

Hurrem Sultan: A Force for Change in the Ottoman Empire

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Introduction

How could a Russian slave girl grow to be the most powerful advisor in the Ottoman Court, a benefactor of charities across the Middle East, and the person credited with bringing about the downfall of the Ottoman Empire? This question has been given some consideration in modern scholarship, but warrants more.

The woman who would become known as Hurrem Sultan, was born in eastern Europe sometime in the first decade of the 1500s. By 1521, she had been kidnapped by Tartars, sold into the Ottoman imperial harem in Istanbul, and had born the Sultan a son.¹ In that period, she rose within the ranks of the concubines of the sultan until she was the favorite of Suleyman the Magnificent, who ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1520 to 1566.² In 1536, Suleyman went against Ottoman tradition by marrying Hurrem, instantly making her the most important woman in the Ottoman Empire. As empress to Suleyman, she was able to support her husband and children, influence the operation of the empire, and administer to the people within its borders. Her influence was in itself a marked change for the Ottoman Empire. Through her fierce bond with Suleyman and personal strength of character, she broke the traditional norms for a slave-concubine and carved out a new political and cultural landscape for a new period of Ottoman history.

Historiography

Sixteenth century queens have been the topic of extensive historical discourse over the past five hundred years. Western historians continue to argue new positions on the lives of Anne Boleyn and Catherine de Medici, but discussion of the role of their eastern counterpart, Hurrem Sultan, wife of Suleyman the Magnificent, has been limited. The historical study of Suleyman's reign began before he was cold in his grave. Accounts of Suleyman's reign could not ignore the

significant influence Hurrem gained. Sources from the period show that negative perspectives about Hurrem began to be published as soon as she married the sultan in 1536.³ She was further demonized in diplomatic documents, literature, and even in theater in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴

Many arguments from the last several decades still focus exclusively on the mysterious influence Hurrem had on her husband. Noel Barber, writing in 1973, cited Hurrem's marriage to Suleyman as "the first link in the chain of events that brought about the downfall of the Ottoman Empire," arguing that the increased influence of the imperial harem on the sultans led to their ultimate demise.⁵ Most sources on the Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire still discuss Hurrem exclusively in terms of her position as the great love of Suleyman and the mother of his successor, giving her little individual consideration.

The historiography began to change in 1993 when Leslie P. Peirce published *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, which revolutionized the discussion of women in the House of Osman.⁶ Her book examines the source of women's power in the Ottoman Empire and their ability to exercise it. Amy Singer followed suit by publishing *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, which focuses on the creation and administration of a Palestinian soup kitchen in Jerusalem by Hurrem, and the traditions of Middle Eastern women's charitable acts.⁷ The discussion of the infrastructural influence of the women of the House of Osman was continued in Chrisrine Isom-Verhaaren's excellent treatment of the endowments of Mirhimah, the sole daughter of Hurrem and Suleyman,⁸ and again in 2017 by Pinar Kayaalp, who compared an Istanbul hospital founded by Hurrem with another founded by Suleyman.⁹

Hurrem, known as Roxolana in Europe because of her supposed Russia heritage, was a popular figure in European gossip beginning in the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Galinal I. Yermolenko examined the queen's role in European Imagination in her 2016 book *Roxolana in European Literature, History, and Culture*.¹¹ Even so, Hurrem was not given a full, personal treatment until 2017, when Peirce, author of *The Imperial Harem*, wrote a full-length book focusing on Hurrem Sultan.¹² *The Empress of the East* presents the truest image of Hurrem yet, using contemporary sources including letters between Hurrem and Suleyman (which span four decades) to show the queen as a force for change in her own right.

Relatively few primary sources exist from or about Hurrem, and fewer can be found translated into English.¹³ The afore mentioned books and articles contain snippets of letters to and from Hurrem, a few letters concerning the queen, and several reports of foreign ambassadors. The primary sources of information on the women of the House of Osman are interspersed among academic scholarship from the last five decades, forming the foundation for any modern analysis of Hurrem in the English language.

