

Turkish Historiography in the United States

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WHEN examining academic scholarship in the United States, regardless of the field of study, one is challenged by the diversity of its scope and of the authors themselves. This is especially true in the field of Ottoman and Turkish studies. From the time Albert Lybyer completed his dissertation on Sultan Suleyman in 1909 until the present day, Turkish studies in the United States has grown immensely.¹ The number of scholars and the works which they have published has become increasingly diverse. In the following pages a survey of the growth of Ottoman and Turkish historiography and its trajectory will be presented.² One will see that just as America has always claimed to be a melting pot of people and customs, so are Ottoman and Turkish studies in this country; the arrival of scholars from all over the world have challenged colleagues and students alike to embrace the diversity of the rich Ottoman and Turkish historical legacy.

The Forefathers

The current state of Ottoman and Turkish historiography in the United States was largely shaped by the scholarship and academic advisement of a handful of scholars stretching from the first decades of the twentieth century through the 1960s. In this section a select group of these individuals and their works will be examined.

The role of Robert College in the evolution of the earliest Ottoman historians in the United States cannot be denied. Albert Lybyer, Walter Wright, and Sydney Fisher all taught at Robert College before accepting positions at universities in the United States.

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1 An excellent survey of Ottoman studies in the United States and the various doctoral degree-granting programs along with the recipients of these degrees can be found in Heath Lowry, "The State of the Field: A Retrospective Overview and Assessment of Ottoman Studies in the United States of America and Canada," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 24:1 (2000): 65-119.

2 Due to the vast number of scholars that have passed through the United States, this study will be limited to a discussion of the works by individuals who were residing in the United States at the time of the work's publication. Thus, the works of American scholars residing abroad and those of foreign scholars completed before their arrival in the United States will not be addressed. Additionally, time and space requires that not all scholarship or scholars can be covered in this article.

Additionally, Herbert Adams Gibbons held academic positions at Robert College and Tarsus American College, although he spent much of his life as a journalist. Both Lybyer and his student, Fisher, held posts at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana which was the earliest center of Ottoman studies in the U.S. Lybyer's *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* and Fisher's *The Foreign Relations of Turkey 1481-1512* both examine the Empire during its classical period relying on European sources and translations of some Ottoman texts.³ Walter Wright, who helped to establish the Ottoman studies program at Princeton in the mid-1940s, advanced the work of his American predecessors by editing and translating Ottoman texts, rather than relying on others to do so.⁴ His short tenure was followed by Lewis V. Thomas, who mentored numerous students, authoring various works on both the Ottomans and modern Turkey.

The generation of scholars who were truly responsible for transforming the study of Ottoman and Turkish history in the United States began to emerge in the late 1950s and early 1960s. American-born scholars like Roderic Davison, Stanford Shaw, and Norman Itzkowitz, together with Kemal Karpat, originally from Romania, completed their studies in the United States, where they stayed and took up academic positions.

A product of Harvard, Roderic Davison published widely on the Ottomans in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* was a major breakthrough on the nineteenth-century Ottoman history published in English.⁵ Unlike much of the existing literature in English, Davison approached the subject of the Tanzimat from a relatively unique perspective, i.e., as a historian who knew Turkish. Although the work still relied heavily on European sources, and did not use Ottoman archival material, he incorporated the works of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha as well as many other important Ottoman writers and the scholarship of his Turkish colleagues. This study was a major step forward for English-based scholarship on the nineteenth century, and it served as a foundation for many future historians.

One of the most prolific American Ottomanists was Stanford J. Shaw. His impressive list of publications is only matched by the numerous students he mentored at Harvard, the University of California at Los Angeles, and Bilkent. His research benefited from extensive use of documents available at the Ottoman archives in Istanbul. In the 1980s, together with Halil İnalcik and Kemal Karpat, Shaw encouraged the Turkish government to expand access to the archives by hiring additional staff to catalog the massive collection of documents.

The early works of Shaw included *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*; *Ottoman Egypt in the Eighteenth Century: The Nizamname-i Misir of Cezzar Ahmed Pasha*; *Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution*; and *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt, 1005/06-1596/97*, in addi-

3 A. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913); S. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey 1481-1512* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948).

4 W. Wright, *Ottoman Statecraft: The Book of Counsel for Vezirs and Governors (Nasaih ül-vüzerâ vel-ümera of Sari Mehmed Pasha, the Defterdar* (New York: Oxford University, 1935).

5 R. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

tion to numerous articles.⁶ His early works on Ottoman Egypt were exhaustive studies of available materials in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul and Cairo, as well as the chronicles and memoirs from the time period. Although numerous scholars have advanced our knowledge of Ottoman Egypt over the decades, Shaw's studies have stood the test of time.

These works were followed by an exceptional study of the reign of Sultan Selim III, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*.⁷ This book, published in 1971, still stands as the authoritative account of that time period. Although it would benefit from numerous archival documents that were not available to Shaw, *Between Old and New* examined the failed reform attempts of Selim in the context of the tumultuous events surrounding his reign. He concluded that Selim had noble intentions, but he just did not have the courage or militant nature of someone like Mahmud II to carry out properly these much needed reforms. Additionally, Shaw emphasized the importance of the *ayan* on both domestic and foreign policy; an issue that subsequent historians have begun to address.

Amongst his later works, Stanford Shaw was most known for his two volume history of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey.⁸ These two works received a mixed reception upon publication. On one hand, the two volumes offered readers, for the first time in English, a very detailed account of Ottoman and modern Turkish history. These texts, until the recent publication of numerous textbooks on the Ottoman Empire, continued to be assigned in colleges across the United States. However, these works were subject to much criticism. Shaw (and Ezel Kural Shaw, the co-author of the second volume) was accused of glossing over and oversimplifying parts of Ottoman history, including the conquest of Constantinople and the Armenian Question among other areas. Ultimately, these two volumes spurred several historians to surpass the standard they had set.

Stanford Shaw's research interests became piqued in the late eighties and early nineties by the topic of Jews in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. He published two books, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* and *Turkey and the Holocaust: Turkey's Role in Rescuing Turkish and European Jewry from Nazi Persecution, 1933-1945*,⁹ at the same time Avgidor Levy (*The Sephardim in the*

6 S. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962); *idem*, ed. and trans., *Ottoman Egypt in the Eighteenth Century: The Nizamname-i Misir of Cezzar Ahmed Pasha* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962); *idem*, *Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1964); *idem*, *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt, 1005-1006/1596-1597* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968).

7 S. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

8 S. Shaw and E. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976-77).

9 S. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (New York: New York University Press, 1991); *idem*, *Turkey and the Holocaust: Turkey's Role in Rescuing Turkish and European Jewry from Nazi Persecution, 1933-1945* (New York: New York University Press, 1993); A. Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992); A. Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

Ottoman Empire) and Aron Rodrigue (*French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925*) came out with their studies on various aspects of Ottoman Jewish history. All of these works, nearly coinciding with the five-hundredth anniversary of the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, greatly advanced the notion of the Ottoman Empire as a diverse, and rather inclusive empire, when compared with their western European contemporaries.

Norman Itzkowitz, the successor of Lewis V. Thomas at Princeton University, mentored many of the leading Ottomanists in the United States over five decades.¹⁰ His first major article published in 1962, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," directly challenged the work of some of the stalwarts of Ottoman studies in English, Lybyer, Gibb and Bowen. He condemned the linguistic inadequacies of these historians, who, in his assessment, believed that "anything worth knowing could be found in European sources."¹¹ Zachary Lockman has viewed Itzkowitz as the first American critic of Orientalism.¹²

Throughout his career he has edited and collaborated with others on various translations, such as *A Study of Naima*, which was initiated by his predecessor Lewis Thomas.¹³ His *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* was an early attempt by Ottomanists to produce a concise history of the Empire for the general public.¹⁴ In just over one hundred pages he addresses not only Ottoman political history, but its institutional history, as well as how the Ottomans viewed themselves. The brevity of the work meant that he was not able to go beyond official sources. However, it was an admirable work, which introduced many English speakers to the Ottoman state for the first time.

Later in his career, Itzkowitz developed an interest in the topic of psychobiography. His collaboration with Vamik Volkan produced several volumes, most notably, *The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography*.¹⁵ This work, which required a very detailed study of Atatürk's formative years and personal life, gave a new, human dimension to this larger than life individual. In addition to being an important historic work, many scholars in the field of psychoanalysis embraced it as well.

Ottoman and Turkish historiography in the United States has been propelled as much by foreign-born scholars as it has by native born ones. Among the first Turkish scholars to receive a permanent teaching position in the United States was Kemal H. Karpat (New York University and University of Wisconsin-Madison).¹⁶ A native of

10 A Festschrift with contributions by a number of his students was produced in his honor, see *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13:1-2 (2007). In my discussion of Itzkowitz, I especially benefited from Baki Tezcan, "Norman Itzkowitz as a Historian and a Mentor," vii-xii.

