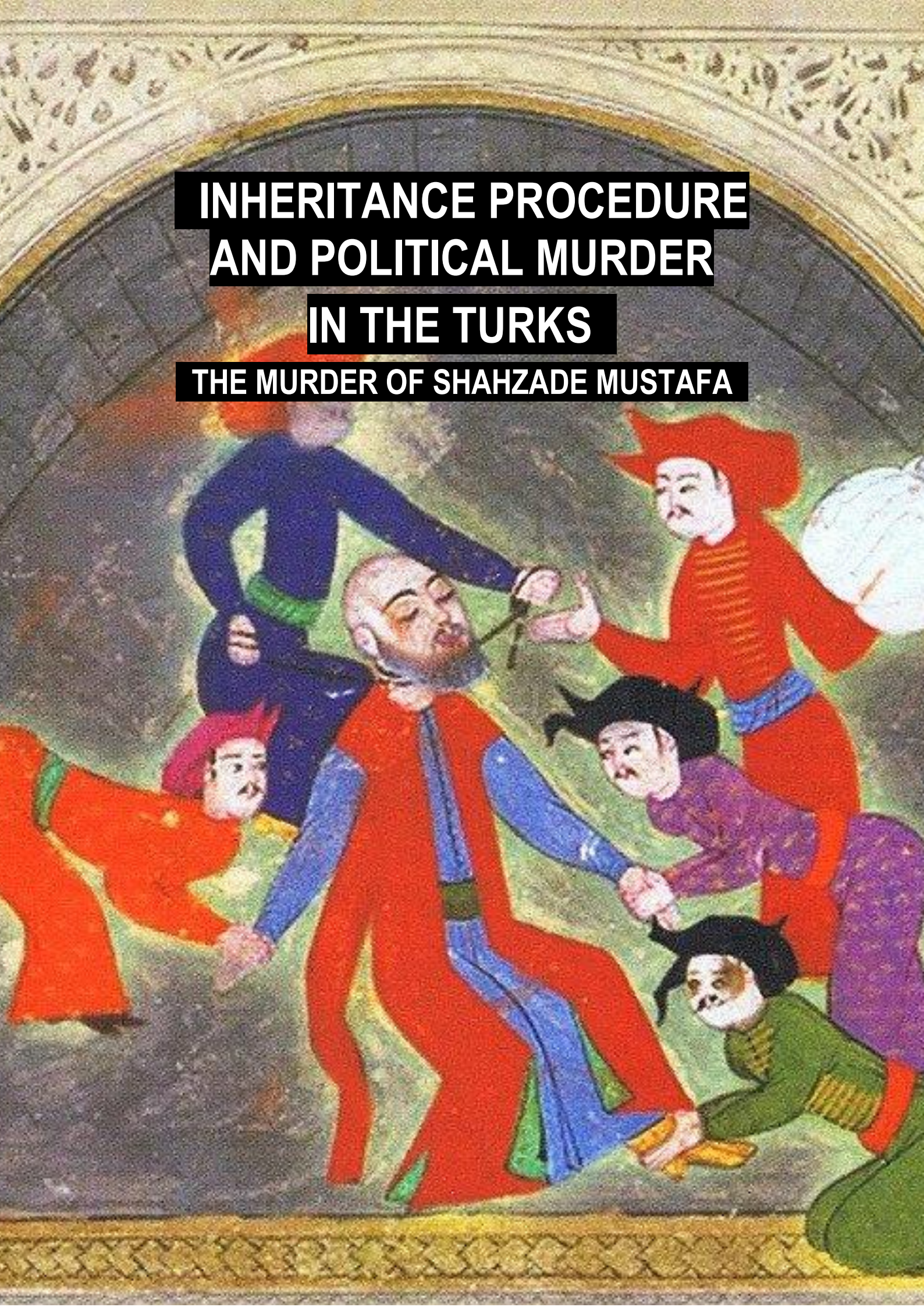


**INHERITANCE PROCEDURE
AND POLITICAL MURDER
IN THE TURKS**

THE MURDER OF SHAHZADE MUSTAFA



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Emrah BOZKURT*

*Meded meded bu cihânûn yıkıldı bir yanı
Ecel Celâlileri aldı Mustafâ Han'ı
Tulundı mihr-i cemâli, bozuldu divânı
Vebâle koydılar âl ile Âl-i Osmânı.*

...

*Getürdi arkasını yire Zâl-i devr ü zemân
Vücûdına sitem-i Rüstem ile irdi ziyân.*

...

*Bunun gibi işi kim gördi kim işitdi aceb
Ki ogluna kıya bir server-i Ömer-meşreb.*

...

*İlâhî cennet-i Firdevs ana durag olsun
Nizâm-ı âlem olan pâdişâh sag olsun.
Taşlıcalı Yahya Bey¹*

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¹ İsmail Hakkı UZUNÇARŞILI, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, C.II, Ankara 2011, s.404; Ziya Nur AKSUN, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, C.I, İstanbul 1994, s.316.

INTRODUCTION

In order to better understand the murder of Shahzade Mustafa, it is first necessary to know how the succession system in the Ottoman Empire worked and the historical process of fratricide. First of all, we will touch upon the system of succession in general terms, starting from the understanding of the Old Turks to the Ottoman Empire. Afterwards, we will try to discuss the process until the assassination of Shahzade Mustafa and what happened after his assassination in different dimensions.

1. INHERITANCE PROCEDURE AND POLITICAL MURDER IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In the ancient Turks, there was a system called *Ülüş* or *Ülük*; every male member of the dynasty had equal rights to the throne, regardless of whether they were younger or older, and this right was derived from the tradition called the *ülüş* system. Therefore, some Turkish rulers tried to divide the state into parts and give each of them to one of their princes, but far from eliminating the drawbacks, these states were easily swallowed by enemies. This situation can serve as an example: Gokturk, Qutluk, Uighur, Karakhanid, Ghaznavid and Seljuk states, which can serve as examples of this situation, all collapsed in this way. Although the Seljuks tried to introduce a centralized procedure by appointing a successor, they failed to establish it. We know that Turkish states in our history were divided into North-South or East-West or, as in the Seljuks, into principalities and atabeylikler. The reason for this is that a succession system that could ensure the maintenance of the state without disintegrating it could not be established. The Ottomans, who emerged as a new power in Anatolia after the Seljuks, must have learned from the experiences of the previous states in this regard, and in order to prevent such a fate for the state, they deemed fratricide appropriate in the name of 'order and order' and 'the survival of the state' or 'public interest', even if it would cause them pain.

