УДК 94(5).930.85
http://doi.org/10.46869/2707-6776-2020-10-3

Andrii Chalyi

THE CONCEPT OF MODERNIZATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE XVIII CENTURY

Article examines views and current conceptions of theory of modernization applied to the so called "Eastern societies" and more to the Ottoman Empire as the most prominent non-European political actor and one of few states that survives the domination of the "West" during XIX century. Due to its origins in 1960's, theory of modernization encompassed wide and numerous ideas, theories and concepts in desperate attempt to clarify, how backward and generally weak, comparing to its Eastern neighbors-rivals European civilization (mainly Western European) became economically and so force politically stronger and suddenly turned the tables, enslaved almost all the world for century. Europeans created new or renovate old institutions (frequently in spite of themselves) to became fitter than their competitors in worldwide struggle for wealth, both political and economic. Theory of modernization tries to explain when, how and by whom these changes were incentivized. It took a few decades to create various and rarely views depends on scholar's scientific methodology and research methods, ideological preferences and ethnicity. Simultaneously, such European-based theories were applied to the non-Western societies due to find out the reasons of their second-rate positions, which appeared obvious to anyone in the last quarter of the XIX century. Author tries to apply a methodic instrument given by theory of modernization to analyze the process of reforms in XVIII century Ottoman Empire and what their efforts in political, economical and moreover mental spheres lead them into a trap of vicious circle of reform. The main question, were the innovations, provided by Ottomans a simple westernization (in the meaning of mindless compilation of European-created institutions) or in was straight purpose to emulate "Western" societies – to become stronger and sufficient, using their own resource and methods.

Keywords: *East, Ottoman Empire, modernization theory, historiography, Eastern question, industrial society.*

According to a historiography, the end of the XVIII and the whole XIX century became the watershed in the development paths of the Western European societies. They faced the challenges, which, by strange reasons, were not noticed by anyone, excepting the comparably small group of Enlighteners, who in a matter of fact were the bellman of its urgent changes. Straight after the French revolution and Napoleon Wars, industrialization came along, bursting the processes, which in the result created the modern type of industrial society. Well aware, that phenomenon of reforms and reformation were known long before the fact of modernization, it had an extended profile, and interpreted in different ways, with numerous meaning and aims [1, c. 7-8].

The aim of recent article is to analyze the basic points of modernization theory and world-system theory in appliance to social and political development of the "Eastern" countries, with deep scrutiny of the Ottoman Empire as the main exponent of the "East" in view of the Europeans.

Goal of the article is to make an attempt to create general theoretical scheme of modernization struggle in Ottoman Empire during the XVIII century.

One of the main and most controversial issues in contemporary humanities is modernization theory – amount of theories, which tries to model how societies transform into a complex and comprehensive organism. Such a theory has numerous interpretations depending on sciences, methodology and researcher ideology, and so far historical fluctuation of a term itself [2, c. 241-242] and his derivatives: modern, modernity, etc. Nowadays, the core meaning of modernization as a process broke a boundaries of strictly scholar phenomenon and interpreting vastly and dubious, often incorporates disproportionate concepts [3, c. 10], and in historiography, still is abusing by twisting the meaning of it by European-centered view of accordance of Eastern societies to a Western social scales [4, c. 30]. The derivatives notions of modernization concept became highly popular both in social sciences and in theory and practice of governmentality, in order to justify reformism and modernization as an ultimate state reason [5, p. 17-19].

In broader sense – modernization theory alongside with formation and civilization theories are considered as a major macro sociological theories [6, c. 217], which are used by historians to explain the comprehensive social developments and changings throughout large periods of time and on the vast territories. However, as any social concept, there are no sole way to define modernization, and this complex matter is characterized by multiple indicators [7, c. 156], but in general, it shows the way how traditional societies become contemporary [8, c. 154-155]. Oxford dictionary of sociology reduces modernization to the process of adjusting society to its urgent needs and current challenges [9]. Apocrifical understanding of modernization as progress of society due to industrial revolution and industrialization, which one set up economic, political and social changes [10].