Early Life and Introduction to the Ottoman Empire

If primary accounts of Hurrem are scarce, so too are the records about Hurrem's early life. It is clear that she was captured by Tartar raiders, who primarily pillaged the peasantry from the northern Black Sea region and up into what is now considered to be the Baltics.¹⁴ Historians can only speculate about her early years using assumptions about her age and records from raids. One old Polish proverb about the Tatars captures the fear the raiders brought with them and the fear they left behind. "O how much better to lie on one's bier, than to be on the way to Tartary."¹⁵ These people preferred death to the conditions of the Caffa slave trade in Crimea, the

fate that Hurrem endured.¹⁶ It is probable that she experienced great hardships between being taken from her family and joining the imperial household.

Sigismund I, the king of Poland claimed Hurrem as a native of his kingdom, which extended well beyond what is now considered to be Polish territory. “The beloved wife of the Turkish emperor, mother of his eldest son and heir was some time ago kidnapped from our land.”¹⁷ Here, Sigismund is not only providing a commentary on the slave trade, but he is also underlining his connection to the great Ottoman realm. This account of Hurrem’s origins is corroborated by Hurrem’s personal friendship and continued correspondence with Sigismund I and his son Sigismund II.¹⁸

Once Hurrem arrived in Istanbul, there is no clear documentation as to how she came to be selected for the imperial harem. Some sources suggest that a patron of a wealthy household sensed the girl’s potential at the slave market, purchased her, trained her, and presented her to the sultan.¹⁹ Others argue that it was in fact Suleyman’s friend and eventual grand vizier Ibrahim who bought Hurrem and presented her to the emperor as a gift.²⁰ However, there is little evidence beyond court gossip to support this second theory. The idea is usually propagated by those who want to question the legitimacy of Hurrem’s children by implying an intimate relationship between her and a prominent male figure in the sultan’s court.

Most of the women in the harem were slaves of Christian origin, like the future queen, making her subsequent rise to unprecedented prominence a surprise to the empire.²¹ The harem was a place of honor and women there were treated with respect, but it typically contained up to two hundred women (including concubines, other servants, and relations of the sultan).²² Moving forward, Hurrem would need to establish a special connection with the sultan to gain any prestige within the harem.

Though the details of her early life are obscure, a critical examination of Hurrem's beginnings reveals her position as she reached one of the first landmarks of her historical significance. By the time she reached the imperial palace, she had been separated from her family and had very little influence over what happened to her. She proceeded forward from this point to establish two things in her life: an intimate and lasting relationship with Suleyman and a stable position in his court.

Life in the Harem

The role of the harem in Ottoman society is often misunderstood in the West, just as it was in the sixteenth century. In his occasional visits to the Old Palace—which was a substantial distance from the palace where he lived—the sultan would be presented with a woman, whom he could choose to take as a sexual partner. If she became pregnant, she would be considered an official concubine and given special rights. If she gave birth to a son, she would cease to be a sexual partner for the sultan and would dedicate her life to raising her son.²³ The one-son policy was an essential element of the Ottoman royal household. It promoted the birth of multiple sons, who would be raised with special attention from their mothers. In essence, the harem existed to guarantee male heirs to the sultanate.

Scholars, Leslie Pierce among them, have suggested that foreign fascination with the Imperial court was a product of the excellent artwork produced by the harem. However, it is an oversimplification to argue that the foreign interest in the sultan's personal life was entirely inspired by lustful misinterpretations of the harem's function. It is also unreasonable to assume that Western Europe, scandalized by Henry VIII of England's marriage to Anne Boleyn, would not have been intrigued by the Sultan and his palace full of women. This intrigue is intensified in light of detailed diplomatic reports of events witnessed in the harem. One of the diplomats who

sent home reports was the Venetian Luigi Bassano, who lived in Istanbul in the 1530s. He explained the sultan's selection process for concubines. "The Grand Turk has a palace of women at quite a distance from his own. There he keeps a great number of young Christian slave girls. . . . From these the Grand Turk chooses whoever pleases him the most, and keeps her separate for two months, and amuses himself with her if he pleases."²⁴ While his account is largely factual, his tone and subject matter reveal something disparaging in his assessment. In telling his homeland that the Ottoman Emperor has a palace of young Christian girls, with which he "amuses himself," he hints at the sultan's moral depravity, when, in fact, the harem's function was more political.

