THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMANS

An innovative reinterpretation of the middle years of the Ottoman Empire, from the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 to the establishment of the Tanzimat in 1839. This period saw the evolution of the Empire from the height of its powers to – as the traditional view has it – an empire in decline, unable to modernize in the face of globalization and European ascendancy. The contributors challenge this view, demonstrating how the Ottomans came to be modern on their own terms. They explore the Ottomans as politicians and diplomats, military reformers, artists and historians. They also map out and redefine the material worlds which they inhabited – the courthouse, the cemetery, the Turkish garden. This book, which represents a turning-point in the intellectual history of the Ottoman Empire, promises to become a key text for students, scholars and anyone interested in the Ottoman world.

Virginia H. Aksan is Associate Professor of History at McMaster University, Ontario. Her publications include An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700–1783 (1995) and Ottoman Wars 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged (2007).

Daniel Goffman is Professor of History at DePaul University and author of Britain in the Ottoman Empire (1998), Izmir and the Levantine World (1996), The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe (2002) and The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul (1999).
THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMANS

Remapping the Empire

EDITED BY

VIRGINIA H. AKSAN

AND

DANIEL GOFFMAN
Contents

List of illustrations iii
Notes on contributors v
Acknowledgments vii
A note on transliteration and the use of foreign words viii

Introduction: Situating the early modern Ottoman world
Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman 1

PART I MAPPING THE OTTOMAN WORLD 13

1 Imagining the early modern Ottoman space, from world history to Piri Reis
Palmira Brummett 15

PART II LIMITS TO EMPIRE 59

2 Negotiating with the Renaissance state: the Ottoman Empire and the new diplomacy
Daniel Goffman 61

3 Information, ideology, and limits of imperial policy: Ottoman grand strategy in the context of Ottoman–Habsburg rivalry
Gábor Ágoston 75

4 The Ottomans in the Mediterranean
Molly Greene 104

5 Military reform and its limits in a shrinking Ottoman world, 1800–1840
Virginia H. Aksan 117
### PART III EVOCATIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY

6 Genre and myth in the Ottoman advice for kings literature  
   *Douglas A. Howard*  
   [137]

7 The politics of early modern Ottoman historiography  
   *Baki Tezcan*  
   [167]

### PART IV BOUNDARIES OF BELONGING

8 Inside the Ottoman courthouse: territorial law at the intersection of state and religion  
   *Najwa Al-Qattan*  
   [201]

9 The material world: ideologies and ordinary things  
   *Leslie Peirce*  
   [213]

10 Urban voices from beyond: identity, status and social strategies in Ottoman Muslim funerary epitaphs of Istanbul (1700–1850)  
   *Edhem Eldem*  
   [233]

11 Who is a true Muslim? Exclusion and inclusion among polemicists of reform in nineteenth-century Baghdad  
   *Dina Rizk Khoury*  
   [256]

### PART V AESTHETICS OF EMPIRE

12 Public spaces and the garden culture of Istanbul in the eighteenth century  
   *Shrine Hamadeh*  
   [277]

*Bibliography*  
[313]

*Index*  
[333]
Illustrations

MAP
1 The Ottoman Empire, c. 1683–1800. Adapted from Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert (eds.), An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. xxxvii.

PLATES
1.2 Giacomo Gastaldi, Egypt and Arabia, 1560. Newberry Library Novacco 4F.406. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago 30
1.3 Giacomo Gastaldi, Provinces of Egypt and Arabia (inset), 1560. Newberry Library Novacco 4F.406. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago 31
1.4 Anonymous, Sea Battle in the Gulf of Artha, no date. Newberry Library Novacco 2F.22. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago 34
1.5 Allain Manesson-Mallet, Natolie, c. 1683. Walker Maps MX 410a, 1511–1774, no. 54. Image courtesy of the University of Melbourne Library Map Collection, reproduced with permission 36
1.6 Pierre Duval, “Empire des Turcs en Europe, en Asie, et en Afrique,” 1677. Walker Maps MX 410a, 1511–1774, no. 33. Image courtesy of the University of Melbourne Library Map Collection, reproduced with permission 38
1.7 Pieter van der Aa, “Turquie en Europe,” c. 1729. Walker Maps MX 410a, 1511–1774, no. 4. Image courtesy of the University of Melbourne Library Map Collection, reproduced with permission 39
List of illustrations


1.9 Matrakçı Nasuh, “Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn-i Sultan Süleiman Han.” İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Rare Books Department, MS TY 5964, f.42 verso. Courtesy of T.C., Istanbul Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü Kütüphane ve Dökümantasyon Daire Başkanlığı 53

12.1 From Thomas Allom and Robert Walsh, Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, vol. I (London, 1838) 279

12.2 From Enderunlu Fazıl, Hübânnâme ve Zenânnâme, MS TY 5502, fol. 78. Courtesy of İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, MS TY 5502 280

12.3 From Ali Şir Nevâî, Divan, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi MS H. 804. Courtesy of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphaneleri 282

12.4 From Allom and Walsh, Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, view of the garden and fountain of Küçüksu (1809) 288

12.5 From Julia Pardoe, The Beauties of the Bosphorus (London, 1838), pl. 60 294

12.6 Photograph by the author 295


12.8 From Mouradgea d’Ohsson, Tableau général de l’empire ottoman (Paris, 1788–1814) 308
Notes on contributors

GÁBOR ÁGOSTON is Associate Professor at the History Department of Georgetown University. He is the author of Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire, and more than fifty scholarly articles and book chapters on Ottoman, European, and Hungarian history.