In the XVth century, foreign observers noted that the Ottomans did not have any laws or rules regulating the succession of the sultanate. Dukas states: "To whomever the principality passes from father to son or from brother to brother, in other words, to whomever the successor helps, the subjects are loyally attached to this new ruler." J.M. Angiolello, who stayed at the Ottoman court in 1470-1481, describes the appointment of the new sultan as follows: "The palace officials and most of the captains of the capitol easily recognized the Sultan as the one who reached Istanbul first, regardless of whether the princes were older or younger, because whoever had the treasure first could dominate the situation". Spandugino, who wrote his work around 1510, also mentions the Bayezid-Cem struggle and states that both of them were considered equally worthy of the sultanate.²

² Halil İNALCIK, "Osmanlılarda Saltanat Veraseti Usulü ve Türk Hakimiyet Telakkisiyle İlgisi", C.XIV, sy.I, Ankara 1959, s.73.

It should also be noted that this was not a practice unique to the Ottomans; it was common in Sassanid, Roman, Byzantine, Muslim Andalusian and Maghreb states. The difference between the situation in these states and that of the Ottoman Empire is that their struggles were not for the 'public interest', but to seize the throne. It should not be forgotten that wars of succession lasted for years in Europe during the same period.³ It is rumored that the first slaughter of a prince in the Ottoman Empire took place in 1298, when Osman Gazi allegedly tried to kill Dündar Beye, who was allegedly working against him. After this incident, some members of the dynasty suffered the same fate during almost every sultan's reign for several centuries. However, fratricide for the sole reason of being a rival for the sultanate is seen in 1389 when Bayezid I had his brother Ya'kub executed on the battlefield of Kosovo.⁴ Another reason for the existence of fratricide was that the princes rebelled against the principalities in Anatolia and even Byzantium, causing problems for the state.⁵ The best example of the struggle of the princes against each other is what we know as the Fetret Period, in which the four princes of Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid, who had no central authority after the Battle of Ankara in 1402, engaged in a struggle that lasted for years with thousands of people behind them. This continued until Mehmed Çelebi eliminated his brothers and became the sole heir to the throne; the situation was so dire for the state that Mehmed Çelebi is considered the second founder of the Ottoman Empire.

What the Ottomans tried to ensure was the existence of a single centralized authority; otherwise, the state could have disintegrated and the nation could have perished. As a matter of fact, when Mehmed Çelebi was criticized by Shahrukh, the son of Timur Khan, to whom he was formally subordinated, by writing a letter saying that "having his brothers killed had no place in the Ilkhanid tradition", Mehmed Çelebi pointed out that "his ancestors had solved some difficulties with experience and that two sultans could not live in one country". As a result of the Ülüş tradition, Cem Sultan, who saw the manifestation of a single centralized authority after the death of Fatih, sent a message to his older brother Sultan Bayezid II and proposed to divide the country. He proposed that he should be the sultan of Anatolia, centered in Bursa, and that his brother Bayezid II should be the sultan of Rumelia, centered in Istanbul. It is known that Sultan Bayezid II did not accept this proposal because he considered it dangerous for the 'survival of the state' and the 'stability of the nation' and fought with his brother. It is known that after this struggle, Cem Sultan fell into the hands of the Knights of Rhodes and then the Papacy. How the enemy states of the Ottoman Empire, who had such a trump card in their hands, made use of it is available in our history books.

According to Fatih's code of law, since the throne had been given to Sultan Bayezid, the prince Cem should have obeyed him; however, it can be said that Cem Sultan was influenced not by his father's code of law but by the older tradition of Ülüş.⁶

³ EKİNCİ, Gös. yer.

⁴ İNALCIK, "Türk Hakimiyet Telakkisiyle", s.92.

⁵ EKİNCİ, s.1106.

⁶ EKİNCİ, s.1107.

With the execution of siblings, the Ottomans demonstrated a departure from the ancient Turkish state tradition. By the execution of siblings, we do not mean the execution of siblings or members of the dynasty who have rebelled or committed crimes, but rather a form of justice or a law that pre-empts the execution of members of the dynasty who constitute a rival for the throne without being guilty of a crime. If we look at the first examples of this practice in history, we see that in ancient Iran, in the Arşak, the king would execute members of his own family in order to eliminate his rivals, since any member of the dynasty had the right to be elected as ruler. On the other hand, in the Turkic and Mongol states of Central Asia, execution of dynasty members was not considered right unless they committed a grave crime.⁷

What we have explained so far were the reasons showing the necessity of the situation. This situation is also related to the understanding of Kut in ancient Turks and the issue of merit in Islam. According to the ancient Turkic conception of sovereignty, the origin of sovereignty was considered to be God. In other words, only the person chosen by God could obtain power, a reference to this situation can be seen in Fatih's code of law. Towards the XIVth century, the idea that sovereignty was given to a person by the grace and favor of God spread in the Islamic world. The member of the dynasty who had actually gained sovereignty was considered to have received the favor and grace of Allah. In an environment where such an understanding existed, it was not possible for individuals to legislate on the subject. As a matter of fact, Fatih's statement in his code of laws, "whoever of my children is granted the sultanate" is faithful to this understanding.⁸ As for the issue of merit in Islam, if it had been stipulated in advance that a certain person would become the sultan, it would have blocked the way for a prince more suitable for the throne. This would have been contrary to the principle of Islamic public law, which stipulates that the one with merit should take power.⁹ Nevertheless, certain customs determine who is closest to the sultanate within the dynasty. According to ancient Turkish customs, the eldest son was given command of the frontier forces. Therefore, the beyate was generally held by the eldest sons. It is a fact that in the early period, the eldest son was given the most important flying banner, which gave them a privileged position.¹⁰ The reason for this was that at that time the main power of the state was 'Serhads'. Later on, when the 'Kapı-kulu' became the biggest force of the state, the son from the province closest to the capital had more chances to take the throne than the others. This was because he could arrive at the capital before the others, gain the allegiance of the janissaries and use the treasury as he wished. For this reason, the provinces to which princes were to be sent as sanjak beys caused fierce rivalries and internal wars. Towards the end of the 16th century, the method of sending princes to sanjaks was abandoned. Thus, the princes began to sit in the palace, the one whose turn it was, that is, the oldest of the family, ascended the

⁷ İNALCIK, "Türk Hakimiyet Telakkisiyle ", s.91.

⁸ Halil İNALCIK, "Osmanlı Padişahı", *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, C.XIII, sy.IV, Ankara 1958, s.73.

⁹ EKİNCİ, s.1108.

¹⁰ İNALCIK, "Türk Hakimiyet Telakkisiyle ", s.88.

throne, while the others waited for their turn. It was thought that the system was now settled, that things would work no matter who was in charge, and that the princes living in the palace would have the opportunity to get a better education and a kind of political internship. However, since all the princes lived in the palace, palace intrigues and negotiations with the janissaries began to determine who would be the ruler.¹¹ However, the fact that princes were not sent to sanjaks prevented them from gaining experience.

