

Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman

Kaya Sahin's book offers a revisionist reading of Ottoman history during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-66). By examining the life and works of a bureaucrat, Celalzade Mustafa, Şahin moves beyond traditional, teleological approaches and argues that the empire was built as part of the Eurasian momentum of empire building and demonstrates the imperial vision of sixteenth-century Ottomans. This unique study shows that, in contrast with many Eurocentric views, the Ottomans were active players in European politics, with an imperial culture in direct competition with that of the Habsburgs and the Safavids. Indeed, this book explains Ottoman empire building with reference to the larger Eurasian context, from Tudor England to Mughal India, contextualizing such issues as state formation, imperial policy, and empire building in the period more generally. Şahin's work also devotes significant attention to the often-ignored religious dimension of the Ottoman-Safavid struggle, showing how the rivalry redefined Sunni and Shiite Islam, laying the foundations for today's religious tensions.

Kaya Şahin is Assistant Professor of History at Indiana University, Bloomington. His research and writing have been supported by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Newberry Library, and the Social Science Research Council.





Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization

Editorial Board

David O. Morgan, Professor Emeritus, University of Wisconsin-Madison (general editor)
Shahab Ahmed, Harvard University
Virginia Aksan, McMaster University
Michael Cook, Princeton University
Peter Jackson, Keele University
Chase F. Robinson, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York

Published titles are listed at the back of the book.





Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman

Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World

KAYA ŞAHİN

Indiana University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107034426

© İ. Kaya Şahin 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Şahin, Kaya, 1974– author.

Empire and power in the reign of Süleyman: narrating the sixteenth-century Ottoman world / Kaya Şahin, Indiana University.

pages cm. - (Cambridge studies in Islamic civilization)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-03442-6 (hardback)

Mustafa Çelebi Celâlzade, d. 1567.
 Mustafa Çelebi Celâlzade, d. 1567 – Political and social views.
 Mustafa Çelebi Celâlzade, d. 1567 – Criticism and interpretation.
 Turkey – Officials and employees – Biography.
 Historians – Turkey – Biography.
 Turkey – History – Süleyman I, 1520–1566 –
 Historiography.
 Historiography – Turkey – History – 16th century.
 Turkey – History – Süleyman I, 1520–1566.
 Imperialism – History – 16th century.
 Power (Social sciences) – Turkey – History – 16th century.
 Title.
 DR509.M87S34
 2013
 2012031961

ISBN 978-1-107-03442-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

Figures and Maps	
Acknowledgments Abbreviations, Transliteration, Dates, and Pronunciation	
Revisiting Celalzade Mustafa	1
Ottoman Empire Building and Early Modern Eurasia	6
PART ONE: CELALZADE MUSTAFA AND THE NEW OTTOMAN	
EMPIRE IN EARLY MODERN EURASIA	
1 The Formative Years (1490–1523)	15
Entering the Ottoman Ruling Elite	15
The Education of a Muslim Boy	19
The World that Selim Made: The Ottomans Join Early Modern	
Eurasia	23
A Wise Career Choice at a Favorable Moment	28
The Perils of the Sultanate: Süleyman Comes to Power	33
Süleyman Proves Himself: The Capture of Rhodes	41
Reshuffling at the Top: İbrahim Becomes Grand Vizier	45
2 The Secretary's Progress (1523–1534)	49
Presenting the Sultan and the Grand Vizier to the Ottoman	
Public	49
An Ottoman Grand Vizier in Action: The Egyptian Inspection	53
The Downfall of the Hungarian Kingdom	59
A Clash of Political Theologies: Rebellions in Anatolia and a	
Heresy Trial in Istanbul	68

