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The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe

Despite the fact that its capital city and over one third of its territory were within the continent of Europe, the Ottoman Empire has consistently been regarded as a place apart, inextricably divided from the West by differences of culture and religion. A perception of its militarism, its barbarism, its tyranny, the sexual appetites of its rulers, and its pervasive exoticism has led historians to measure the Ottoman world against a western standard and find it lacking. In recent decades, a dynamic and convincing scholarship has emerged that seeks to comprehend and, in the process, to de-exoticize this enduring realm. Daniel Goffman provides a thorough introduction to the history and institutions of the Ottoman Empire from this new standpoint, and presents a claim for its inclusion in Europe. His lucid and engaging book – an important addition to *New Approaches to European History* – will be essential reading for undergraduates.

DANIEL GOFFMAN is Professor of History at Ball State University. His publications include *Izmir and the Levantine world, 1550–1650* (Seattle, WA, 1990), *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642–1660* (Seattle, WA, 1998) and *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, with Edhem Eldem and Bruce Masters (Cambridge, 1999). He is currently editor of the *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*.

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The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe

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Ball State University



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In Memoriam
Donald F. Lach
(1917–2000)

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Preface

The writing of Ottoman history has changed dramatically, for the better I believe, in the past few decades. In part, a widening access to Ottoman source materials in Istanbul, Ankara, Jerusalem, Cairo, and elsewhere has supplemented and in some cases supplanted the Ottoman chronicles and western European correspondences and observations that previously had constituted the documentary backbone of our knowledge of the empire. Increasing reliance upon the views of the Ottomans about themselves in place of often hostile outside observers has allowed us to better imagine an Ottoman world from the inside. In addition, a growing appreciation for non-European societies and civilizations and the generation of new historical and literary analytical techniques have helped us take advantage of this plethora of documentation, while enlivening and making more sophisticated the historiography of the early modern Ottoman world.

One goal of *The Ottoman Empire and early modern Europe* is to help move some of these innovative and stimulating approaches toward Ottoman history out of monographic and article form and make them accessible to a general and student audience. The result may seem a hybrid between the new and the old, for developments within the field have been uneven, many gaps remain in our knowledge, and some of our interpretations still are speculative or rest on publications and approaches that are terribly outdated. For example, whereas recent studies provide thought-provoking insight into elite Ottoman households, our knowledge of gender relations outside of the privileged order remains thin. Similarly, we know much more about urban societies and economies in the Ottoman world than we do about their rural counterparts. This volume cannot help but reflect such strengths and weaknesses within the field of Ottoman studies. Indeed, I hope that a sense of these irregularities will help stimulate readers to explore our many empty historical spaces.

Perhaps unavoidably, this work also echoes its author's own attraction to certain aspects of Ottoman history, such as the rich and multi-layered world of the early modern eastern Mediterranean or the similarities and differences between western European and Ottoman treatment

of religious minorities. Consequently, in the following pages the reader will find more on the Venetians than on the Austrians or Hungarians, and more on social organization than on diplomacy. Threaded through these topics and emphases, however, is a core belief that the early modern Ottoman Empire constituted an integral component of Europe, and that neither the Ottoman polity nor Europe makes a lot of sense without the other.

The Ottoman Empire and early modern Europe adopts a two-pronged approach toward investigating the dealings between the Ottoman Empire and the rest of Europe. The body of the text is broadly chronological, examining Ottoman political, religious, societal, diplomatic, and economic concerns, particularly in that empire's dealings with the balance of the European landmass. Since a principal intent is to look at Europe from the Ottoman perspective – an approach which demands some knowledge of the Ottoman world – Part One of the text gives considerable weight to Ottoman organizations and peoples. Part Two of the narrative then focuses on how such institutions and the personalities they produced co-existed with and influenced the Mediterranean and European worlds. Within this structure the book offers examinations of particular topics – such as the construction of an Ottoman imagined past, the Ottoman–Venetian conflicts, and the development and composition of commerce, diplomacy, the sultanate, the janissary corps, and other Ottoman pursuits and institutions. By this means the text undertakes to integrate much of the fresh and enterprising historiography of recent years into a broad examination of Ottoman events and issues.