When we look at the legal dimension of this issue, there are two types of law, one is the customary law of the Ottoman Empire and the other is the Sharia law of Islam. This issue was approved on the basis of customary law with Fatih's code of law. The issue of Sharia law, on the other hand, is controversial and has been discussed and is still being discussed by Islamic scholars and historians of the period. We will mention some of these debates and arguments here. In Islamic political thought, since the mission of the state was to fulfill the Islamic word of Allah, Islamic law considered it natural and legitimate to eliminate anything that would hinder this mission; therefore, some people said that fratricide was appropriate from this point of view.¹² This, in our opinion, is not enough, because the reasons for the massacre were not unique and did not threaten the mission of spreading Islam; however, who can argue that the slain prince could not fulfill the mission of the Propagation of Islam better than the current ruler. In order to emphasize the importance of the I'lâ-yı kelimetullah mission for the Ottomans and Islam, we can look at the words of the Austrian ambassador Busbecq: "Islam survived thanks to the Ottoman dynasty, if the dynasty collapsed, the religion would also collapse, and the salvation of religion and the state was considered more important than children".¹³ Although the issue of fratricide is legitimate according to customary law and its justifications, it is necessary to examine whether it is legitimate according to the Sharia law that dominated Ottoman law. We will now try to look at the arguments and justifications put forward in this regard. There are those who say that this matter is in accordance with Sharia law and those who say that it is not. What needs to be well understood here are the justifications for the executions. Although customary law permits punishing a person for fear that he may commit a crime in the future, it can never be reconciled with the principles of Islamic law. Therefore, fratricide is a purely customary legal institution. Executions are divided into different types due to their reasons; the first type is applied when a member of a dynasty claims to be the ruler and rebels against a legitimate ruler. This is a crime according to customary law and Sharia law. This is known as "bagy" (hurûj ale's-sultan). The penalty for those who unjustly rebel against a legitimate government or ruler is execution in every part of the world and in every era.

According to Islamic law, obedience to the legitimate government in the Holy

¹¹ İNALCIK, "Osmanlı Padişahı", s.73; EKİNCİ, s.1108.

¹² EKİNCİ, a.g.m., s.1109.

¹³ Ogiler Ghislain De BUSBECQ, *Türkiye'yi Böyle Gördüm*, çev. Aysel Kurutluoğlu, İstanbul 1974, s.38.

Quran is a public obligation.¹⁴ In the face of such an event, the government is ordered to wage war and bring them to obedience.¹⁵ In view of its reality, the following proverbs are also thought-provoking: “There cannot be two lions in one forest” and “Property is too little for one ruler and too much for two.” Examples of this situation in the Ottoman Empire: Savcı Bey's (1381) rebellion against his father Sultan Murad I; Cem Sultan's rebellion against his older brother Sultan Bayezid II; and Prince Bayezid's (1562) rebellion against his father Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.¹⁶ The case in question here is open rebellion, but this is not the only reason for execution; the cases of Shahzade Mustafa and the younger princes cannot be considered in the context of bagy. On the other hand, there is the following argument: Historical experience shows that to wait for a prince to revolt in order to punish him is to be confronted with a person who has made an agreement with hostile countries, who has thousands of armed men behind him, and who poses a real threat to public order. In such a situation, it is absurd to talk about punishment.¹⁷ This defense cannot be accepted as an absolute truth. Because, how accurate is the evidence against the person who is alleged to have attempted rebellion? Is it possible to know publicly that it was not the machinations of different factional points. In such a case, it is a matter of executing people unjustly. In order to legitimize this situation, a practice of Hazrat Umar is cited as evidence: Hadrat 'Umar sent Nasr bin Hajjaj, whom he feared would cause sedition and mischief, into exile from Medina to Basra even though he had not yet committed a crime. But if a fitna arises here in the future because of you, then I will be guilty.”¹⁸ The practice of the successor caliphs is evidence in Islamic law. What is overlooked here is that Umar exiled, not executed, although there was no crime committed by this person and this punishment cannot be compared to the allegation of attempted rebellion against the state. The hadith in question is about the fitna that may arise from women's interest in Nasr bin Hajjaj because he was very handsome. Even if this were to be accepted as true in terms of the *salah* of the general public, which is debatable, it cannot serve as evidence for the issue of execution.

There are two types of justice. According to the principle of absolute justice, also called justice-i mahzâ, the interests of a single individual cannot be prejudiced for the benefit of the whole. The above-mentioned Mecelle principles, on the other hand, indicate justice-relativity. Sometimes circumstances necessitated the application of justice-relativity instead of justice-i mahzâ. It is said that the massacre of Şehzâde took place within this framework.¹⁹ In this case, there is a drawback: it is haram to kill a person unjustly, even if it is for the benefit of the general public. Allah Ta'ala says in the Holy Qur'an that “killing a human being unjustly is like killing the whole of

¹⁴ Kur'an-ı Kerim, Nisa, 59.

¹⁵ Gös. yer., Hucurât, 9.

¹⁶ EKİNCİ, a.g.m., s.1111.

¹⁷ Gös. yer.

¹⁸ İbn Âbidîn, 111/152.

¹⁹ Gös. yer., s.1114.

humanity."²⁰ Allah Ta'ala has also specified the justifiable reasons for killing a human being, none of which include the unjustifiable killing of a human being for the benefit of the general public. The Ottoman system of succession is based on the fact that Sultan Ahmed I, who became sultan in 1603, did not see the need to kill his brothers and after his death in 1617, his brother Mustafa I succeeded to the throne because he had sons but they were too young. Thus, for the first time, a sultan was succeeded not by his son but by his brother. This event meant a de facto change in the Ottoman notion of succession, because until then, although there was no specific principle of succession in the Ottomans, the son of the previous sultan had always succeeded to the throne. After Sultan Mehmed IV in 1687, even though the sultan had an older son, his brother succeeded to the throne and the oldest member of the dynasty officially became the sultan. From the XVIIth century onwards, when the procedure of succession actually changed, executions of princes were almost non-existent. This procedure was also formulated in the Law of 1876. For a while Sultan Abdülaziz and later Sultan Abdülhamid II wanted to change this procedure and establish a succession procedure that would be passed down from father to son, as in European dynasties, in order to ensure the succession of young and dynamic people to the throne, but they were unsuccessful.²¹

In short, fratricide is a phenomenon that cannot be dealt with in a generalized manner; however, it is not a phenomenon that can be covered up by calling it political murder. It is also not an event that can be legitimized by generalizing it as a mission of the “world of order”, “public interest” or “i'lâ-yı kelimetullah”. Those who are in a state of “bağy”, and this “bağy” can also be discussed in the context of the hadith, may include worldly interests, ambition for sovereignty, the intrigues of factions, the effects of the military, and psychological conditions. Therefore, these events should not be viewed from the perspective of absolute defense or absolute rejection, but should be objectively evaluated from both perspectives. Most of what has been done so far has been done from an absolute partisan point of view, which is not acceptable. Therefore, we will try to look at the massacre of Prince Mustafa objectively, but unlike other perspectives, we will also try to address the psychological state of the individuals at the time. First of all, for us, our history should be accepted as it is, rightly or wrongly, and the events should be identified one by one by looking at the cause-effect relationship, and judging those responsible for these things is not a job that belongs to us, especially historians; our job is only to present the events from every angle. In this context, it can never be accepted that all of the victims were right, but it cannot be said that some of them were unjust. Furthermore, Quranic verses should not be distorted and used to legitimize these events. Political interests can never be legitimized with sacred texts. We have already provided sufficient information about the Ottoman succession system and fratricide for the introduction to our main topic, the murder of Prince Mustafa. Now we can evaluate our main topic within the framework of this information.

