

Süleyman Paşa, Hadım
1814/19

H

01 Temmuz 2019

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Hadım Süleyman Paşa

Hadım Süleyman (Khādīm Süleymān) **Paşa** (c. 861–954/1457–1547) was an Ottoman admiral and statesman under Sultan Süleyman (Süleymān) I (r. 926–74/1520–66). The sobriquet *hadım* (*khādīm*, literally, “servant”) indicates that he was a palace eunuch. Most available sources claim that he was *Macar* (*Mācār*, Hungarian), although he would have been enslaved and castrated before the Ottoman absorption of southern Hungary in 948/1541. He may have been captured from forces allied with the Habsburg Empire during the conquests of Mehmed (Meḥmed) II (r. 848–50/1444–6 and 855–86/1451–81). In that case, he would have been educated in the palace school in either Edirne or Istanbul.

Already in his sixties by the time Süleyman I took the throne in 926/1520,

Hadım Süleyman participated in the young sultan’s conquest of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John in 928–9/1522. He shared many of the policy goals of the sultan’s early grand vizier İbrahim (İbrāhīm) Paşa (term 929–42/1523–36), who, after restructuring the administration of Egypt in 931/1525, promoted Hadım Süleyman to succeed him as *beylerbeyi* (*beglerbeg*, governor). During the ten years of his initial governorship, the Ottomans were alarmed at Portuguese naval encroachments in the Indian Ocean and the southern Red Sea, which had been a factor in the Ottoman conquest of Egypt from the Mamlūk Sultanate in 922/1517. To counter the threat, Hadım Süleyman established an arsenal at Suez and contemplated a canal linking Suez to the Mediterranean. He also constructed a small Ottoman-style mosque in Cairo’s citadel.

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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LE VIAGGIO SCRITTO PER UN COMITO VENEZIANO
ET LA DESCRIPTIO PEREGRINATIONIS GEORGII HUSZTI :
QUELQUES TEMOIGNAGES SUR LES EQUIPAGES DE
L'EXPEDITION DE HADİM SÜLEYMAN PAŞA
DANS L'OCEAN INDIEN (1538)

Dejanirah Couto
Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes

Loin d'être achevé, le débat sur les Ottomans et la mer au XVI^e siècle, relancé par les travaux de Colin H. Imber, Salih Özbaran, Kate Fleet, İdris Bostan, Palmira Brummett, Rhoads Murphy, Svat Soucek, et plus récemment de Giancarlo Casale,¹ ne saurait avancer sans une meilleure connaissance des politiques maritimes de la Porte, fondée sur une

¹ Imber, Colin H., « The Navy of Suleyman the Magnificent », *AO*, VI (1980) : pp. 211-82 ; Özbaran, Salih, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion: Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands during the Sixteenth Century* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994) ; Id., *Ottoman Expansion Towards the Indian Ocean in the 16th century* (Istanbul : Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2009) ; Fleet, Kate (ed.), *The Ottomans and the Sea* [*OM*, XXI/1 (2001)] ; Bostan, İdris, *Kürekli ve Yelkenli Osmanlı Gemileri* (Istanbul: Bilge, 2003) ; Id., *Osmanlı Denizciliği* (Istanbul: Kitap, 2006) ; Id., *Osmanlılar ve Deniz: Deniz Politikaları, Teşkilat, Gemiler* (Istanbul: Küre, 2007). Se reporter également à *Türk Denizcilik Tarihi*, vol. I, Bostan, İ. & S. Özbaran (éds.) et II, Arkan, Zeki & Lütfü Sancar (éds.), (Istanbul : Deniz Basımevi Müdürlüğü : 2009) ; Brummett, Palmira, « Foreign Policy, Naval Strategy and the Defence of the Ottoman Empire in the Early Sixteenth Century », *International History Review*, XI/4 (1989) : pp. 613-28 ; Ead., *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany : State University of New York Press, 1994) ; Ead., « The Ottomans as a World Power: what we don't know about Ottoman Seapower », dans Fleet, *The Ottomans and the Sea* : pp. 1-21 ; Murphy, Rhoads, *Ottoman Warfare, 1500-1700* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999) ; Soucek, Svat, *Piri Reis and Turkish Map Making after Columbus*, (Oxford: University Press, 1996) ; Ead., « The Portuguese and the Turks in the Persian Gulf », dans Couto, Dejanirah & Rui Manuel Loureiro (éds.) *Revisiting Hormuz. Portuguese Interactions in the Persian Gulf Region in the Early Modern Period* (Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008) : pp. 29-56 ; Casale, Giancarlo, «The Ottoman 'Discovery' of the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century», dans Bentley, Jerry, Bridenthal, Renate & Karen Wigen (éds.), *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007) : pp. 87-104 ; Id., *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (London and New York : Oxford University Press, 2010).

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Emérite Abdeljelil Temimi. Tunis: Fondation Temimi
pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 2009.
(Série 9: Mélanges 13), pp.53-69. [Also published in
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les noms (Amahrâ pour Amharâ, p. 220, 231), les sigles expliqués hors de propos (IFAQ, p. 215) ou les fiches contaminées par des éléments déplacés (Césarée de Syrie, p. 226 ; Kharezmiens, p. 235). Il pourra trouver que de trop grandes concessions ont été faites à ce lecteur cultivé : si le Pervaneh se comporte en effet comme le vrai maître de l'État seldjukide (p. 18), ce lecteur ira-t-il jusqu'à l'index (p. 240) pour préciser son statut ? Les Ayyüvides et les Assassins ne lui ont-ils pas été trop imprécisément présentés (p. 12, 13) dans l'introduction, et dans le texte n'est-ce pas une aide bien trompeuse qui lui a été apportée, pour lui faire situer les Seldjukides de Rûm, que de l'avoir orienté vers Byzance (p. 159) ? Mais le spécialiste conviendra vite que ce sont là des défauts mineurs qui n'auront sans doute pas gêné ce public cultivé qu'il faut atteindre, mis ainsi en contact direct avec la réalité d'une documentation contradictoire : d'autres jugements que celui de Maqrîzî (Ibn Wâsil, Nuwayrî, Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abî l-Faḍā'il) s'intercalent dans son texte, et, là où le fidèle partisan de Baybars revendique pour son maître le meurtre de son prédécesseur (p. 54), le chanteur des rues l'en innocente (p. 192) ; la présentation en continu d'une vie du sultan n'aurait pas traduit ainsi les incertitudes et les partis pris.

On ne peut séparer le texte de sa très belle illustration : les magnifiques photos choisies par Margaret Sironval, son intelligente iconographie où les objets et les miniatures se répondent (p. 98-99) et s'accordent au texte (on pense aux décors du théâtre d'ombres et aux images populaires qui accompagnent les passages du « roman »), ainsi que les fragments calligraphiés des textes arabes (les textes correspondants sont placés entre astérisques dans la traduction, mais le lecteur non arabisant ne le saura pas, pas plus qu'il ne saura que chaque chapitre de la traduction est orné, à son début, des premiers mots du texte arabe correspondant, figurant en rouge comme dans les manuscrits). De si belles images invitent à la rêverie, tandis que la discordance des témoignages rappelle, comme récemment on a pu le faire pour une époque mamelouke plus tardive (cf. C. Petry, « Scholastic Stasis in Medieval Islam Reconsidered », *Poetics Today* 14, 1993, p. 323-348), que la liberté du jugement historique fut en ces temps le signe d'une culture vivante.

Jean-Claude GARCIN
(Université de Provence)

Ahmed EL-MASRY, *Die Bauten von Ḥādīm Sulaimān Pascha (1468-1548) nach seinen Urkunden im Ministerium für fromme Stiftungen in Kairo*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991 (Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken, Band 6). IX + 594 p.