11 N. Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962): 77.

12 Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 149-50.

13 Lewis Thomas and Norman Itzkowitz, *A Study of Naima* (New York: New York University, 1972).

14 N. Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

15 N. Itzkowitz and Vamik Volkan, *The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

16 For a bibliographic essay of the works of Karpat, see Kaan Durukan, "A Note on Kemal Haşim Karpat's Books and Articles," in K. Durukan, R. Zens and Ş. Zorlu-Durukan, eds., *Hoca, 'Allame, Puits de Science: Essays in Honor of Kemal H. Karpat* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2010).

Romania, Karpát moved to Turkey and then to the United States to work at the United Nations and to conduct graduate work at New York University. His initial book was an examination of the modern Turkish political system. In *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System*, Karpát rejected the idea that modern Turkey was a completely new entity that had no social, economic, political and cultural ties to the late Ottoman state; an idea that he would continually revisit throughout his scholarship. Additionally, this work was the first truly historic study of the early Republic in any Western language.¹⁷

Although his early scholarship focused on the Republican period, Karpát constantly looked back to the Ottoman period as a frame of reference. By 1970, his work concentrated mainly, although not exclusively, on the Ottoman state. One of his lesser known works, *Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State*, examined the roots of nationalism in the Ottoman state. What is very noteworthy about this work is that it predates by a decade the great studies of nationalism.¹⁸

The diverse interests of Kemal Karpát extended to the subject of demography as seen in his *The Geceköndü: Rural Migration and Urbanization and Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*. His interest in these subjects has not waned, since he is presently completing a work on migration issues involving both the Ottoman state and modern Turkey.¹⁹

His *Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, which appeared in 2001, was the culmination of over two decades of research on the late Ottoman period. This examination of the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II and the changing role of Islam provided not only an instructive account of the late Ottoman state and the impact of the Ottomans on the larger Islamic world, but also showed how the foundation of the early Republic was set in the various reforms and actions of Abdulhamid.²⁰

Halil İnalcık, who only spent a portion of his long academic career in the United States at the University of Chicago, made an enormous impact on the field of Ottoman studies in this country. While he mentored more than a dozen students through their doctoral studies at Chicago and assisted numerous students at Princeton, İnalcık was engaged in continuous research. Although he did not publish many monographs, his numerous articles published during his period in the United States are still foundational. To give but two examples of his work, with *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, İnalcık created the best survey of early Ottoman institutional, economic, and social history. This work provided a very significant counter to the existing

17 K. Karpát, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959).

18 K. Karpát, *Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State* (Princeton: Center for International Studies, 1973).

19 K. Karpát, *The Geceköndü: Rural Migration and Urbanization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); *idem*, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

20 K. Karpát, *Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

European based accounts of the Ottoman Empire during the classical age. In “The Hub of the City: The Bedestan of Istanbul,” he provides a well documented study of the trade center of the Ottoman capital. Despite the fact that this article is over thirty years old, it is still frequently assigned in Ottoman history classes due its unsurpassed depiction of Istanbul’s mercantile center. His numerous publications span the entirety of the Empire in terms of time and space.²¹

Although most of his publications dealing with the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic pre-dated his arrival at Princeton University in 1974, Bernard Lewis, must be included as both an important scholar as well as mentor of numerous individuals included in this study. His early work, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, set the standard for studies on the late imperial and early Republican periods; while a later edited volume, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, has served as an indispensable collection of thirty-one articles dealing with the *millet* system.²²

The Next Generation

The eighties were a period of great growth in Ottoman and Turkish studies in the U.S. The number of Ph.D. recipients had increased as well as the number of academic positions available at colleges and universities across the country. The growing interest in the Middle East was due namely to the Iranian hostage crisis that took most Americans by surprise. After 1979, many schools began to offer courses on the Middle East for the first time, creating job opportunities for scholars and introducing students to a little known area of the world. Among the fields to benefit was that of Ottoman and Turkish studies.

A student of Stanford Shaw at Harvard, Carter V. Findley has published widely on Ottoman administrative reform. His first book, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, traced the transformation of the offices under the control of the Grand Vezir into separate ministries, and, hence, into a modern bureaucracy. He followed with *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*, which placed the Ottoman bureaucracy in a comparative framework. This work showed that the Ottoman officials were shaped by their environment and culture, and like their counterparts in the governments of the Great Powers, they were driven by pragmatism and, ultimately, pushed for institutional reforms to strengthen the state.²³

Findley, Distinguished Professor of History at the Ohio State University, has continued to publish a great deal on the Ottoman Empire. However, his growing interest in world history can be seen on his recent book entitled *The Turks in World History*. In

21 H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire; The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973); *idem*, “The Hub of the City: The Bedestan of Istanbul,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1:1 (1979-80): 1-17.

22 B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961); B. Lewis and B. Braude, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* 2 vols. (London: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982).

23 C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); *idem*, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

this work he follows the history of the Turks from their pre-Islamic period through the development of Turkish nation-states. He emphasized that the Turks were not just peripheral players in world history, but rather played an active role in helping to shape world history. Recently, Findley completed a work, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007*, which examined the late Ottoman state and the issues of modernity and nationalism and their place in modern Turkey.²⁴

When Shaw moved to the University of California, Los Angeles in 1968, he built one of the country's great programs in Turkish studies. One of his first graduates was Ronald Jennings, whose most influential work involved Anatolian *kadı* registers. Through his study of these important sources, he became one of the first Ottoman historians to give a voice to women in the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, he wrote widely on Muslim-Christian relations in the empire, as in his *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640*.²⁵

Amongst the other early students of Shaw at UCLA were Donald Quataert, Heath Lowry, and Justin McCarthy. Professor Quataert, a Distinguished Professor of History at Binghamton University, has been a pioneer of Ottoman labor and consumption history. His initial work, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908*, presented five case studies examining European companies operating in the Empire and their impact on the local population. In *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, the myth that the Ottoman state had no real industrial sector was destroyed. Quataert provided ample evidence of the significance of Ottoman manufacturing to the domestic economy. As he challenged Ottomanists in his first monograph to examine literature outside one's own field, *Ottoman Manufacturing* became the non-Ottomanist's avenue to understanding nineteenth-century Ottoman economic history. In *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: the Zonguldak Coalfield, 1822-1920*, he provided a very detailed study of Ottoman laborers. The fascinating narrative story that was made possible due to the availability of rich source material has made this work an essential part of the historiography of Ottoman social history.²⁶

In addition to his many works on Ottoman economic and social history, Quataert produced a thorough, but concise history of the late Ottoman state. *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922* was an excellent treatment of the late Ottoman period. Showing that the Empire played an integral role in European history, the book did not dwell on Ottoman political history, but provided an important discussion of late Ottoman society, a much neglected topic in general histories of the Empire.²⁷

24 C.V. Findley, *The Turks in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); *idem*, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007* (New Haven: Yale University Press).

25 See, Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17:2 (1975): 53-114; *idem*, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640* (New York: New York University Press, 1993).

26 D. Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908* (New York: New York University Press, 1983); *idem*, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); *idem*, *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: the Zonguldak Coalfield, 1822-1920* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006).

27 D. Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Together with Quataert, Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj has built at Binghamton University one of the top Ottoman studies programs in the United States. Although he has not produced a large number of monographs, his two books and numerous articles have had a sizeable impact on the field of Ottoman studies. His *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* was a critique of scholars of the late Ottoman period for their presentation of the Empire as static. For Abou-El-Haj the key word in studying Ottoman history was change. He called for a class analysis of the Empire. Through the examination of *nasihat* literature as well as other materials he traced the increase in social mobility during the late seventeenth century, leading to a transformation of Ottoman society and politics.²⁸

Another student of Shaw, Justin McCarthy (University of Louisville) has been a leader in the field of Ottoman demography. His numerous publications on the Ottoman population and the impact of various conflicts on migration within the Empire and immigration from former Ottoman lands have been both extremely useful as well as subject to criticism. His initial book, *The Arab World, Turkey and the Balkans (1878-1914)*, was intended to "present Ottoman statistics as the Ottomans published them."²⁹ This handbook presented data from various Ottoman sources on population numbers, administrative units, education, manufacturing and trade to name a few. The, oftentimes, raw data presented by McCarthy provided numerous scholars with a valuable foundation upon which to build later monographs. In his following study, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire*, he rejected European claims of inadequacies in Ottoman record-keeping and presented population numbers based on data from Ottoman censuses and provincial yearbooks, ignoring the commonly used European estimates.³⁰

McCarthy's future works relied heavily on the demographic data that he had become known for; however, they also were much more political in nature. *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922* and *The Armenian Rebellion at Van* provide new approaches to the previously understood history of the periods discussed. Both works emphasized that the Turks, or Muslims, in general, were often victims, rather than the aggressors in the conflicts in question. A similar theme can be found in his latest work, *The Turk in America: The Creation of an Enduring Prejudice* which examines the portrayal and treatment of Turks over the last one hundred and fifty years in the United States.³¹ McCarthy's championing of the "Turkish victim" and his minimizing of atrocities committed by the Ottomans has made him the subject of much criticism.