It was in this system that Hurrem was brought up and first encountered Suleiman. The women of the harem were expected to do more than sit and wait for the Sultan to come. A 1420 account reveals that their training was rigorously structured.

The most senior [women], who are trained, teach the new and unrefined to speak and read and instruct them in the Muhammadan law, and also teach them to sew and embroider, and to play the harp and to sing, and instruct them in all their ceremonies and customs, to the degree that [these girls] have the inclination to learn.²⁵

It is probable that during her time in the harem the Russian slave girl was given her Ottoman name: Hurrem, which means "laughing or happy one."²⁶ It was also during this time that she exhibited great spirit and intelligence. These characteristics served her well in a harem full of women vying for Suleyman's attention.

Haseki Sultan: Gaining the Sultan's Favor

From the moment Hurrem was presented to Suleyman, he was infatuated with her.²⁷ She began her official role as a royal consort after the birth of her first child, Mehmed, in 1521, yet she continued to bear him four more sons and a daughter. This was a break with the one-son policy which had existed since early in Ottoman history. Sources are unclear of exactly when the

change occurred, but within a few years of meeting Hurrem, the Sultan dispensed with all of his other sexual partners. There had always been a strong bond between the sultan and the *haseki*, meaning favorite, but this new relationship marks a shift within the familial structure of the House of Osman. Instead of many sons by many mothers, the sultan had Hurrem and their children together. Most of his children with previous concubines died young, leaving him to focus all of his energy on this new imperial nuclear family unit.

Hurrem's consolidation of favor for herself and her children took several dramatic turns, which is to be expected in an overhaul of tradition and custom. The growing relationship between slave and sultan was documented early on by the pens of several foreign ambassadors. Bassano, the same Venetian ambassador who reported on the Sultan's "palace of women," recorded one event that shows Suleiman's changed behavior.

The Sultan was given by a sanjak bey [provincial governor], two beautiful Russian maidens. . . . [Hurrem] became extremely unhappy and flung herself to the ground weeping. . . . The sultan agreed to send his to another sanjak bey, because his wife would have perished from the sorrow if these maidens—or even one of them—had remained in the palace.²⁸

He became willing to go against the usual practices to fit his new relationship.

Traditionally, concubines had no influence over the affairs of the sultan, but Suleyman took Hurrem's wishes into consideration. Early on, she had an increased influence over the functions of the imperial household. As Bassano's account demonstrates, her influence extended into his diplomatic dealings with governors. Hurrem and Suleiman rejected traditions together, forging a stronger bond between them.

Another example of Hurrem's unprecedented influence on the imperial household is in Suleiman's estrangement from his *haseki* before Hurrem. The mother of Suleiman's first son, Mahidevran, purported to have greater authority than Hurrem because she was there first and

was the mother of the Sultan's oldest son. When the women came to blows over the issue, Hurrem was injured in the fight. Instead of standing down, she leveraged the Sultan's desire to see her with her injuries to turn his anger against his former bedfellow. The two, Suleiman and Mahidevran were estranged from that point forward.²⁹ By 1524, the story transmitted abroad that the sultan remained constant to one woman.³⁰

Suleyman's devotion to Hurrem is clear in the records of events of the time, but no one can express his feelings as well as he expressed them himself. In a letter to Hurrem, he laid out his heart to her in poetry with no reservation:

My very own queen, my everything,
 My beloved, my bright moon;
 My intimate companion, my one and all,
 Sovereign of all beauties, my sultan³¹

The line "my sultan" from this excerpt of a much longer poem speaks volumes of his devotion. As sultan, he was supreme ruler of an empire that spread north, south, east, and west from Anatolia. His influence on world affairs was boundless. By saying that she was his sultan, Suleyman records her boundless influence over him.