Prefacing each chapter of this master narrative is one in a series of “vignettes” that venture to address a troubling quandary in Ottoman historiography. Although pre-modern Ottoman studies is blessed with a profusion of chronicles and administrative sources, it seems to me that a paucity of diaries, memoirs, letters, and similar writings has served to dampen scholarship in this potentially tantalizing discipline. In other words, despite the celebrated poetry of devotion that so displays the characters of Süleyman and his wife Hürrem, Evliya Çelebi's revealing comments about his patron Melek Ahmed Pasha and his wives, and a few other scattered revelatory tidbits,¹ there is an acute shortage of personality – which after all constitutes the sinew of historical narrative – in our sources on the early modern Ottoman world.

¹ See, on Süleyman and Hürrem, Leslie P. Peirce, *The imperial harem: Women and sovereignty in the Ottoman empire* (Oxford, 1993); and, on Melek Ahmed Pasha, Evliya Çelebi, *The intimate life of an Ottoman statesman: Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588–1661)*, intro. and trans. Robert Dankoff, historical commentary Rhoads Murphey (Albany, 1991).

These vignettes aim to follow the lead of historians and writers in other fields² to flesh out and personalize the historical record. My intent is not to concoct fables, but to conjecture on the basis of available information how a particular individual in a certain situation might have behaved, in order to recreate as realistically as possible the movements, associations, and dispositions of a person who was physically and culturally embedded in Ottoman civilization. Relatively extensive notes help mark the line where documented knowledge ends and supposition begins. It is hoped that the reader will gain from this method a richer and more empathetic understanding of an Ottoman world that many Westerners, inaccurately I believe, consider alien, profane, unknowable, and inconsequential. In turn, one purpose of the master narrative is to describe and explain the world in which Kubad Çavuş, the subject of the pseudo-biographical vignettes, lived.

² I have in mind such works as Maxime Hong Kingston, *The woman warrior* (New York, 1976); Jonathan D. Spence, *The death of woman Wang* (New York, 1978); Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and other episodes in French cultural history* (New York, 1984); Simon Schama, *Dead certainties (unwarranted speculations)* (New York, 1992); and Amitav Ghosh, *In an antique land: history in the guise of a traveler's tale* (New York, 1992). The idea for the vignettes offered here also owes much to Selim Deringil, *The well protected domains: ideology and the legitimation of power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909* (London, 1998); and Edhem Eldem, “Istanbul: from imperial to peripheral capital,” in *The Ottoman city between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* ed. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 135–207.

Acknowledgments

Several years ago, Richard Fisher of Cambridge University Press came to me with the suggestion that the Press would like to include a book on the Ottoman Empire in their series *New Approaches to European History*. This volume is one result of that proposal, and I thank him and Cambridge University Press for wishing to include the Ottoman world in this series. I also am grateful to my editors, Vicky Cuthill, Elizabeth Howard, and Sophie Read, for their diligence and patience with a project that took several detours and arrived at their offices rather late, and to my copy-editor, Leigh Mueller.

As with every such undertaking, this book owes a great deal to many people. Its first draft was sketched out during a rich and exciting year at Boğaziçi University in 1993–94. I thank the members of the department of history at that institution – particularly Selim Deringil, Edhem Eldem, Selçuk Esenbel, and Aptullah Kuran – for hosting me and serving as tireless sounding boards. I also thank my own institution, Ball State University, for providing me with time to write this volume, and my Department of History for its support and enthusiasm. Our faculty seminar has become a model of its kind, a sharp and constructive intellectual scalpel, and twice my colleagues – Larry Birken, Jim Connolly, Michael Doyle, Rene Marion, Chris Thompson, and several others – have read, critiqued, and helped shape chapters from this work. I have also twice presented versions of the Kubad Çavuş vignettes publicly, once in 1998 at a conference in Istanbul organized by Suraiya Faroqhi and a second time at New York University at the kind invitation of Ariel Salzman. Each occasion was stimulating and encouraging, and I thank both the organizers and participants for the opportunities to present and for the lively discussions that followed.