28 Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

29 J. McCarthy, *The Arab World, Turkey and the Balkans (1878-1914): A Handbook for Historical Statistics* (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1982), 5.

30 J. McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1983).

31 J. McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995); *idem*, *The Armenian Rebellion at Van* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2006); *idem*, *The Turk in America: The Creation of an Enduring Prejudice* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, forthcoming).

Foundations of the Empire

The subject of the origins of the Ottoman state has been the focus of numerous Ottomanists throughout the twentieth century. Within the United States three scholars have examined this issue closely: Rudi Lindner, Cemal Kafadar, and Heath Lowry. The first of these, Rudi Lindner (University of Michigan) launched a major assault on Wittek's *gaza* thesis in his *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. Here he revived the tribal nature of the early Ottomans as a group of pastoral nomads who were not driven by religious zeal. The heterodox religious approach of the Ottomans allowed for inclusivity with various Christians of Anatolia. Ultimately, the settlement of the Ottomans and their sedentarization of the remaining nomads laid the foundation for the future empire. He followed his original study with *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory* which examined the early years of the Ottoman state through a close study of Byzantine chronicles, numismatic evidence, and numerous travelers' account.³²

Heath Lowry, Atatürk Professor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies at Princeton University, has conducted significant research on the early Ottoman state. Some of his works include: *Trabzon Şehrinin İslâmlaşma ve Türkleşmesi, 1461-1583*; *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos*; *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*; *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350–1550: Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*; *In the Footsteps of the Ottomans: A Search for Sacred Spaces & Architectural Monuments in Northern Greece*. Most of these works have been published with smaller publishing houses and have not been widely distributed. This is rather unfortunate, since his use of *tahrir defters* and other Ottoman sources shed important light on his areas of research. His most recent works have used visible remains to fill the gaps left by the lack of written sources.³³

Lowry's most widely circulated book, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, refuted the "gaza thesis" put forth by Paul Wittek, and offered an alternative theory on the origins of the Ottoman state. He described a "predatory confederacy" which was driven by the acquisition of loot, rather than religious zeal, and resulted in a communion of Muslim and Christian soldiers who helped build the early Ottoman state. This work provided the basis for even greater debate on the origins of the Empire.³⁴

In *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Cemal Kafadar (Vehbi Koç Professor of Turkish Studies, Harvard University) examined the various arguments regarding the origins of the Ottoman state. Rather than providing a new thesis on the origins, he acted as a facilitator for the debate. However, in the book one saw that a

32 R. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1983); *idem*, *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

33 H. Lowry, *Trabzon Şehrinin İslâmlaşma ve Türkleşmesi, 1461-1583* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 1981); *idem*, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos* (Istanbul: Eren, 2002); *idem*, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350–1550: Conquest, Settlement and Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2008); *idem*, *In the Footsteps of the Ottomans: A Search for Sacred Spaces and Architectural Monuments in Northern Greece* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2009).

34 H. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).

tip of the hat was given to a combination of the existing theories, that through a desire for booty and devotion to religion the Ottomans laid the foundation of their future empire.³⁵

Istanbul and the Central Government

In this section, the works of scholars dealing with the city of Istanbul as well as the various functioning of the central government will be addressed. The first topic to be discussed is the city itself as analyzed by various historians and art historians. The most prolific scholar on the physical make-up of the city is Gülru Necipoğlu (Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Art, Harvard University). Her numerous works have examined Topkapı Palace and the creations of Sinan, among numerous other topics. Her initial book, *Architecture, Ceremonial Power: The Topkapı Palace*, has become the standard text on the palace. She provided immense details on the center of Ottoman power, which she obtained through a very close reading of all available documentary records on the palace. In her most recent work, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Necipoğlu placed Sinan's works historically and removed them from nationalist and Orientalist paradigms. Just as with her study of Topkapı, she utilized all available documentary material on Sinan and his works.³⁶

An examination of the capital city in the eighteenth century is the subject of Shirine Hamadeh's *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*. Hamadeh (Rice University) examined the wonderful architectural boom of the Tulip Period, basing much of her study on chronicles, travelers' accounts, and poetry among other sources. In this work she attacked the prevalent understanding that the construction of this period was largely due to the sultan and members of his court. Rather she showed that many wealthy non-elites funded some of the most magnificent structures and public spaces such as gardens and parks. The rise of an urban middle class saw Istanbul transform according to their vision, changing the city immensely.³⁷

Taking a different approach from Hamadeh, Fariba Zarinebaf (University of California, Riverside) has written about the darker side of Istanbul, namely its crime. In *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul, 1700-1800*, she gives voice to those residents of the city associated with crime and extreme poverty.³⁸

Zeynep Çelik, the author of numerous studies, presented a picture of the changing nature of Istanbul in the nineteenth century in *The Remaking of Istanbul*. This work was mainly concerned with the city's layout, modes of transportation and the style of buildings, which transformed the city that had been discussed by Necipoğlu and Hamadeh.³⁹

35 C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

36 G. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial Power: The Topkapı Palace* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991); *idem*, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

37 S. Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

38 F. Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul, 1700-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming 2010).

39 Z. Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

Found within the beautiful confines of the city were the individuals responsible for the functioning of much of the Empire. The following works discuss a variety of topics dealing with the activities of the central government. Probably the most significant area of study among scholars of the Ottoman state in the United States deals with the various topics related to the Ottoman central government and its various administrative, economic, religious, military and cultural policies. In this section, a variety of scholars with rather different areas of interest will be discussed.

The economic policies of the Ottoman state shifted over time; however, the influence of the central government over revenue raising never waned. In *Revenue Raising and Legitimacy*, Linda Darling (University of Arizona) has produced an economic analysis of the immediate post-classical Ottoman period, 1560-1660. She provided a detailed description of the various, changing means with which the Ottoman state raised revenue, including the *iltizam*. This work has become central to all who study the post-classical period, especially the rise of the *ayan*. In addition to this work, Darling has published numerous articles on the issue of legitimacy and the circle of justice within the Ottoman Empire as well as other Islamic states. She is presently preparing a monograph entitled *Justice and Power in the Middle East*, which looks closely at the relationship between justice and legitimacy in Ottoman politics.⁴⁰

Another scholar of Ottoman economic history is Reşat Kasaba (University of Washington). In his *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century*, Kasaba, a student of Immanuel Wallerstein, examined whether the Empire ever could become what Wallerstein called a core state with a "civil society." The simple answer to this question was yes, but it was only during the Tanzimat, and this movement from a peripheral state to a core state was halted by the bureaucratic centralism of Sultan Abdulhamid II, which isolated non-Muslims and led to the "policies of Natural enclosure between 1908 and 1923."⁴¹ In his latest book, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees*, Kasaba examined the role of migration in Ottoman history. By studying the economic and political power exercised by various migrant and indigenous groups, he showed how the central government saw the need to control the nomads as well as migration, a process which shaped the future Republic of Turkey.⁴²

The politics surrounding the person of the sultan was presented in *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* by Gabriel Piterberg (University of California, Los Angeles). The work, which was a historiographical essay, examined four narrative accounts of the murder of Sultan Osman II. In addition to discussing this important issue in Ottoman history, it is a major examination of Ottoman historiography on the period.⁴³

40 L. Darling, *Revenue Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); *idem*, *Justice and Power in the Middle East* (Austin: University of Texas Press, forthcoming).

41 R. Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 112.

42 R. Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

43 G. Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

In his book and various articles dealing with the same time period as Piterberg's study, Baki Tezcan (University of California, Davis) reconceptualized the post-classical period. His argument was presented clearly in *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformations in the Early Modern World*. He dubbed the period 1580 to 1826 the "Second Empire," due to the massive transformation that the state had gone through as a result of various political, economic, military and social changes. This reconceptualization will result undoubtedly in much discussion.⁴⁴

The period of change discussed by Tezcan was the topic of Karen Barkey's first book, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Barkey (Columbia University) argued that the unrest plaguing the Anatolian countryside during the Celali uprisings and afterwards was caused by landless peasants rather than anti-state rebels, and differed from the class-based European peasant uprisings. Such bandit activities were defused ultimately due to the state's use of "co-optation, incorporation, and bargaining." Her sociological approach provided a useful comparative approach for historians. However, her minimal use of primary source material could be viewed as problematic. This same argument can be made of her recent book, *Empire of Difference*, which analyzed the Ottoman Empire in regards to institutions and policies of other empires, namely, the Roman (including the Byzantine), Habsburg and Russian. In this work she asks what the key to Ottoman longevity was. For one, she answered, tolerance, and as the Empire politically and militarily weakened, so eroded its tolerance. The *Empire of Difference*, although it does have some problems such as an oversimplification of the role of Islam among other issues, raised very important concepts for consideration, and may become one of the main texts that non-Ottomanists will consult regarding the Empire.⁴⁵

The changing period of the seventeenth century was the setting for Marc Baer's recent book, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, the winner of the Albert Hourani Book Prize in 2008. In this work, Baer (University of California, Irvine) examined the proselytizers, namely Sultan Mehmed IV, rather than those who converted to Islam. The Sultan was portrayed as a man on a mission, literally, to rededicate himself and the Empire to Islam. As a result one must rethink the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, in addition to the issue of tolerance raised in Karen Barkey's recent work.