vii



viii Contents

	Who Is the "Master of the Auspicious Conjunction"? Süleyman versus Ferdinand of Austria	74
	Who Is the Last Roman Emperor? Süleyman versus Charles V	81
3	The Empire and Its Chancellor (1534–1553) Süleyman's First Eastern Campaign: Sunni Triumphalism versus Logistical Problems	88 89
	A Grand Vizier Dies, a Chancellor Rises	100
	Filling İbrahim's Void: New Ventures on the European Front	103
	The Hungarian Question Comes Back with a Vengeance	109
	The Safavid Question Reemerges: The Alqas Mirza Affair	116
4	Toward the End (1553–1567)	123
	A Princely Demise: The Execution of Prince Mustafa	124
	Toward the First Ottoman-Safavid Settlement: A War of Letters	127
	The Amasya Settlement: Mutual Recognition or War Weariness?	131
	Mustafa's Last Years in Ottoman Service	136
	The Construction of the Süleymaniye Mosque: The Epitome of	
	Ottoman Imperial Sunnism	139
	The End of the Süleymanic Era	146
	From Bureaucrat to Historian and Moralist: Mustafa in Retirement	149
	RT TWO: NARRATING, IMAGINING, AND MANAGING THE	
5	Narrating the Empire: History Writing between Imperial	
	Advocacy and Personal Testimony	157
	Ottoman Historiography in the Sixteenth Century: Tropes and Trends	161
	Introducing Tabakat	166
	Writing and Reading Tabakat	170
	The First Objective: In Praise of Süleyman	172
	The Second Objective: The Empire as System	173
	The Third Objective: History as Personal Testimony	175
	An Unfinished or Interminable Work?	177
	Reassessing Selim: Selimname as Mustafa's Final Testimony	178
	Selimname as Political Intervention	182
	Selimname, Memory, Nostalgia	183
6	Imagining the Empire: The Sultan, the Realm, the Enemies	186
	Changing Images of Süleyman: From Messianic Conqueror to	40=
	Pious Lawmaker	187
	A New Realm for a New Empire	193
	The Others of the Empire	198
	The Mamluks of Egypt: The Anti-Ottomans?	200



	Contents	ix
	The Christians of Europe: Between Prejudice and Pragmatism The Safavids: The Power of Intra-Islamic Controversies	203 205
7	Managing the Empire: Institutionalization and Bureaucratic Consciousness New Men in Ottoman Service: The Rise of the Secretaries An Office to Manage the Empire: The Rise of the Chancellor Mustafa as a Political Writer and Moralist Reason ('akl) as a Key to Success and a Tool for Criticism The Pen, the Secretary, and the Sultan: Toward an Ideology of Service	214 215 220 230 233
	Conclusion Beyond Ottoman and European Exceptionalism: Empire and Power in Sixteenth-Century Eurasia	243243
	pliography lex	253 281





Figures and Maps

Figures

1.	Celalzade Mustafa's tomb	page xxii
2.	Selim I is presented with the head of the Mamluk sultan	
	Qansuh al-Ghawri	24
3.	Süleyman's enthronement	35
4.	The Battle of Mohacs	60
5.	Süleyman receives French diplomats	84
6.	Baghdad after the Ottoman conquest	99
7.	Queen Isabella and her son John Sigismund are received by	y
	Süleyman	111
8.	The Süleymaniye Mosque	140
9.	Celalzade Mustafa in his old age	153
10.	The first pages of Celalzade Mustafa's Tabakātü'l-memālik	k
	ve derecātü'l-mesālik	166
11.	The siege of Rhodes	179
12.	Süleyman receives the ancestral crown of Hungary	192
13.	Süleyman visits the shrine of Husayn	206
14.	A sixteenth-century imperial council meeting	220
15.	Süleyman listens to the grievances of an old lady	239
	Maps	
1	•	
	Central Europe ca. 1570	xix
<i>.</i>	Ottoman and Safavid worlds in the sixteenth century	XX

хi





Acknowledgments

As a political science major at Boğaziçi University, my curiosity about Ottoman history was initially spurred by debates around the transition from the empire to the republic. I was fortunate enough to take Ottoman language lessons with Metin Berke and Yücel Demirel, who instilled in me a more holistic view of Ottoman history and culture. At Sabancı University, Metin Kunt, Hülya Canbakal, and Tülay Artan, with their focus on early modern Ottoman history, were the best teachers I could hope to find at a critical juncture in my academic formation. I should also mention, among my first and formative influences, Halil Berktay's lectures and conversations on historiography and comparative history. At the University of Chicago, thanks to Cornell Fleischer, I was able to further concentrate on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, within a perspective that placed the Ottomans into a larger geographical, cultural, and political environment. Everything I write is, in a way, a dialogue with Professor Fleischer's own writings, lectures, and personal conversations. I am eternally grateful for his sage advice, unflagging encouragement, incomparable intellectual stimulation, and, above all, infinite patience. Robert Dankoff's help and guidance were instrumental in unlocking Celalzade Mustafa's dense prose and eventually enjoying his style. Next to being members of my dissertation committee, Constantin Fasolt and Fred Donner have encouraged and supported me over the years, and I continue to aspire to the scholarly example they have set in their own works. Courses taken with John Woods, Rachel Fulton, Adrian Johns, Constantin Fasolt, and Tamar Herzog helped me rethink various issues related to Ottoman history. The Early Modern Workshop was a fertile meeting and debating ground for early modernists of all stripes. Although



xiv Acknowledgments

the process of writing is often a lonely pursuit, I developed many ideas through ongoing conversations with my fellow Chicago graduate students and now colleagues Mehmetcan Akpınar, Nikolay Antov, Abdurrahman Atçıl, Evrim Binbaş, Snjezana Buzov, Ertuğrul Ökten, James Tallon, James Vaughn, and Nükhet Varlık.

