه باقیلیرسه الحری‌هیچ تنزه‌مدیکنه حکم ایده‌میلیرز. یوندن طولاییدرکه بز وه‌رسایل مجلس حربنده سائق اولان آمال وافکاری، خلاف حقیقت برادعا اوزرینه بنا ایدیلن حکمی وبوحکمده‌کی منطقسزلغی تشریحه لزوم کورمیورز. بزم بوراده اشارت ایده‌جکمز نقطه ۱۹۱۸ ابتدالرنده انسانیت مضطربه‌نك مضیق آلامنه شرق عالمی برفرجهٔ تنفس آچارکن مدنی ومترقی غربك آلحری برقات دها قان ایله ملمع اولهرق اخذ موقع ایتمش اولمسیدر. نفیس بر باغجه‌نك مناظر بهتینه آچیلان تاریخی برکوشکده، اك جزئی راحتسزلغاردن مصون ومکمل بر ساکنده قاریلرینی ای‌طوپورمش برقاچ انسانك نخوت وعنادایله بیچاره میلیونلری فلاکت وسفالت اوچورومکرنده‌دها کیم بیلیر نه‌قدرمدت جبرجمعه ومحو اولمغه سوق ایده‌میه‌جك قدر حقسز، سوءنیتلی وریاکار استعدادی ایچون اخراجات موادی وبشری‌یه‌سی اولان بوحرب عظیمك دهشت آور فورطنه‌لرندن طوغان کتیج برحکومتله عقد صلح ایدلسی بالحاصه اتفاق مربع هیأت مرخصه‌لرینی ممنون ایتمشدر.

بوصلحك، مقدس سلسلهٔ مصالحاتك برنجیسی اولمسی نمی‌ایدر وکرك اوروپای مرکزی دولتلری وکرك آنیسی حقنده جه‌مك اك صعبی تمنیاتمه بولندیغی اوقرانیا اهالی جمهوریتی ایچون شایان تقدیس اولدیغی بیان ایدرم.»

متعاقباً اوقرانیا هیئت مرخصه‌سی رئیسی (سوه‌وژرق) شو جوابی ویرمشدر : «بوکون اتلاف مربع دولتلریله اوقرانیا آره‌سنده صلح ومسالمتك باشلادیغی مع المسار مشاهده ایدیبورز. فی‌الحقیقه بورایه صلح عمومیی استحصال ایتمك وبو قرداش قانلی محاربه‌یه نهایت ویرمك مقصدیله کلمشدك. فقط احوال سیاسیه ایجابانی اولهرق، صلح عمومیی امضا ایتمك اوزره بتون حکومتلر بوراده اجتماع ایتمشلردر. شمدی بزه ترتب ایدن وظیفه یکی بردور مجدد کشاد ایتمك اوزره بتون قوتلرك استعمال ایتمك وبوخصوصده المزدن کلی یاپمقدر. بیرك ده‌موقراتکتله‌رمزك منافعی صیانهً عقد ایتدیکمز بوصلحك حرب عمومیمزك نهایته ایرمسنه مدار اولهجغنه قائم بولنیورز. وراده، ایشا ایدیلن اوزره وچابن امر معطاك موفقیتله تتوج ایلدیکی وطرفین بجیون شرائط ده‌موقراتیك برصلح استحصال ایدلدیکی مع‌المنونیه مشاهده ایدیبورز. بوکوندن اعتباراً اوقرانیا اهالی جمهوریتی یکی برحیاته ومستقل بر حکومت اولهرق حکومتلر میانه داخل اولیور. اوقرانیا کندی جبهه‌سنده حربه نهایت ویرمش وآغوشنده محفوظ اولدیغی اتحاد وتعاونه خدمت ایتمکی درعهده ایتمشدر.»

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روسیه‌ده صلح عقد ایلدی

برمست لیتووسق ۱۰ شباط (م) — بوکونکی جلسه‌ده روس هیئت مرخصه‌سی رئیسی حکومتك امرینه توفیقاً شوتبلیغاتده بولنمشدر: «روسیه شکلی صلح معاهده‌نامه‌سنی امضالامقدن صرفنظر ایتمك شرطیله آلمانیا، آوسترویا ـ مجارستان، ترکیه وبلغارستان ایله حال حربك نهایت بولدیغی وعینی زمانده باالجمله جبهه‌لرده‌کی روس قوای حربیه‌سنك تمامیله ودرحال ترخیصی ایچون امر ویرلمش اولدیغی بیان ایلر.» بووضعیتدن طولایی طرفین آره‌سنده دیپلوماسی، حقوقی، اقتصادی قونسولسلق مناسباتنك تعیینی ایچون دول متفقهٔ اربعه ایله روسیه آره‌سنده جریان ایتمسی لازم کلن مذاکرات خصوصیه «تروچکی» علاقه‌دار حکومتلر آره‌سنده طوغریدن طوغری‌یه مناسباتده بولونماسی طریقتی کوسترمش ووبایده پترسبورغده بولنمقده اولان دول متفقهٔ اربعه قومیسیونلرینی اشارت وتوصیه ایتمشدر.

اوقرانیا ایله صلح نصل عقد ایدلدی؟

صوك جلسه — فون کولمان وسورژوقك نطقلری — معاهده‌نامه‌نك امضاسی

برمست لیتووسق ۱۰ شباط (م) — صلح مذاکراتنك سوك دفعه انقطاعه اوغرادیغی اثناده اتفاق مربع دولتلریله اوقرانیا اهالی جمهوریتی آره‌سنده صلح اساسانی بولنمش وبوسورتله حصوله کلن اتلاف مذاکراته دوام ایدلش وبتون انجمنلرك یورولمق بیلمز سعی وغیرتلری واعضاسنك متصف اولدقلری فکر اتلاف سایه‌سنده دون هردرلو مسائلده اتلاف حاصل اولمش وبوسورتله معاهدنامك تبییض وامضاسنه کچیلمشدر. معاهده‌نامه‌نك درت نسخه‌سی الله ایتمکده‌کی مشکلات فنیه نتیجه‌سنده وضع امضا ایچون سوك اجتماع رسمیمك آنجق شباطك اوتجی کونی صباحنك ایلك ساعتلرنده عقدی ممکن اولهبیلمشدر. آلمانیا خارجیه ناظری فون کولمان کیجه ساعت ایکیدن براز اول برووجه آتی نطق ایراد ایله جلسه‌یی کندی ریاستی آلتنده اولهرق کشاد ایتمشدر.

«افندیلر! آرا کزده هیچ کیمسه اوروپای مرکزی دولتلری ممثلریله اوقرانیا اهالی جمهوریتی ممثلرینك یوجهان حریننده ایلك دفعه استحصال ایدیلن صلحی امضا ایتمك اوزره شوسالونده اجتماع ایتدکلری ساعتك اهمیت تاریخیه‌سنی انکار ایده‌مز. بوحرب عظیمك دهشت آور فورطنه‌لرندن طوغان کتیج برحکومتله عقد صلح ایدلسی بالحاصه اتفاق مربع هیأت مرخصه‌لرینی ممنون ایتمشدر.

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آلمان غزته‌لرینك مطالعاتی

برلین ۱۱ شباط (م) — «کولنیشه‌جایتونغ» غزته‌سی اوقرانیا اهالی جمهوریتی ایله عقد اولنان مصالحه حقنده دیبورکه: «اوزون مدت موسقوف وعه‌سنده ایلهمش ایکن اخیراً تکرار حربنی اکتساب وکندیسنه پارلاق براستقبال عرض ویدار ایدن اوقرانیا، دول مجاوره‌یه ابراء ایلدیکی امنیت واعتمادی طولای تحسنه ایجبه‌جکدر. چاپلیشقان ومستعد برملت اولان اوقرانیالیلر (قره طوپراق) نامیله معروف اولان مدت طوپراقلرینی کامل سکون حال ایله زرع ایتمك دوام ایده‌میه‌جکلردر. فیهاعه اوقرانیالیلرك محصول مساعیسی، طوپراق بیلمه‌ین یوسق روسیا ارباب استعدادی ایچون اخراجات موادی وبشریه‌سی اولان بوحرب عظیمك دهشت آور فورطنه‌لرندن طوغان کتیج برحکومتله عقد صلح ایدلسی بالحاصه اتفاق مربع هیأت مرخصه‌لرینی ممنون ایتمشدر.