A bit simpler assumption defines modernization as technological shift from agrarian to industrial mode of production with respective changes in political and social structures and other aspects of life [11, c. 61]. The “cultural approach” supports admit, that modernization is essential removal of basic cultural elements and principles – born summation of knowledge, skills, abilities and information [12, c. 6]. Nevertheless, American researcher Dean Tipps points that a lot of fellow-scholars are often make starkly extremes in defining modernization and how it works – one notes that modernization is way typical and unilateral social action, another one – that modernization is a process of implementation of features which make society modern [13, p. 203]. Jan Keller emphasize an economic, scientific and intellectual levels of modernization as to be the most representative, but makes a warning about its humanitarian, social and ecological aspects, the same goes with unexpectedness of modernization’s results [14, c. 49-52]. The key factor of modernization is recognized to be a process of rejecting or substituting the old values that are impediment to a social changes and rapid economic growth [15]. Allmost every country on a planet survived modernization in that way or another, but it often became “westernization”

(especially for the Asian and African countries) in order to catch-up those who was running faster.

The most highlighted features of modernization, commonly regarded as conventional are: technological progress, industrialization and mass production, urbanization, radical increase of national wealth, mass literacy and education, further actions of people in political processes, appearing of media, vertical social mobility and meritocracy, struggle for national identity and so on. Meanwhile, for the Eastern states modernization became to be not only westernization or contemporarity but harsh, ruthless and painful actions to provide necessary reforms in socio-economic sector to create western oriented standards of life, despite Shmuel Eisenstaedt thought that modernization in a planet scale reduced only to a changes in Western European countries throughout XVII-XIX centuries, and elaborated brisk debates on "emulation theory" (catching up/ forging ahead in evolutional economic theory) by William Mechta and a processes of aware alterations presented by Wilfred Smith on Indian data.

In case of European renovation where the all actions were done upon the theses of well govern state in which power measures by wealth and justice that governed there [15, c. 138-139] and social mechanisms efficiency, that could solve all problems and moving whole society forward by making hard but inevitable compromises, composing optimal balance between innovations and traditions, create lineage between political organization and economic relations that includes control upon income and outcome [16, p. 603, 624]. Muslims thought that European luckiness were direct result of secularization, that took political power from clericals [17, s. 78-79].

The most radical adepts of historical sociology, in that way or another, has questioned the basics of changes that moved societies forward and determine the inceptives of this changes as: violence and coerce (as Charles Tilly), wandering counterbalance in opposition between European elites throughout a long time, which happened in spite of themselves (as Richard Lachmann). Peter Shtomka highlights that modernization of Europe was quite ambiquity process, which rather characterized by possibility than necessity, achievement rather than immanency [18, c. 120]. Nevertheless, modernization (westernization) in it's essence happened synchronic with industrialization, secularization and nationalis, which appeared with modernization or outstrips it, provoking or being its immediate result. There is an opinion, that Western countries were winning their imperial race just because they managed to create and fix their political institutions in order to modernization quests – nation state, and any modernization attempts in the East without the exact schedule, were episodically and led only to a catastrophe [19, c. 45-46].

Anyway, modernization as like an every theoretical concept is rather conventionality and can't be unquestioned truth for concrete actions and prescriptions, but could be used as investigation guideline to understanding and scrutiny the Western experience, finding out it's components, complexity,

problemacy, dynamics and human factor [20, c. 3-4]. Also I'm deeply allegiate to the position of English historian Christopher Bayly, who looked upon period of 1780-1914 as the creation of New World, where one of the crucial aspect of modernity was the self-establishing modernity itself [21, p. 10]. The core of modernization was in Western Europe, but the same very processes lasted in Asia and Africa, and didn't concede European analogues or even surpass them. This means, that it going to be scientifically prejudice to reduce modernization only to it European version.

Research of modernization processes in the Near Eastern region is concentrated on external incentives, which of course, led them happened and through the nation-prism of all nations incorporated into a social system of Ottoman Empire [22, p. 243].

My attention is applied on the problem of modernization of Ottoman Empire, on it's reason to be the most powerful non-western state at the beginning of the XIX century and maintain its independence despite continuous struggle with inner and outer enemies. State officials had a notional knowledge about the reforms provided in European's to clearly adopt them, the same went with reasons, that stimulated the reforms [23, p. 1]. Ottoman Empire is still being attributed to rigid state systems, which couldn't or didn't want to change in order to the matter of time. Ottomans is vociferously interpreted as war-society, that every possible innovation is used only for war purposes due to it imperial expansion [24, c. 111]. A comparable amount of researches, harshly misused Samuel Huntington's thesis about «Turkish phenomenon» where modernized or westernized elite-minority fights traditional-oriented majority, and this battle rip off the country. And even in contemporary Turkey imperial and religious biases are just existing undercover [25, c. 125, 127.]. It were created numerous well-evidenced theories that enlights inability of Ottomans in particular and the whole Islamic civilization in general to adapt western type of development due to mentality issues, lack of tolerance, criticism, rationalism, flexibility and free-mind [26, c. 100].