Cet ouvrage est la publication d'une thèse soutenue en 1990 à l'université libre de Berlin. Il se présente en trois parties : l'étude proprement dite composée de huit chapitres, suivie d'environ 120 figures, cartes et photos, enfin l'édition en fac-similé du document des actes de waqf-s de Sulaymān pacha. En 1985, Gerd Winkelhane et Klaus Schwarz avaient ouvert cette collection en publiant un travail semblable portant sur un autre gouverneur de l'Égypte ottomane, Iskandar pacha, sous le titre de : *Der osmanische Statthalter Iskender Pascha (gest. 1571) und seine Stiftungen in Ägypten und am Bosphorus*.

L'étude commence par un glossaire extrêmement succinct d'une cinquantaine de termes techniques essentiellement architecturaux, mais on se demande pourquoi le mot « Koran » y figure. Il est tout aussi curieux de voir figurer, en fin de cette liste de termes arabes, le mot allemand de « Trinkfenster » dont on ne nous fournit même pas l'équivalent arabe.

Le premier chapitre est consacré à une présentation historique succincte de la conquête de l'Égypte par Sélim I^{er} et du premier demi-siècle de pouvoir ottoman sur la vallée du Nil. Contrairement à l'affirmation de l'auteur (p. 10), le sultan ottoman n'a envoyé une ambassade auprès de Tūman bāy réfugié en Haute-Égypte que début mars 1517, soit un mois et demi après la bataille de Raydāniyya, qui eut lieu le 23 et non le 22 janvier. L'assassinat d'une partie des émissaires envoyés par Sélim I^{er} ne pouvait donc pas être la cause de cette bataille qui avait ouvert la route du Caire aux troupes ottomanes (cf. Ibn Iyās V, p. 167). Il est pour le moins anachronique de parler d'un désintérêt de la population égyptienne, à cette époque, à la fois envers les Mamelouks et les Ottomans « car les deux dynasties étaient étrangères » (p. 11). Il faudra attendre le XIX^e siècle pour qu'une quelconque prise de conscience d'identité nationale ait le moindre écho sur le plan politique. Dans le même ordre d'idées, il n'est pas possible de parler d'« État turc » à propos de l'Empire ottoman au XVI^e siècle. Il s'agissait alors d'un ensemble pluriethnique, d'une construction politique de type impérial où l'élément turc ne jouait pas encore un rôle prépondérant. Par ailleurs Tchoban Mustafa, nommé gouverneur de l'Égypte par Soliman le Magnifique à la mort de Ḥayr Bey en octobre 1522, n'était pas grand vizir, mais avait seulement rang de second vizir. Plus important (p. 12), le grand vizir Ibrāhīm pacha n'arriva en Égypte qu'en avril 1525, il n'a donc pas pu réprimer les premières révoltes de l'année 1523. En outre il n'a fait qu'un séjour en Égypte, et non pas deux, et celui-ci n'a duré que trois mois.

Dans le second chapitre, El-M. présente rapidement les différents documents de waqf-s attribués à Sulaymān pacha, gouverneur de l'Égypte de 1525 à 1538 pratiquement sans interruption. Il s'agit d'un ensemble de 40 documents conservés au ministère des Waqf du Caire, sous le n° 1074, et d'un second document, classé sous le n° 58 dans la nouvelle série de documents mise à jour en 1969, soit un ensemble d'environ 350 pages. Une telle masse documentaire aurait mérité davantage qu'une vingtaine de pages de résumé succinct de leur contenu, et de rapide présentation des différents employés géant un waqf de l'importance de celui de Sulaymān pacha.

Dans les chapitres III à VII, El-M. passe en revue les différents types de bâtiments constitués en biens de mainmorte par Sulaymān pacha. Il commence par une longue description de la mosquée construite dans la citadelle du Caire. Il s'agissait du premier édifice de ce type élevé par les nouveaux maîtres de l'Égypte. Il présente ensuite la traduction du passage du document donnant la description du bâtiment. L'auteur procède de la même manière dans les chapitres suivants consacrés à la *madrassa*, aux *zāwiya*-s et aux caravansérails. Les généralités sur les fonctions et les différentes parties des caravansérails auraient pu être beaucoup plus brèves (p. 131-139). Il s'agit là d'éléments largement connus ayant fait l'objet de nombreuses études ces dernières années, notamment de la part de Muhammad Scharabi. En évoquant les différents employés d'un caravansérail, l'auteur puise allégrement aussi bien dans les sources mameloukes qu'ottomanes, couvrant ainsi six siècles d'histoire, pour présenter finalement un bâtiment dont le document descriptif est de la première moitié du XVI^e siècle. L'histoire a une dimension diachronique que, même d'un point de vue architectural, on ne peut pas gommer. Ainsi, la fonction de *nāzīr al-sūq*, tirée de al-Ṣayrafī, n'est plus mentionnée à notre

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Mosque at Eminönü, Bostândjî-Başlı Ferhâd Agha arrested Khâdim Hasan Paşa and confined him in Yedikule; six days later he was executed. He was buried in a tomb beneath his *medrese*, after the confiscation of all his property at Eyüp by the state. Near the Çagalöğlü palace and opposite to the present day Emniyet Sandığı there were situated a mosque and a *medrese* which were built by him, and also a public fountain built after him in 1594/1002.

Another Şokollî Khâdim Hasan Paşa was the son of Şokollî Mehmed Paşa. He took part in the campaign of Egri [q.v.] in 1004-5/1596, was *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, and died later than the Grand Vizier of the same name.

Bibliography: Istanbul, *Başbakanlık Arşivi*, Mühimme defteri, no. 43, p. 9; 'Abd al-Karîm b. 'Abd al-Rahmân, *Ta'rikk-i Mişir*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. turc. no. 86, f. 7a; Harîmî Raşîmî-zâde İbrâhîm Çawûsh, *Ghündia-yi bâgh-i murâd*, Ist. Univ. Libr. Tkish. no. 2372, ff. 54a-97b; Şherif Khân, *Şherif-nâme*, tr. M. E. Bozaslan, Istanbul 1971, 290, 294; Muştafâ Selânikî, *Selânikî Ta'rikkhi*, Ist. Univ. Libr. Tkish. 6027, ff. 283b-292b, ed. Istanbul 1281, 318-44 (important for the events of Khâdim Hasan's grand vizierate); Ahmed Paşa, *Hasan Bey-zâde ta'rikkhi*, Ist. Univ. Libr. Tkish. no. 6028, ff. 341b, 366a-367b; Mehmed Hemdemî, *Solâk-zâde ta'rikkhi*, Istanbul 1297, 614, 632, 640, 644-6; İbrâhîm Pedewî, *Pelcwi ta'rikkhi*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 110, 210, 284-5; Kâtib Çelebi, *Fedhlike*, Istanbul 1286, i, 72, 95, 102; Mehmed b. Mehmed, *Nukhbet al-tawârikkh wa'l-akhbâr*, Istanbul 1276, 200; Na'imâ, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 144-5, 174, 185, 187; 'Othmân-zâde Tâ'ib, *Hadiqat al-wuzarâ*, Istanbul 1271, 48; Tayyâr-zâde Ahmad 'Atâ, *Ta'rikkh-i 'Atâ*, Istanbul 1292, ii, 44; Hüseyin Aywansarayî, *Hadiqat al-djâwâmi*, Istanbul 1281, i, 98; Von Hammer, *GOR*; Jouannin and Van Gaver, *Turquie*, Paris 1840, 180; Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı İnan siyasi münasebelleri*, Istanbul 1962, i, 157-159, 149, 192, 196; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1951, iii/1, 122, iii/2, 351, 357; İsmail Hâmî Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1961, iii, 498; Abbas Kulu Agha Bakikhanov, *Gulistan-i İran*, Baku 1970, 88, 108; Mehmed Thüreyyâ, *Sidjill-i 'Othmânî*, ii, 125; Sâmî, *Kâmis al-a'lâm*, iii, 1946; Orhan Köprülü, *Türk ansiklopedisi*, art. *Hasan Paşa (Hadım)*; M. T. Gökbilgin, *IA*, art. *Mehmed III*; İzzet Kumbaracılar, *Istanbul sebilleri*, Istanbul 1938; ii; Tahsin Öz, *Istanbul câmileri*, Ankara 1962, i, 66. (MÜNİR AKTEPE)

