

A History of Ottoman Political Thought up to the Early Nineteenth Century

By

Marinos Sariyannis

with a chapter by

E. Ekin Tuşalp Atiyas



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

Acknowledgments IX

Note on Transliteration and Citations XI

Introduction 1

- 1 What Is Ottoman Political Thought? 5
- 2 Scope and Aims: the Quest for Innovation 8
- 3 A Note on “Modernity”—Early or Not 14
- 4 Trends and Currents: for a Thematic Description of Ottoman Political Thought 22

- 1 The Empire in the Making: Construction and Early Critiques 29
 - 1 Opposition to Imperial Policies as an Indicator of *Gazi* Political Ideas 33
 - 1.1 *Yahşi Fakih and Aşıkpaşazade* 33
 - 1.2 *Apocalyptic Literature as a Vehicle for Opposition* 39
 - 2 The Introduction of Imperial Ideals 44
 - 2.1 *Ahmedi and Other Persianate Works* 46
 - 2.2 *The Main Themes of Early Ottoman “Mirrors for Princes” Texts* 51
 - 3 Shifting Means of Legitimization 59

- 2 “Political Philosophy” and the Moralism Tradition 63
 - 1 Works of Ethico-political Philosophy: from Amasi to Kınalızade 67
 - 2 Moral Philosophy as Political Theory 75
 - 2.1 *A Political Economy* 80
 - 2.2 *The Beginning and Principles of Government* 84
 - 2.3 *The adab Element in ahlak Literature* 92
 - 3 The Afterlife of a Genre 96

- 3 The Imperial Heyday: the Formation of the Ottoman System and Reactions to It 99
 - 1 The Basis of the Ottoman Synthesis: Ebussuud and the Reception of Ibn Taymiyya 100
 - 1.1 *Dede Cöngi Efendi and the Legitimization of Kanun* 104
 - 1.2 *Between State and Legal Thought* 108
 - 2 A New Legitimacy 110

3	Reactions to the Imperial Vision	114
3.1	<i>The Ulema Opposition to the Süleymanic Synthesis</i>	118
4	The Iranian Tradition Continued: Bureaucrats, Sufis, and Scholars	124
4.1	<i>The Scribal Tradition</i>	128
4.2	<i>Celalzade and the Glorification of the Empire</i>	130
5	Lütfi Pasha and the Beginning of the Ottoman "Mirror for Princes"	137
6	As a Conclusion: the Ideas at Hand, the Forces at Work	142
4	"Mirrors for Princes": the Decline Theorists	144
1	Ottoman Authors and the "Decline" Paradigm	148
1.1	<i>In Lütfi Pasha's Footsteps</i>	149
2	Mustafa Ali and "the Politics of Cultural Despair"	159
2.1	<i>Innovations, Abuses, Disorders: the Ottoman World According to Ali</i>	162
2.2	<i>Ali as a Landmark of Ottoman Thought</i>	171
3	Ali's Contemporaries, Facing the Millenium	174
3.1	<i>Hasan Kâfi Akhisari, Üveysi</i>	180
5	The "Golden Age" as a Political Agenda: the Reform Literature	188
1	The Canonization of Decline	190
1.1	<i>"Constitutionalism" and Charismatic Rulership</i>	192
2	The Landmarks of Declinist Literature	195
2.1	<i>Murad IV's Counselors: Koçi Bey and His Circle</i>	197
2.2	<i>Decline and Redress</i>	199
2.3	<i>The Sultan and His Government</i>	209
3	Administration Manuals: an Ottoman Genre	213
3.1	<i>Sanctifying Janissary and Landholding Regulations: the Early Seventeenth Century</i>	216
4	The Afterlife of the Genre: Late Seventeenth-Century Manuals	221
4.1	<i>Parallel Texts: Eyyubî Efendi, Kavânîn-i osmanî, Dîmüşkî</i>	227
6	The "Sunna-Minded" Trend	233
	<i>E. Ekin Tuşalp Atiyas</i>	
1	The Controversy of the Century? The Kadızadelis	234
2	Beyond the Social History of the Controversy	239
2.1	<i>Münir-i Belgradi and Two Works for Two Distinct Audiences</i>	241
2.2	<i>Imam Birgivi as the "Predecessor"</i>	245

	2.3	<i>Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong</i>	248
3		Ottoman Decline à la Sunna	250
	3.1	<i>Fighting Innovation through Consultation</i>	253
	3.2	<i>Who Is to Blame? Ulema, Non-Muslims and Evil Merchants</i>	258
4		Political Practice and Political Thought	264
5		Conclusion	277
7		Khaldunist Philosophy: Innovation Justified	279
1		The Social and Ideological Struggles: between Viziers and Janissaries	282
2		Kâtib Çelebi and Ottoman Khaldunism	285
	2.1	<i>A Theory of State and Society</i>	287
	2.2	<i>Kâtib Çelebi's Other Works: World Order as Diversity</i>	295
3		Kâtib Çelebi's Immediate Influence: the Conciliation with Change	302
4		Na'ima: Stage Theory in the Service of Peace	308
	4.1	<i>Peace as a Means to Avoid Decline</i>	313
	4.2	<i>Optimism Revisited: the Ulema as Destroyers of Peace</i>	316
	4.3	<i>Social Discipline and Political Economy</i>	318
5		Peace and Change: Preparing an Ideological Environment	322
8		The Eighteenth Century: the Traditionalists	326
1		The Eighteenth Century and Its Intellectual Climate: on Ottoman "Traditionalism"	332
2		Defterdar and His Circle	335
	2.1	<i>"Mirrors for Princes" Revisited</i>	337
3		The Last of the Traditionalists	343
	3.1	<i>Traditional Forms, Reformist Content</i>	347
4		Traditional Reformers: Rivers in Confluence	361
	4.1	<i>On the Eve of Nizam-i Cedid: Vasıf, Ratib Efendi, Abdullah Halim</i>	362
	4.2	<i>Religious Zeal in the Service of Reform: Emin Behic and Ömer Faik Efendi</i>	369
	4.3	<i>An Author in the Crossroads: Şanizade's Views on History and Politics</i>	376
9		The Eighteenth Century: the Westernizers	381
1		The Precursors of <i>Nizam-i Cedid</i> : İbrahim Müteferrika and the Dialogue with the West	384
	1.1	<i>Westernization: the Early Proposals</i>	389

1.2	<i>Ahmed Resmi Efendi and the Balance of Powers</i>	400
2	Selim III and the Reform Debate	408
2.1	<i>For or against Reform? "Sekbanbaşı" and Kuşmanî's Libels</i>	414
2.2	<i>Janissary Views in the Mirror of Selimian Propaganda</i>	421
3	The Last Round: from Selim III to Mahmud II	425
4	The Tanzimat as Epilogue	428
Conclusion: towards an Ottoman Conceptual History		432
1	Politics	432
2	State	436
3	The Ottoman Political Vocabulary and Its Development	438
3.1	<i>Justice</i> (adalet)	438
3.2	<i>Law and "The Old Law"</i> (kanun, kanun-i kadim)	441
3.3	<i>Innovation</i> (bid'at)	444
3.4	<i>World Order</i> (nizam-i alem)	446
3.5	<i>Keeping One's Place</i> (hadd)	449
3.6	<i>Consultation</i> (meşveret)	452
4	Some General Remarks	453
4.1	<i>Ottoman Political Ideas in Context</i>	455
Appendix 1: Historical Timeline		461
Appendix 2: Samples of Translated Texts		480
Bibliography		515

Indices

Personal Names	573
Place Names, Subjects, Terms	582
Titles of Works	593