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خاقان سابقك جنازه مراسمی

وقوع ارتحالی دولتکی نسخه‌مزده خبرویرمشدیکمز خاقان سابق سلطان عبدالحمید خان ثانی حضرتلرینك جنازه مراسمی دون محتشم بر صورتده اجرا ایدلمشدر.

جنازه صباحلین اداسی ساعت درت بچی رادهٔ‌لرنده بکلر بکی سرایندن بحریه نظارتنده تخصیص قلنان براسته‌یوله ارکاب اولهرق یلدز سرای برونته ایصال ایدلش واورادن طوفیو سرای عامره‌سنه نقل ایدیلرك تجهیز وتکفینی باپلمشدر. اوکه‌دن سوکره خرقهٔ سعادت دائرهٔ فاخره‌سنده جنازه نمازی بعدالادا ساعت طقوز رادهٔ‌لرنده جنازه آلای ترتیب ایدیلن پروغرام موجبنجه حرکت ایتمشدر.

آلای شوصورتله ترتیب ایدلمشدی : جنازه‌نك اوکنده سواری پولیس مأمورلری، سوادی صاکر عثمانیه‌سی، انضباط عسکری مأمورلری، بحریه موسیقه‌سی، بحریه محافظ طابورلری، پیاده کوچك شابط، صحرا طوپجی کوچك ضابط مکتبلری، اطفائیه آلایی تفنکلرینك اوجلری باش آشاغی اولهرق بولنمقده ایدی.

بوندن سوکره حربیه نظارتی موسیقه طاقمی، انضباط عسکری مأمورینی، حرم همایون آغوالری وزنانی تبعه‌دارانی باطه‌جیلر، شاذلی‌وملولی درکاهلری مشایخ وددکانی، مؤذنان حضرت شهریاری تهلیل خوان اولهرق کلمکده وبوندن تعقیباً جنازه‌یی حامل تابوت اوزرینه خاندان‌سلطنته مخصوص کبه‌اوتیلری وبدی عدد مزین کر صارلش اولدیغی حالده خدمهٔ خاصهٔ شاهانه مأمورلری طرفندن ایادیٔ احترامده نقل ایدلمکده ایدی.

جنازه‌نك آرقه‌سنده دارالسعادة‌التحریفه آغاسی، خزینهٔ خاصهٔ شاهانه وخزینهٔ همایون ارکان مأمورینی امام اول وامام ثانی حضرت شهریاری افندیلر، صدرعظم پندکلی کلیورلردی.

بوندن سوکره تشریفات مدیری ممدوح بك افندی اوکده بولندیغی حالده الیهٔ رسمیه‌لرینی‌لابس اولهرق ولی عهدسلطنت وحیدالدین‌افندی‌حضرتلرینك بالعموم شهزادکانه صحوم مشارالیهك محادیمی، داماد پاشا وبك‌افندیلر، بعده تحریرات‌مدیرمعاونی فوادبك افندی‌اوکده بولندیغی حالده الیهٔ‌رسمیه‌لرینی لابس‌اولهرق خدیوعصر عباس‌حلمی پاشاحضرتلرینك صدراعظم وکیل، حربیه ناظری انور پاشا، شیخ‌الاسلام موسی کاظم افندی، بحریه ناظری جمال پاشا، مابه ناظری جاوید، عدلیه ناظری خالد، پوسته وتلغراف ناظری هاشم بك افندیلر وسائر وکلای فخام، اعیان، مبعوثان رئیسلری، سفرای اجنبیه، سفارت باش ترجمان وآتاشه میلیترلری، مابین همایون ارکان مأموریندن بعضلری، بوتون تعلیماً تشریفات مأموری طلعت بك اوکده بولندیغی حالده امرای عسکریه، تشریفات مأمورلرندن صادق بك اوکده بولندیغی حالده اعیان، مبعوثان اعضالری، رجال علمیه، رؤسای روحانیه، مؤسسات مالیه ومدیرکتورلری، نظارتلرستانلری ومأمورین‌ملکیه، اتحاد وترقی جمعیتی مرکز عمومی اعضالری، سائر جمیعتلر مرخصه‌لری وذوات سائره جنازه‌یی تعقیب ایلکده ایدی.

کذرکاهده بیکلرجه اهالی طولاشمش اولوب جنازه یوصورتله دیوان یولی طریقیله جنتکان سلطان محمود خان ثریه‌لرینه نقل ایدلش و ثریه دخولنده تخصیص قلنان محل مخصوصده ودیعهٔ‌خاك غفرانالهی قلنمشدره بعده مراسم تعزیت بعدالایفا حاضرون عودت ایتمشلردر.

رحمة‌الله‌علیه رحمةً واسعةً

§ عبدالحمید خان ثانی ۱۸٤۲ سنهٔ افرنجیه‌سی ایلولنك ۲۲ نجی کونی تولد ایتمش و ۱۸۷۶ آغستوسنك ۳۱ نجی کونی تخته اعود ایتمشدی. ۲۷ نیسان۱۹۰۹ تاریخنده خلع ایدلش واولکی کونك ساعت اوچ بچه‌ده ارتحال ایتمشدره مشارالیه ۳۳ سنه سلطنت سورمش اولوب ۷۶ یاشنده ایدی.

سلطان‌حمید، عبدالعزیز خانك سیاحتی اثناسنده مصره، فرانسه‌یه برادرلری مراد ورشاد افندیلرله برلکده سیاحت ایتمشدی.

§ تحریرات مدیریت عمومیه‌سندن :

خاقان سابق سلطان عبدالحمید ثانی حضرتلرینك وقوم ارتحالرندن طولایی ذات شوکتمات حضرت پادشاهی‌یه‌برای تعزیت سرای همایون جناب‌ملوکانه عزیمت ایده‌جکلرندن ذوات ایچون یوکونکی سالی کونی وسطی ساعت یردن دردده قدر بر دفتر کشاده بولندیرلهجقدر.

راپور صورتلری

۱۰ شباط سنه ۱۳۳٤ بازار کونی سباحلیق حربیه نظارت جلیله‌سندن تلق ایتدیکمز امر واوزرینه برمدتدن بری خسته اولان خاقان سابق سلطان عبدالحمید ثانی حضرتلرینی معاینه وتداوی ایچون بکلر بکی سرایته کلمك. اورادہ طبیب خصوصیسی دوقتور عاطف بك ایله بکلر بکی خسته خانه‌سی اطبا سندن دوقتور آلکیوپادیس افندی ودوقتور نیقولا کی پاراسکوایدیس افندیلردن معلومات آتیه‌یی آلدق : خاقان سابق حضرتلری ۵ شباطدن بری خسته اولوب نزله‌سی اولدیغی وسینی سیق سعده‌سندن شکایت ایتمکده بولندیغی و ۹ شباط جمعه‌ایرتسی اقشامی واحشملین کسب شدت ایتدیکندن کیجه زوالی ساعت سکز بچمقده طبیب خصوصیلری عاطف بك کلمه‌یله قدر بکر بکی خسته خانه‌سنده اسلری برچه بالا ذکر اولنان ایکی طبیبك جلبی اقتضا ایتدیکی وبوذوات خاقان سابق حضرتلری شدتلی صرت تنفسدن مضطرب بولدقلرینی وعدد تنفسك الحمش‌بش اولدیغی ومعاینه‌ده هرایکی رئه‌ده وبالخاصه سول رئه‌ده پك شدتلی احتقان بولندیغی وقلبك پك ضعیف اولوب نبضك متکاثف حس‌ایتمکده وعدد ضربانك یوز اوتوز اولدیغی وادراك پك آز کابیکی کوردکلرینی وبرای تداوی فوری محصار تطبیقی وداخلاً مقوی قلب ومدرر اولهرق اسپرتوئین وتئوبرومین ویردکلرینی وبونك اوزرینه خسته‌لك احوالنده برآز سلاح حاصل اولدیغی ایسه‌ده انذار وخیم اولدیغی جهله برمشاورهٔ طبیه اجراسنه لزوم حاصل اولدیغی بیان ایتمشلردر.