Modernization of the Ottoman empire is still problem for scholars to define. Turkish historians cant mark its beginning, dating it by the start of the XVIII century [27, p. 237], or Tanzimat period or even the 1870's, when term Westernization/ Batılılaşma became popular and intellectually crucial among the Ottoman political and social establishment, that used Meiji Japan experience of reconciling traditions and reformism [28, p. 33-34]. There are critical thoughts on the whole period from 1718 – the beginning of The Age of Tulips/Lale devri till 1876 – Abdulhamid II accession to power as later implications of kemalist historiography, led by direct purpose – to show the willing of Turkey to choose a western. It begins with the Tulip Age as the integral part of European reformation processes [29, p. 5], but still reforms and changes in Ottoman state appeared long before notorious events of 1839, as classical narrative teaches [30, p. 5]. It's been emphasized that Ottomans were aware of practically all theoretic and practical innovations. That appeared in Europe since the XVII century, from translations of Europeans works and trying to solve their problems within ottoman's social philosophy paradigm [31, s. 6]. Also there is a large

part of common sense in notion that any new, any innovation wouldn't be spotted by people until the proper moment, but this tiny details will insensibly prepare society to engaging the massive and direct reforms [32, s. 129].

Simultaneously, the investigation of eastern societies' modernization is faced obstacles in methodology in face of pitiful state of primary sources and their qualitative analyze and interpretation of its social influence [33, p. XIII-XIV]. That's why, any research on reforms in Ottoman empire should be derived from the principle of multiply modernization theory, formed by Shmuel Eisenstaedt, David Roshmeyer and especially Norbert Elias [34, c. 67]. Let us keep in mind that "The owl of Minerva spreads its wings with the dusk" and researches will always have immanent problems, dealing with explaining of such a complex and ambiguous terms and concepts by the mean of present, and as for the Ottomans, interrupting to an interesting but highly controversial discussions [35, p. 17]. To sum up, the essence of modernization, free from aforementioned theoretical database must emerge from sustainable development, renovation and optimization of existing social, political and economic mechanisms, adjusting its parts without indoctrinating qualitatively new and distinctive from previous course models.

I'm gonna stop on facts and historiographical analyses and creating the general scheme of state development of the Ottoman empire throughout XVIII century with stress on period of 1754-1774 in attempt to prove it was modernization. The "Crises" which Ottomans have faced after signing the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699 were marked as "The Age of Retreat" cause more questions than answers. In XVII century, leading alims (we may call them public intellectuals of their era) Ayni Ali, Katib Çelebi and Koçibey Gümürci identify the first marks of decreasing of the political situation in the Empire (by the way the first treaty that alarmed the malfunction of Ottoman empire was written in 1541 – the undoubtedly climax of Ottoman power [36, p. 44] is also presenting us the pitfalls of this question) [37, c. 41]. The weakening of Ottoman state, which is often attached to a Suleiman Kanuni's unfortunate son – Selim II (1566-1574) [38, p. 59]. State officials insisted that according to political tradition and Islamic social philosophy society is stable in case everyone fits his rightful place in it. For makes this structure balanced, it ought to find out the problems within it – social structure and relations [39, p. 89].

From the other hand, XVIII century is marked by creating and strongly implementation of "Eastern decline" discourse in European political thought, which can be explained by national struggle of subjugated folks and continuously growing European hegemonies [40, p. 5]. But Ottomans treated such an ideas as temporary problems, and didn't take them seriously. However, modern historiography suggests that adaptation and borrowing during a certain period have become a sign of flexibility and pragmatism of the state, not its decline [41, p. 194]. Ottomans relatively quick realized the necessity of changes even in the major crucial aspects and this activity will be going throughout all XVIII century from reforms to preserving the "raison-d'être" of the state [42], and in fighting against ongoing and