Turks and Europeans alike could not grasp the idea that Suleyman could be complicit in allowing Hurrem influence in the kingdom. Robert Knolles, an English historian, recorded in his 1603 book *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, Hurrem's treacherous nature. "Loues charmed cups, the subtle dame doth to her husband fill: And causeth him with cruell hand, his children's bloud to spill."³² Knolles specifically references a sad episode of Suleyman and Hurrem's life when Suleyman's oldest son, Mustafa, was caught up in a conspiracy and executed. Many contemporaries blamed Hurrem for Suleyman's filicide. In blaming Hurrem, they reveal two cultural attitudes: First, it was much easier for them to blame the mysterious and powerful woman than to accept this tragedy at face value. Second, they assumed that Hurrem's influence

on the sultan would result in evil deeds. These underlying beliefs were woven into every narrative of Suleyman's court that visiting diplomats sent to Europe in their accounts of the events in Istanbul. Despite the negative opinions of Hurrem, she remained Suleyman's haseki for the rest of their lives.

Many diplomats recorded the relationship between Hurrem and Suleyman because as their relationship strengthened, the more heavily it weighed on the affairs of the empire. Travisano, another ambassador, wrote in his 1554 report that once Suleyman had known Hurrem, he "not only wanted to have her as a legitimate wife and hold her such in his Seraglio [the Old Palace], but he did not even want to know any other women."³³ It was time for a major shift in the structure of the imperial family.

The Wife of the Sultan

The relationship between Hurrem and Suleyman was more than master and slave. They formed a partnership that transcended the boundaries of their positions. As Leslie Peirce argues in *The Imperial Harem*, "the household was the fundamental unit of political as well as social organization in the early modern Ottoman world." For that reason, "one's power in the polity derived principally from one's role within the household."³⁴ Hurrem's significance to the sultan called for a shift in her position in the household. Hurrem realized this early on:

Having thus obtained her freedom and become her own mistress, she refused to have anything more to do with Suleyman, who was deeply in love with her, unless he made her his lawful wife, thus violating the custom of the Ottoman Sultans.³⁵

It was the only way she could gain legitimacy in her role as partner to the sultan and secure her position in the imperial house and the empire. Suleyman gave in to the pressure. As Travisano recorded, marriage was something Suleyman wanted. The opportunity presented itself when Suleyman's mother, the highest-ranking woman in the harem and the empire, died. Soon after

the mourning period, they proceeded with the wedding plans.³⁶ One ambassador who was present in Istanbul when the wedding took place, recorded his observations about the festivities, but also about the significance of the event:

This week there has occurred in this city a most extraordinary event, one absolutely unprecedented in the history of the sultans. The Grand Signior Suleiman has taken to himself as his Empress a slave woman from Russia, called Roxelana, and there has been great feasting. . . . There is great talk about the marriage and none can say what it means.³⁷

The event was “unprecedented,” not in the sultan taking a wife, but that she had born him children and advised him on matters of state. This helps us understand the public reaction to the marriage in the face of a major shift in imperial practice. Many Ottoman sultans had been married in the past, but none had married in nearly a century. Even when the sultans had married, their wives never had significant influence on state affairs and never bore the ruler’s children. The people were shocked that a marriage would take place again, even without considering Hurrem and Suleyman’s special relationship.

The significance of the marriage between Suleiman and Hurrem was not lost on the people of the time. They were apprehensive of the union. The significance is also clear to historians, though they rarely expound on the details concerning why it shocked the world, except in that it was contrary to tradition. Tradition weighed heavily on the Ottoman sultans and people. Though it was not technically mandated for the sultan to follow the traditions of the harem, the Turkish word for law, *kanun*, relates to custom and tradition.³⁸ The weight of tradition was comparable to the weight of law, which explains the widespread shock felt with changes to the policies of the imperial system. They were entrenched in the practices of ages gone by. Women were respected as mothers, but rarely had any significance in their own right. By taking

on the role of empress and advisor to the sultan, in addition to her role as imperial mother, Hurrem cast off the burden of centuries of tradition.