زیرده واضع لاحا اطبا ساعت اونیرده‌کی معاینه‌سنده مشارالیه مضرتلرینك شدتلی صرت تنفسدن مضطرب اولوب نبضك دقیقه‌ده یوز یکرمی وضعیف اولدیغی وسول رئه‌سنك قاعده‌سنده اصمیت وتنفسده خشونت ایله برابر یك چوق خراخر فرقیهٔ‌دونیه‌سنك موجود بولندیغی وهرایکی رئه‌سنك السام سارده‌سنده تاذیره‌لره قدر عدی خراخرك ایشیدلدیکی وخاقان مشارالیه‌حضرتلرینك مدهم قشمان عاطیه‌افرازاتیله‌کدن اولدیغی کوردك. اطراف صفوتش اولوب، غلبه‌لرده حکومتك اوقرانیاده‌کی مساکر، «رادا» اوزرینه یاره ایله تعهد قازاغی ایتدیکنی درخاطرایتدیرهرك دیبورکه: «فرانسه اوقرانیایه ۱۸۰ ملیون فرانق اقراض ایلش واوقرانیا اردوسنك اصلاح وتنسیق وتجهیزی ایچون بوپارهنك ۱۲۰ ملیونی صرف ایلمش اولدیغی حالده اوقرانیا حکومتی بوپارهنك ۱۰۰ ملیونی ادا ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بوکونکی حکومت اوقرانیاده‌کی مساکر، «رادا» اوزرینه یاره ایله تعهد قازاغی ایتدیکنی درخاطرایتدیرهرك دیبورکه: «فرانسه اوقرانیایه ۱۸۰ ملیون فرانق اقراض ایلش واوقرانیا اردوسنك اصلاح وتنسیق وتجهیزی ایچون بوپارهنك ۱۲۰ ملیونی صرف ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بوکونکی حکومت اوقرانیاده‌کی مساکر، «رادا» اوزرینه یاره ایله تعهد قازاغی ایتدیکنی درخاطرایتدیرهرك دیبورکه: «فرانسه اوقرانیایه ۱۸۰ ملیون فرانق اقراض ایلش واوقرانیا اردوسنك اصلاح وتنسیق وتجهیزی ایچون بوپارهنك ۱۲۰ ملیونی صرف ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بوکونکی حکومت اوقرانیاده‌کی مساکر، «رادا» اوزرینه یاره ایله تعهد قازاغی ایتدیکنی درخاطرایتدیرهرك دیبورکه: «فرانسه اوقرانیایه ۱۸۰ ملیون فرانق اقراض ایلش واوقرانیا اردوسنك اصلاح وتنسیق وتجهیزی ایچون بوپارهنك ۱۲۰ ملیونی صرف ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بوکونکی حکومت اوقرانیاده‌کی مساکر، «رادا» اوزرینه یاره ایله تعهد قازاغی ایتدیکنی درخاطرایتدیرهرك دیبورکه: «فرانسه اوقرانیایه ۱۸۰ ملیون فرانق اقراض ایلش واوقرانیا اردوسنك اصلاح وتنسیق وتجهیزی ایچون بوپارهنك ۱۲۰ ملیونی صرف ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بوکونکی حکومت اوقرانیاده‌کی مساکر، «رادا» اوزرینه یاره ایله تعهد قازاغی ایتدیکنی درخاطرایتدیرهرك دیبورکه: «فرانسه اوقرانیایه ۱۸۰ ملیون فرانق اقراض ایلش واوقرانیا اردوسنك اصلاح وتنسیق وتجهیزی ایچون بوپارهنك ۱۲۰ ملیونی صرف ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بوکونکی حکومت اوقرانیاده‌کی مساکر، «رادا» اوزرینه یاره ایله تعهد قازاغی ایتدیکنی درخاطرایتدیرهرك دیبورکه: «فرانسه اوقرانیایه ۱۸۰ ملیون فرانق اقراض ایلش واوقرانیا اردوسنك اصلاح وتنسیق وتجهیزی ایچون بوپارهنك ۱۲۰ ملیونی صرف ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بوکونکی حکومت اوقرانیاده‌کی مساکر، «رادا» اوزرینه یاره ایله تعهد قازاغی ایتدیکنی درخاطرایتدیرهرك دیبورکه: «فرانسه اوقرانیایه ۱۸۰ ملیون فرانق اقراض ایلش واوقرانیا اردوسنك اصلاح وتنسیق وتجهیزی ایچون بوپارهنك ۱۲۰ ملیونی صرف ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بوکونکی حکومت اوقرانیاده‌کی مساکر، «رادا» اوزرینه یاره ایله تعهد قازاغی ایتدیکنی درخاطرایتدیرهرك دیبورکه: «فرانسه اوقرانیایه ۱۸۰ ملیون فرانق اقراض ایلش واوقرانیا اردوسنك اصلاح وتنسیق وتجهیزی ایچون بوپارهنك ۱۲۰ ملیونی صرف ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بوکونکی حکومت

بلغار غزته‌لری نه دیور؟

صوفیه ۱۰ شباط (م) — (مالیوف) فرقه‌سنك صوج افکاری (بره‌بورچ) غزته‌سی اوقرانیا ایله صلح عقدی حقنده دیورکه: «بوصلح بلغارستانك ایچون بر فلاکت اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر. بلغارستان بوصلحك شرائطی قبولنه مجبور اولمشدر.

Sultan Hamid'in cenazesi Beylerbeyi Sarayı'ndan minder üzerinde çıkarılıyor.