Baer's continued research on religion within the Ottoman Empire has led to the publication of *The Dönme: Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries, and Secular Turks*. Here he wrote about Rabbi Shabbatai Tzevi and his Jewish followers, who converted to Islam in the seventeenth century. However, the most compelling part of this work was the story of the Dönmes in the subsequent centuries, where they emerge as an elite in Salonican society and played an important role in the events of 1908, as well as a serious study of their spirituality.⁴⁶

44 B. Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformations in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

45 K. Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); *idem*, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

46 M. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); *idem*, *The Dönme: Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries, and Secular Turks* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

Christine Philliou (Columbia University) dealt with another minority group, although a very influential one, the Phanariots. In her soon to be released book, *Biography of an Empire: Practicing Ottoman Governance in the Age of Revolutions*, she examined imperial governance in the early nineteenth century through a study of the Phanariot network.⁴⁷

The field of Ottoman foreign policy with its immediate neighbors as well as with those located further has received a good deal of attention by scholars in the United States. Palmira Brummett (University of Tennessee) produced a study on the sixteenth-century struggles in the Mediterranean. *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* chronicled the Ottoman economic expansion in the Aegean, Mediterranean and Red Sea areas together with its ongoing conflicts with Venice, the Mamluks and Safavids. As she showed, these two issues were interrelated; Ottoman economic expansion led to political conflicts, and political conflicts led to economic interests in newly acquired areas.⁴⁸

A similar study was recently published by Giancarlo Casale (University of Minnesota), however, his interests lay mainly in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean trade. In *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, Casale examined the global struggle that developed between the Ottomans and the Portuguese over the control of lucrative trade routes. He dispelled the long held belief that the Ottomans were only bystanders as the European states established global empires and trade networks. Not only were the Ottomans involved, they actually bested the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean region.⁴⁹

Another young scholar dealing with Ottoman foreign policy is Sabri Ateş (Southern Methodist University) who works on Ottoman-Qajar relations. In his examination of the borderlands of the Ottoman and Qajar states, he discussed the impact of these two states' attempt to demarcate a border on the Kurdish principalities. Additionally, he moved the understanding of Ottoman-Iranian relations beyond a mere struggle between Sunnis and Shiites to a fuller relationship between two neighboring, yet very independent states.⁵⁰

Fatma Müge Göçek (University of Michigan) discussed in her first book, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, the initial Ottoman embassy to France. The most enlightening aspect of the work was her discussion of the social and cultural impact of this diplomatic mission on Istanbul itself. Her following book, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, argued that the emergence of a Westernized middle class led to the demise of the state. The "destructive" role played by the new bourgeoisie was due to their loyalties to the *vatan* and liberal ideals, rather than to the sultan. More recently, Göçek has been involved in studying nationalism and identity and the Armenian question.⁵¹

47 C. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Practicing Ottoman Governance in the Age of Revolutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).

48 P. Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

49 G. Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

50 S. Ateş, "Empires at the Margins: Towards a History of the Ottoman-Iranian Borderland and Borderland Peoples, 1843-1881," (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2006).

51 F. Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); *idem*, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire* (New York: Oxford

Dealing with a long-distant relationship, Cemil Aydın (George Mason University) has written on Japan and the parallels between its interaction with the West and the Ottoman interaction with the West. He examined whether anti-Westernism in Asia was due to a nativist reaction to Western modernity or a dissatisfaction with the international order.⁵²

The last twenty years of the Ottoman Empire and the transition to Republic has received considerable attention from scholars in the United States, beginning with the work of Feroz Ahmad and continuing on with Şükrü Hanioglu, and more recently Holly Shissler, Mustafa Aksakal and Howard Eissenstat. Ahmad (University of Massachusetts, Boston/Yeditepe University) wrote the first scholarly book in English dedicated to the Young Turks. *The Young Turks*, which was published in 1969, emphasized that the Committee of Union and Progress was not a monolith and that after 1909 it did not operate as a single-party dictatorship. His well-documented discussion of these issues made this the standard text on the Young Turks for many years. However, the rather brief nature of the book, only 205 pages, left many holes in the story.⁵³ These holes were to be filled by the meticulous research of Şükrü Hanioglu.

Hanioglu (Princeton University) has published two lengthy texts on the Young Turks. The first, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, presented a detailed account of the emergence of the Committee of Union and Progress from its earliest days in 1889 until 1902. The second volume, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, continued the tale of the rise of the CUP. In these works Hanioglu has incorporated all available resources, including the private papers of the CUP leaders, from over a dozen different countries. These studies have immeasurable empirical value; however, the amount of detail with which they are filled tends to overwhelm non-specialists. Another project on which Hanioglu has worked is a multi-volume collection of articles covering the entire empire. With most of its focus after 1789, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Aftermath: The Emergence of the Modern Middle East and Balkans* looks to become the general text on late Ottoman history.⁵⁴

Mustafa Aksakal (American University) discussed the end of the Young Turks and the road to World War I in *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914*. The book examined why the Ottomans, despite the devastation already witnessed in Western Europe, entered the war and why they did so on the side of the Central Powers. Aksakal argued that the aggressive expansionism of the Great Powers forced the Ottomans down this road. From an Ottomanist perspective this book was very welcome, since it attacked the frequently repeated accounts that the Ottoman leadership was ignorant of world affairs or were bullied into joining an alliance with Germany.⁵⁵

University Press, 1996); F. Göçek, Ronald Suny and Norman Neimark, eds., *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

52 C. Aydın, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

53 F. Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

54 Ş. Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); *idem*, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001); *idem*, ed., *The Ottoman Empire and Its Aftermath: The Emergence of the Modern Middle East and Balkans* (New York: Routledge, forthcoming).

55 M. Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Taner Akçam (Clark University) has spent the last twenty years writing extensively on the Armenian Question. His numerous books, including *From Empire to Republic* and *A Shameful Act*, have led to more discussion of this important issue within Turkey, as will his forthcoming work on the protocols of the Istanbul Military Tribunals.⁵⁶

In an account that straddles the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic of Turkey, Howard Eissenstat (St. Lawrence University) has examined very skillfully the search for a Turkish identity. He argued that Turkish nationalism has been an evolving ideology since the nineteenth century and led to a definition, although not a definitive one, of Turkishness. His ongoing research is sure to result in an important work.⁵⁷

Like Eissenstat, Holly Shissler's research has stretched across the divide of World War I from the Empire to the Republic. In her first book, Shissler (University of Chicago) chronicled the life of Ahmet Ağaoğlu, the influential Azeri Turkist intellectual. Ağaoğlu, Shissler argues, had as his ultimate goal to create "a liberal, civil society populated by 'whole persons'."⁵⁸ This was possible, since Ağaoğlu believed that Islamic society, not Islam, could change and become Western. Apart from providing a detailed account of Ağaoğlu's life and thoughts, Shissler emphasized the important role played by the Muslim émigré community in the developing Turkish nationalism within the Empire and the Republic. Shissler's subsequent research has examined women in the early Republic.

Ottoman Intellectual History

In the realm of Ottoman intellectual history, probably the most well known scholar in the United States is Cornell Fleischer (Kanuni Süleyman Professor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies, University of Chicago). His well received monograph, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*, went beyond being a mere biography of this interesting intellectual and bureaucrat, and examined how he and others like him saw the Ottoman Empire in a state of decline. The emphasis placed by Mustafa Ali on the issue of decline makes the reader evaluate whether there was any basis for his views. Fleischer's careful reading of the many writings of Mustafa Ali resulted in an invaluable discussion of the late-sixteenth century with special attention to the Ottoman-Islamic world.⁵⁹ Presently, Fleischer is preparing a major work on Sultan Süleyman.