growing in Ottoman's opinion European pressure, but in the fact, Europeans have already faced structural political diversification and Ottomans abandoned practicum of Gazavat and in broader sense using theology for wartime propaganda for a while [43, c. 49], still war continius with temporary success for both sides, but in the end unfavorable to Ottoman Empire. During this, progress in some particular spheres such as military organization, tactics and war industry gave Europeans some kind of advantage, growing from yearly [17, s. 103]. It ultimately made possible to change foreign policy agenda towards Ottoman Empire to evidently rapacious manner (especially faire for Austrian and Russian empires) [44, c. 12]). Ottoman's tried to catch-up and focused on features they attributed as vital or emulating European experience, non-mentioning revisited old and trusted authors, that wrote about state managing [45, s. 321]. The key spheres were challenged be described as:

- Military
- Control and communication
- Restoring tax-system
- Municipal control
- Bureaucracy
- Increasing Sultan's political impact [46, p. 485]

However, general course was based upon reliable examples in economics, monetary politics and social [47, s. 52]. Notwithstanding seemingly well backed-up theory and willing to put it into practice, ottoman government did not clue the main flaw in their plan – unbearable practicism and lack of strategic view. Their desire to accomplish know-how was dictated by strictly utilitarian and urgent interest, here and now, with now or little understanding about far reaching points of their actions. The showiest image of such actions was in a military technologies, firearms, mining, cartography, watch and compasses industry, which has been implemented by Ottomans with large time span [48, p. 77].

Chronologically first and comparably well source-backed comes "The Tulip Age/ Lale devri" period, which marked a turning point in state development [49, c. 74] (stricto sensu especially this period claimed to be the first and significant cultural invasion of West values and leisure and more interesting reform ideas into Ottoman society, with the most visible side – sultan royal life and Istanbul wealth groups. Tulip Age consists of praising European art and design, adopting the most innovative and unusual art tricks, tulip mania, thriving of ottoman artisans and handicraft, and further political turns under the reign of Ahmed III (1703-1730). Alongsaide with the Sultan, new Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Ibrahim paşa provided greater activity in contesting ordinary Ottoman warfare, implementing Western weapons and organization, and more valuable – began to encourage the debates among the alims (Ottomans intellectuals) the idea of necessity of the reforms and changing religious attributes in government affairs [50, s. 12]. Tulip age became the rare moment of cultural and secular upraising, where whole capital city flowered up with monstrous amount of gardens, streets where crowded, cafes became centers of public and

political debates (the same as in London), creating stronger tights within different social groups of Ottoman society. Such a situation was quickly apprehended by feisty officials and every kind of adventurers who tried to gain a popularity, becoming, in the manner of speaking, new cultural heroes [38, p. 86]. Age of Tulip period is bright also by smooth change of power continuity. Before that, each Sultan gain power after death or murder of his predecessor and fratricide. Tulip age invented political upraising, that could possibly overthrow Sultan and legalize it by using sheyh-ul-Islam`s fetva to legalize peoples decision as another way to power shift. Ahmed III became the pioneer of such a process, when Patrona Halil – dodgy dealer, café-owner and janissaries' henchman caused rebellion, that lead to intronizing a new Sultan and decapitating his predecessor for crimes against common people (despite official historiographer Muhammed Subhi described that episode not in such bloody way, even routine one, insisting that Ahmed abdicated in favor of his son Mahmud by his own will, with no threats) [51]. This event is interpreting as fights for power between political groups and signalize the weakening of central power for the one hand, as for another – the appearance of democracy elements, that linked duality of Sultan`s rule, religious norms and public loyalty [52, p. 59].

Period from 1730 to 1789 is less scholarly developed due to scarcity of sources and so force avoidance by researchers [53, c. 510], but still, there are no evidence that political agenda in attempts of state transformation and its results quoting Ahmed Ataulla, who described the reign of Mustapha III (1757-1774) supposedly on his own words: «*World has turned upside down, with no hope for better in our reign, blasphemy gave power to despicable people, our officials are marauding on the streets of the City [Istanbul] , and there is nothing else left, only begging for God's mercy* » [54, p. 67]. In historiography the image of Mustapha III and his brother Abdulhamid I did nothing to reform the Empire [55, p. 6], this thesis can't be absolutly right, but still, the essence of reforms didn't changed. Sultans in a row Mahmud I (1730-54), Osman III (1754-57), Mustapha III (1757-74), and Abdulhamid I (1774-89) provided the very same artificial changes without breaking the paradigm (but where then any paradigm?) – creating a new type of society and boost modernization.