The harem system had significant political ramifications. Even though the function and operation of the harem may offend Western sensibilities, the system was intended secure and continue the state. By the 1500s, the Ottoman Empire was a great power. In the past, Ottoman sultans married foreign princesses for political advantage. But the power of the empire in the sixteenth century rendered this practice unnecessary and potentially dangerous to Ottoman strength. The Ottoman Empire under Suleyman the Magnificent was one of the largest unified areas of the civilized world; rivaling the territories of European leaders like the Holy Roman Emperor. By marrying into a European family, the sultan would have formed unnecessary alliances that could have hurt the Ottomans and complicated the succession. While dynastic wars were waged in England, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, and England, the Ottomans pulled back and sultans took slave concubines as the bearers of heirs.³⁹ In the 1500s, the Ottoman Empire stood as a lone beacon of stability to the east of the tumultuous political and religious conflicts that raged in Europe.

Suleyman maintained the international-political-stabilization function of the harem by selecting his wife from among his concubines, but the public was still worried about his decisions. They still could not accept that a woman had influence on him and his actions. Contemporary reports say that Hurrem and her children were hated by the court, but no one would voice their concerns. As Bassano put it, Suleiman “bears her such love and keeps such faith to her that all his subjects marvel and say that she has bewitched him, and they call her *ziadi* [meaning ‘witch’].”⁴⁰ Men and women gained and lost power in the context of their family

dynamics, and by marrying Hurrem, Suleyman had endowed her with more power and influence than a slave girl from the countryside of Poland or Ukraine could have ever dreamed of.

Partner to the Sultan

Concubines served two distinct purposes in the early Ottoman harem: Some were intended to be the mothers of heirs to the throne. Others were supposed to receive the sultan's favor and provide companionship. Because of the one-son policy, these roles were kept distinct from one another, until the 1530s when the two roles amalgamated in Hurrem. As Ambassador Navagero wrote in 1553 "There has never been in the Ottoman house a lady that has had more authority."⁴¹ Her connection with the sultan made her the most powerful woman in the Middle East for centuries.

The source of Hurrem's political power was her close relationship with Suleyman, which was solidified by their marriage. She began to exercise that power by moving her family to the residence of the sultan's imperial residence, the New Palace.⁴² Hurrem remaining in Istanbul at the center of Ottoman power was a major contributing factor to her retaining influence in the empire. Instead of traveling out to distant provinces when her sons became governors, she instead remained in the New Palace, Suleyman's home in Istanbul. As soon as she moved in she built "secret rooms from one to the other," referring to the living quarters of the sultan and her own.⁴³ This gave her unfettered access to the sultan when he was in Istanbul and not out on a military campaign. Access was the primary factor of power for anyone hoping to advise the sultan and Hurrem established a foundation for her continual access to the sultan.

Even when he was gone, Hurrem served as a conduit for his correspondence with the empire's capital. Whether that job involved receiving and sending on gifts from diplomats⁴⁴ or

putting off her traditional motherly duty of visiting her sons to receive news of the war effort for the people of Istanbul,⁴⁵ she was his point of contact, his confidant, and his true love.

Hurrem conducted diplomacy of her own accord, particularly with the kings of Poland, who claimed her as one of their own. Few of her letters have been translated into English, but those that have reveal a shrewd awareness of the Ottoman cause. She kept up constant correspondence with Sigismund II and sent him gifts when he ascended the throne. On that occasion, she transmitted a message from Suleyman. Through his wife, Suleyman told the new Polish king “the old king and I were like two brothers, and if it please God Merciful, this king and I will be like son and father.”⁴⁶ These friendly letters certainly contributed to the peace enjoyed between Poland and the Ottoman Empire throughout the reign of Suleiman. They also hint at Hurrem’s integral importance to the functions of the Empire and the duality of her and Suleyman’s rule of the Ottoman Empire.