X **KHADİM SÜLEYMÂN PASHA** (? - 954/1547), Ottoman governor of Egypt, commander of the campaign of 945/1538 against the Portuguese in India and Grand Vizier. When Selim I died in 926/1520, Süleymân Paşa was holding the office of *oda-başlı* at the Imperial Palace. In addition to this, on the accession to the throne of Kânûnî Sultân Süleymân, he was given the office of *khazinedâr-başlı* procured for him through the favour of the historian Sa'd al-Din (Sa'd al-Din, *Tâdj al-tewârikkh*, Istanbul 1279, ii, 395; Koca Hüseyin, *Bedâyi'ü'l-wekâyi'*, ed. Tveritnova, Moscow 1961, ii, fol. 501a). Later on he was sent to the Hungarian frontier to protect the border, and in 931/1524-25 was appointed governor (*beglerbegi*) of Shâm (*Wulât Dimashk fi 'ahd Al 'Othmân*, ed. S. Mumâdjîd, Cairo 1949, 8, 9). In the following year he was appointed governor of Egypt for the first time (22 Sha'bân 931/13 June 1525 to 17 Sha'bân 941/22 January 1535, see 'Abd

al-Karîm b. 'Abd al-Rahmân, *Ta'rikk-i Mişir*, Süleymaniye Genel Kütüphanesi, Hekim-oğlu Ali Paşa, MS 705, fol. 8a). He then joined the Baghdâd campaign of the Sultân, and afterwards became governor of Anatolia, acquiring the rank of vizier (Luţfi Paşa, *Tewârikk-i Âl-i 'Othmân*, Istanbul 1341, 358). On 11 Râdjâb 943/25 October 1536 he was once more given the *beglerbeglik* of Egypt. He stayed in the office until the year 945/1538, when he organised his famous campaign against the Portuguese in India.

Süleymân Paşa had planned a campaign to Yemen during his first governorship of Egypt, and had persuaded the Istanbul authorities to agree to this. He could not, however, put it into action as he had to join the Baghdad campaign of 941/1534-5 (Peçevî, *Ta'rikkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 219). Now the situation was favourable to his plans; the Muslims of Guđjarât had been asking the Ottomans to help against the Portuguese, and the local ruler, Bâhâdur Shâh, had sent a special envoy to Istanbul for this purpose. The Ottoman government determined on an expedition into the Indian Ocean (Luţfi Paşa, 358; Kuţb al-Din Makkî al-Nahrawâlî, *al-Barq al-Yamânî fi fath al-'Uthmânî*, Riyâd 1967, 70). Süleymân Paşa's fleet consisting of 72 vessels with siege guns and about 6,500 soldiers, including 1500 Janissaries, left Suez on 24 Muğarram 945/22 June 1538 (R. S. Whiteway, *The rise of Portuguese power in India, 1497-1550*, London 1967, 256; anon., *Rüstem Paşa Ta'rikkhi*, Istanbul Üniversite kütüphanesi, MS 2438, fol. 205b; cf. al-Nahrawâlî, 71; Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfat al-bihâr fi asfâr al-bihâr*, Istanbul 1329, 57, 58). The Paşa sailed down the Red Sea, passing Djidda and the island of Kamarân and arrived at the straits of Bâb al-Mandab. From there, he proceeded to the harbour of Aden, where he had 'Amir b. Dâwûd, the ruler of the town, hanged from the yard-arm of his flagship. Aden now passed under Ottoman control and became a *sandjaq* dependent on Yemen (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 6454).

After 19 days sailing Süleymân Paşa appeared before the coast of Guđjarât on 9 Rabî II 945/4 September 1538, having lost four ships of his fleet during this sail. Süleymân Paşa first attacked and took the fortress of Gogala (called by the Portuguese Villa des Rumos and by the Muslims Bandar-i Turki) and then that of Kat, but failed to reduce the strong Portuguese fort of Diu. Maḥmûd III, the successor of Bâhâdur Shâh of Guđjarât, bearing in mind the fate of the *amir* of Aden, failed to help the Ottomans (Hâdjî al-Dabir, *Zafar al-wâlîh bi-Muzaḥḥar wa-âlihi*, ed. as *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, Baroda 1970, i, 226-7). On arrival of the news that the Portuguese fleet was approaching, and despite the fall of the outer fortress of Diu, Süleymân Paşa withdrew his siege artillery and on 12 Djumâda I/6 October, sailed back to the Red Sea (*Particular relation of the expedition of Solyman Pacha from Suez to India against the Portuguese at Diu*, in Robert Kerr and F. A. Eden, *A General History and collection of Voyages and Travels*, Edinburgh 1812, vi, 258-87). On the way, he stopped at Shihr on the coast of Arabia, an important town for trade. There he aided Badr, the ruler of Shihr to extend his power as far as Zufâr (Dhofar) on the condition that he paid an annual tribute (for the letter of this ruler, sent to Istanbul and dated Sha'bân 945/Jan. 1539, see Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, N.E. 6704). On 8 Râdjâb 1538/30 November 1538 he proceeded towards Aden (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 6704;

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OSMANLI MİMARİSİNİN GELİŞİM SÜRECİ İÇERİSİNDE KAHİRE HADİM SÜLEYMAN PAŞA CAMİİ'NİN YERİ

Prof. Dr. Hamza GÜNDOĞDU*

Özet

1517 yılından itibaren Osmanlı egemenliğine katılan Mısır'da özellikle Kahire ve çevresinde ilk Osmanlı yapılaşması da başlatılmıştır.

Mısır'ın Osmanlı egemenliğinde kaldığı üç yüz yılı aşkın süre içerisinde yeniden inşa ettirilen, yapılan onarım ve eklemelerle günümüze kadar kayıtlara geçmiş yapı sayısının 350'yi aştığı bilinmektedir.

Osmanlılar eline geçtiği 1517 yılına kadar Mısır'da yerleşmiş, kökleşmiş bir İslam mimari üslubu, devir ve üslup özellikleri bakımından az çok birbirine benzemekte veya paralellik arz etmektedir. Bu yerleşik üslubun 1528 yılından itibaren Osmanlı üslubuna dönüşmeye başlaması, aynı tarihte tamamlanmış Kahire Kalesi'ndeki Süleyman Paşa Camii ile gerçekleşmiştir.

Bu makalenin konusunu, Osmanlı üslubunu Mısır'a ilk taşıyan Hadım Süleyman Paşa Camii ve bağlı yapıları teşkil etmektedir. Klasik Osmanlı mimari anlayışının Mısır'a taşınmasında öncü rol oynayan bu caminin gösterdiği revaklı avlulu, üç yarım kubbeli merkezi şema, dönemin diğer Osmanlı camileriyle kıyaslanacak ve bazı ortak yönlere işaret edilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Ayrıca Mısır ve Kahire'nin Osmanlılar nezdindeki önemi ve değerine de bu bildiri içerisinde yer verilecektir

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mısır, Kahire, Süleyman Paşa, Kale, yarım kubbe.