Nabil al-Tikriti (University of Mary Washington) and Ibrahim Kaya Şahin (Tulane University), recent students of Cornell Fleischer, are both working on earlier Ottoman

56 T. Akçam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide* (London: Zed Books, 2004); *idem*, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and Turkish Responsibility* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006); T. Akçam and Vahakn Dadrian, *The Protocols of the Istanbul Military Tribunals on the Investigation of the Armenian Genocide* (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, forthcoming).

57 H. Eissenstat, "The Limits of Imagination: Debating the Nation and Constructing the State in Early Turkish Nationalism," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2007).

58 A.H. Shissler, *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the New Turkey* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 209.

59 C. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

intellectuals, Şehzade Korkud and Celalzade Mustafa, respectively. Al-Tikriti has examined the writings of this rather neglected member of the imperial family. Through the study of Şehzade Korkud one can see the ongoing debate within the Empire over Islamic identity and the government's involvement in religious practice. In Şahin's work he outlined the elites' understanding of the sultanate as a dispenser of justice and a protector of Sunni Islam, which were formed in the various conflicts with the Safavids and Habsburgs.⁶⁰

An excellent but often underutilized work on the Ottoman intellectual elite is Madeline Zilfi's *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema, 1600-1800*. In this work Zilfi (University of Maryland) discussed how the *ulema* was corrupted by the state assuming control over them through bureaucratization.⁶¹ Additionally, the works of Gottfried Hagen (University of Michigan) in both English and German, generally found in edited collections which are not easily accessible, include numerous articles on notable figures such as Katib Çelebi and the use of Islam in state decision-making. More recently he is focused on the Ottoman uses of Islam and myths related to the Prophet Muhammad.

Doug Howard (Calvin College), who has dedicated himself to writing general histories of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, has also been engaged in a long-term project of translating and analyzing Ayn Ali's seventeenth-century Ottoman mirror for princes.⁶²

One young scholar who is involved in an almost unknown field of Ottoman studies is Sam White (Oberlin College). His research explored Ottoman environmental history during the Little Ice Age of the 1590s. This period of unprecedented cold led to famine and disease, and, ultimately, played a major role in the outbreak of the Celali Uprisings.⁶³

Ottoman literature

Robert Dankoff, a specialist on Ottoman linguistics and literature at the University of Chicago has spent much of his academic life studying the writings of Evliya Çelebi. His publications on the life and writings of the famous Ottoman traveler are invaluable to the field of Ottoman studies. From his editing of the nine volume *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* to his critical study of the traveler himself in *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*, Dankoff has provided a view of the Ottoman Empire during Evliya's lifetime. Dankoff's works are essential to all who deal with the seventeenth century.⁶⁴

60 N. al-Tikriti, "The Hajj as Justifiable Self-Exile: Şehzade Korkud's *Wasilat al-ahbab* (915-916/1509-1510)," *al-Masaq* 17:1 (2005): 125-46; I. Şahin, "In the Service of the Ottoman Empire: Celalzade Mustafa (ca. 1490-1567), Bureaucrat and Historian," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007).

61 M. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988).

62 D. Howard, *The History of Turkey* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001); *idem*, *Empire of the Borderlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming); *idem*, "Genre and Myth in Ottoman Advice for Kings Literature," in Daniel Goffman and Virginia Aksan, eds., *The Early Modern Ottoman: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 137-66.

63 S. White, "Ecology, Climate, and Crisis in the Ottoman Near East," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2008).

64 R. Dankoff, et al. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* 9 vols. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999-2006); R. Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

Another Ottoman literary scholar, Walter Andrews (University of Washington), has provided an invaluable service to the English-speaking world by translating and analyzing numerous volumes of Ottoman poetry. From his *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* to *An Anthology of Ottoman Lyrics* (with Mehmet Kalpaklı and Najaat Black) speakers of English were introduced to the beauty of Ottoman poetry in flowing English verse. Additionally Andrews teamed with Kalpaklı to write *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* which was a fascinating analysis of gender, sex and pleasure in Ottoman society. Together with the equally captivating studies by Kemal Silay (*Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*) and Dror Ze'evi (*Producing Desire*), Andrews and Kalpaklı have provided readers with insight into the long ignored realm of Ottoman sexuality, a subject which needed to be reclaimed from European writers and artists, who had fancifully rendered Ottoman sexuality for much of the Ottoman period.⁶⁵

Women in the Empire and Turkey

The study of women in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey is a relatively new field of study in comparison to some of the other topics discussed thus far. However the pioneering work of Leslie Peirce, along with several others in the United States and elsewhere, has provided a very rich source of literature on the subject and has been instrumental in tremendous growth in this area of Ottoman and Turkish studies. Peirce (New York University) completed her first work, *The Imperial Harem*, in 1993. This book has become a staple for courses dealing with both the Ottoman Empire and the women in the Middle East. By examining the "sultanate of women" from the late-sixteenth to the late-seventeenth century, she showed both the immense power and the influence wielded by various women in the harem as well as the transformation of the Empire into a bureaucratic state. Through an examination of the multi-layered imperial harem, the complex nature of the Ottoman political structure and its process of decision-making were presented, as was the central role played by royal women within it.⁶⁶

In *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, Peirce continued her study of Ottoman women, but rather than focusing on the elite in Istanbul, she turned her attention to a diverse group of women in provincial Aintab in the sixteenth century. The book went beyond a mere examination of women and law, and told the story of the numerous women who participated in these court proceedings as well as giving a micro-history of Aintab. In order to do this, the author took some informative guesses to fill the gap in the court records. Her case studies of three women gave readers a rare view of the life of women in a sixteenth-century provincial setting.⁶⁷

65 W. Andrews, *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976); W. Andrews, et al. *An Anthology of Ottoman Lyrics* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997); W. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Kemal Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

66 L. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

67 L. Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

A few other scholars who have focused considerable attention on women in the Empire are Judith Tucker, Madeline Zilfi, Elizabeth Frierson, and Pelin Başçı. Tucker (Georgetown University) has concentrated on the Arab provinces in her numerous works, including *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* and *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*. Zilfi, whose earliest work was discussed above, has recently published a good deal on women and gender in the Empire. Elizabeth Frierson (University of Cincinnati) has made significant contributions to the scholarship on Ottoman women through her numerous articles. Among her writings are several works which discussed late-Ottoman women and identity through an examination of various Ottoman publications and their consumption habits. The works of Pelin Başçı (Portland State University) built on some of Frierson's research on the portrayal of late-Ottoman women in women's journals.⁶⁸

Anatolia

The region of Anatolia which was central to the Ottoman state, and has received an immense amount of attention by scholars in Turkey, has not been so central to the research of scholars in the United States. One of those who examined the region is William Griswold, retired from Colorado State University, who wrote his classic study on the Celali revolts in the mid-1980s. *The Great Anatolian Rebellion* presented a very readable narrative of the uprisings that had a tremendous impact of the Empire that acted as a nice companion to Mustafa Akdağ's classic *Celali İsyancıları (1550-1603)*.⁶⁹ One American scholar who has focused most of his scholarly attention on western Anatolia is Daniel Goffman (DePaul University). His first two works, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* and *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* focused on Izmir. In the former work he examined how Izmir established itself as a commercial center. This was accomplished due to the numerous crises that occurred in Anatolia creating shifts in trade networks as well as the rise in international commerce. The latter book, as is apparent through its title, studied the role of the British in the Empire, especially, in the area around Izmir during a very contentious time in British history. In his study one could see that even in this period local notables were using foreign intermediaries to pursue personal advancement, an occurrence that would become much more common over a century later.⁷⁰

68 J. Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); *idem*, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); M. Zilfi, ed., *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: Brill 1997); E. Frierson, "Unimagined Communities: Educational Reform and Civic Identity among Late-Ottoman Women," *Critical Matrix* 9 (1995); *idem*, "Mirrors Out, Mirrors In: Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women's Magazines (1875-1908)," in D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); *idem*, "Women in Ottoman Intellectual History," in Elisabeth Ozdalga, ed., *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2005); P. Başçı, "Love, Marriage, and Motherhood: Changing Expectations of Women in Late Ottoman Istanbul," *Turkish Studies* (2003): 145-77; *idem*, "Advertising the 'The New Woman': Fashion, Beauty, and Health in *Women's World*," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 11:1-2 (2005): 61-79.

69 W. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1983).

70 D. Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990); *idem*, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998).