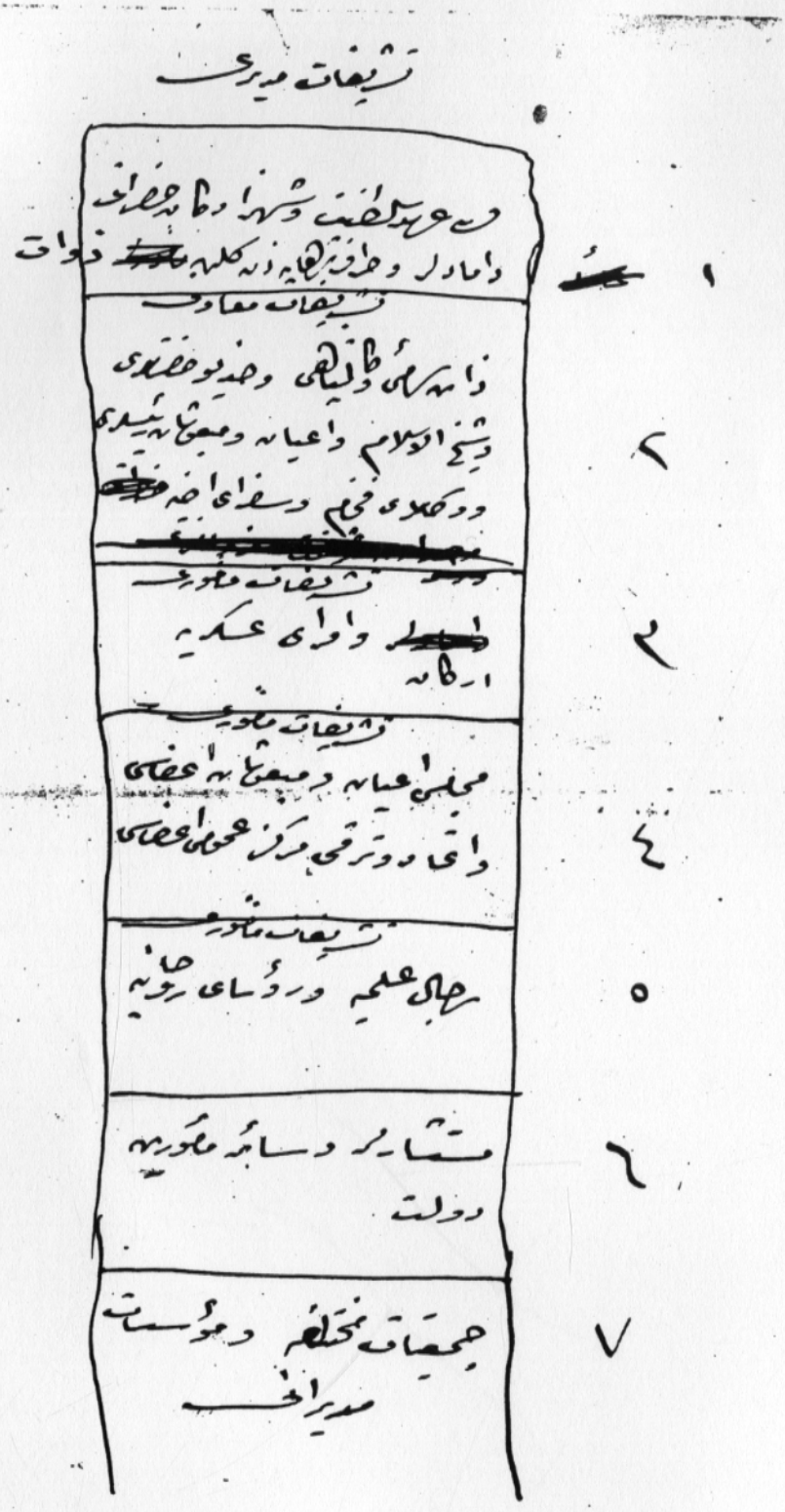


Figure 17.

Document of the Protocol Department planning the Sultan Abdülhamid II's cortege.

پنجشنبه : ۲۵ رمضان ۱۳۳۶ ، ٤ تموز ۱۳۳٤ — ۱۹۱۸

تاریخ تأسیسی : ۱۳۲٦ — ۱۳۲٤ اوتجی سنه نومرو ۳٤۳۷

طنین

اداره‌خانه : نورعثمانیه‌ده دائر ٤ نمحصر سه‌ آدرس : استانبول ، طنین ـ تلفون نومرو سی ٥٤۲

آبونه‌لر : داخلده ایچون سنه‌لك ۳۲۰ ، آلتی آیلق ۱۸۰ ، اوچ آیلق ۹۰ غروشدر
خارجده ایچون سنه‌لك ۳۹۰ ، آلتی آیلق ۲۰۰ ، اوچ آیلق ۱۱۰ غروشدر

اخطار : فرقه‌لك خصوصات اداریه‌سیله مالك اوراق هیئت تحریریه‌ به واسور اداره‌یه متعلق مواد طنین اداره‌سنه بودیلمیدر . درج اولونمیان اوراق اعاده اولنماز .

کرك استانبول ، کرك ولایات ایچون نسخه‌سی (٤۰) پاره‌در

اسکی نسخه‌لر آی ایچنده (۲) ودها اسکیلری (٤) غروشدر

پادشاهمزك ارتحاللری

دون ، عثمانی ملتی الیم و مؤسف بر ضیاعه اوغرادی : دوقوزنجی‌یه متجاوز بر مدت کرچکدن بدرانه برصورتده اجرای سلطنت ایدن سلطان محمد خامس حضرتلری ارتحال ایدیلر !

برتاج کودن بری خاقان مغفورك راحتسز لکلری همزی متأثر ایدیوردی . معمافیه خسته‌لق بدایتده وخیم کورونمدیکی ایچون تأثیرینی اندیشه‌یه متقلب اولمامشدی . حیاتك اوزون بر دوره‌سنی مادی ومعنوی یاپانلرله اضطرابلر ایچنده کچیرمش اولمق بوزدن بنیه‌ده حاصل اولان مقاومتسزلك شیخوخت تأثیریله برلشه‌رك دون ، بوتون ملتك کوز پاشاری آرمسنده بشنجی سلطان محمد حضرتلری تسلیم روح ایلمشدر .

یو ماتم انکیز ارتحالك اطرافنده ، بوتون عثمانی ملتی ، کدر والم کونلرنده صمیمی رابطه‌لرینی دها یوکسك بر قوته حس ایدن قارداشلر کبی ، صمیمی بر تأثرله برلشیور . مرحوم پادشاهمز ، کوچکدن ملك خصلت بر ذات ایدی . پای تخته ، وسیاحت ایتدکاری هر برده بوتون ملت ، بوکون آرتق ابدیاً ذهول ایدن اوسیاده پدرانه برشفقت ، مساعدتکارانه برحلم ومرحمت ، عمیق بر توکل وتسلیمیت وعلو جناب ایله ممزوج دینی برقابلیت محبت حس ایتمش ، بونك ایچون هر کس قلباً مرحومه دیندارانه بر حرمت ومحبت باغلامش ایدی . دور سلطنتکی حزین ماجرالرله ذاتاً سویلن وآجیلیان سلطان محمد خامس ، تخت سلطنته کچدیکی کونکن اعتباراً ده ، اوزون بر دور سیاسك میدانی اولان برچوق جنایه فاللرغم مجبوریتله متأثم اولمشدی . بوتون بو اضطرابلره صاوصیلماز برمتانتله متوکلانه تحمل ایدن مرحوم ، بوتون عثمانلیلرك ، بیك درلو فلاکتلره قارشی مدار تسلیی ایدی . تاریخك محاکمه ایدوب حکمنی ویره‌جکی برچوق قاریشیق ساعات دورلری کچرن ، چوق دفعه سرابلرك قابلی قابیلری آرقه‌سنده پادشاهلرینك هویتی طمانیه‌میان ملت ، سلطان محمد خامس ، آجیق ، بارز برشخصیت ، نام ومشروطیت پادشاهی کورمش ، حکمدارینی واضحاً طانیش وسومشدی . حیفا که بوکون اوعظیم موجودیت‌ده بوتون فالیاریله یکدیکر اولان عاقته اوغرامش ، اوشفیق قلب دورمش ، او حزین نورنظر سوئمشدر .

مرحوم ومغفور پادشاهمز ، ولی عهد اولدقلری صیراده فلاکتله هم شریك ، هم‌ده شاهد بولوندقلری ملتك اقبالنی کورمك آرزوسیله متحسس ایدی . بر دفعه غائبدن خالی قالمایان دور سلطنتلرنده دائما بوآرزوی وهبر اتخاذ ایلمشلردی . حکومتك زمام اداره‌سنی الرینه آلدقلری کوندن اعتباراً ملت ایچون یکانه ... جاسی اولدیغنی کیمسه‌نك اشتباهی اولیان مشروطیته قطعیاً صادق قالمشلر ، جلوسلرینی کونی ایتدکاری یمینه دائما رعایت ایلمشلردی .

بودنیه‌ده حضور کیرمیه‌جك نیات واعمالك اجرا حزبلی بولنقله بکام اولان اوبیوك روحی شاد ایتمك ، بوتون ملت افرادی ایچون بروجیه‌ده بولنمق ، بوده ، مرحومك آخرینه اقتفا ایده‌رك بوتون مشکلات واضطرابات قارشیسنده توکل ومتانت کوسترمکله ، یکوجودانه برآتحاد ایچنده مملکتی سلامت وسعادته ایصال ایچون متفرداً ومتحداً مدبرون اولدیغمز وخلیفه‌لرینی الله کوچوك براهمال ولاقیدیه بیله امکان براقمایه‌رق حسن ایفا ایتمکله ممکن اولور . یأسه دوشمیه‌رك ، صیورمه ومتحملانه ، وطنك بزدن بکلدیکی فداکارلقلری یاپدیغمز امین اولمالی بزکه ملی وارلغمز بوکله‌لرمك وبویوه‌جکدر .