The Place of Hadım Süleyman Pasha Mosque at Cairo in the Development of Ottoman Architecture

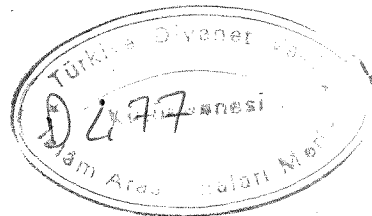
Abstract

After the beginning of Ottoman rule in Egypt in 1517, the Ottoman impact started to show itself with the construction of new architectural building particularly in Cairo. It is known that the number of newly built Ottoman structures as well as those altered and restored ones exceeds 350 in Egypt during a period of over three hundred years when the area was under the Ottoman rule. Prior to 1517 when Egypt taken over by the Ottomans, there was a well-established Islamic

* Atatürk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi.

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Hadım Süleyman Paşa'nın 1538 yılındaki Hindistan Seferi

Suleiman Pasha the Eunuch's
expedition to India in 1538

Ertuğrul Önalp*

Özet

Mısır beylerbeyi Hadım Süleyman Paşa'nın 1538 yılındaki Hindistan seferi tarihçilerimiz tarafından yeteri kadar araştırılmadığından, bu askeri harekâtla ilgili olarak bizim açımızdan karanlıkta kalmış birçok nokta bulunmaktadır. Biz bu çalışmamızda, dönemin Portekizli tarihçilerinin vakayinamelerinden hareketle ve konuyla ilgili daha önce yazılmış Türkçe eserleri de göz önünde bulundurarak bu tarihi olayın ayrıntılarına inmeye çalıştık.

Süleyman Paşa'nın Portekizlileri Hindistan'dan kovmak amacıyla 1538 yılında Süveyş'ten yaklaşık 80 parçalık bir donanmayla ayrılarak Gücerat yarımadasının önemli limanlarından Diu'ya gitmesi ve buradaki Portekiz kalesini kuşatması dünyada büyük akisler yaratan, uzun yıllar Portekizlilerin hafızalarından silinmeyen bir olaydı. Sonuçta, Süleyman Paşa'nın sevk ve idaredeki basiretsizliği, Hintli yetkililerin kendisine yardım etmeyip erzak ve mühimmat ikmalini kesmeleri ve Portekiz askerlerinin kaleyi olağanüstü bir güçle savunmaları sebebiyle bu harekât başarısız oldu. Bununla birlikte, Süleyman Paşa bu seferler sırasında Aden'i, Şihri ve Zebid'i Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na dâhil etti.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hadım Süleyman Paşa, Diu, Hint Okyanusu, Portekizliler, Gücerat Yarımadası, Aden, Zebid.

Abstract

About the military expedition of Suleiman Pasha, the Eunuch, the Ottoman governor of Egypt, to India in 1538, we don't have enough knowledge as our historians didn't deal much with this historical event. In this study we tried to illuminate

* Prof. Dr. Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, İspanyol Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı.

KAHİRE HADİM SÜLEYMAN PAŞA CAMİİ VAKFİYELERİ

Prof.Dr.Oktay ASLANAPA

Mısır'ın fethinden sonra, ikinci vali olarak, 14 Aralık 1522'den 27 Mayıs 1523'e kadar, altı buçuk ay valilik yapıp, asayişini sağladıktan sonra, İstanbul'a dönen veya geri çağrılan Çoban Mustafa Paşa'dan sonra Üçüncü Mısır Valisi (1524-34) Hadım Süleyman Paşa Kahire Kalesi'nde Camii'ni 935 (1528)'de yaptırmıştır. Gebze Çoban Mustafa Paşa Camii, 930 (1523) süslemeleri ile yakın benzerlik gösteren Cami, Mısır'da ilk defa, Osmanlı Mimarisi için çok karakteristik üç yarım kubbe ve revaklı avlusu ile ortaya çıkıyor. Gebze Camii'ndeki birçok kompozisyonlar, renkli mermer süslemelerde, mihrapta ve aynı yükseklikteki duvar kaplamalarında yer alıyor. Duvarın üst kenarını dolanan zarif çiçekli kufi kitabe kuşağı da Gebze'deki orta kitabe kuşağının ince rumîlerle zenginleştirilmiş değişik karakterde bir benzeridir.

İki şerefeli minare, son cemaat yerinin sağ kenarında (güney) ve ilk Osmanlı minaresi olarak dikkati çeker. Revaklı avlunun kuzey dış köşesinde iki paye üzerine altı kubbeli ve kapalı bir bölüm vardır. Üç yarım kubbeli Cami plânının Mimar Sinan'dan önce ve Kahire'de uygulanması Osmanlı Mimarisinin gelişme kuvvetini gösterir.

Hadım Süleyman Paşa'nın yaptırdığı eserlerin Vakfiyeleri; bunlar hakkında ayrı ayrı etraflı bilgi vermektedir. 540 belgeden ibaret bu vakfiyeler 1967 yılında Kahire Evkaf Nezareti'nde keşfedilmiş ve daha önce bilinen eski belgelerden ayırd edilmek için **Cedid Başlığı** altında tasnif edilmiştir.

Bu belgeler, Ahmed M. el-Masry, Die Bauten von Hadim Sulaiman Pascha nach seinen Urkunden im Ministerium für Fromme stiftungen in Kairo, Berlin 1991'de yayınlanmıştır. Bu kitapta, belgeler 40 numaraya göre, sıra ile ele alınmış, caminin yapılması ve bakımı için tahsis edilen Vakıfları belirlenmiştir. Hadım Süleyman Paşa, Mısır'daki Vakıfların idaresi için, bir Nazir-el Vakf, vakıf memur ve işçilerin idarecisi olarak da bir mütevellî (cami vakfının kiralarnını toplamak, ücretleri dağıtıp, çalışmalarını kontrol etmekle görevli), bir kâtip, muhasebeci, bir mubaşir, Şuhud el Vakıf, 2 şahid, bir Cabi (tahsildar), bir sarraf (Paraların kontrolü için), binaların bakımı için usta işçiler, Murammim (Restoratör), Sabbak (tenekeci), Murammim as salasil (Zincirler ve kapı kilitleri tamircisi), bütün bunların maaşları, görevleri, vakfiyelerde açıkça belirtilmiştir.

Caminin bütün duvarları ve içi Bait as Salat, Haram (avlu), kible eyvanı, mihrap, müezzin mahfili, büyük kubbe, minber, iki büyük şamdan, Kur'an okuma rahlesi, ağaç kapılar, pencereler, kubbe ve yarım kubbelerin çinileri (Yeşil çiniler bugün dökülmüş), bütün eyvanlar ve revaklar, revaklı avlu, türbe, fıskiye denilen abdest muslukları, küttab veya mekteb, hepsi vakfiyede birer birer gösterilerek, kitabelerinin ne olduğu da yazılmıştır.

Cami görevlileri de vakfiyede İmam, Hatib, Murakki (Vaizin yardımcısı), Müezzinler (4 adet), Muvakkit, her Cuma Kur'an'ın onda birini okuyan Hafızlar, 30 Hafız bayramlar ve aşure (10 Muharrem) dışında her öğle namazından sonra, camide her biri 1 cüz okuyacaktı. Bunun sevapları 7 cüz Hz. Muhammed ve diğer Peygamberler için, 5 cüz Kanunî Sultan Süleyman, 5 cüz Sultan Bayezit'in ruhuna, 5 cüz Sultan Selim'in ruhuna 3 cüz diğer Müslümanlara ve son 5 cüz vakıf sahibine adanıyordu.