²⁰ Kur'an-ı Kerim, Maide, 32.

²¹ EKİNCİ, a.g.m., s.1116.

2. THE MURDER OF SHAHZADE MUSTAFA

Mustafa was one of the eight sons of Sultan Süleyman. The Sultan's three sons, Abdullah, Murad and Mahmud, died before the struggle for the throne. Sultan Suleiman's sons Mehmed, Selim, Bayezid and Cihangir were born from Hürrem Hatu; Mustafa was born from Gülbahar Hatu (Mahidevran).²² Shahzade Mustafa, who served as sanjakbey in Manisa for seven years, was deprived of his supporters in the palace after the death of his paternal grandmother Hafsa Sultan (1534), who had apparently protected him and his mother, and the assassination of the Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha, with whom he had good relations, after the Iraqeyn Expedition (1533-1536), and was gradually pushed to the background compared to his brothers by Hürrem Sultan. When Shahzade Mehmed came of age, with the influence of Hürrem Sultan and her faction, Shahzade Mustafa was removed from Manisa, the sanjak close to the center, and was replaced by Shahzade Mehmed. Prince Mustafa was sent to the sanjak of Amasya. Although Shahzade Mustafa was older, the fact that Shahzade Mehmed was sent to the sanjak closest to the capital was undoubtedly due to the fact that Magnificent loved him and Hürrem Sultan also had a share. According to some historians' interpretations: It is said that Magnificent considered Shahzade Mehmed as the heir apparent, so he sent him to the closest sanjak and had a wooden throne built over his grave after his death. Shahzade Mehmed died on November 6, 1543 while he was in Manisa; Magnificent was in the joy of victory in the Hungarian campaign when he received the news of his son's death and was plunged into deep grief.

With the death of Shehzade Mehmed, Shehzade Mustafa became the heir according to the general custom. However, this position was negated when Hürrem Sultan's other son Selim was sent to Manisa (1544). After this event, the relations between Prince Mustafa and his father gradually deteriorated, culminating in the murder of the prince in 1553. However, the process leading up to his murder began with the death of Shahzade Mehmed, as some sources attribute the cause of Shahzade Mustafa's murder to the intrigues of Hürrem Sultan and her faction. We will evaluate the veracity of this claim on the basis of sources later on. Shahzade Mustafa was well-educated, charming, brave, strong and supportive of scholars and artisans; therefore, he was loved by scholars and artisans as much as he was loved by the military, and he was also engaged in literature and wrote poems.²³ He had increased both his knowledge and experience while serving as the governor of the Sanjak. Being a well-educated and intelligent person, he could easily endear himself to those around him. Due to his age and status, he was not eligible to be the ruler; however, Hürrem Sultan was against it.²⁴

²² Sultan Süleyman had two more sons, Mahmud and Murad, besides Shahzade Mustafa, during his princely years; Murad and Mahmud died at the age of two and nine, respectively, in the same year (1521). During Sultan Süleyman's sultanate, he had five sons with Hürrem Sultan, Mehmed, Selim, Abdullah, Bayezid and Cihangir, and Abdullah died at a young age (1526).

²³ Mustafa CEZAR, *Mufasssal Osmanlı Tarihi*, C.II, Ankara 2011, s.1110.

²⁴ UZUNÇARŞILI, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, C.II, Ankara 2011, s.401.

Sources claiming that Hürrem Sultan had a role in the murder of Shehzade Mustafa: When Shahzade Mehmed was alive and in the sanjak closest to the capital, he did not worry Hürrem Sultan and she considered him as the heir to the throne. However, when Mehmed died, Mustafa's coming to the forefront in terms of age and reputation worried her and she started to carry out some activities for her own children to ascend the throne. Although Hürrem Sultan had previously been pressuring Magnificent about Mustafa, it was not until after Mehmed's death that this became evident. It is also said that after becoming the Sultan, Magnificent lived a tiring life and a significant part of his life was spent in campaigns; however, it is also said that he started to be influenced by women, namely Hürrem Sultan and her daughter Mihrimah Sultan, due to his advancing age.²⁵ Sultan Süleyman, probably due to the influence of Hürrem Sultan, started to act cold towards Prince Mustafa while he was still in Manisa; Prince Mustafa wrote a letter to his father on his return from the Iraqeyn Expedition and asked to be allowed to come to Istanbul to meet him and apologize to him, but his request was not accepted. Shahzade Mustafa continued his applications in this regard after he went to Amasya, and he did not receive a positive answer to his last request for permission dated 1551.²⁶ The fact that Shahzade Mustafa wanted to apologize in the letters shows that he made some mistakes. One of these mistakes is reported by the sources as follows: "Magnificent had heard some news about Mustafa. In these, it was reported that he insisted on his claim to the sultanate, even cooperated with Persia for this purpose and even grew a 'lihye (beard)'. Growing a beard, for a prince, meant a suicide attempt for the sultanate. Ottoman princes did not grow a beard until they became sultans."²⁷ However, it could also be due to her relationship with İbrahim Pasha. Another information mentioned in the sources is that Hürrem Sultan loved Bayezid, one of her sons, so much that she started to work underhandedly for him to become the ruler. The first move to eliminate Shahzade Mustafa, who was at the forefront, was the elimination of Viziriazam İbrahim Pasha, who was his supporter and wanted him to become the ruler. It is seen that there was a great closeness between İbrahim Pasha and the prince, who, after giving information about the expedition in the letter he sent to the prince during the Iraqeyn Expedition, expressed that he would be happy to meet him and see his blessed face.²⁸ It is seen that there was a great closeness between İbrahim Pasha and the prince. Likewise, İbrahim Pasha²⁹ refers to himself as the prince's "trusted one" on the occasion of the letter sent by Shehzade Mustafa, and this closeness is further confirmed by the letter written by Shehzade Mustafa's mother to İbrahim Pasha's

²⁵ CEZAR, s.1104-1105.

²⁶ Şerafettin TURAN, "Mustafa Çelebi", C.XXXI, İstanbul 2006, s. 290.

²⁷ AKSUN, s.315.

²⁸ Funda DEMİRTAŞ, "Şehzade Mustafa'nın Öldürülmesi", *Bilimname*, C.XVIII, Kayseri 2010/1, s.3; Çağatay ULUÇAY, *Osmanlı Sultanlarının Aşk Mektupları*, İstanbul 1950, s.14.