حال حیاتنده بوتون ملتی تختی اطرافنده طوپلایه‌رق هر فلاکتی مواجه‌سنده ملتك لایتغیر صداقت ومحبوبیتندن تسلی آلان وملته‌ده بوکسك وتجیب سیاستك افاده ایلدیکی توکل وتحمللله نسلی ویرن مرحوم سلطان محمد خامسك ارتحالی قارشیسنده ایشته بو حسرله متأثر ومحسس بولونیورز .

وارث

شیخ الاسلام مصطفی صبری

تبلیغ نامه

حضرات سلطنت سنیه محمد رشاد خامس حضرتلرینک اریحا دار الخلافه العلیه یه نقل
بیورلمش و الاستحفاده تحت عالی تخت عثمانیه جلوس همایونلرینه شرف وقوع ایصالنه
مبنی اعلیحضرت سلطان محمد خامس افندی حضرتلرینک بیعت سکم علیسنه بولونمق
اوزره پادشاهلر سلطان محمد خامسلرینک افندی حضرتلرینک بیعت سکم علیسنه بولونمق
نتیجه کون وسطی ساعت اونده طوپچو سرای همایونده اجرا اولنه جغنه دائر مقدما
ولی عهد سلطنت و بالجمله شهزادگان حضرات و ذوات سائر و عالیشان ؛ صدر اعظم
پاشا ؛ ذات والای مشیخت ؛ مجلس اعیان و مبعثان رئیسلری ؛ وکلای قائم ؛ وزراء
فقط شهزادگان پاشالر ایله افندیلر حضرات ؛ ارکان بحریه و بحریه عسکریه ؛ مجلس اعیان و مبعثان
اعضاسندن کرک عثمانیه اعضاسی و رجال علیه و رؤسای روحانیه
و ائمه ستاره ؛ استانبول والی وکیلی و شهرامینی وکیلی و بالعموم مأموریه دولت ؛
داخل سکم علی الاتصال جمعیات مختلفه رئیس و اعضاسی و نائبیت عثمانیه یه حائز مؤسسات عالیه
و فخامتلو سفرای دول اجنبیه حضرتلرینک و نشانه علیه و قونسولاتو طوپچو
و تجاریه مدیرلرینک استانبول اوتیلرینه اتیاسی و نشانه علیه و قونسولاتو طوپچو
سرای همایونک حضور همایونلرینه تبلیغ اولنور .

— ٠ —

Figure 19.

Announcement of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's death and funeral program

Başbakanlık Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı

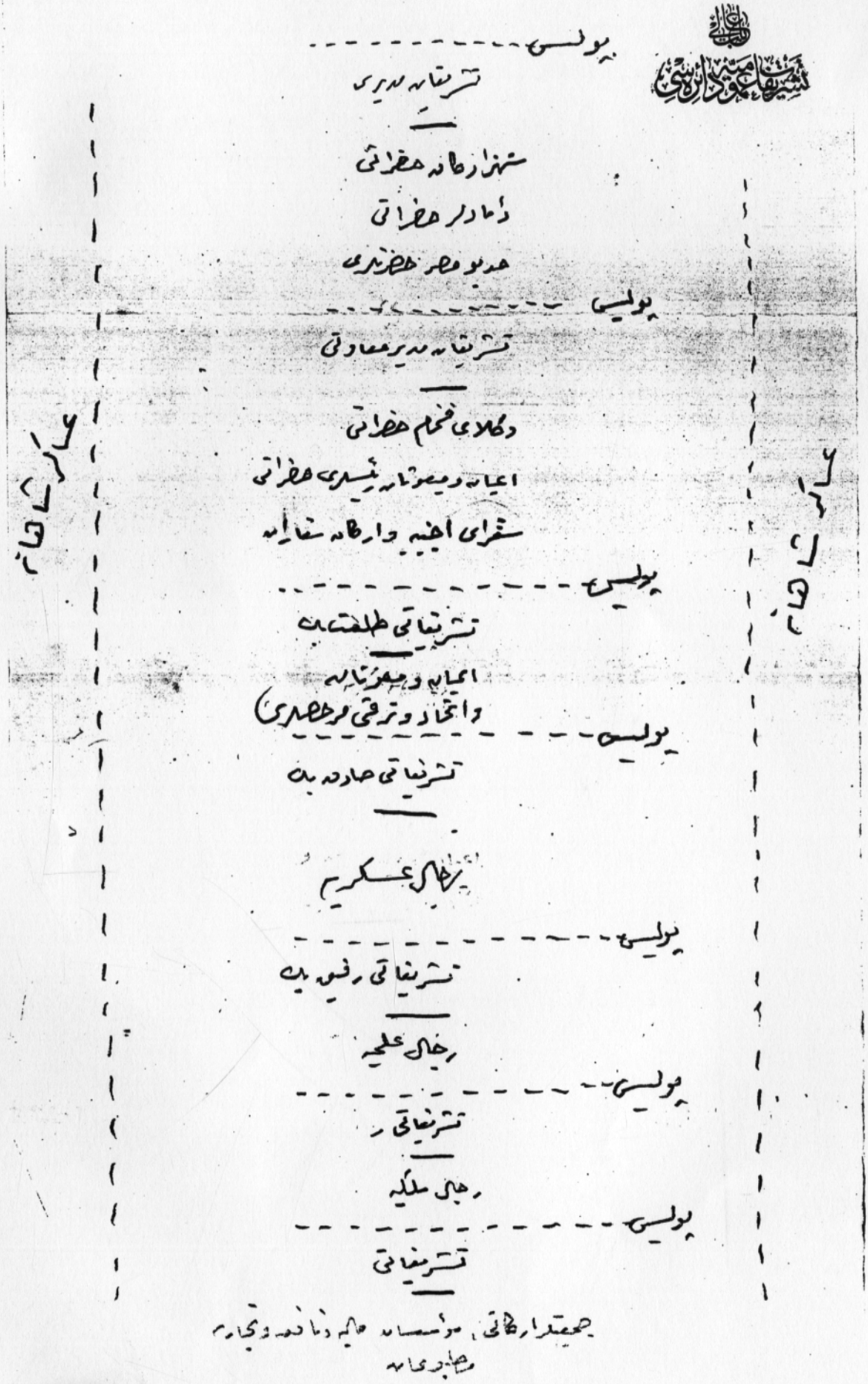


Figure 20.

Document of the Protocol Department planning the Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's cortege.

Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı

نسخه تاریخی	مسوده املایی	نسخه تاریخی	تشریفات عمومیه دائره‌سی	مسوده‌نویسی
ـ		ـ		
ـ		ـ		

سنه حضرت پادشاه نوحاله بولنمغله جانب تشریفاته
وقوع بولان وکوتاهیکه اوزره باجمله شهزادگان وشرف حضرت
سنیه سنی واعمار پاشا ولی افندی حضرتلری وصدر اعظم
شیخ الاسلام و وکلای فخام واعیان وسعوتانه رؤسا واعضای
واراکیه وکبرای عسکریه وجمله علمیه ورؤسای روحانیه وعلی العموم
ارکان سلطنت سنیه حلیه بیرون اونیفورملرینی لابس ونشانه وقورودیلرینی
حامل اولدقلری حالده بیلم وسعتلی مکورده طوپ قیو سرای همایونه
وارنجه پادشاه نوحاله وشهریار تعاریف آکاه حضرتلری رضی
الله عنهم اجمعین وسعوتانه

ایله کیشت اعیان وسعوتانه

بنا رای عالی مکوره شرفصدور بیورلدی اوزره بعد
ازاعاده قیوسی بیناهده وضع موقع احترام قیلنه
حضرت سلطنت وجلالتپناهی حلیه شریفه واداسنده
وبیلده اشاره محفه اوزره مواقع معینه ده بیوز بیوز یارده
طوپ اتلمغه ابتدار اولنه نقیب الاشراف افندی طرفندن ادعیه مخصوصه

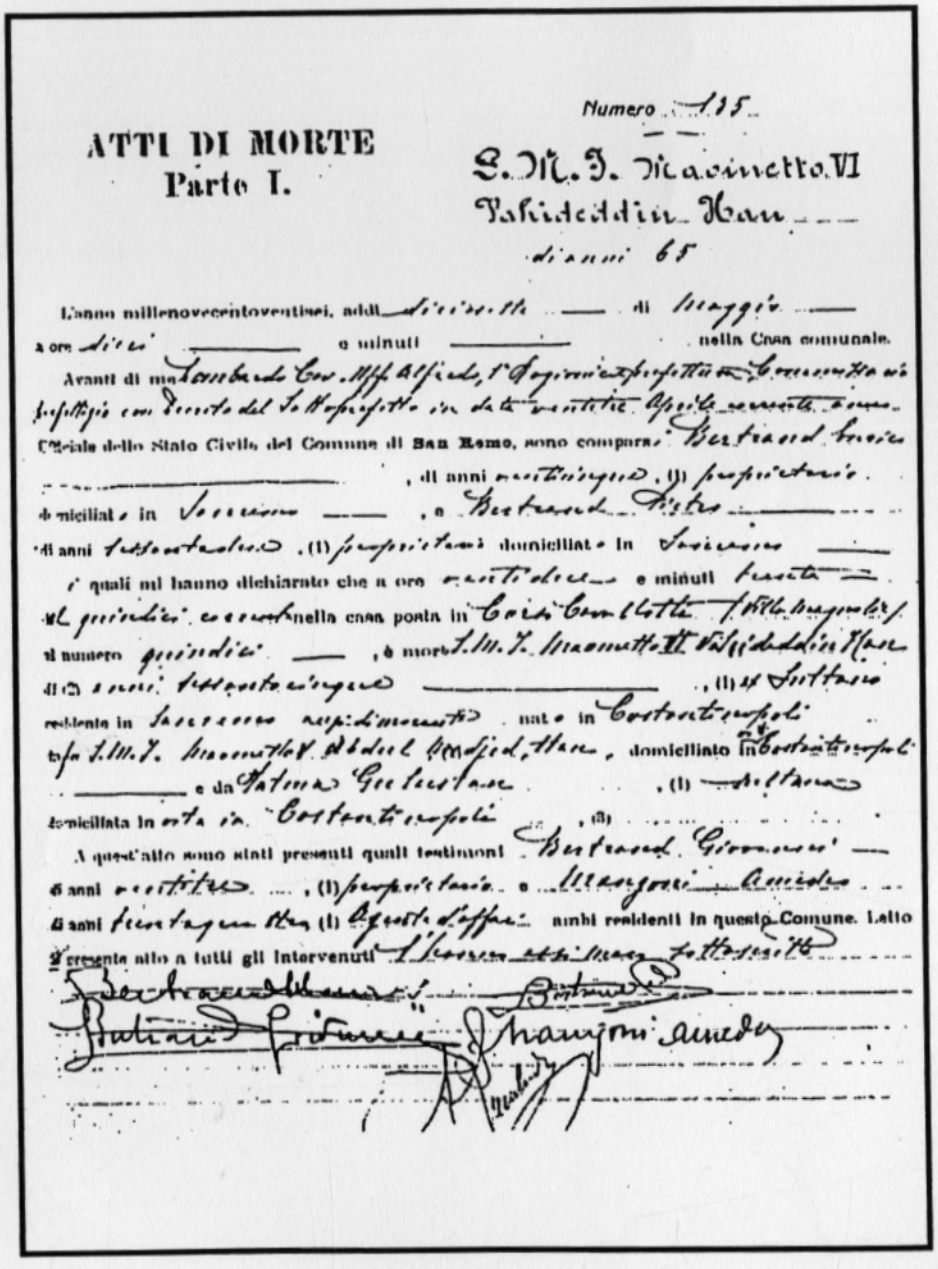
ولیعهد حضرت سلطنت وجلالتپناهی حلیه شریفه واداسنده
وصف سعوتانه دولتلو
محاط بولنه

Figure 21.

Document of the Protocol Department narrating the funeral of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad







Numero 135

ATTI DI MORTE
Parte I.

S. M. I. Mehmet VI
Vahideddin Han
di anni 65

L'anno millenovecentoventisei, addì diciotto di maggio
a ore dieci e minuti nella Casa comunale.
Avanti di me Lombardo Cav. Uff. Ufficiale dell'Ordine Mauriziano delegato
dal Prefetto con Decreto del 5 Febbraio in data 1 Aprile scorso
Ufficiale dello Stato Civile del Comune di **San Remo**, sono comparsi Bertrand Louis
, di anni sessantasei, (1) proprietario
domiciliato in Francia, e Bertrand Lytz
di anni trentacinque, (1) proprietario domiciliato in Francia
i quali mi hanno dichiarato che a ore diciotto e minuti trenta
del giorno corrente nella casa posta in Corso Cavallotti Villa Magnolia
al numero civico , è morto S. M. I. Mehmet VI Vahideddin Han
di (2) anni sessantacinque , (1) di Costantinopoli
residente in Sanremo vedovo di anni nato in Costantinopoli
da S. M. I. Mehmet Abdul Medjid Han, domiciliato in Costantinopoli
e da Fatma Gevherhan , (1) di Costantinopoli
domiciliata in vita in Costantinopoli , (3)
A quest'atto sono stati presenti quali testimoni Bertrand Giovanni
di anni sessantotto, (1) proprietario e Mangoni Amedeo
di anni trentaquattro (1) agente d'affari ambi residenti in questo Comune. Letto
il presente atto a tutti gli intervenuti l'hanno con me firmato e sottoscritto

Figure 24.

Death report of Sultan Vahideddin.

CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

La sepoltura di Maometto VI

e le intenzioni del successore

Sanremo, 25 maggio:

Per rispettare la tradizione mussulmana, i membri della famiglia del defunto Sultano, dopo aver tenuto consiglio a Villa Magnolie, al quale parteciparono pure ex Ministri del regime imperiale, con a capo il Principe Samy, si sono recati a Nizza a presentare le condoglianze al principe ereditario Abdul Medjid, il quale abita nella sontuosa villa Xouls e, dopo una commovente cerimonia, si ritirarono per essere di nuovo ammessi alla presenza del Principe, al quale esternarono congratulazioni e presentarono augurii per la sua successione al trono imperiale. E così il nuovo Sovrano, alla presenza di quei dignitari, procedette all'apertura del testamento di Maometto VI, nel quale ordina al suo legittimo successore la continuazione della lotta contro gli usurpatori e che il suo corpo venga seppellito a Damasco in una moschea appartenente alla di lui famiglia.

Oggi, in seguito alle pratiche iniziate immediatamente presso il Governo francese, che ha il mandato sulla Siria, si è appreso che il permesso per la sepoltura a Damasco è stato accordato e che Abdul Medjid II ha rivolto preghiera a Vittorio Emanuele III perchè venga concessa una nave da guerra per il trasporto della salma. Sebbene non sia ancora giunta la risposta, la famiglia imperiale spera nell'adesione del nostro Sovrano per il fatto che nella luttuosa circostanza aveva inviato le sue personali condoglianze offrendo anche per la sepoltura l'oasi di Giarabub, offerta che non venne accettata perchè pare che fra Maometto VI e la Senussia non corressero amichevoli rapporti.