The Benevolent Queen

Just as she acted of her own accord in matters of diplomacy and politics, Hurrem also acted by herself to promote charity in the empire. The Ottomans were heirs to a long legacy of benevolent acts. As the Qur’an states, “Whosoever does deeds of righteousness, be it male or female, believing—they shall enter Paradise, and not be wronged a single date-spot.”⁴⁷ This is one of many similar instructions set forth by the Qur’an that establish a foundation for the Muslim tradition of activist women. Hurrem was inspired to found many great charitable programs, spread throughout the metropolitan areas of the empire.⁴⁸

One such foundation was a soup kitchen in Jerusalem. She was involved in the initiation of the project, making sure to set forth detailed instructions for how it should be run.⁴⁹ As Islamic law recognized female property rights and her marriage to Suleyman lifted her from her slave

status, she was able to be the sole benefactor of this and other projects. The people who benefited from the soup kitchen were so grateful for the institution that they lauded Hurrem's name.⁵⁰ The original deed for the project contains that praising language:

Aisha of the age and Fatima of the time, the origin of the best of the blooming sultanate and the shell of the pearls of the glittering caliphate, surrounded by all kinds of favors of protecting King, mother of the Prince Mehmed son of the most felicitous and great sultan⁵¹

The highest praise for women in the Islamic world was in comparison to the women of Muhammad's life. Here Hurrem is compared to the prophet's favorite wife and his daughter. Despite the negative press she received in Istanbul and Europe and her Christian origins she earned these epithets because she provided a service the people needed. She is also recognized for her role as a mother of an heir to the throne. The language still separates Hurrem and Suleyman from direct association, but that was a continuation of the traditional epithets of the time.

Hurrem and Suleyman built separate hospital complexes in Istanbul. The deed and administrative documents for Hurrem's hospital put tremendous emphasis on the care with which health care should be administered. Even the bath attendants were instructed that they "must treat the patients with the highest degree of dignity and tenderness."⁵² Perhaps her childhood in the slave trade or the years she spent caring for her physically disabled son, Cihangir, influenced her understanding of correct health care practices. Either way, her charities were carefully constructed and administered, which extended the imperial influence into the lives of individual citizens of the Ottoman Empire and increased public support for the administration.

These particular endowments—the soup kitchen in Jerusalem and the hospital in Istanbul—illustrate the role of Ottoman ruling class women in the administration of state welfare, even though this practice neither began nor ended with Hurrem. Before she became the

wife of the Sultan and expanded her own power, Hurrem's only avenue to authority to create charitable endowments was as the mother of the sultan, if her son were to succeed his father.⁵³ Even so, that opportunity would never have been realized because she predeceased Suleyman.⁵⁴ Her role as queen put her in the unique position to serve the people of the massive Ottoman Empire, with endowments in Istanbul, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, during the rule of her husband.⁵⁵ Ottoman charities were part of the overall Ottoman plan to incorporate and Ottomanize the entire territory they ruled.⁵⁶ She was not only uniquely positioned to help her people with benevolent acts, she was also helping put Ottoman policy in practice and contributing to the stability of the empire.

Conclusion

Slave, concubine, witch, favorite, wife, mother, empress, diplomat, benefactor—all of these titles hint at a small piece of Hurrem's life. No individual term encompasses the position she created for herself in the Ottoman Empire. She transcends any term that could pigeonhole her lasting influence.

Hurrem died in 1558.⁵⁷ By that time, she had completely revolutionized the structure of the imperial household, and with it, changed the way the empire functioned. lived long enough to see two of her five children die. Her familial legacy was mostly carried on by the practices she began that carried on through the generations. Her son Selim II, who eventually succeeded Suleyman, married a concubine who helped run the state.⁵⁸ Her daughter, Mihrimah, was known for great endowments for mosques and other structures in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁹ The first child Hurrem and Suleyman had together was Mehmed, who died. If Hurrem had not overcome the one-son tradition in the imperial harem, Selim II and Mihrimah would never have been born, let alone made their own lasting contributions to the Ottoman Empire.