The research and writing of this book relied upon a number of universities, archives, libraries, and endowments. At Ball State University, Ronald Johnstone (the Dean of Sciences and Humanities), Warren Vander Hill (the Provost), Ray White and John Barber (the chairs of the Department

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Acknowledgments

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of History), and the staff of the Office of Research have generously supported me with time off for research and writing as well as with various matching monies. The principal archives I have made use of in this project are the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in Istanbul and the Public Record Office in London. The staffs of both of these facilities are knowledgeable and exceptionally gracious. They have my profound thanks, as do the staffs of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the British Library in London, the Library of Congress in Washington, and the Bracken Library in Muncie. The research and an early draft of this book were undertaken during a year in Istanbul. The National Endowment for the Humanities made that trip possible through its Fellowship for College Teachers and Independent Scholars, and I am deeply grateful to this endowment, which through the years has given so very much to the humanities. The Ball State Department of Geography is blessed with a wonderful cartographer, Connie McOmber, who prepared the maps (as she has done for me twice before) with uncommon patience, diligence, and expertise. Lori A. Sammons patiently helped me proofread the final version of this book.

The final drafts of this book benefited enormously from the scrutiny of several readers. First of all, Kevin Brooks, Mike Brown, Brett Calland, Brent Chapman, Eric Conderman, Chris Farr, Kirk Overstreet, and Julie Reitz, all students in my graduate course on the early modern eastern Mediterranean world, read, critiqued, and vastly improved it. In addition, Cambridge University Press itself provided three anonymous referees. Although I cannot thank them by name for their sometimes tough but always thoughtful comments, I am grateful nonetheless. I also asked three other colleagues to read the manuscript, which they did with care and energy. My deepest thanks, then, go to Ginny Aksan, Drew Cayton, and Carolyn Goffman. Without their critical input, this volume would have been much less than it is; without their keen and prudent support, it could not have been written at all. I used to thank my daughter and son for distracting me and reminding me about real values. More and more, however, I find myself marveling at and drawing upon their quick and critical minds. I thank Sam and Laura especially for providing this service, and pledge: the next one is for you!

The Ottoman Empire and early modern Europe is dedicated to the memory of Donald F. Lach, who died just months before its completion. For three years I worked as Donald's graduate assistant at the University of Chicago. His devotion to his scholarship was unrivaled, and his faith in my efforts more than anything else kept me going while a student at that university. Donald's vision of world history has been much in my thoughts the past few months as I have worked through the last stages

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xviii Acknowledgments

of this manuscript, which is deeply inspired by his example and his monumental *Asia in the making of Europe*. I end these acknowledgments with a paraphrase from Donald Lach's own writings: the mistakes that exist in this book are my responsibility alone, and I only hope that they are funny and not fundamental.

Note on usage

There are many transliteration schemes for Arabic-script terms. In this text, I have kept such words to the minimum. Nevertheless, in those cases when they have seemed unavoidable, I have adopted modern Turkish orthography (except for words that have found their way into the English language, such as *kadi* or *pasha*). Several simple rules will allow the reader to pronounce these words with some accuracy:

- c* sounds like the English *j*
- ç* sounds like the English *ch*
- ğ* is silent but lengthens any preceding vowel
- ı* sounds like the *a* in *serial*
- j* sounds like the French *j*
- ö* sounds like the French *eu* in *peu*
- ş* sounds like the English *sh*
- ü* sounds like the French *u* in *lune*

Vocalization that stresses no syllable generally is the most faithful. Ottoman terms are contextually defined in the glossary and can be found with their Ottoman Turkish spellings in *The new Redhouse Turkish–English dictionary* (Istanbul, 1968).