Da quanto è potuto trapelare da Villa Magnolie non si celebreranno funerali a Sanremo e siccome non possono essere adoperati i nostri carri funebri vietandolo la religione mussulmana avendo servito per i cristiani, si chiederà un affusto da cannone pel trasporto del feretro sino al porto ove sarà imbarcato cogli onori militari.

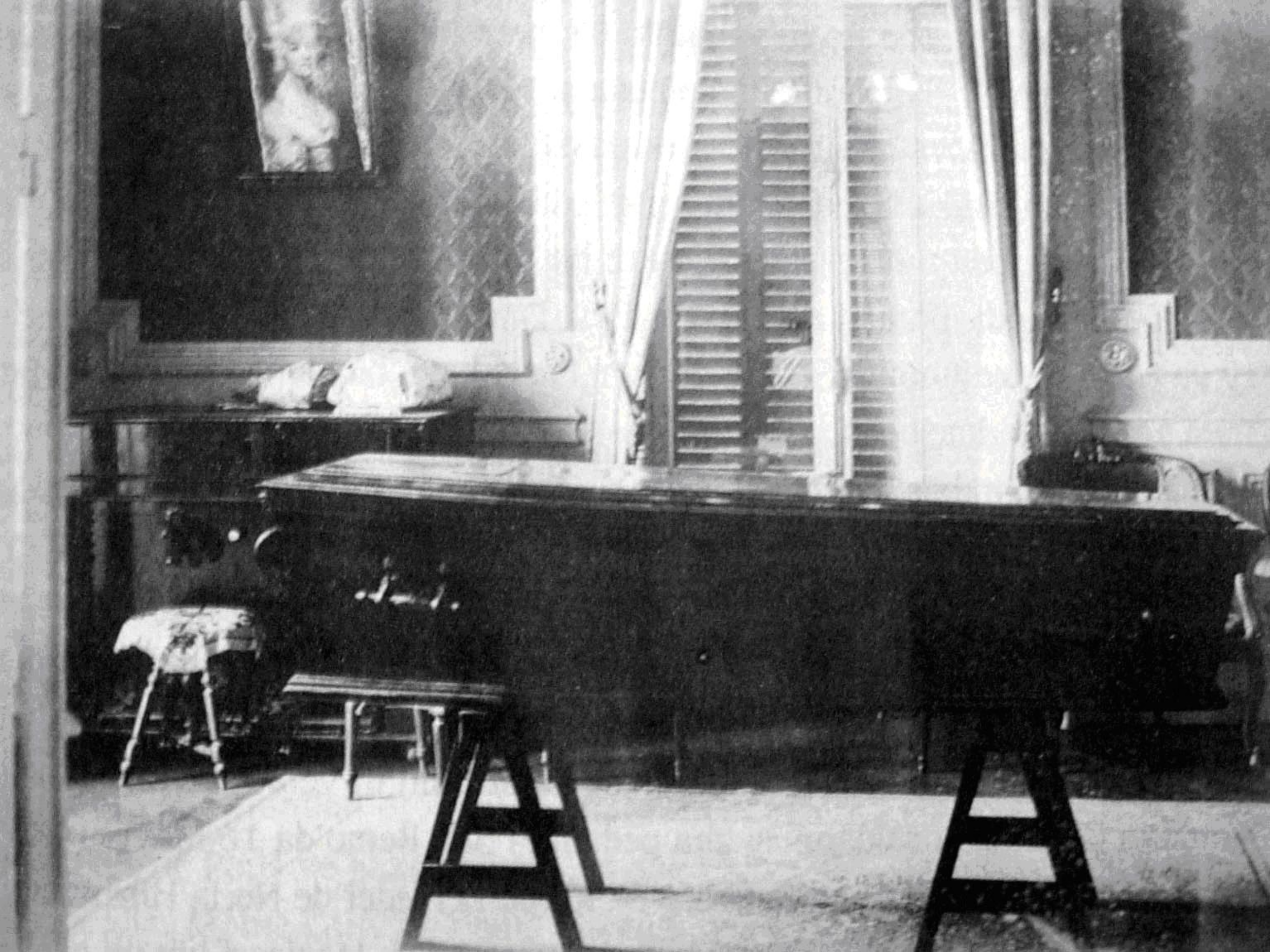
Si è pure appreso che, contrariamente alle prime supposizioni, la corte di Maometto VI non sarà sciolta e la villa Magnolie di Sanremo verrà occupata dal successore, il quale, essendo ricchissimo, continuerà con maggiori mezzi e con maggiore energia la lotta per rivendicare i diritti imperiali ed il titolo di Califfo. Abdul Medjid II avrebbe manifestato questi propositi dopo essersi intrattenuto a pregare dinanzi alla salma del suo predecessore.

MİKRO FİLME ÇEKİMİ YAPILDI

121 | 12 | 6 | 24 | 1

Figure 25.

Italian newspaper narrating the funeral of Sultan Vahideddin.