²⁹ İbrahim Paşa'nın zevcesi Sultan Süleyman'ın kız kardeşi Hatice Sultan'dır. Bkz. DEMİRTAŞ, s.3; Çağatay ULUÇAY, "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman ve Ailesi İle İlgili Bazı Notlar ve Vesikalar", *Kanuni Armağanı*, Ankara 1970, s.233-237.

wife.³⁰ The close relations and friendship between Ibrahim Pasha and his family, who had entered the Ottoman dynastic family³¹ to the extent of calling Sultan Suleiman's mother Hafsa Sultan "my mother-in-law" and Sultan Suleiman "my sister-in-law", and who was in a sense considered the number two man of the state after Sultan Suleiman, and Mâhidevran and her son, who had fallen into disfavor and been banished from the palace, caused discomfort in Sultan Suleiman, probably under the influence of Hürrem Sultan, and accelerated the death of Ibrahim Pasha, who was killed for various reasons on his return from the Iraqeyn Expedition. In this respect, it can be said that in addition to the forces and known reasons that were effective in the murder of İbrahim Pasha³², unknown reasons not mentioned by the sources were also effective in the rift between Shahzade Mustafa and his father.

As a result of the activities carried out afterwards, the standard of Shahzade Mustafa was transferred from Amasya to Konya. Hürrem Sultan's sons Selim was sent to Manisa and Bayezid to Kütahya.³³ However, I. H. Uzunçarşılı, the source of the scholar we have just mentioned, makes another claim in his work: He claims that Damat Rüstem Pasha, who was still the vizier of the dome, played an important role in the activities against Shehzade Mustafa and forged letters forging his signature regarding Mustafa's correspondence with the Shah of Iran.³⁴ M. Cezar, citing Robertson's work, provides similar information from the West: "Viziriazam Rüstem Pasha had some forged letters drawn up and sent to Magnificent by Şemsi Ağa (son of Isfendiyar), one of the Red Ahmeds (son of Isfendiyar), stating that Shahzade Mustafa would marry one of the daughters of the Persian Shah Tahmasp and collaborate with him."³⁵ In the same source, German historian Zinkeisen also states: "Hürrem and her supporters accused Shahzade Mustafa of being in contact with Persia, and Mustafa, being aware of the accusation, tried to erase this suspicion from his father's mind."³⁶ Another information about Rustem Pasha's activities is that Rustem Pasha secretly had the seal of Shahzade Mustafa engraved and wrote a letter to Shah Tahmasb through his mouth and sent this letter to the Shah through Zeynel Bey, the governor of Vastan, and received the Shah's reply in the same way.³⁷ The allegations about Rustem Pasha do not end with these. Magnificent had sent his Grand Vizier Damat Rüstem Pasha against Shah Tahmasb, who had attacked the eastern provinces. When Rüstem Pasha came to Aksaray, he sent news with the sipahi agha Şemsi Agha to inform that the Janissaries were supposedly in favor of Shahzade Mustafa and that there was a rumor that the soldiers wanted to make the sultan, who could not go on an expedition due to his old age, sit in Dimetoka and

³⁰ DEMİRTAŞ, a.g.m., s.3; ULUÇAY, "Ailesi İle İlgili Bazı Notlar ve Vesikalar", s. 232-236.

³¹ DEMİRTAŞ, a.g.m., s.3; ULUÇAY, "Ailesi İle İlgili Bazı Notlar ve Vesikalar", s. 235.

³² DEMİRTAŞ, a.g.m., s.3; M. Tayyib GÖKBİLGİN, "İbrâhim Paşa", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, V-II, İstanbul 1977, s. 914.

³³ UZUNÇARŞILI, s.402.

³⁴ Gös. yer.

³⁵ Robertson, *Histoire de l'empereur Charles - Quint*; CEZAR, s.1108.

³⁶ CEZAR, s.1109.

³⁷ M. Tayyib GÖKBİLGİN, "Rüstem Paşa Hakkındaki İthamlar", *İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, İstanbul 1955, VIII, S. 11-12, vsk. 4, s. 38-43.

declare Mustafa the ruler. Upon this news, the Sultan called Rüstem Pasha back.³⁸ In Peçevi, one of the sources of the period: Everyone knew what happened from Rüstem Pasha. The poets of the time wrote many elegies filled with the pain of separation and lamentations, all of them openly blaming Rüstem Pasha. One of the dates assigned to the death of the prince is the phrase “Mekr-i Rüstem” (Rüstem's trick).³⁹ Solak-zade, another source of the period, evaluated the events slightly differently. Solak-zade claims that Shahzade Mustafa was manipulated by some unobservant people around him and that is why he rebelled. He reports that the soldiers said, “The Sultan has grown old and cannot go on a campaign, so he appointed Rüstem Pasha as serdar in Anatolia instead”; however, they also said that Şehzade Sultan Mustafa wanted to succeed him and that it was Rüstem Pasha who prevented him from doing so. Furthermore, Solak-Zade states that those who were with Shahzade Mustafa encouraged him to revolt with the following words: “Your great father is out of work. He does not have the strength and power to move from his place from now on. On the one hand, he has appointed his viziriazam as the head of the Islamic army with the honor of being the viceroy in his place, and has made sure of all his affairs, as he used to do in the past. Rustem Pasha, on the other hand, wants your evil. If you fall among the soldiers and cut off your head at this opportunity, he will be a witness to your intentions. It is beyond doubt that the soldiers in general want you.”⁴⁰ As can be understood from the information we have given above, Solak-zade gives different information from the opinions of other historians. However, other sources mostly blame Rüstem Pasha. Especially the poem written by Taşlıcalı Yahya after the murder of Shahzade Mustafa points to Rüstem Pasha.

Groom Rustem Pasha⁴¹, He was married to Mihrimah Sultan, daughter of Hürrem Sultan. He was in the faction of Hürrem Sultan, who was a supporter of his own career and also his mother-in-law. Therefore, Rüstem Pasha had sent Vizier Ahmed Pasha to Amasya to follow Mustafa, but Ahmed Pasha soon began to side with Mustafa.⁴² This faction was looking for an opportunity to discredit Mustafa in the eyes of the sultan in case of any mistake on his part. It was only natural that Hürrem Sultan did not want Shahzade Mustafa to ascend to the throne. In order to see her own sons on the throne and to maintain the respect, power and prestige she enjoyed as Haseki Sultan as Valide Sultan, it was inevitable that she would work for one of her own sons to ascend the throne and try to influence Sultan Süleyman in this regard. Otherwise, Mustafa's ascension to the throne would have meant not only being deprived of all the opportunities and power he had, but also the great pain of witnessing the murder of his own sons due to the practice of fratricide. Likewise, Rüstem Pasha was also worried about this; if one of his brothers-in-law ascended to the throne, it would consolidate his

³⁸ UZUNÇARŞILI, s.402,403.

³⁹ İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, haz. Bekir Sıtkı BAYKAL, C.I, Ankara 1992, s.215.