The bulk of reforms were brought to life by Selim III (1789-1809), who's reign proceeds when juridical mechanism of power began to stuck [43, c. 58]. The scale of Selim's diversifications can be judged by the title of collective work edited by Seifi Kenan: "Selim III and his era from Ancien Regime to New Order". Such a label can be easily understood by Europeans with tight connections with French counterpart. Despite great activity in creation of European understands diplomatic service, and the most crucial – warfare (notorious Nizami Cedid – "New Army") all seemingly good intentions of Selim went up with smoke.

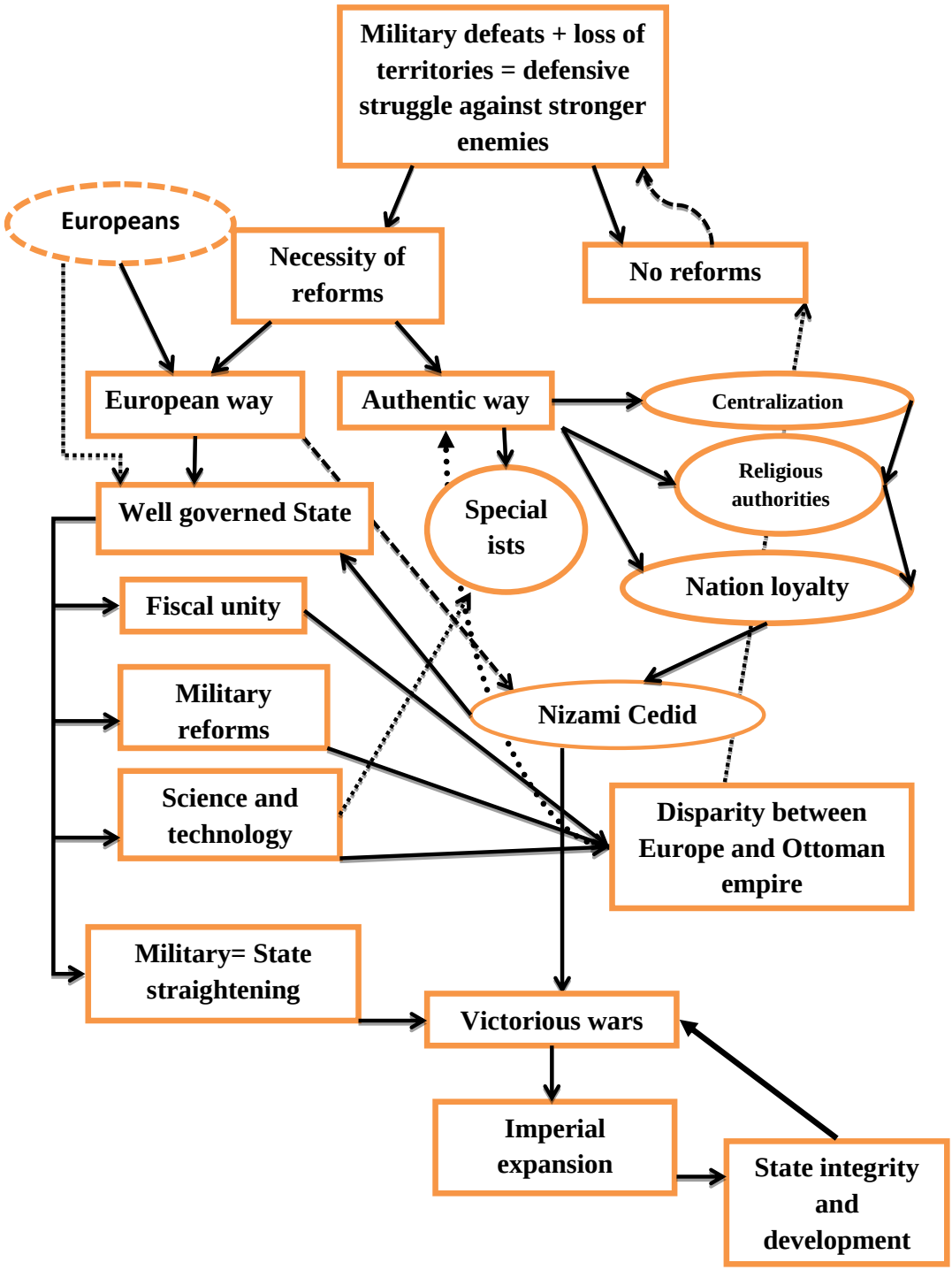
In contemporary historiography Selim is praised only for successful suppression of Arab tribes mutinies, first Serbian revolution and Anatolian beys upheavals [56, s. 713] and emphasizing two major aspects, which constitute the famous Selim's