Hurrem used all the avenues available to her to restructure restrictive systems, help Suleyman rule effectively, and stand as a force for good in the Ottoman Empire. Like other royal women of the sixteenth century, Hurrem acted contrary to tradition, which made her both powerful and unpopular. Her direct action and true partnership with Suleyman gave her real authority to revolutionize the way the Ottoman Empire functioned in the middle of the sixteenth century. The customs of the period and her lowly beginnings gave Hurrem little chance of becoming more than an insignificant thread in the tapestry of the Ottoman Empire. But, against all odds and through sheer force of character, Hurrem completely changed the picture and became the most influential woman in Ottoman history.

¹ Leslie Pierce, *Empress of the East* (New York: Hachette Book Group, 2017), 27.

² Leslie Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 287.

³ Pierce, *Empress*, 3.

⁴ Galina Ivanovna Yermolenko, *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited), 28-30.

⁵ Noel Barber, *The Sultans* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 43.

⁶ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*.

⁷ Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).

⁸ Christine Isom-Verhaaren, "Mihrimah Sultan: A Princess Constructs Ottoman Dynastic Identity," in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, eds. Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2016), 151–156.

⁹ Pinar Kayaalp. "An Analysis of the Hospitals of Sultan Suleyman and Hurrem: Two Different Approaches to Healthcare in Sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire." *Journal of Medical Biography* (2017): 1–6.

¹⁰ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 59.

¹¹ Yermolenko, 1–253.

¹² Pierce, *Empress* 1–317.

¹³ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 113.

¹⁴ Peirce, *Empress*, 12–22.

¹⁵ Quoted in Pierce, *Empress*, 22.

¹⁶ Pierce, *Empress*, 23.

¹⁷ Quoted in Peirce, *Empress*, 24.

¹⁸ Singer, *Beneficence*, 221.

¹⁹ Peirce, *Empress*, 31.

²⁰ Barber, 62.

²¹ Peirce, *Empress*, 48.

²² Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 122.

²³ Peirce, *Empress*, 44.

²⁴ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 121.

²⁵ Quoted in Pierce, *Imperial Harrem*, 59.

²⁶ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 59.

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- ²⁷ S. A. Skilliter, “Khurrem” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, second edition, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, P.J. Bearman. Accessed November 3, 2017.
- ²⁸ Quoted in Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 59.
- ²⁹ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 59–60.
- ³⁰ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 59.
- ³¹ From a poem translated by Talat S. Halman, quoted in Yermolenko, 5.
- ³² Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, 759, in Yermolenko 28.
- ³³ Yermolenko, *Roxolana*, 28-30.
- ³⁴ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 285.
- ³⁵ Quoted in Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 62.
- ³⁶ Yermolenko, *Roxalana*, 6.
- ³⁷ Translated in Yermolenko, *Roxolana*, 6.
- ³⁸ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 61.
- ³⁹ Peirce, *Empress*, 20.
- ⁴⁰ Translated in Yermolenko, *Roxolana*, 8.
- ⁴¹ Yermolenko, *Roxolana*, 15.
- ⁴² Venitian Ambassador, De’Ludovici, Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 62.
- ⁴³ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 62.
- ⁴⁴ Peirce, *Empress*, 75.
- ⁴⁵ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 65.
- ⁴⁶ Hurrem quoted in Singer, *Beneficence*, 221.
- ⁴⁷ Quar’an IV:124 71
- ⁴⁸ Singer, *Beneficence*, 83.
- ⁴⁹ Singer, *Beneficence*, 99.
- ⁵⁰ Singer, *Beneficence*, 81.
- ⁵¹ Translated in Singer, *Beneficence*, 67.
- ⁵² Translated in Kayaalp, 2.
- ⁵³ Pierce, *Imperial Harem*, 52.
- ⁵⁴ Skilliter.
- ⁵⁵ Singer, *Beneficence*, 83.
- ⁵⁶ Amy Singer, “Making Jerusalem Ottoman,” in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, eds. Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2016), 123.
- ⁵⁷ Skilliter.
- ⁵⁸ Singer, *Beneficence*, 83.
- ⁵⁹ Isom-Verhaaren, 150.

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