The research and writing for my dissertation and book were supported by grants from the University of Chicago's Department of History and its Center for Middle Eastern Studies, the American Research Institute in Turkey, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Tulane University's Department of History, and the Newberry Library. I would like to thank Nevzat Kaya and Emir Eş at the Süleymaniye Library, Ayten Ardel at the Prime Ministry Archives, Ülkü Altındağ at the Topkapı Palace Archives, İlknur Keles and Melek Gençboyacı at the Millet Library, Esra Müyesseroğlu at the Topkapı Palace Library, and Ayda Perçin at the Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı for their help during my research and with publication permits. I used the collections and interlibrary loan services of the Joseph Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago, the İSAM Library in Istanbul, the Northwestern University Library, and the Newberry Library. I turned my dissertation into a book thanks to a Mellon postdoctoral fellowship at the Newberry in 2010–11, and as an affiliate of the Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies at Northwestern University. Daniel Greene, Diane Dillon, Carmen Jaramillo, Paul Gehl, and the Newberry fellows created a stimulating intellectual environment that made me rethink many an argument. At the Buffett Center, Andrew Wachtel, Hendrik Spruyt, Brian Hanson, and Rita Koryan provided a vibrant academic hub. The book took its final shape in the spring of 2012, thanks to the suggestions of two anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press, and under the guidance of my editor, Marigold Acland. Sarika Narula and Anuj Antony greatly facilitated the production process and kindly answered every question. Christopher Markiewicz prepared the book's index, and offered several helpful suggestions at the proofreading stage. Especially in the writing and proofreading stages, I often remembered, and relied upon, the guidance I received from Müge Gürsoy and Semih Sökmen as a junior editor at Metis Publishers in the late 1990s.

During my research in Istanbul, I benefited from the hospitality of Kerem Ünüvar, Setrak Eryazı, the Koryan family, and my sister and brother-in-law, Ayşegül and Ulaş Güvenç. Istanbul, a city of many attractions, is particularly enjoyable in the company of Burak Onaran and Mehmet Beşikçi. In New Orleans, the Brancaforte family (Benito,



Acknowledgments

xv

Charlotte, and Elio) gave me a home away from home. At Tulane and in New Orleans, I enjoyed the friendship and support of Thomas Adams, George Bernstein, James Boyden, Donna Denneen, Eli Feinstein, Kenneth Harl, Jana Lipman, Colin Maclachlan, Elizabeth McMahon, Lawrence Powell, Samuel Ramer, Randy Sparks, Eric Wedig, and Ferruh Yılmaz. Several friends and colleagues read parts of the manuscript and offered suggestions, helped with my research, and answered my queries about various issues. I would like to mention here Meltem Ahıska, Sebouh Aslanian, Günhan Börekçi, Erdem Çıpa, Emine Fetvacı, Hakan Karateke, Sooyong Kim, Kıvanç Koçak, Baki Tezcan, and Kahraman Şakul. At Indiana University, I am grateful for the warm welcome I have been given by my colleagues and the staff at the history department.

Despite the emotional cost of physical distance, since the day I left my hometown of Burhaniye for boarding school, my parents Fatma and Hasan Şahin never failed to express their faith in me and the work I do. I wouldn't find much comfort and pleasure in my research and writing without the constant presence and support of Rita Koryan, who kindly allowed Celalzade Mustafa to become a mainstay of our everyday life since 2005. I am eternally grateful to her for showing me that there is a whole life to be enjoyed beyond the issues and personalities of the sixteenth century and outside manuscript libraries and archives.





Abbreviations, Transliteration, Dates, and Pronunciation

The following abbreviations are used throughout the book:

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies JTS: Journal of Turkish Studies. Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları

KK: Kamil Kepeci

EI 2, EI 3: Encyclopedia of Islam 2 and 3, electronic edition.

IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies

IJTS: International Journal of Turkish Studies

IrSt: Iranian Studies İA: İslâm Ansiklopedisi

JEMH: Journal of Early Modern History

SK: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

StIsl: Studia Islamica

TDVİA: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi

TSAB: Turkish Studies Association Bulletin

TSMA: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi

TSMK: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi TTYY: Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar

WZKM: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

Quotes from Celalzade Mustafa's works and titles of Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian works are fully transliterated through a slightly modified version of the *IJMES* transliteration system. (After their first mention, titles of Mustafa's works are repeated in a shortened form and without any special characters.) Excerpts from Mustafa's writings are shortened as much as possible; the longer versions can be found in my dissertation.

xvii



xviii Abbreviations, Transliteration, Dates, and Pronunciation

With the exception of the index, Ottoman Turkish words are provided in the modern Turkish orthography in the text, in italics; the 'ayn and hamza are marked with an apostrophe. For Arabic and Persian personal names, a simplified version of the IJMES transliteration system, without the diacritical signs, is utilized. For Ottoman personal and geographical names, the modern Turkish orthography is adopted, except when there is an English equivalent for the latter: hence, for instance, Istanbul instead of Istanbul, Aleppo instead of Halep, Rhodes instead of Rodos, and Belgrade instead of Belgrad. Long vowel markers (â, î) are minimally used. Whenever possible, Anglicized versions of Ottoman, Arabic, and Persian words are used as they appear in the Merriam-Webster dictionary: Sharia, waqf, vizier, Sunni, Shiite, and so forth, the exceptions being madrasa instead of madrassa, and Quran instead of Koran.

Although the original sources discussed here use the *Hicri* calendar, which is based on the lunar year and begins at 622 CE (the date of Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina), the dates are given in Common Era throughout the book. The original *Hicri* dates are provided in my dissertation.

For a Turkish pronunciation guide, the readers are kindly referred to a webpage by Erika H. Gilson:

http://www.princeton.edu/~ehgilson/alpha.html.





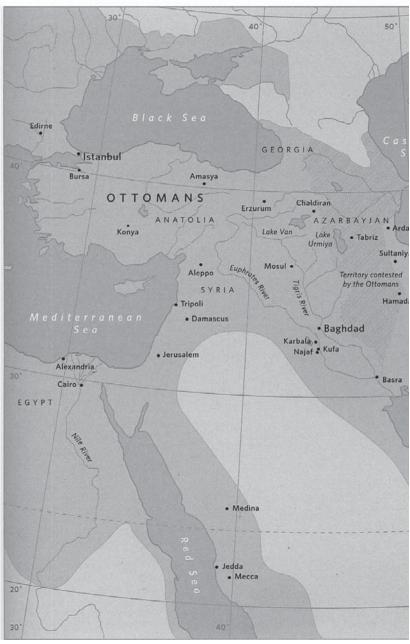
MAP 1. Central Europe ca. 1570 (Paul R. Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993], 14).



More information

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-03442-6 - Empire and Power in the Reign of Suleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World Kaya Sahin Frontmatter

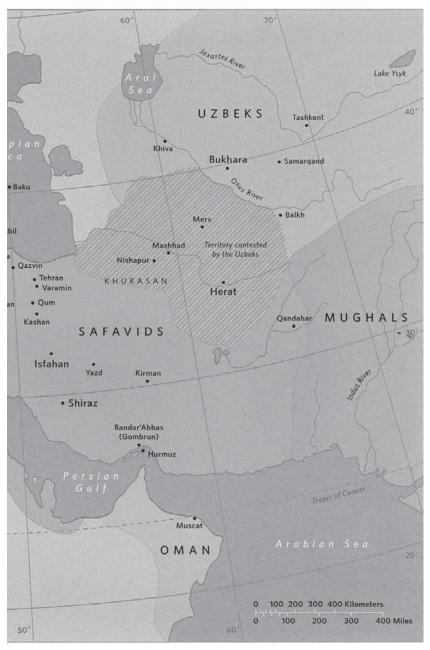
Ottoman and Safavid Wo



MAP 2. The Ottoman and Safavid worlds in the sixteenth century (Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı, eds., *Falnama: The Book of Omens* [London: Thames & Hudson, 2009]).



rlds in the Sixteenth Century



MAP 2 (continued)





FIGURE 1. Celalzade Mustafa's tomb, from M. Şinasi Acar, Ünlü Hattatların Mezarları: Gelimli Gidimli Dünya (İstanbul: Gözen, 2004), 26. The epitaph is by his acquaintance Deli Kadı.