Madih: (Her Cuma Kur'an ve Hadislerin okunmasından sonra, Hz. Peygamberin methiyelerini yapmak).



tek başına karşı durmuştur. Tıpkı onbir'nci asırda İstanbul üzerinden Ön Asyaya yıkılan Haçlılar ordusuna, Ön Asyadaki ırk ve din birliğine rağmen hiçbir yerden yardım görmeden ve istemeye de tenezzül etmeden tek başına karşı duran ve Haçlılar ordusunu bir kadavra yığını haline sokan büyük Türk Sultanı Kılıç Arslan gibi.

Umur; onsekiz yaşından itibaren şehit düştüğü 39 yaşına kadar 21 yıl hiç durmadan savaşmış, hiç mağlûbiyet tanımadan din uğrunda 26 gazâ yapmıştır [1]. Umur; başarıları ile kendisini öyle bir şahsiyet olarak meydana koymuştur ki; Türk dünyası onu sevgi ile kucaklamış, veli mertebesine yükseltmiştir. Onun, şahadetinden evvel rüyasında peygamberi görerek şehit düşeceği müjdesini almış olduğuna inanarak bu rüyayı hikâyelerle süslemişlerdir. Bu suretle; daima efsanevi kahramanlık bekledikleri Umur'un, Haçlıları yurdundan tart edemeden ölümüne tevîl ve teselli bulmuşlardır.

Her ölüm, birçok insanları ya bir dosttan mahrum eder, ya bir düşmandan kurtarır. Fakat Umur'un ölümü ile dünya, eşsiz bir kahraman, harika bir insan kaybetti. Umur'un açtığı ve yetiştirdiği Aydın denizciliği Osmanlılara mektep ve temel olmuştur.

Yazan : Dzalt. Üstğm. HÜSNÜ OKAN

Hadım Süleyman Paşanın Diu Muharasası Eylül 1538

DİU - Portekizlilerin Hindistana geçişleri - Dünyanın taksimi - Vasco dö Gamanın Hindistanı keşfi - Amiral Albukerkin istilaları - Gucerat'ın mukadderatı - Kanuniye gönderilen elçi - Süveyşte donanmanın hazırlanması - Adenin zaptı - Diu'nun muhasarası - III. Mahmut Şahın hiyaneti - Bir mektup - Muhasaranın kaldırılması - Hadım Süleyman Paşanın avdeti. Şahsiyeti ve ölümü.

Diu, Hindistan yarımadasının kuzey batısında Gucerat denen ülkenin şirin bir adasıdır. Tabii yapılışı müdafaasını kolaylaştırır, deniz ticareti yolları üzerinde önemli bir mevki işgal ederdi.

Gucerat bağımsız ve zengin bir devlet olup sulh içinde yaşamak ve kendi topraklarına sahip olmaktan başka arzuları bulunmayan ihtirassız, dürüst insanların diyarı idi Sakinleri Müslüman Hintliler ve kısmen Türklerdi.

Fakat kader bu devlete zaman zaman şuarsuzca saldıran Hint Racialarına karşı, Babürün oğlu Hümayun Şahın katliam ve kıyımlarına karşı ve hepsinden mühimmi müstemlekeci zihniyetli ve din propagandalarıyla istilalara başlamış olan Portekizlilere karşı memleketi korumak için mücadele halinde olmayı nasip etmişti.

Hadım Süleyman Paşayı, Portekizin Hindistandaki müstemleke merkezi GOA'nın fethine ve DİU'nun kurtarılmasına gönderirken Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın tek düşüncesi Portekizlileri Hint Denizinden atmak ve deniz ticaretini müslümanların eline bırakmaktı. Buna mukabil Portekizlilerin gayesi her ne bahasına olursa olsun Hindistandaki yerlerini, adalarını ve bilhassa DİU adasını sonuna kadar muhafaza etmekte.

Bu yazı XVI. asırda Hindistan mücadelelerinde sık sık adı geçen GUCERAT ülkesinin ve onun cefakâr kalesi DİU'nun hikâyesidir.

Şimdi kısaca Portekizlilerin, Hint Denizindeki hâkimiyetlerinin tarihini ve Kanunî Sultan Süleymanı Portekizlilerle mücadeleye sevk eden sebepleri gözden geçirelim.

Çok eskidenberi Şark, bilhassa Hindistan, zengin olmak isteyen maceraperest her insan gibi devletlerin de gözlerini büyüleyen sihirli

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Donanma Dergisi; cilt: 64 / sayı: 401

1. Ekim. 1952, İstanbul, s. 31-38.

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[1] Düsturname-i Enverî. S. 71

Jānim al-Ḥamzāwī's career was closely associated with that of his master Khāyrbak, during whose rule he held a position equivalent to that of a vice-governor. Jānim's waqf deed, dated to 936/1530, is only a small endowment to upgrade Khāyrbak's foundation, and does not represent Jānim's estates, which must have been very substantial.⁴⁷ The waqf includes an apartment complex near the madrasa of Khāyrbak whose revenues financed a *maktab* near the madrasa. Some of the apartments were designated for the use of the madrasa staff free of charge. Jānim was the supervisor of his own waqf, to be succeeded by the *nāzir* of Khāyrbak's foundation. Khāyrbak himself endowed his madrasa with a large amount of agricultural land, his palace at Tabbāna, and a residence overlooking a pond near Bāb al-Lūq.

2. The Waqf of Sulaymān Pasha al-Khādīm

Sulaymān Pasha al-Khādīm was a eunuch who began his career at the imperial harem.⁴⁸ He subsequently reached the rank of vizier and was appointed governor of Damascus, and then Egypt, where he ruled in the years 931-41/1524-34 as first pasha after the promulgation of the *Qānūn Nāma*. The registers of the *dīwān* were said to have been burned during his rule, so he ordered that a new survey of Egypt's land, waqfs, and fiefs be made. He later returned to Egypt and served as pasha for another year and five months between 943/1536 and 945-1538. After an expedition to India to support the sultan of Gujarat against the Portuguese, Sulaymān Pasha added Aden and all of Yemen to the Ottoman Empire and conquered Nubia. When he returned to Istanbul, he served as a member of the Council of four viziers, then as grand vizier, but he was banished for unknown reasons to Malghara in Turkey and died in disgrace in 955/1548.

The waqf deed of Sulaymān Pasha is a collection of 40 endowment documents, 328 pages in total.⁴⁹ The endowments were made over a number of years, with the earliest dated 936/1530 and the

⁴⁷ A Khān al-Ḥamzāwī was the center of activity of Syrian merchants during the Ottoman period. Ibn Zunbul, p. 36, ms. Munich 411, fol.27. A Ghayṭ al-Ḥamzāwī, which is mentioned in many court registers of the Ottoman period, was a large garden on the western side of the Khalij.

⁴⁸ Ishāqī, p. 156; °Abd al-Ghanī, pp. 146, 147; Menzel, "Sulaymān Pasha", E.I.