⁴⁰ Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebî, *Solak-Zâde Tarihi*, haz. Vahid ÇABUK, C.II, Ankara 1989, s.229.

⁴¹ Rüstem Paşa hakkında bilgi için. bkz. CEZAR, s.1107.

⁴² CEZAR, s.1104-1106.

position, but if Shahzade Mustafa ascended to the throne, he would lose his position. Shahzade Mustafa, thinking that he was the heir after the death of his father, which was quite natural, both according to the old Turkish conception of kut or Ülüş, and according to Fatih's law, which was the law of Fatih's canon, except for Yavuz Sultan Selim, until that day, the eldest son had ascended the throne. For the reasons mentioned above and for his natural right to the throne and after being informed about the activities of Hürrem Sultan and her faction, Shahzade Mustafa tried to create an infrastructure for himself after the death of his father and in this context, he sent a letter to Ayas Pasha, the beylerbeyi of Baghdad and Diyarbakır.⁴³ This is a letter that we have and it is possible that he may have sent a letter to someone else. The content of this letter is not for a revolution, but to ensure the events that would take place after his father's death by natural death.⁴⁴ After the death of his father, he asked for Ayas Pasha's support and even asked for a covenant to be drawn up to ensure his continued loyalty to him. However, he also added that when he ascended to the throne, he would reward those who had helped him; that he would please the vizier, the umar, and all the soldiers, and that he would rule the people with justice.

The strength of Shahzade Mustafa's faction in spite of the activities against him had more to do with his character than the fact that he was the greatest son, because he was a commander, courageous and generous, which impressed the military, meşayih and ulema.⁴⁵ They also likened him to Yavuz Sultan Selim in build and character. In contrast to Shehzade Mustafa's faction, Hürrem Sultan's faction's candidate for the throne was Shehzade Bayezid. Unfortunately, both of these two princes suffered the same fate. In order to understand the difficulty of being a sultan in the Ottoman Empire, I think we should listen to the words of an outsider. Busbecq's words on this subject are important, Busbecq, the Austrian ambassador who was in Turkey during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, says when talking about this sultan's son, Prince Mustafa (1553): "It was a great misfortune to be the son of Turkish sultans. Because when one of them ascended the throne, the others had to prepare for death. This is especially related to the situation of the janissaries. Because if the sultan had a brother alive, the demands of these soldiers from the sultan would never end. If what they ask for is not granted, they shout, "May Allah bless your brother!". This is to say that they want to bring him to the throne".⁴⁶ An outside observer's interpretation of this issue reveals the complexity of the situation and the fact that it can never be attributed to a single cause. Now that we have evaluated the information about the events that preceded the assassination of Shehzade Mustafa and the people who are said to have had an impact on it, I will now describe the realization of this event and what happened afterwards.

⁴³ CEZAR, s.1104-1106; UZUNÇARŞILI, s.402.

⁴⁴ For the content of the letter, bkz. Münşeat mecmuası, *Veliyyüddin Efendi kitapları*, Nr. 2735.

⁴⁵ CEZAR, s.1104-1105.

⁴⁶ Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *Türkiyeyi Böyle Gördüm*, çev. Aysel Kurutluoğlu, İstanbul 1974, s.38.

Magnificent had sent his vizier Rüstem Pasha against Shah Tahmasb who had attacked the eastern provinces. However, when Rustem Pasha arrived in the vicinity of Aksaray, he stopped here because the janissaries had an inclination towards Shahzade Mustafa and the soldiers said that the Sultan was getting old, so he sent a message to inform Magnificent about this. Upon this, Magnificent recalled Rüstem Pasha and his army, and in late August 1553, he himself embarked on the Iranian campaign. The words of Hürrem Sultan, who is rumored to have said, “A Shah needs a Shah against a Shah”, also had an effect on Magnificent's expedition.⁴⁷ Ziya Nur Aksun, quoting Peçevi in his work, states that “ Shahzade Mustafa was about 40 years old, he had a distinguished talent in science and learning, generosity, and military service that was the envy of the princes, and that the majority of the soldiers loved him with their hearts and tongues, which led to his ascension to the association and the erection of the tuğ-u alems.”⁴⁸ says. In the same work, Magnificent, who was informed about the activities of Shahzade Mustafa, is quoted as saying the following: “Hasha that Ms. Mustafa would dare this insolence and in my life, they would slander me by committing such an act. By all means, do not utter this word again, and do not give body to such a matter.”⁴⁹ However, in Solak-zade's work, when Rüstem Pasha was called back, he says that the Sultan ordered him to slaughter Shahzade Mustafa during the campaign. “... In accordance with the glorious edict, his highness, the wise vizier, dispersed the soldiers around under the pretext of barracks. Then they themselves came to Asitane-i Saadet. The sultan of the world took them into seclusion and after a long consultation about the mysteries, he said, 'Let him be dealt with on the campaign in the spring season' and the decision was made.”⁵⁰ The decision to assassinate Shahzade Mustafa was taken after he joined the army, when Magnificent became aware of the chants of the janissaries against him, and that night, meetings were held between the Sultan and his viziers in the otag at midnight, and it was thought that the decision was made here.⁵¹ A different view is: “It is noteworthy that although Suleiman the Magnificent made such preparations, he did not appoint a famous person at the head of the army. For this reason, some historians are inclined to see Suleiman the Magnificent's action as a preparation against Shahzade Mustafa, and not as an activity directed against Persia.”⁵² In the face of this situation, Rüstem Pasha was sent as serdar upon the rumors of the soldiers that a notorious serdar was needed. There are claims that Magnificent obtained a fatwa from Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi for the massacre. Busbecq is the one who made this claim; Magnificent received the fatwa by analogy: “Zayd, the slave of a merchant, was asked by his master, who had entrusted him with his wife, children and affairs while he was on a journey, what punishment is he liable to in the Shari'ah if he disrupted his affairs, seduced his wife, set a trap for his children and finally assassinated his master? He asked the question, to which Shaykhulislam Ebussuud Efendi gave a fatwa saying: 'The

⁴⁷ AKSUN, s.315.

⁴⁸ Gös. yer., s.314.

⁴⁹ Gös. yer., s.315.

⁵⁰ Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebî, s.231.

⁵¹ Alphonse de LAMARTİNE, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, çev. Serhat BAYRAM, C.I, İstanbul 1991, s.450.

⁵² CEZAR, s.901.

answer is that the punishment is obligatory'.⁵³ As a result, the assassination of Shahzade Mustafa was definitively decided.