Ahmet Karamustafa (Washington University) has concentrated his research on the Sufi movement. *God's Unruly Friends* discussed the early Sufi movement in Anatolia where he concluded that "social deviant renunciation," which appeared during the period 1200-1550, was a negation of institutional Sufism. John Curry (University of Nevada, Las Vegas) discussed in *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire* the rise of the Halveti order and has shed light on the religious practices of non-urban provincial subjects. Another scholar of Ottoman Sufism, Dina Legall (Lehman College) studied the Naqshbandis. On a similar note, Ayfer Karakaya-Stump (Cornell University) has produced some fine articles examining the history of the Alevi community in the Ottoman Empire. Unlike many studies, she has gone beyond the over-generalized study of the group within the larger Ottoman-Safavid conflict and has examined the Alevis as an individual group through a study of their *ocaks* and their connection to Sufism.⁷¹

A new generation of scholars has taken up the challenge of Anatolia by examining very diverse time periods of the region. Boğaç Ergene (University of Vermont), through his extensive study of *kadı* court records, has created a number of useful studies on northwestern Anatolia. His initial book, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, provided much needed research on Ottoman legal history. It examined over 5,000 court cases in order to present a picture of local interaction in addition to state-society relations. His study clearly showed that one's familiarity with the court system and law (i.e., if one was of elite status) had a tremendous impact on the outcome of that individual's case. His more recent work has continued dealing with Ottoman legal history through a closer examination of equality before the law and the issue of justice.⁷²

Ryan Gingeras (Naval Postgraduate School), through a series of articles and his recently published book, has looked past the Turkish nationalist view of the transformation from empire to nation-state for a deeper understanding of the last years of the Ottoman state. His *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923* closely examined local violence against and among various groups during the course of that tumultuous decade.⁷³

The Kurdish regions of eastern Anatolia have been the subject of a number of

71 A. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994); D. Legall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); A. Karakaya-Stump, "Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2008).

72 B. Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); *idem*, "Why did Ummu Gulsum Go to Court? Ottoman Legal Practice Between History and Anthropology," *Islamic Law and Society* 17:2 (2010); B. Ergene and Ali Berker, "Wealth, Poverty, and Inequality in the Ottoman Empire: Observations from Eighteenth-Century Kastamonu," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40:1 (2008): 23-46.

73 R. Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

scholars in the United States, including Robert Olson (University of Kentucky), Hakan Özoğlu (University of Central Florida), Michael Gunter (Tennessee Technological University), and Janet Klein (University of Akron). The range of research of Robert Olson (University of Kentucky) is immense. His earliest study examined the siege of Mosul in the first half of the eighteenth century. His subsequent works have either dealt with the late Ottoman period or the modern Middle East, with a focus on the Kurdistan region. In *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion: 1880-1925*, Olson looked at the origins of Kurdish nationalism. This work provided a very useful base for future studies and demonstrated the precarious nature of the post-World War I Middle East, but its reliance on British sources was detrimental to its overall success. His following studies have examined more contemporary issues related to the Kurds as does the work of Michael Gunter.⁷⁴

Özoğlu produced a fine volume entitled *Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State* which described the origins of Kurdish nationalism. He traced its origins to the Ottoman state identifying the “otherness” of the Kurds, thus providing them with the means to create a distinct ethnic identity, but this did not cause Kurdish leaders to sever their ties of loyalty to the Ottoman state.⁷⁵

Klein has written recently a number of articles and is in the process of completing her book manuscript on the Kurds in the late Ottoman state. In her work she has emphasized the existence of “Kurdishness,” i.e., protecting the rights of the Kurds, rather than a Kurdish nationalism, which was viewed as a reaction to an Ottoman attempt to strengthen their hold on the Kurds.⁷⁶ Her book project examines the Hamidiye Light Cavalry and its role in Kurdish-Ottoman relations.

Arab Provinces

Much scholarship has been produced on the Arab lands during the Ottoman period. However, placing all of these works under the umbrella of Ottoman studies would be problematic, since many of those studying this region could be categorized simply as Arabists, rather than Ottomanists, due to their failure to incorporate Ottoman sources into their research. The works and scholars discussed below will be limited to those who can be properly linked to Ottoman studies.

One of the most closely analyzed areas in the Ottoman Empire has been the Syrian lands. Beginning with the early work of Herbert Bodman, who studied Aleppo in the 1960s, the Syrian lands have received as much attention as any other region of the Empire. Bodman’s study, which mainly relied on French and British Consular accounts,

74 R. Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations, 1718-1743: A Study of Rebellion in the Capital and the War in the Provinces of the Ottoman Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975); *idem*, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989); *idem*, *The Kurdish Question and Turkish-Iranian Relations: From World War I to 1998* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1998); Michael Gunter, *The Kurds and the Future of Turkey* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997).

75 H. Özoğlu, *Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State: Evolving Identities, Competing Loyalties, and Shifting Boundaries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

76 Janet Klein, “Kurdish Nationalists and Non-Nationalist Kurdistans: Rethinking Minority Nationalism and the Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1909,” *Nations and Nationalism* 13:1 (2007): 135-53.

served as a foundation for the future scholarship of Ottoman scholars like Bruce Masters.⁷⁷ The work of Masters (Wesleyan University) has focused on trade and the merchant communities, namely in Aleppo. His two monographs, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750* and *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*, examined the impact of European trade not just on the economy of the Levant, but also on the various communities residing in the region. In the first work he emphasized the Islamic nature of the Ottoman economy, and the importance of Aleppo as the transit point for silk traversing the caravan routes originating in Iran to various destinations around the Mediterranean and Western Europe. As part of his study, Masters also challenged Immanuel Wallerstein's under-estimation of the resilience of the caravan trade.⁷⁸

In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*, Masters concentrated on relations that existed amongst the various religious communities of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman Arab provinces. The Ottoman conquest of the Arab lands was viewed by many resident Christians as a welcome event; however, the eventual growth of a European commercial presence in the Levant, which brought Catholic missionary activity, and a growing distrust on the part of the central government towards the Orthodox Church, led to an increased popularity of Catholicism. This Levantine Catholic community became central to the increased French presence in the region in the nineteenth century. The questions posed by this work can act as a basis for conducting similar studies of other regions of the Empire.⁷⁹

The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century by Abraham Marcus (University of Texas) built on the early work of Bodman, covering the same region and time period, but incorporated the indispensable *kadı* court records, moving beyond descriptions by European consuls and travelers. This massive volume attempts, and largely succeeded, in capturing the political, economic, intellectual and social life of Aleppo. The one shortcoming of the book was its silence on the central government's response to various issues, which were taking place in the city.⁸⁰

Another study of Aleppo in the late-eighteenth century was produced by Margaret Meriwether (Denison College). Her book, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840*, followed the lives of various Aleppine notables by examining their households, marriages and bequests to their heirs. Like the abovementioned studies, her use of Ottoman sources allowed her to take this study well beyond the scope of previous literature.⁸¹

77 H. Bodman, *Political Factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963).

78 B. Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750* (New York: New York University Press, 1988).

79 B. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

80 A. Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

81 M. Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999).

Heghnar Watenpaugh (University of California, Davis) wrote a fascinating study of the architecture and urban development of Aleppo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She described how the city was refashioned to reflect Ottoman cultural forms as seen in Istanbul, rather than Arab (Mamluk) ones.⁸²

The most recent study of Aleppo was conducted by Charles Wilkins (Wake Forest University). His *Forging Urban Solidarity: Ottoman Aleppo, 1640-1700* studied the effect of the various Ottoman military campaigns of the mid-to-late-seventeenth century against the Venetians, Poles, and Habsburgs on the city of Aleppo. He specifically examined *kadı* court records to see how the preparations for these campaigns and the return of demobilized soldiers affected city life.⁸³

The city of Damascus has received much attention from Ottoman scholars in the United States. Karl Barbir (Siena College) took advantage of the availability of a variety of Ottoman archival materials in his *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708-1758* that many previous scholars of the area, like Abdul-Karim Rafeq, had not utilized. In his book, Barbir examined the rise of local dynasties, *ayan*, and their impact on the region and how the central government attempted to control these increasingly powerful individuals. Although it was a very useful study, he would have been able to develop it to a much fuller level with the incorporation of new scholarship of the *ayan* that had been published in prior years.⁸⁴

A wonderful, recent study of eighteenth-century Damascene social history, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century Damascus*, was prepared by James Grehan (Portland State University). His examination of non-elites nicely complemented the numerous works on the Damascene elites as well as his study of consumption added to the minimal studies available on that area in Ottoman studies.⁸⁵

David Commins (Dickinson College), in his very interesting study of the *salafiyya*, provided a very useful analysis of the social and intellectual background of this Islamic reform movement in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Damascus. The depth of his study gave readers a clear picture of the religious reality of the city at the end of the Empire. One can only hope for studies of similar quality dealing with other major cities in the Empire at this period.⁸⁶

Ottoman Lebanon has been the subject of numerous studies in the past two decades. Engin Akarlı (Brown University) is most noted for his study *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1920*, which chronicled the period of calm of Mount Lebanon after the resolution of the bloody conflict of 1860. Unlike most works on Ottoman Lebanon, Akarlı focused his attention on the roles of the Ottomans in the *mutasarrifiyya*, examin-

82 H. Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

83 C. Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarity: Ottoman Aleppo, 1640-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