VIRGINIA H. AKSAN is Associate Professor in the Department of History at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. She is the author of An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700–1783, and Ottoman Wars 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged.

PALMIRA BRUMMETT is Professor of History and Distinguished Professor in the Humanities at the University of Tennessee. She is the author of Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery and Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911. Her current projects are focused on early modern mapping of Ottoman space and on the rhetorics and imagery of travel literature.

EDHEM ELDEM is Professor of History at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. His publications include French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century; A History of the Ottoman Bank, The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul (with Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters); and Death in Istanbul: Death and its Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Culture.

DAN GOFFMAN is Professor of History at DePaul University and author of Britons in the Ottoman Empire, Izmir and the Levantine World, The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe, and with Edhem Eldem and Bruce Masters, The Ottoman City Between East and West.

MOLLY GREENE is Professor at Princeton University, with a joint appointment in the Department of History and the Program in
Notes on contributors

Hellenic Studies. She is the author of *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, and is currently working on a project on the relationship between Greek commerce and Catholic piracy in the seventeenth century.

SHIRINE HAMADEH is Assistant Professor at the Department of Art History at Rice University. Her upcoming book is titled *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*.

DOUGLAS A. HOWARD is Professor and Chair of the History Department at Calvin College. He is the author of *The History of Turkey*, and is currently working on a translation and study of Ayn Ali’s *Kavanin-i Al-i Osman*.

DINA KHOURY is Associate Professor of History and International Affairs at George Washington University. She is the author of *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul 1540–1834*, and articles on state–provincial relations, urban rebellions, and the intellectual history of Ottoman Iraq; more recently she has begun a project on war and memory in modern Iraq.

LESLIE PEIRCE is Silver Professor of History and Middle East Studies at New York University. She is the author of *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* and *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*. She is currently working on a cultural history of the premodern Ottoman Empire.

NAJWA AL-QATTAN is Associate Professor of Middle Eastern History at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles. She is currently editing a book entitled *The Ottoman Empire and the Great War: History and Memory* and working on a book project, *Archiving Justice at the Ottoman Muslim Court*.

BAKI TEZCAN is Assistant Professor of History and Religious Studies at the University of California, Davis. He is co-editor of *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World: A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz*, and is completing his book, *The Second Empire: The Transformation of the Ottoman Polity in the Early Modern period*. 
Acknowledgments

In January 2006, Dan Goffman, my colleague, friend, and co-editor on this project, suffered a major stroke. Just prior to that, he had emailed me the full draft of all the contributions included here, along with the Introduction, which he had just finished crafting. It has been my pleasure to see them through into print, as a tribute to the vision which Dan had for a volume which would explore lesser-known aspects of the Ottoman universe in the premodern world. Dan’s expertise has always been the Ottomans and Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mine begins in the grey zone after 1700 and before 1850. It was this crossover which allowed us to conceive of a volume which would explore the “early modern” in the Ottoman context.

My first instinct upon assuming sole editorial responsibility for this project was to send the full text to the other ten contributors of the volume, so that they could see the ways in which we had clustered the topics. In return, I received a number of revised and far more polished versions of the pieces: a response, I suggest, to the news of a colleague’s illness, but also a measure of engagement with the aims of the project and its participants. Highly idiosyncratic, these essays represent the work of both “junior” and “senior” Middle East and Ottoman historians pushing their well-known work in new directions. I have deliberately tried not to impose too much of a straitjacket on the individual texts, with some editorial exceptions such as a uniform bibliography and footnote style, and a limited set of standard transliterations. As with any such collection, it will be picked over by instructors for classroom texts and graduate examination bibliographies, but can just as well stand alone as a reader reflecting the terrain of Ottoman studies in its era. I owe a debt of thanks to Carolyn Goffman, Marigold Acland, our anonymous reader, and all the contributors. I know they join me in wishing Dan well.
A note on transliteration and the use of foreign words

Words like waqf (in lieu of the Turkish vakıf), shari’a, hadith, Quran, ulema and kadi (instead of qadi) are assumed here to have become part of regular English parlance. For languages such as Arabic and Persian, we have tried to keep the use of foreign words to a minimum, but modern Turkish spelling has been preferred when used, with the first occurrence of a word in each essay followed by its English equivalent or vice versa. For the rest, we have followed the transliteration scheme of the International Journal of Middle East Studies.