During the campaign, Magnificent sent Shahzade Bayezid, the governor of Kütahya, to Edirne for the protection of Rumelia, and when he arrived in Bolvadin, Shahzade Selim, the governor of Manisa, joined the army.⁵⁴ Ereğli was passed and Aköyük, which was nearby, was reached. Shahzade Mustafa had also set up his camp there.⁵⁵ According to the information provided by the majority of the sources, all the state officials went to Prince Mustafa, kissed his hand and came with him to the front of Magnificent's otaku. Shehzade Mustafa's arrival here was accompanied by cheers and slogans. When he arrived in front of the otaku and the process until his assassination varies in the sources, so I will mention all of them here. According to Peçevi: "The prince mounted a horse and rode towards the sultan's otaku. He dismounted near the place of the divan and proceeded in front of the viziers; the moment he arrived in front of the sultan's otaku, saluted and entered the room, his life came to an end, as God Almighty had so decreed."⁵⁶ Peçevi was cagey in providing information about the incident and seems to have tried to cover it up. According to Solak-zade: "With the edicts of the sultans Hüdavendigâr and sahib-kıran, all the state officials and the sultanate's ayan arrived to see the prince. After kissing hands, everyone wore hil'ats according to their rank. As per the law, they marched in a big procession to the side of the Army-i-hümayun. As they approached the Sultan's otbah, all the viziers became foot soldiers. They dismounted him from his horse with Tanzim and takrim. When he came in front of the curtain of the otbah, they entered his seat. At that moment he was hastily invited inside. He immediately went forward through the curtain of salutation. Greeting the viziers, he went around like the sun illuminating the world. As it has been stated above, the end of the youth and the end of the period of life, the prince was immediately provided for."⁵⁷ Solak-zade does not provide information about what happened inside. According to Uzunçarşılı: "Shahzade Mustafa joined the army and his tent was set up. The next day, as was the law, the prominent statesmen went to Mustafa's tent, kissed his hand and put on a hil'at; after that, the prince came to the divanhane tent to kiss his father's hand, the viziers greeted him and brought him to the tent; When he entered the tent, he was surprised not to see his father; seven mutes greeted him and immediately threw themselves on him and wanted to strangle him. As Shahzade Mustafa escaped from their hands and ran towards his father, Zal Mahmud Agha, one of the palace janitors, caught up with him and strangled the prince (1553)."⁵⁸ According to Cezar: "The 38-year-old Shahzade Mustafa, the most valuable of Magnificent's sons, rode on horseback with the viziers until he was near the otağı hümayun. Then he dismounted and walked for a while. When he approached the otağı hümayun, he left the viziers and

⁵³ Gös. yer., s.1109.

⁵⁴ UZUNÇARŞILI, s.402,403.

⁵⁵ İbrahim Efendi, s.215.

⁵⁶ Gös. yer.

⁵⁷ Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebî, s.233.

⁵⁸ UZUNÇARŞILI, s.403.

entered the tent alone. Alas, the precious prince met not his father, whose hand he was going to kiss in the sultan's tent, but the executioners. The poor prince, who did not know what had happened to him, called out for his father, but the mutes were upon him. During a few minutes of struggle, a monstrous man named Zal Mahmud grabbed the prince by the arms and ensured that he was quickly strangled.”⁵⁹

Narratives similar to the examples I have given above are also available in different sources. I would like to touch on a different issue here, the accusation of Zal Mahmud or the humiliation of Zal Mahmud, I do not accept this as true. There is such a mention in the sources: It is said that Shahzade Mustafa got rid of the mute executioners and went to his father, whereupon Zal Mahmud intervened.⁶⁰ As a result, this person is a palace employee and under the Sultan's command, he must obey his orders. His involvement in the execution of the order given when he sees that the mute executioners are unable to do their job does not require him to be blamed, if an accusation is to be made, it should be made to the one who gave the order. The fact that Shahzade Mustafa comes out of the otog or that they hear his voice means that the soldiers understand this situation and that the prince, who was called for execution, returns to the throne. Let's assume for a moment that Zal Mahmud did not intervene and the prince came out, how would he treat his father who ordered the execution, and who would be blamed. In my opinion, blaming Zal Mahmud is like taking the discomfort of not being able to blame Magnificent out on him, and the authenticity of Zal Mahmud's activity is also a matter of debate and is not mentioned in all sources. Following the assassination of Shahzade Mustafa, the majority of the sources mention the execution of the two janissary chiefs. Afterwards, they mention that the body of the Shahzade was brought in front of the soldiers and that Magnificent, worried about the reaction of the soldiers, dismissed Rüstem Pasha from the position of viziriazam and replaced him with Ahmed Pasha.⁶¹ In a worse incident, the sons of Shahzade Mustafa, Süleyman and Mehmed, who had not yet come of age, were also drowned in Amasya.⁶² The assassination of Shahzade Mustafa caused great sorrow among the military. Poets such as Taşlıcalı Yahya wrote poems on this subject. After the massacre of Shahzade Mustafa, the treasury bookkeeper arrived at his army and confiscated his treasury, his otbah, his livestock and servants on behalf of the state treasury. As for his soldiers, most of them received fiefs and zeamet because of the fear of their reaction.⁶³ The body of Shahzade Mustafa was taken to Bursa and buried. According to some sources, Shahzade Cihangir, who was very affected by his death, also died shortly afterwards, while some sources do not mention the impact of the death of Shahzade Mustafa. I think it is necessary to empathize with the people who were active in these events in order to be able to look at the case through

⁵⁹ CEZAR, s.903.

⁶⁰ Gös. yer., s.1109.

⁶¹ Gös. yer., s.903.

⁶² Bazı kaynaklar, tek oğlu olduğundan da bahseder. bkz.: CEZAR, s.1110.

⁶³ İbrahim Efendi, s.215.

their states, eyes and psychology. In this context, I will try to evaluate them under the subject headings of understanding them.

2.1. Understanding the Magnificent!

Suleiman the Magnificent, the ruler of the world, everyone appreciates that it was not easy to achieve what he did. A person with such a reputation must always be respected, and he called himself “zıllullahi fi'l-arazîn”. If such a person were to be deposed, exiled or killed, such concerns would tarnish his reputation. As a matter of fact, we can say that the events that took place while Shahzade Mustafa was coming to his otaku caused him to question these situations. It is necessary to analyze the psychology of that moment well, let's try to understand the psychology of that moment, that is, to understand Magnificent, by conveying here what happened just before the murder took place as it is mentioned in the sources. First of all, I must state that, as mentioned above, Magnificent did not decide on the murder of Shahzade Mustafa at this moment, this decision was made beforehand and that is why the executioners were there. Our current 'understanding' is to explain the psychological reasons that led Magnificent to do this and his state of mind at that moment..