successor – Sultan Mahmud II legacy: control over Empire's periphery and struggle against fanatical traditions [57, p. 8]. There were two real ways for Selim III to realize his ambitions: to provide reforms at all costs, or to fight against local notables and tycoons to preserve the legitimacy of central power. The stakes were done on the first option, which finally led to Selim's assassination in 1808.

During Selim rule, interactions between state and public firstly became a public matter (sorry for such tautology) [58, p. 1]. His reign appeared to be in perplexed times of dissolution of old imperial system and creating new entity, which will exist the next 150 years.

Conclusions. All political measures taken between 1703 and 1808 (prior to Mahmud II ascending), could be judged upon the paradigm, that had in its pinnacle the aim of renewal of Ottoman war power [50, s. 12]. Depending on researcher position it could be interpreted as modernization or westernization. Nevertheless radicalism of such changes gives us right to call them systematic and comprehensive. [53, c. 504]. The main controversy and ongoing fallacy I that Ottomans thought it will be enough just to copy European's most advanced technologies and institutes, put them in to Ottoman practice, but they went wrong pretty soon. They didn't realize or unwilled to admit that this changes were adjusting to a new coming social and political realities, which stroked Europe in spite of Europeans To my view, the contradictions of this political movement towards renovation leis in striking entwine of rulers political power and will to save the country through painful process of reforms and traditional Ottoman political and social structure. It requires ability to negotiate, taking steps back, if it needs, coordinate with all social actors. but Europeans didn't have such problems according to Wilhelm Roscher's "Enlightened despotism" which pay no attention to no one ideas or necessities except those, which leads to creation of New State.

Appendix. The "vicious circle" of Ottoman reformism in the XVIII century.



Bibliography

1. Феномен реформ на Западе и Востоке Европи в начале Нового времени (XVI-XVIII вв.): сборник статей / Под. ред. М.А. Кромма, Л.А. Пименовой. – СПб.: Издательство Европейского университета в Санкт-Петербурге, 2013. – 364 с.
2. Словарь основных исторических понятий: Избранные статьи в 2-х т. Т. 1 / Пер. с немецкого К. Левинсон; сост. Ю. Зарецкий, К. Левинсон, И. Ширле; научн. ред. перевода Ю. Арнаутова. – М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2014. – 736 с.
3. Гавров С.Н. Модернизация во имя империи. Социокультурные аспекты модернизационних процессов в России. – М.: УРСС, 2004. – 352 с.
4. Надюков С.А. Раннее военно-политические реформы в Османской империи // Вестник Адыгейского государственного университета. – 2009. – № 2. – С. 25-28.
5. Paradoxes of Modernization: Unintended Consequences of Public Policy Reform / Ed. by H. Margretts, P. 6, C. Hood. – Oxford University Press, 2010. – 289 p.
6. Побережников И.В. Теория модернизации: основные этапы еволюции // Проблемы истории России. – 2001. – № 4. – С. 217-246.
7. Балезина Е.А. Современный взгляд на теорию модернизации // Вестник Пермского университета / Философия. Психология. Социология. – 2013. – № 1. – С. 156-161.
8. Матвеева Ю.И. Модернизация: теория и современность // Известия Тульского университета / Гуманитарные науки. – 2012. – № 1. – С. 154-155.
9. Modernization (modernization theory) // J. Scott, G. Marshall. A Dictionary of Sociology (3 rev. ed.). – 2009. [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу: https://bit.ly/2SU3VSC.
10. Модернизация/Социологический словарь. [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу: https://gufo.me/dict/social_dict/
11. Акишин М.О. Функции государства и процесс модернизации // Ленинградский юридический журнал. – 2011. – № 3. — С. 58-74.
12. Сухарев М.В Компаративная экономика и теория модернизации. – Петрозаводск: Карельский научный центр РАН, 2011. – 104 с.
13. Tipps D.C. Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective // Comparative Studies in Society and History. – 1973. – Vol. 15, № 2. – P. 199-226.
14. Келлер Я. Модернизация – гуманизация общества или коррозия бытия? Критические заметки о теории модернизации // Социологический вестник. – 2002. – № 7. – С. 49-52.
15. Райнерт Е. Як багаті країни забагатіли і чому бідні країни залишаются бідними. – К.: Темпора, 2014. – 331 с.
16. Kıvanç K.K., Pamuk Ş. Different Paths to the Modern State in Europe: The Interaction Between Warfare, Economic Structure, and Political Regime // American Political Science Review. – 2013. – Vol. 107, № 3. – P. 603-626.
17. Gencer B. Islâm'da Modernleşme. 1839-1939. – Istanbul: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2012. – 2118 s.
18. Штомпка П. Модернизация как социальное становление (10 тезисов по модернизации). Основной доклад на Первом международном форуме по модернизации, Пекин, 8 августа 2013 г. // Економические и социальные перемены: факты, тенденции, прогноз. — 2013. – № 6. – С. 119-126.
19. Асеев А.Д., Шишков Д.Д. Модернизация государственного управления в империях нового времени: сравнительный политологический аналіз // Управление. – 2018. – № 1. – С. 45-46.
20. Еволюция политических институтов Запада / Отв. ред. К.Г. Холодковский. – М.: ИМЕМО РАН, 1999. – 252 с.
21. Bayly C.A. The birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global connections and comparisons. – Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. — 540p.
22. Karpat K.H. The transformation of the Ottoman state 1789-1908 // International Journal of Middle East Studies. – 1972. – № 3. – P. 243-281.
23. Atabaki T., Zürcher E.J. Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah. – N.Y.: I.B. Tauris, 2004. – 293 p.