84 K. Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708-1758* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

85 J. Grehan, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century Damascus* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

86 D. Commins, *Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1990).

ing the administrative, judicial, economic and religious policies of the Ottoman government.⁸⁷

Ussama Makdisi (Rice University) argued in *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* that the basis of modern Lebanese nationalism was a political identity closely tied with religious affiliation. Studying the sectarian violence in Ottoman Lebanon, Makdisi stated that sectarianism in Lebanon has been overblown.⁸⁸ He followed up his first book with a fascinating article on Ottoman Orientalism, which extended Edward Said's analysis to the Ottoman representation of the Arab periphery as "Western representations of the indolent Ottoman East."⁸⁹

Makdisi's recent work, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, studied the American evangelical effort to convert the Maronites of Ottoman Lebanon in the early nineteenth century. The topic of American missionary efforts in the Middle East has been very popular over the last decade as witnessed by the numerous volumes on millennialism and the present American involvement in the Middle East. However, Makdisi's work was quite different than these other works, since he grounded his study in historic facts and provided the reader with both an Arab and American view of the events.⁹⁰

The works of Caesar Farah span much of the Ottoman Arab provinces, but his first major monograph examined Ottoman Lebanon. *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830-1861* was based on a lifetime of research on the subject, utilizing archives in Lebanon, Turkey, Europe and the United States to provide a very detailed account of this tumultuous period. Unfortunately, much of his argument in the book repeated the Arab nationalist argument that Lebanon's sectarian conflict was largely due to the increased influence of the British and French in the Levant. A second monograph dealt with Ottoman Yemen. In *The Sultan's Yemen: Nineteenth Century Challenges to Ottoman Rule*, Farah incorporated a great deal of material from the Ottoman and British archives to provide a very detailed study.⁹¹ This work was a warehouse of information, although the more recent works of Isa Blumi provide a more innovative analysis of the material.

Like Syria, Egypt has benefited in the last two decades from excellent research by a handful of scholars working in the United States. Following the pioneering work of Stanford Shaw in eighteenth-century Egypt, a number of studies have been prepared by American scholars, such as Daniel Crecelius. However, many of these studies ignore the vast archival material available in Istanbul. The most prolific Ottomanist working on Egypt is Jane Hathaway (Ohio State University). Hathaway has produced three mono-

87 E. Akarlı, *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

88 U. Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

89 U. Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *American Historical Review* 107:3 (2002): 768.

90 U. Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

91 C. Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830-1861* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000); *idem*, *The Sultan's Yemen: Nineteenth-Century Challenges to Ottoman Rule* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002).

graphs dealing with Ottoman Egypt as well as a more general study on the Ottoman Arab provinces and four edited volumes in the last thirteen years. Her initial study, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdaglis*, examined the military households of Egypt. Rather than relying on al-Jabarti's text, Hathaway incorporated a number of Ottoman and Arabic sources to show that rather than being a product of late-medieval Egypt, the Mamluks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were actually an Ottoman invention. Her description of a household, other than that of the sultan's, provided the field of Ottoman studies a valuable basis for the understanding of provincial elites. Her model has been utilized by a number of other scholars.⁹²

A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen complimented her previous monograph by examining the intense rivalry that existed between various Mamluk households. Rather than being a political narrative the book examined the myths and tales surrounding the Qasimi and Faqari as the means to win support for a given faction. Additionally, in her *Beshir Agha, Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem*, Hathaway provided a very detailed picture of the power that could be wielded by a black eunuch within and outside of the palace.⁹³

Arguably the most valuable book produced by Jane Hathaway was almost her most general, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule, 1516-1800*. In *The Arab Lands*, she, with the assistance of Karl Barbir, provided a much needed update of P.M. Holt's classic, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516-1922*. The book discussed Arab provinces through an examination of Ottoman administration and the rise of provincial elites as well as providing a social history of the region. The value of this work lies not just in its flowing narrative and incorporation of up-to-date research on the region, but in its ability to state clearly the productive role the Ottomans played in the Arab lands as well as the role the Arab lands played in the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁴

The study of Ottoman Iraq in the United States has been largely limited to a few excellent works on the region of Mosul. In her *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire*, Dina Khoury (George Washington University) examined the relationship between provincial and imperial politics through a study of the role of provincial notables. The link between the notables in the provinces and the central government was mainly a result of the war-making policies of the state and its need for supplies and services especially from those located in border regions like Mosul. *Mosul Before Iraq* by Sarah Shields (University of North Carolina) discussed life in Mosul and how the nineteenth-century reforms implemented by Istanbul were received by the people. Shields strongly contested that although various reforms were enacted in the city, it was only after they were adjusted by the people of Mosul to fit their needs and reality. Karen Kern (Hunter College) has also contributed to this field. Her analysis of center-periphery relations,

92 J. Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdaglis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

93 J. Hathaway, *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen* (Albany: State University of New York, 2003); idem, *Beshir Agha, Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2005).

94 J. Hathaway with Karl Barbir, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule, 1516-1800* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2008).

especially dealing with marriage and citizenship, are important for our understanding of life in the frontier provinces.⁹⁵

Hasan Kayalı's great study of the late Ottoman Empire, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Second Constitutional Period of the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*, examined how Islamism defused any movement towards Arab nationalism in the Middle East. Kayalı (University of California, San Diego) emphasized the Islamic bonds that tied together the Arabs and Turks.⁹⁶

Ottoman Europe

In the past decade a number of scholars in the United States have dedicated a portion or all of their research to the Ottoman provinces in Europe. The majority of this scholarship covered the period from the mid-eighteenth century until the end of the empire. The previously mentioned, Halil İnalcık and Kemal Karpat did much to promote interest in this rather neglected part of the Empire. However, Bruce McGowan, who spent much of his career as a diplomat rather than as an academic, developed a foundational work on the Ottoman economy in the Balkans, which has served as an important departure point for many of the studies discussed in this section. His *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe* provided a response to the works of Braudel and Wallerstein as to what extent the Ottoman state was influenced by the changing conditions of Europe after the sixteenth century. It contained a detailed study of *çiftlik*s and tax farms in the Balkans and their impact on the Ottoman economy. His later work, "The Age of the Ayan, 1699-1812," which was included in the two-volume *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* edited by Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert provided readers with access to both Ottoman sources and often overlooked Balkan sources. These two major studies as well as his articles have provided scholars of the Ottoman Balkans with a clear description of the economic system, which enabled powerful provincial elites to emerge.⁹⁷

Among the most common subjects on the Ottoman Balkans to emerge in the United States is that of the provincial elites, including the *ayan*. Deena Sadat published two articles on the *ayan* in the early 1970s. Along with her dissertation, these articles were the only works produced by a scholar in America that were specifically devoted to the study of the *ayan*.⁹⁸ Although she had limited access to Ottoman sources, mainly in the

95 D. Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul 1540-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); S. Shields, *Mosul Before Iraq: Like Bees Making Five-Sided Cells* (Albany: State University of New York, 2000); Karen Kern, *Imperial Citizenship: Marriage and Citizenship in the Ottoman Frontier Province of Iraq* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, forthcoming).

96 H. Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Second Constitutional Period of the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

97 B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); *idem*, "The Age of the Ayan, 1699-1812," in H. İnalcık and D. Quataert, eds. *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

98 Deena Sadat, "Urban Notables in the Ottoman Empire: The Ayan," (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1969); *idem*, "Rumeli Ayanları: The Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Modern History* 44:3 (1972): 346-63; *idem*, "Ayan and Ağa: The Transformation of the Bektashi Corps in the Eighteenth Century," *Muslim World* 63 (1973): 206-19.

form of *Tarih-i Cevdet*, her writings provided an English-speaking audience with a rather in depth introduction to the *ayan*.