⁴⁹ Awqāf 1074; A. el-Masry, *Die Bauten von Ḥādīm Sulaimān Pascha (1468-1548)*, includes a facsimile of the waqf document with a description of the foundation and its buildings as well as a survey of its epigraphy.

latest 949/1542. Each new endowment enlarged and modified the previous one. The mosque at the Citadel and the *zāwiya* of Shaykh Sa'ūd comprised the earliest endowment.⁵⁰ A mosque at Būlāq was added later.⁵¹ The madrasa of Sulaymān Pasha at the quarter of Qūṣūn, however, is not included in this collection of endowments, nor has its *waqfiyya* turned up elsewhere (Pl. 16; Fig. 6).⁵² According to its inscription, the madrasa at Qūṣūn, which commonly is called the Takiyya Sulaymāniyya, was erected in 950/1543-44 after Sulaymān Pasha had left Egypt and while he was serving as grand vizier.⁵³ The titles of his high office appear on the inscription, making it unique in Cairene epigraphy.⁵⁴ Mar'ī writes that Sulaymān Pasha stipulated that its teacher should be an Arab of the Ḥanafī rite.⁵⁵

Whatever remained after the expenses for these institutions had been disbursed, was to be added to the revenues of Qāyṭbāy's Dashīsha waqf for the Haramayn accordingly, to be sent annually to Mecca and Medina.⁵⁶ The last part of Sulaymān Pasha's waqf enumerates properties in Istanbul which he alienated to the foundation, but reserved for his own use during his lifetime.⁵⁷ He also nominated himself as supervisor, or *nāzir*, of the waqf, a duty to be shared between the governor and the chief qadi of Egypt after his death. The administrator (*mutawallī*) of the endowment was to be the *nā'ib* of the Citadel, who was always a janissary.⁵⁸ Sulaymān Pasha originally had assigned the supervision of Mecca and Medina to the Shāfi'ī chief qadi, but he later changed his mind and nominated the Ḥanafī chief qadi instead.⁵⁹

⁵⁰ fols. 7ff.

⁵¹ °A. Mubārak, V, p. 18.

⁵² The *istibdāl* document for the acquisition of the land, on which the madrasa was erected, has been discussed above. It is dated Shawwāl 949/1543 and is included in the waqf book of Qurqumās.

⁵³ Similarly, his *wakāla* at Būlāq is dated 948/1541 and its inscription refers to the founder's status as grand vizier. El-Masry, p. 139; for the description of the madrasa see *ibid.*, pp. 108ff.

⁵⁴ Van Berchem, pp. 606f.

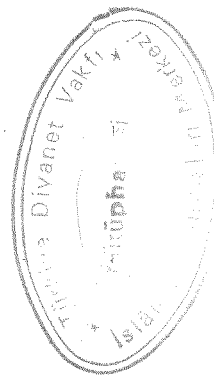
⁵⁵ Mar'ī, *Nuzha*, (microfilm Arab League), fol. 164.

⁵⁶ cf. Amin, *al-Awqāf*, pp. 72f.; Shaw, *Organization*, p. 269.

⁵⁷ fols. 281, 296f., 322.

⁵⁸ In the early seventeenth century, Johann Wild, a German slave, was bought by an old Turkish officer who had come to Egypt to supervise the waqf of Sulaymān Pasha at Būlāq, as well as other real estate in Egypt (Wild, pp. 68ff.).

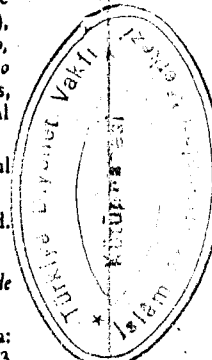
⁵⁹ fol. 113.



DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF
 EGYPT'S ADJUSTMENT TO OTTOMAN RULE
 Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo, Leiden-1994, s. 184-191.
 (16th and 17th Centuries) DN:29139

- Rouge," in *La Géographie* 65:2 (Février, 1936): 85-123 provides an overview of the geographical knowledge of the Red Sea from antiquity to the modern era.
21. Lapidoth-Eschelbacher, 1.
 22. William G. McGinnies, Bram J. Goldman, and Patricia Paylore, eds. *Deserts of the World. An Appraisal of Research into Their Physical and Biological Environments* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1970), 679.
 23. This process is very clearly outlined in Lapidoth-Eschelbacher, Maps 2 and 3, pp. 8 and 9.
 24. Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, for the University of Glasgow, 1905), 7: 266.
 25. In addition to the other physical phenomena already noted, the Red Sea is home to several unique fish (such as the 'rock fish' and the 'lion fish') and other distinct marine life such as the sea snakes. Many of them, including these snakes, are highly poisonous.
 26. Samuel Purchas., VII: 280.
 27. *Ibid.*, VII: 305-6.
 28. D. João de Castro, *Obras Completas*, edição critica de Armando Cortesão e Luís de Albuquerque, 2 vols. (Coimbra: Academia Internacional da Cultura Portuguesa, 1968-1971), 2: 171-399. Vol. 1 contains his theoretical work *Tratado da Sphaera* and his first *roteiro*, *From Lisbon to Goa*. Vol. 2 contains his other *roteiros*, *From Goa to Diu*, and *From Goa to Suez*. Vol. 3 contains his correspondence. There is also an earlier edition of his letters, edited and indexed by Elaine Sanceau, *Cartas de D. João de Castro* (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954).
 29. See the Appendix to this chapter for a listing and further description of these beautiful harbor drawings.
 30. See Cortesão and Albuquerque, II: 171-77, from which this information was obtained.
 31. See Cortesão and Albuquerque, II: 178 for a further discussion on this point.
 32. D. João de Castro, *Roteiro em que se contem a viagem que fizeram os Portuguezes no anno de 1541*. . . Antonio Nunes de Carvalho, ed. (Paris: Baudry, 1833).
 33. D. João de Castro, *Roteiros de D. João de Castro*. A. Fontoura da Costa, ed. 3 vols. (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colônias, 1940). Vol. 3, Parte 1 is the text from this *roteiro*, Vol. 3 Parte 2 is the illustrations.
 34. *Les routiers de Don Joam de Castro: l'exploration de la mer Rouge par les portugais en 1541* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1936). Kammerer's extremely complete and beautifully illustrated study of the Red Sea is unfortunately a rare edition: *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles et La Cartographie des Portulans du Monde oriental*. 3 vols. (Cairo: mémoires de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte no. 17, 1947).
 35. For a complete summary of publication data, see Daya de Silva, *The Portuguese in Asia*, entry 237, pp. 32-34. There is a small typographical error in her data - she says that Kammerer's work (above) appeared in 1963.
 36. A. Kammerer, "L'itinéraire de la Mer Rouge et du Golfe Arabique de Dom Joam de Castro ou le Bombardement de Suez par les Portugais en 1541," in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Egypte (Al-Jamīyah al-Jughrafiyah al-Misriyah)* 19 (1937): 301-45.
 37. Armando Cortesão and Luis de Albuquerque are at odds over the date and place of his birth. Armando Cortesão in *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI. (Contribuição para um estudo completo)*, 2 vols. (Lisboa: Seara Nova, 1935), II: 177 says he was born in Lisbon on 17 February 1500. This excellent work by Armando Cortesão has been translated into English, *History of Portuguese Cartography*, 2 vols. (Lisboa, 1969). Albuquerque in "Dom João de Castro" in *Navegadores, Viajantes e Aventureiros Portugueses. Séculos XV e XVI*. (2 vols. N/p: Caminho, 1987), II: 106 says no document exists which proves his place and date of birth, but that it is traditionally assumed to be 1500. J. B. D. Aqarone, in the most complete modern study of Castro's life, *João de Castro: Gouverneur*