Chronological table of events

| | |
|---------|---|
| 1071 | Battle of Manzikert; Seljuk Turks established in Asia Minor |
| 1204 | Fourth Crusaders capture Constantinople |
| c. 1300 | Foundation of the Ottoman Empire |
| c. 1301 | Osman defeats Byzantine force at Baphaeon |
| c. 1324 | Death of Osman; succession of Orhan |
| c. 1326 | Ottoman conquest of Bursa |
| c. 1345 | Ottomans appropriate the emirate of Karasi |
| c. 1346 | Orhan marries Theodora, daughter of John VI Cantacuzenus |
| c. 1352 | Ottomans cross over into Europe by taking Tzympe |
| c. 1354 | Ottomans take Gallipoli |
| 1361 | Conquest of Adrianople (Edirne) |
| 1362 | Death of Orhan; succession of Murad I |
| 1389 | First Battle of Kosovo; death of Murad I; succession of Bayezid I |
| 1402 | Defeat and death of Bayezid I at hands of Tamerlane |
| 1402–13 | Ottoman Interregnum |
| 1413 | Mehmed I proclaimed sultan |
| 1420 | Murad II accedes to the throne |
| 1423–30 | Ottoman–Venetian War |
| 1444 | Murad II abdicates in favor of his son Mehmed; Battle of Varna |
| 1446 | Murad II's second accession to the throne |
| 1451 | Mehmed II's second accession to the throne |
| 1453 | Ottoman conquest of Constantinople |
| 1463–79 | Ottoman–Venetian War |
| 1470 | Ottoman conquest of the island of Negroponte |
| 1480 | Ottoman landing at Otranto in Italy |
| 1481 | Death of Mehmed II and accession of Bayezid II |
| 1498 | Vasco da Gama brings Portuguese ships into the Indian Ocean |

Chronological table of events

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- 1499–1502 Ottoman–Venetian War
 1512 Abdication of Bayezid II and accession of Selim I
 1514 Battle of Çaldıran
 1516–17 Ottoman conquest of Syria, Egypt, and the Hijaz
 1517 Protestant Reformation
 1520 Death of Selim I and accession of Süleyman I
 1521 Ottoman conquest of Belgrade
 1522 Ottoman conquest of Rhodes
 1526 Battle of Mohács
 1528 Luther publishes his “On War Against the Turk”
 1529 Ottomans capture Buda; first Ottoman siege of Vienna
 1533 Hayreddin Barbarossa becomes Ottoman grand admiral
 1534 Ottoman conquest of Tabriz and Baghdad
 1535 Grand vizier İbrahim Pasha executed
 1537–39 Ottoman–Venetian War
 1538 Naval battle at Préveza
 1541 Ottomans annex Hungary
 1543 Franco-Ottoman fleet take control of Nice
 1551–52 Ottomans take control of Transylvania
 1552 Prince Mustafa executed
 1565 Ottoman siege of Malta
 1566 Death of Süleyman and accession of Selim II
 1569 French capitulations
 1570–73 Ottoman–Venetian War
 1570 Ottoman attack upon Cyprus
 1571 Ottoman conquest of Cyprus and defeat in the naval battle of Lepanto
 1574 Death of Selim II and accession of Murad III
 1578–90 War with Persia
 1580 English capitulations
 1595 Death of Murad III and accession of Mehmed III
 1603 Death of Mehmed III and accession of Ahmed I
 1603–18 War with Persia
 1606 Peace Treaty of Zsitva-Török
 1612 Dutch capitulations
 1617 Death of Ahmed I and first accession of Mustafa I
 1618 Deposition of Mustafa I and accession of Osman II
 1622 Assassination of Osman II and second accession of Mustafa I
 1623 Death of Mustafa I and accession of Murad IV

xxii Chronological table of events

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1624–39 | War with Persia; Persians take Baghdad |
| 1634 | Ottomans retake Baghdad |
| 1640 | Death of Murad IV and accession of İbrahim |
| 1645–69 | Ottoman–Venetian war over Crete |
| 1648 | Assassination of İbrahim and accession of Mehmed IV |
| 1656 | Köprülü Mehmed Pasha appointed grand vizier |

The Ottoman House through 1687 (dates are regnant)

Osman (c. 1299–1324)
 |
 Orhan (c. 1324–62)
 |
 Murad I (1362–89)
 |
 Bayezid I (1389–1402)
 |
 Ottoman Civil War (1402–13)
 |
 Mehmed I (1413–20)
 |
 Murad II (1420–44, 1446–51)
 |
 Mehmed II (1444–46, 1451–81)
 |
 Bayezid II (1481–1512)
 |
 Selim I (1512–20)
 |
 Süleyman I (1520–66)
 |
 Selim II (1566–74)
 |
 Murad III (1574–95)
 |
 Mehmed III (1595–1603)
 |
 Ahmed I (1603–17) ————— Mustafa I (1617–18, 1622–23)
 |
 Osman II (1618–22) ————— Murad IV (1623–40) ————— İbrahim (1640–48)
 |
 Mehmed IV (1648–87)