One of Magnificent's greatest fears was that his ancestor Bayezid II would be dethroned and sent into exile, and that he would die while he was in the process of leaving, and he was worried about such a fate. He must have been thinking about the other events that would follow the realization of such an event, the execution of his preferred sons, the exile of Hürrem Sultan, the army taking over, the empire being thrown into chaos, his reputation being overshadowed in the last years of his life, and so on. However, it is possible that he was also influenced by the news about Shahzade Mustafa, the pressures put on Magnificent on this issue, and the news about Shahzade Mustafa, which may or may not be true. We can say that the reason for the intensification of these thoughts is what happened during the arrival of Shahzade Mustafa to the otaku. Shehzade Mustafa came with his soldiers to Ereğli, one of the unification centers of the imperial army located between Bursa and Tokat. His unexpected appearance, the number and discipline of his horsemen, the beauty of his horses, the richness of his clothes and weapons, and the manly confidence he gave to the soldiers he commanded caused a wave of excitement in the camp. Seeing in Shahzade Mustafa the sovereign who would one day fight at their head and rule the state, the janissaries gathered en masse around his otbah and cheered in his favor. The news of these imprudent cheers and celebrations were reported to the Magnificent.

The Magnificent sent word to Shahzade Mustafa that he would receive him the next day at his tent for a hand-kissing ceremony. The next day, the viziers and high-

ranking officers went to Shahzade Mustafa's tent as a ceremonial company and received him. Shahzade Mustafa, dressed in a beautiful robe and riding a white Turkmen horse, set off with soldiers pushing each other and saluting him. The cries of joy from the surrounding area reached his father's divan; hearing these cries, Magnificent began to feel and think that this was turning into an uprising. It was as if the love shown to his son was forcing him to abdicate. As much as he was offended as a father, he felt insulted as a ruler. It is almost impossible not to feel it in such an evolving environment. He was not one of those who would disappear amidst the cries of discontent from a handful of soldiers or the rabble.⁶⁴ His advanced age must have made him more sensitive to these issues, because people become more sensitive as they get older. He was a sultan who had achieved great success, who had won battles, no matter how arrogantly he was forced to abdicate, he would not give in; even if he had wanted to give in, his past would never allow him to do so. A character who did not know what it was to be defeated, what it was to lose, would never give in, he would resist to the end. As a matter of fact, Magnificent did not give in to these cries of joy for his son, he preferred to slaughter his son instead. If he had abdicated the throne for his son, we have no way of knowing how his son would have treated him; the politics that led a father to kill his son could have resulted in the murder of the son's father. There are sources that report that after the murder of Shahzade Mustafa, Magnificent was very sad about him, that he wept for him, and that he remained under his influence for a long time. However, one of the things that needs to be understood here is that the greed for power knows no barriers. This desire for power lies at the root of Magnificent's behavior and psychology; if it were not so, he could have considered abdicating, we have explained that he had different concerns about this, but he could have trusted in the character of Shahzade Mustafa and transferred his power, thinking that he would not do such a thing. However, we can see from what the sources report that the Magnificent never entertained such a thought, at least there is no information about it.

2.2. Understanding the Shahzade Mustafa!

First of all, I would like to express my own opinion about Shahzade Mustafa becoming Sultan. I think that his becoming Sultan would have continued the rise of the Magnificent period: I come to this conclusion from the character information that the sources give about Shahzade Mustafa and the attitude of the scholar class and the military towards him. This is just my opinion, my guess about something that did not happen. As a result of my research, I think that what Shahzade Mustafa was trying to do was not to overthrow his father but to lay the groundwork for his own accession to the throne after his death. Even if we assume that he was trying to overthrow his father, the Ottoman structure gives him the right to do so. And as a member of the dynasty, his desire to become sultan is his most natural right. Those who oppose this view it as a disruption of the orderly world, but the claim that the orderly world would have been disrupted after Shahzade Mustafa became the sultan is nothing more than a bit of a bit

⁶⁴ LAMARTINE, s.450-451.

of a secret knowledge. From this point of view, it is not possible for anyone to know whether Shahzade Mustafa's becoming sultan in the event of a revolution or under normal conditions would have been contrary or more beneficial for the orderly world.

If we try to understand Shahzade Mustafa, we need to evaluate his situation. At the very beginning, even though he was the eldest son, there was an exclusion, he had served in the sanjak of Manisa for seven years, and the fact that he was taken from there and Shahzade Mehmed, who was younger than him but was born to Hürrem Sultan, was brought there undoubtedly hurt Shahzade Mustafa. While he saw himself as the heir apparent, he was deprived of this at the hands of his father. Afterwards, with the death of Shahzade Mehmed, Shahzade Mustafa, who was once again in the position of heir apparent, was not appointed to the closest sanjak while he was in this thought, on the contrary, his sanjak was sent to a more distant place, which I think deepened his hurt. Here, his father's attitude towards him is in question, according to the sources, the fact that he requested a meeting to apologize to his father, but was not allowed to do so in any of them reveals what kind of exclusion he faced. We have already evaluated Magnificent in terms of the situation he was in, and we should also evaluate Shahzade Mustafa in the same way. In the face of such an exclusion, I think it is quite natural that a person who is aware of the activities of the faction against him, the slanders and defamations thrown at him, would want to take the throne because he has power in his hands. In other words, if he had made such an attempt and succeeded, it would not be strange at all. However, it can be said that his attitude towards all this was that he remained loyal to his father. I think that Shahzade Mustafa was unjustly murdered, I can also say that he fell victim to Magnificent's greed for power. However, these are not accusations or justifications, but the reality of life. I make all of these evaluations based on the sources I have read, naturally, I may not be accurate in my thoughts.

CONCLUSION

The reasons that led to the execution of Shehzade Mustafa, whether it was the faction of Hürrem Sultan and Rüstem Pasha, his own 'mistakes' or the activities of his supporters, in my opinion, will never be attributed to a single reason or be a matter where the right and the wrong can be distinguished. The conclusion I have reached from my research is that Shahzade Mustafa was innocent. Although the sources claim that he attempted to rebel while his father was alive with the encouragement of the military, they could not fully accuse him. Moreover, it is wrong for a prince who was contemplating a rebellion to go to the ota to kiss his father's hand. The fact that he was on his way to the otaku reveals that he did not attempt any rebellion. I think the most effective situation here is Magnificent's psychology. His fear that what was done to his ancestor Bayezid II could be done to him, the fact that the state officials were supporting the prince, the cheers of the soldiers when he arrived, the demonstrations when he was called to the otağa would have made him anxious. Of course, it is wrong to think that this process started here, the effects of Hürrem Sultan's and Rüstem Pasha's struggle for Hürrem Sultan's sons in order to protect their own positions, and the

pressures put on the Magnificent because of this, and the Magnificent's advanced age, all of these combined resulted in this much. I cannot pass without mentioning another concern mentioned in the sources. Magnificent was worried about the survival of the state, the ideal of order, and the fact that he was firmly committed to this, in terms of the future of the state. He must have thought that the struggles of the princes that would take place after his possible deposition would be a return to the conquest period, so he was able to make a decision that he would be the murderer of his children. Along with all these reasons, my opinion is that his greed for power was dominant. As a result, there is no absolute evidence that Shahzade Mustafa rebelled, and as I mentioned above, it is completely irrational for the person who would rebel to come to the otba despite being warned about it. In conclusion, Shahzade Mustafa was unjustly murdered and this is the 'Setting of the Sun' in the name of right.

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