Sadat's work has been greatly expanded upon by the work of Ali Yaycıoğlu (Fairfield University) and Robert Zens (Le Moyne College) who have both examined the *ayanlık* in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries in their dissertations and other studies that are in various states of completion. Unlike Sadat, they had the opportunity to integrate the vast archival materials available from the Ottoman archives in Istanbul, providing a much more detailed and richer understanding of the rise and demise of the *ayan*.⁹⁹

Another study of an *ayan* from the Balkans, Tepedelenli Ali Pasha of Janina, was the subject of Katherine Fleming's *Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece*. Although this work was not an *ayan* study in the vein of Sadat, Yaycıoğlu or Zens, but rather an examination of a larger than life figure who had obtained celebrity status in Europe, Fleming (Columbia University) shed light on the value and problems associated with the numerous travelers' accounts of Europeans, who visited the Ottoman Empire in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.¹⁰⁰

A very valuable contribution to the study of the Ottoman Balkans has been made by Isa Blumi (Georgia State University). An extremely prolific writer, Blumi has published more than thirty articles on topics ranging from Ottoman Albania and Kosovo to Ottoman Yemen and the Red Sea trade. In a series of articles, he has compared the Ottoman border provinces of Albania and Yemen. Blumi's unique linguistic abilities have allowed him to incorporate diverse archival sources to draw a previously ignored parallel between these provinces at the edges of the Empire, as demonstrated in *Rethinking the Late Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Social and Political History of Albania and Yemen, 1878-1918*. In addition to his comparative studies, he has also produced monographs on these areas in both the Ottoman and post-Ottoman period. His work on Albania concentrated on the issue of identity, which benefits from his knowledge of recent works done by scholars of the Ottoman Arab lands.¹⁰¹

Another young scholar working on the Ottoman Balkans, specifically Macedonia, is İpek Yosmaoğlu (Northwestern University). Her work has examined the develop-

99 Ali Yaycıoğlu, "The Provincial Challenge: Regionalism, Crisis, and Integration in the Late Ottoman Empire (1792-1812)," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2008); *idem*, *Provincial Elites and the Empire in the Late Ottoman World*, in Christine Woodhead, ed. *The Ottoman World* (London: Routledge, forthcoming 2011); Robert Zens, "Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa and the Paşalık of Belgrade, 1791-1807," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 8:1-2 (2002): 89-104; *idem*, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004); *idem*, "Ottoman Provincial Notables in the Eighteenth Century: A Comparative Study," in Ekrem Causevic and Nenad Moacanin, eds., *Ottoman Studies in Transformation* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, forthcoming 2010).

100 K.E. Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

101 I. Blumi, *Rethinking the Late Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Social and Political History of Albania and Yemen* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2003); *idem*, *Redefining Balkan Nationalism: Albanian Identities at the End of the Ottoman Era* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010); *idem*, *Chaos in Yemen: Societal Collapse and the New Authoritarianism* (London: Routledge, forthcoming 2010).

ment of a national identity in Ottoman Macedonia through a study of religious practices.¹⁰²

Two more senior scholars who specialize in the European provinces of the Empire are Gabor Ágoston and Molly Greene. Ágoston (Georgetown University) has largely concentrated on Hungary. However, his recent monograph *Guns for the Sultan* examined the military technology of the Ottomans. In this book he challenged the contention that the Ottomans were inferior to their European counterparts in weapons production.¹⁰³ Greene (Princeton University), who specializes in the Greek regions of the Empire, chronicled the conquest of Crete in *A Shared World*. In this study, she emphasized the continuity between the Venetian and Ottoman periods of rule, undermining the Greek nationalist historiography, which viewed the conquest as a major setback in Crete's history. Additionally, she ably incorporated Ottoman Crete into the larger Ottoman Mediterranean world.¹⁰⁴

Although his work dealt with Crimea, one may place Alan Fisher as a specialist on Ottoman Europe due to his extensive study of Ottoman-Russian relations. His two books on the Crimean Tatars, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772-1783* and *The Crimean Tatars*, were foundational works on the Tatars within the Ottoman Empire as well as elucidating Ottoman-Russian relations through the use of Ottoman in addition to Russian sources.¹⁰⁵

The Republican Period

The study of the Republican period by scholars in the United States has fluctuated over the years. Many of the early scholars of Turkish history dealt with both the Ottomans and the modern Turkish Republic, such as Lewis Thomas, Kemal Karpat, and Feroz Ahmad to name a few. However, now at most universities in the United States scholars who deal with the post-Ottoman states are specialists in the Arabic-speaking countries. Whereas Ottomanists have become commonplace, modern Turkish scholars are quite rare in comparison, although in the last five years a number of young scholars of modern Turkey have been hired in a variety of disciplines, namely the social sciences. In the following section, the scholars dealing with the Republican period, who have not yet been mentioned, will be discussed.

The one monograph published recently by a scholar in the United States on a prominent Turkish politician was not about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, but rather İsmet İnönü. John Vanderlippe (New School for Social Research) examined İnönü's reasons for moving forward with a multiparty system. Rather than being moved by personal feelings towards democracy, Vanderlippe stated that İnönü was moved by the political realities

102 I. Yosmaoğlu, "Counting Bodies, Shaping Souls: The 1903 Census and National Identity in Ottoman Macedonia," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38:1 (2006): 55-77.

103 G. Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

104 M. Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

105 A. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772-1783* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); *idem*, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978).

of the post-war era and the emerging conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States.¹⁰⁶

Birol Yeşilada, who holds an endowed chair in Contemporary Turkish Studies at Portland State University, has published widely on current issues in Turkish politics. Over the last decade, he has spent much time working on Turkish efforts to gain membership into the European Union. His articles varied from discussions of Cyprus and Turkish party politics to involvement in Afghanistan. He has lent a very important voice on Turkish politics in the United States.

Amongst scholars of modern Turkey, the issue of religion and politics seems to be the most common. Marcie Patton (Fairfield University), Jenny White (Boston University) and Hakan Yavuz (University of Utah) have all published extensively on this topic. White, who has also created a series of Ottoman-based fictional novels, wrote *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey*. In this book she insisted on the need to look beyond formal civic organizations to more informal ones to find the roots of Turkish political activism.¹⁰⁷ Yavuz is probably the most prolific writer on modern Turkey. His two monographs, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* and *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey*, examined, first, the historic development of Islamic political identity, and, in the second work, specifically the AK Party. In his historic assessment he claimed that political Islam did not reemerge as a result of the failure of Kemalist secularism, but rather from the liberal policies of Turgut Özal. His evenhanded assessment of the ruling AK Party should act as the source on the party for the English-speaking world.¹⁰⁸

There are a number of scholars, namely Turks, who have recently received their doctorates from American universities and have begun teaching in this country. These include: Hale Yılmaz (Southern Illinois University), who has researched state-initiated reforms and their impacts on the early Republic; Umut Uzer (post-doctoral fellow, Harvard University), who wrote on Turkish nationalism and foreign policy issues, specifically Karabagh and Cyprus; Fırat Demir (University of Oklahoma), who studied the Turkish economy; Jeffrey Dixon (College of the Holy Cross), whose research interests have involved Turkish identity, E.U. candidacy and the Islamic world; Hakkı Gurkas (Kennesaw State University), who has examined the construction of the Nasreddin Hoca tradition within secular Turkey; Elif Andaç (Kansas University), who has studied the state-formation process after the fall of the Ottoman Empire; and Ceren Belge (Fellow, Harvard University), who has researched state-minority relations.¹⁰⁹

106 J. Vanderlippe, *The Politics of Turkish Democracy: İsmet İnönü and the Formation of the Multi-Party System, 1938-1950* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).

107 J. White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002).

108 H. Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); *idem*, *The Emergence of a New Turkey: Democracy and the AK Parti* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2006).

109 H. Yılmaz, "Reform, Social Change and State-Society Encounters in Early Republican Turkey," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 2006); U. Uzer, "Turkish Foreign Policy between Kemalist State Identity and State Interests: The Cyprus and Karabagh Cases," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2006); F. Demir, "Three Essays on Financial Liberalization, Country Risks and Low Growth Traps in Argentina, Mexico, and Turkey," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2006); J. Dixon, "Where

The work of Christopher Dole (Amherst College) is rather difficult to categorize, although it could simply be dubbed Turkish anthropology and public health. In his upcoming monograph, Dole discussed the issue of religious healing practices in modern Turkey.¹¹⁰

In sum, Turkish historiography in the United States has had a very rich and diverse history, but for the past three decades it has really blossomed and as numerous younger scholars begin to transform their dissertations into monographs it is possible that the golden age of Ottoman and Turkish studies in the United States is yet to come.

Turkish Historiography in the United States

Robert ZENS

Abstract

This article examines the history of Ottoman and Turkish scholarship in the United States since the first decade of the 20th century. The breadth of the works produced by scholars in America is due to the diverse origins of their authors as well as the increase in faculty positions available to Ottoman historians.

Keywords: Ottoman, Turkey, Historiography, United States

Does Turkey Belong? Examining Europeans' Attitudes and Liberal-Democratic Values in Turkey, the European Union, and the Muslim World," (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2006); H. Gurkas, "Nasreddin Hodja and the Aksehir Festival: Invention of a Festive Tradition and Transfigurations of a Trickster, from Bukhara to Brussels," (Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 2008); E. Andaç, "Imperial Legacies, National Constructions: Transnational Foundations of Nation-States in the Other Europe," (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Washington, 2007); C. Belge, "Whose Law? Clans, Honor Killings, and State-Minority Relations in Turkey and Israel," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 2008).

110 C. Dole, *Healing Secular Life: Islam, Aesthetics, and Loss in Turkey* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming); *idem*, "Mass Media and the Repulsive Allure of Religious Healing: The Cinci Hoca in Turkish Modernity," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38:1 (2006): 31-54.