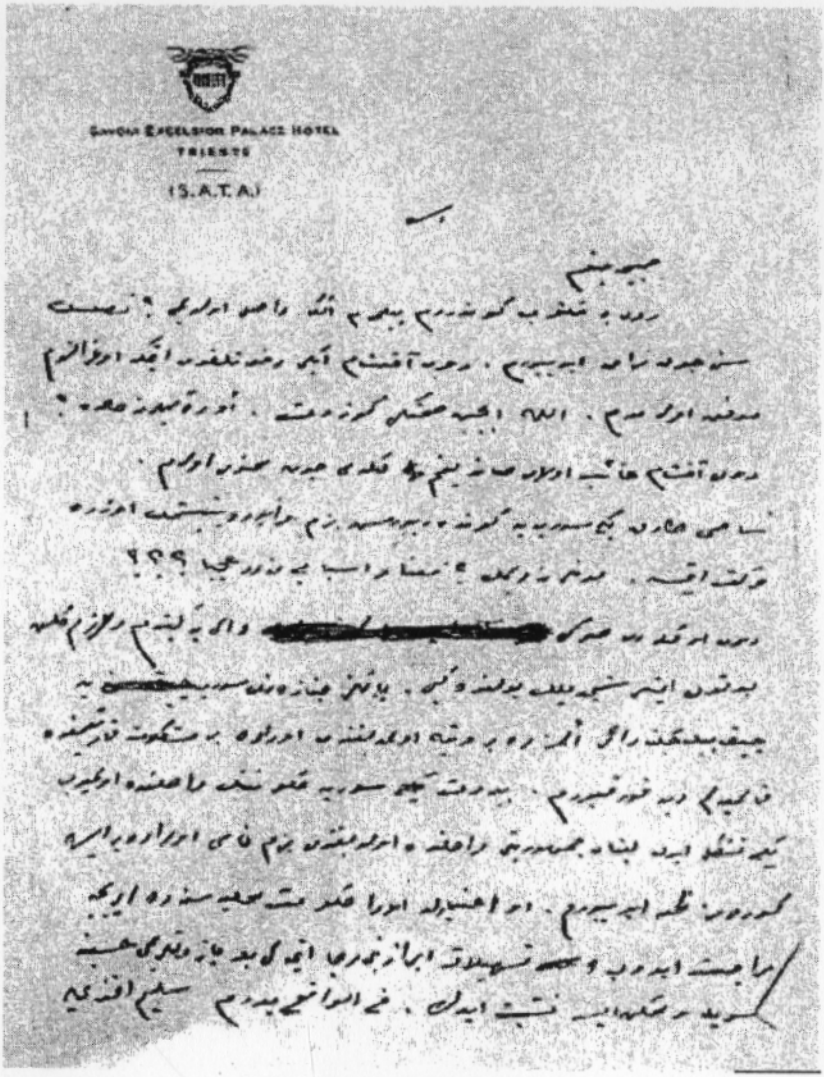
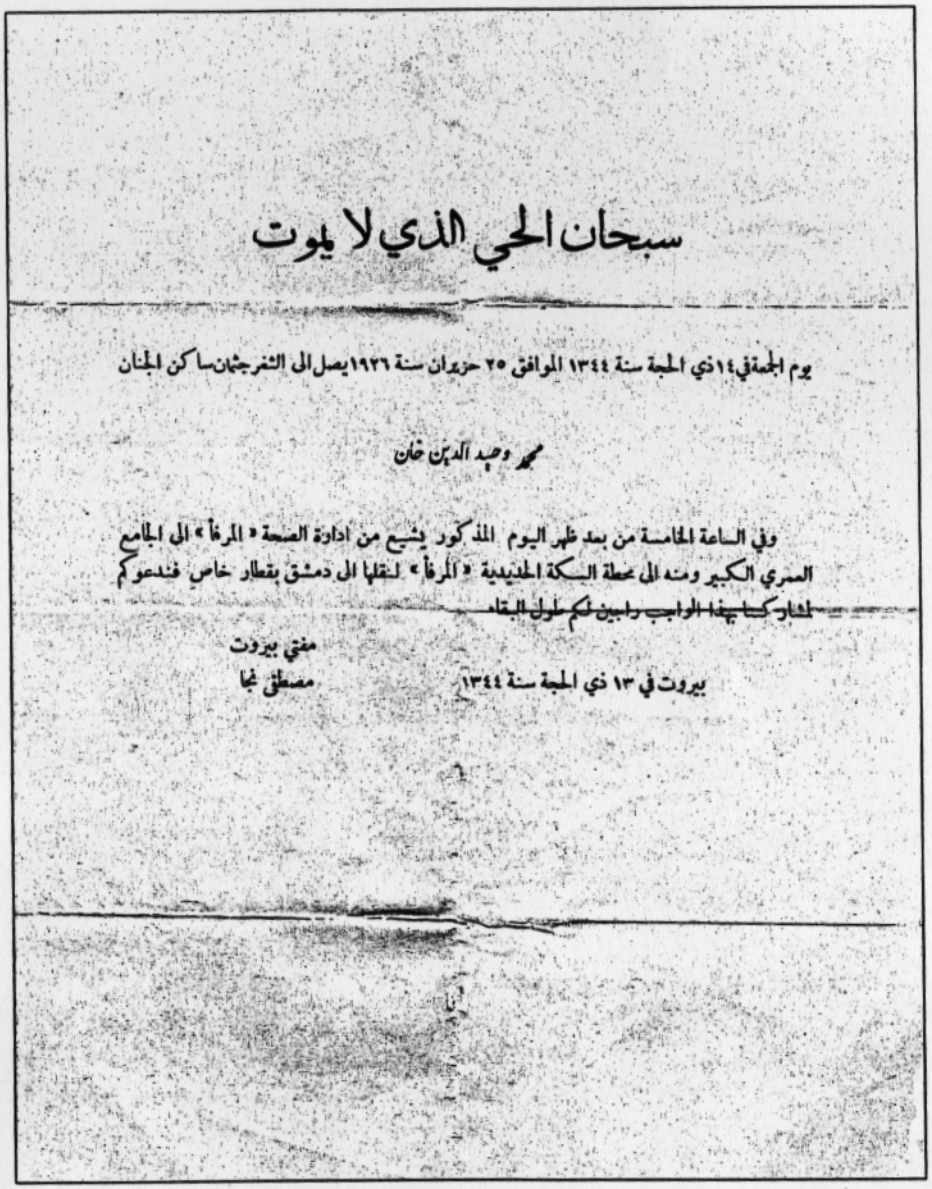


Figure 28.

Letter of Şehzade Ömer Faruk Efendi to Sabiha Sultan.



سبحان الحي الذي لا يموت

يوم الجمعة في ١٤ ذي الحجة سنة ١٣٤٤ الموافق ٢٥ حزيران سنة ١٩٢٦ يصل الى الشرجثمان ساكن الجنان

محمد وحيد الدين خان

وفي الساعة الخامسة من بعد ظهر اليوم المذكور يشيع من ادادة الصحة « المرفأ » الى الجامع العمري الكبير ومنه الى محطة السكة الحديدية « المرفأ » لنقلها الى دمشق بقطار خاص فندعوكم لاشتراك في هذا الواجب راجين لكم طول البقاء

مفتي بيروت
مصطفى نجا

بيروت في ١٣ ذي الحجة سنة ١٣٤٤

Figure 29.

Announcement of *müftü* of Beirut Mustafa Neca inviting people to attend the funeral ceremony of Sultan Vahideddin.

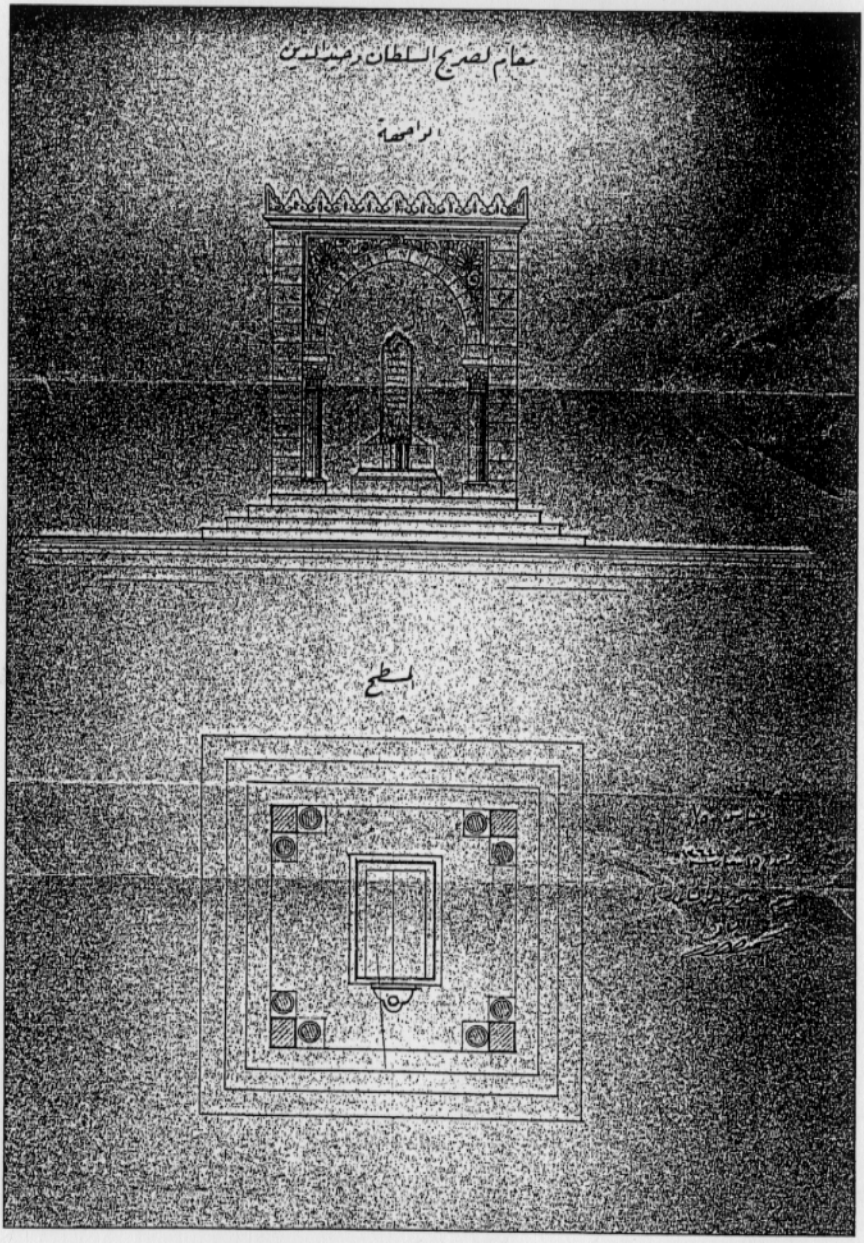


Figure 30.

The plan of tomb for Sultan Vahideddin.