- Vice-Roi des Indes Orientales* (1500-1548), 2 vols. (Montpellier: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Science Humaines de l'Université de Montpellier, 1968), 20-21, discusses this problem as well and concludes that he was probably born on 26 February, 1500.
38. These included Ceuta, Tangier, Arzila, and others.
 39. Albuquerque, 106.
 40. Jacinto Freyre de Andrade. *The Life of Dom João de Castro*. Trans by Sir Peter Wyche Kr. (London: H. Herringman, 1664), p. 1. This particular biography, written in the 1650s, was extremely popular in its day. See commentary in Daya de Silva, *The Portuguese in Asia*, 34.
 41. This counting ignores the naval battle (and Portuguese victory) of 1509 against the Mamlukes in the waters around Diu. The motivation for this battle was identical with the latter two in 1538 and 1546 so I see no logical reason to separate the three or to start counting the battles with the second in 1538 becoming the 'first.' Nevertheless, this is how the battles are known in the Portuguese literature.
 42. For more on Suleiman Paşa's expedition, see E. Denison Ross, "The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1517 and 1538," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London) (January-March 1922): 13-17; Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge*, I: 71, fig. 10 is a map of Suleiman Paşa's voyage from Suez to Aden, which shows that this expedition only stopped at various points along the Arabian side of the Red Sea coast. The expedition is discussed in some detail in 1:71-74. The Ottoman view is presented in Haji Khalifeh, *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, trans. James Mitchell, Chaps. 1-4 (London: The Oriental Translation Fund, 1831), 65-66. The diplomatic and military connections between the Moghuls and the Ottomans, as they relate to this battle, are summarized in Muhammad Yakub Mughul, "The Expedition of Suleyman Paşa Al-Khadim to India (1538)," in *Journal of the Regional Cultural Institute* (Teheran) 2 (1969): 146-51. In addition, this trip was recorded by sailors from Venice who were forced to accompany him and has been published in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, ed. R. A. Skelton and George Parks (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., 1970), 1:274-280.
 43. Salih Özbaran, "The Ottoman Turks and the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, 1534-1581," in *Journal of Asian History* VI:1 (1972): 43-87; "Two Letters of Dom Alvaro de Noronha from Hormuz. Turkish Activities Along the Coast of Arabia, 1550-1552," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* (Istanbul University) 9 (1978): 241-292; and especially "A Turkish Report on the Red Sea and the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean (1525)," *Arabian Studies* Vol.4, pp. 81-88. The report which is the core of this last article has also been published in French by Michel Lesure, "Un document ottoman de 1512 sur l'Inde portugaise et les pays de la Mer Rouge," *Mare Luso-Indicum*, III: 137-60. The fact that this Ottoman document made its way into both an English and French translation underlines the overlapping nature of these fields as well as the relative distance between them. Both *Arabian Studies* and *Mare Luso-Indicum* (this last title now assumed under *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien/The Middle East and the Indian Ocean XVIe-XIXe* [Paris]) have published other excellent articles on issues related to Red Sea rivalry. Several older works on Luso-Ottoman struggles still retain their usefulness: J. A. Saldanha, "The Portuguese in the Persian Gulf," in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23 (1905-15): 37-41; M. Longworth Dames, "The Portuguese and the Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London) (January 1921): 1-28; E. Denison Ross, "The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507 and 1517," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London) (Oct.-December, 1921): 545-62 and "The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1517 and 1538," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London) (Jan.-March, 1922): 1-18; and C. F. Beckingham, "The Red Sea in the Sixteenth Century," in *Journal of the University of Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* 25 (1947-53): 28-36. Also important is the article by George W. F. Stripling, "The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511-1574," in *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, XXVI, no. 4 (1942): 5-126.



17 TEMMUZ 1993

TTK. Belleteri, c. IV / sayı: 13,
[II. Kanun 1940), s. 53-87. Ankara

Dergi / Kitap
Kütüphanede Mevcuttur

HADİM SÜLEYMAN PAŞANIN MEKTUPLARI

VE

BELGRADIN MUHASARA PİLÂNI

Fevzi KURTOĞLU

Deniz Harp Okulu ve Lisesi Öğretmeni

Mısır valisi hadım Süleyman paşanın Küçerat hükümdarına yardım için kuvvetli bir donanma ile Süveyştan hareket ederek Hint kıyılarına yaptığı sefer; Osmanlı tarihinin en meşhur vak'alarındandır; fakat mevcut tarih kitaplarımızın gerek bu sefer ve gerekse hadım Süleyman paşa hakkında verdikleri malûmat çok noksandır.

Kamusülâlâm; hadım Süleyman paşa hakkında: (haremi hümayun hizmetinde bulunan zümreden iken rütbei vezaretle taşra çıkıp Şam muhafızı ve 931 hicride Mısır valisi olduğunu) söylüyor. [1]

Sicilli Osmani ise: (Ak ağalardandır. Sarayı hümayunda te-feyyüz ile hazinedar başı iken cülûsi hazreti Süleyman hanlde vezaretle Şam valisi olup Mısır hududuna gönderildi. 931 hicride Mısır valisi oldu) diyor.

Gelibolulu Âli tarihinde ise: (Haremi muhterem hizmetini eden tavaşiden iken evvelâ vezaret verilip Budin serhaddi muhafazasına gönderildi. Bade zaman Mısır hükûmeti ile itilâi şan buldu....) kaydını görürüz.

Tetkik edilen bu üç eser; Hadım Süleyman paşanın saraydan vezaretle neş'et ettiğini gösterir; halbuki saray hizmetinden hemen vezarete geçmek mutad değildir. Makbul İbrahim paşanın böyle âdet hilâfına veziri âzam olması nekadardedi koduyu mucip olmuştur. Âli tarihi; Süleyman paşanın Budin serhaddi muhafazasına gönderildiğini yazarken hangi tarihte bu vazifeyi ifa ettiğini izah etmez. Hadım Süleyman paşanın meçhul kalan hayatını ve bu münasebetle tarihimizin bir küçük parçasını aydınlatabilmek için onun Topkapı Sarayı müzesi arşivinde bulunan mektuplarını tetkik etmek faydalı olacaktır.

[1] Kamusülâlâm cilt 4; sayfa 2168.

19 HAZIRAN

Sulayman Pascha Hadim

19 HAZIRAN

**Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte
aus deutschen Bibliotheken.**

begründet
von
Klaus Schwarz

herausgegeben
von
Gerd Winkelhane

**Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte
aus deutschen Bibliotheken.**

BAND 6

Ahmed M. El-Masry

**Die Bauten von Hādīm
Sulaimān Pascha (1468–1548)**

nach seinen Urkunden
im Ministerium für Fromme Stiftungen in Kairo

KLAUS SCHWARZ VERLAG · BERLIN



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Drama mit Vorspiel und drei Akten. Dieses Werk als Angriff auf den Islam zu betrachten, wie es oft geschehe, – „this is perhaps a rather naïve view“; vielmehr spiegeln sich darin entgegengesetzte Jenseitshoffnungen, die den beiden Charakteren entsprächen, der Autor „noble, chaste, truthful and valiant“ und ihm gegenüber der reale Held des ansonsten fiktiven Werkes, Ibn al-Qāriḥ, „greedy, dissolute and false“. „The ‘Epistle’ is an artistic vision in which the doubly imprisoned captive surveys his private world, as he envisages it in his hopes and dreams, shadowed, throughout the composition, by Ibn al-Qāriḥ’s evil presence.“ (338) Am Schluß betont die Verfasserin nochmals, daß al-Ma‘arrīs Zurückgezogenheit ihm den Kampf für die menschliche Freiheit ermöglichte, und spricht von „self-imposed bondage of responsibility, integrity and freedom of thought.“ In einem Werk, wo sonst fast ausschließlich distanziert-unpersönliche „objektive“ Wissenschaftlichkeit herrscht, ist ein solches Bekenntnis sympathisch und bewegend.

20. Literary Criticism (Abu Deeb) 21. Ibn al-Mu‘tazz and *Kitāb al-badī‘* (Bonebakker) B. läßt sich in Textprobleme des *K. al-Badī‘* ein, die sicherlich den „general reader“ überfordern. Da, wo B. über die Motive des Buches spricht, sagt er nur „according to Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, *badī‘* devices do not appear for the first time in the work of the early ‘Abbasid poets such as Bashshār, Muslim b. al-Walid and Abū Nuwās.“ (396) Der entscheidende Punkt ist aber doch, daß diese Figuren – außer einer, dem sogenannten *madhhab kalāmī* (über den sich mehrere Autoren äußern, vgl. Index) – schon im Koran auftreten (und daher legitim sind)! Die beiden Kapitel von B. und Abu Deeb unterscheiden sich im übrigen diametral durch ihre Methodik, B.’s ein wenig verstaubt wirkende Philologie und Abu Deeb’s vom Strukturalismus (z.B. R. Jakobsen) geprägter Zugriff, der mit seiner gewollt modernen Terminologie manchmal dem Stoff etwas aufzwingt (das Wesen der rhetorischen Figur *radd al-‘ajuz ‘alā l-sadr* z.B. läßt sich mit den Begriffen „significant“ und „signific“ überhaupt nicht erfassen). Abu Deeb behandelt folgende Kritiker: Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, Qudāmāh b. Ja‘far, al-‘Amidī, al-Qāḍī ‘l-Jurjānī, ‘Abd al-Qāḥir al-Jurjānī.

22. Regional Literature: Egypt (Ayyad) 23. Regional Literature: the Yemen (Shami/Sergeant). Es ist sicherlich reizvoll, am Schluß des Werkes nach den an Leben und Werk orientierten und den verschiedenen Gattungen gewidmeten Kapiteln nun auch noch einen weiteren Skopus, den regionalen, vorzuführen. Für Ägypten ist das auch einigermaßen ergiebig, während das Kapitel über den Yemen ziemlich bald auf Lexikonebene absinkt und Namen und Titel aufzählt, noch dazu von Vertretern solcher Wissenschaften, die bisher aus dem Werk verbannt waren, weil nicht zur Belletristik gehörig. Statt dieses, meiner Ansicht nach entbehrlichen Kapitels hätte, um es noch einmal zu sagen, hier ein Kapitel über die andalusische Literatur stehen sollen. Daß es fehlt, ist wohl der eklatanteste Mangel des Werkes, der aber hoffentlich in einem späteren Band behoben wird.

Trotz aller hier angedeuteten Mängel sei zum Abschluß aber nochmals betont, daß diese beiden ersten Bände der CHAL doch auch große Verdienste aufweisen. Was sie bieten, geht alles im allen eindeutig über den Standard bisheriger arabischer Literaturgeschichten hinaus. Zu erwähnen bleibt eine sehr nützliche Auflistung europäischer Koranübersetzungen, nach Sprachen geordnet, von Pearson (I, 497ff.), sowie ausführliche Literaturangaben und sehr sorgfältig angefertigte Indices am Ende jedes der beiden Bände. Die gewaltigen Mühen, die dem Herausgeberteam diese zwei Bände bereitet haben mögen, kann man nur ahnen. Ihnen gebührt Dank und ebenso den zahlreichen Mitarbeitern, von denen sich zweifellos

jeder beeifert hat, sein Bestes zu geben. Man darf gespannt sein, was die nächsten Bände beinhalten, wie sie ausfallen werden.

J.C. Bürgel, Bern

Ahmed M. El-Masry: Die Bauten von Ḥādīm Sulaymān Pascha (1468–1548) nach seinen Urkunden im Ministerium für Fromme Stiftungen in Kairo. (Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken. Band 6). Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1991. 594 S. ISBN 3-87997-105-6.

Salih Lamei Mustafa, der in Aachen ausgebildete ägyptische Bauforscher und Architekturstoriker, dem wir materialreiche, sich vor allem auf die Oberfläche der Erscheinungen konzentrierende Monographien zu spätmamlukischen Gebäudekomplexen verdanken, hat in seinem Landsmann Ahmed M. El-Masry, einem Schüler Klaus Brischs, einen Nachfolger gefunden. Auch in zeitlichem Sinne. El-Masry wendet sich dem ersten Vierteljahrhundert osmanischer Herrschaft über Ägypten zu. Sein Held ist „der Eunuch“ (Ḥādīm) Sulaymān Paša, achter (und zehnter) Gouverneur des Großherrn in Kairo von 1525 bis 1535 und dann wieder von 1536 bis 1538. Sulaymān Paša war ein besonnener und unternehmungsfreudiger Statthalter, der maßgeblich dazu beitrug, osmanische Institutionen im Kernland des ehemaligen Mamlukenreichs einzuwurzeln. Seine Verbundenheit mit der Klasse seiner eunuchischen Leidensgenossen, dies sei am Rande angemerkt, spricht aus den besonders großzügigen regelmäßigen Zuwendungen, die er den Propheteneunuchen von Medina aus seinem Stiftungsgut auf Dauer gewährte (jedes Jahr zur Wallfahrtszeit sollte ein jeder der Wächter des Prophetengrabes einen Golddinar aus seiner Stiftung erhalten, vgl. Urkunde # 13, arab. Text S. 337, Zeilen 14 und 15: *as-sāda al-ḥuddām al-ṭawāsiyya al-murattabīn wal-mulāzimīn bil-ḥuḡra aš-šarīfa an-nabawiyya*). Historischen Ruhm hat Ḥādīm Sulaymān Paša mit der – freilich nicht zuletzt dank eigenen Ungeschicks fehlgeschlagenen – Expedition gegen das portugiesische Diu in Indien im Jahr 1535 erworben. Er stieg nach seiner Kairoer Dienstzeit noch in den Rang des Großwesirs auf (1541–44) und spielte eine wichtige Rolle bei der Planung und Durchführung der osmanischen Feldzüge in Ungarn. Eine mit seinem Namen verbundene, in den Grundelementen offenbar noch auf Sultan Qānṣawh al-Gawrī zurückgehende Kapitulation für die Franzosen in Ägypten befindet sich im Archiv des französischen Departements Yonne und harrt noch immer der Bearbeitung.

Von Ḥādīm Sulaymān Paša sind zahlreiche Bauten gestiftet worden. Über diese sind wir in der Mehrzahl der Fälle, was Konstruktion, Raumaufteilung, Dekor, genaue geographische Lage, Funktion und wirtschaftliche Einbettung betrifft, bestens informiert, da noch im 16. Jh. (975/1568, vgl. S. 16) die vierzig verstreuten (und heute verlorenen) Originale seiner Urkunden aus den Jahren 1530 bis 1537 kopiert und vom Kairoer Oberrichter beglaubigt wurden. So sind alle die verstreuten Rechtsakten in Zusammenhang mit Ḥādīm Sulaymān Pašas ägyptischen Stiftungen in einem Dossier zusammengeführt und somit einerseits leichter zugänglich gemacht, andererseits aber auch – davon ist auszugehen – gegen all-

27 SUBAT 1398



Süleyman paşa Hadım

٤- مسجد سليمان باشا (الخادم - جامع سارية الجبل)

بالقلعة

(٩٣٥ هـ / ١٥٢٨ م)

عاصم محمد رزق، أطلس العمارة الإسلامية والقبطية بالقاهرة، الجزء الرابع،
القسم الاول، بيروت ٢٠٠٣، ص. ١٠٠-٦٩ ٩٧١٣١ ISAM KTP.

Süleyman Paşa Hacıları

١٠- وكالة سليمان باشا (الخادم)

بيولاق

(٩٤٨ هـ / ١٥٤١ م)

عاصم محمد رزق، أطلس العمارة الإسلامية والقبطية بالقاهرة، الجزء الرابع،
القسم الأول، بيروت ٢٠٠٣، ص. ٩٧١٣١ ISAM KTP.