24. Шишков В.В. Османская империя от завоевания и интеграции периферий к попыткам модернизации // Социум и власть. – 2012. – № 6. – С. 111-115.
25. Кудряшова И.В. Турция как феномен современности // Политическая наука. – 2008. – № 4. – С. 125-150.
26. Якупов С.Ф. Особенности исламской цивилизации: менталитет, политико-правовые и экономические институты // Вестник Челябинского государственного университета. – 2012. – № 35. – С. 95-100.
27. Gökçek M. Centralization during the era of Mahmud II // Osmanlı araştırmalı. – 2001. – № 21. – P. 237-255.
28. Korkmaz A., Bilici I. E. Şerif Mardin'in sosyal değişim ve kültürel tartişmalarinda modernleşme, iletişim ve dil bağlantisi // Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü. – 2012. – № 21. – S. 31-51.
29. Erimtan C. Ottomans looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey. – N.Y.: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008. – 278 p.
30. Stephanov D.N. Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908. – Edinburgh university press, 2018. – 288 p.
31. Budak A. Osmanlı Modernlesmesi ve Edebiyat // Dumlupınar Ünıversitesi sosyal bilimler dergisi. – 2007. – № 18. – S. 1-28.
32. Karabulut M. Tanzimat dönemi'nde osmanlinin yenileşme sürecine bir bakiş // Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları. – 2010. – № 187. – S. 125-138.
33. The state of the Subaltern: modernization, society and the state in Turkey and Iran / Ed. by T. Atabaki. – N.Y.: I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2007. – 273 p.
34. Ким О.В. Историческая модель перехода обществ Востока в Раннее Новое время // Вестник Кемеровского государственного университета. – 2014. – № 3, Т. 2. – С. 66-70.
35. Faroqhi S. Approaching Ottoman History. An Introduction to the Sources. – Cambridge university press, 2004. – 274 p.
36. Побережников И.В. Теория модернизации: основные етапы эволюции // Проблемы истории России. – 2001. – № 4. – С. 217-246.
37. Витол А.В. Османская империя (начало XVIII в.). – М.: Наука, 1987. – 136 с.
38. Kia M. The Ottoman Empire. – Westport: Greenwood press, 2008. – 248 p.
39. Itzkowitz N. Ottoman empire and the Islamic tradition. – Chicago: The university of Chicago press, 1972. – 117 p.
40. Ottoman tulips, Ottoman coffee. Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century/ ed. D. Sajdi. — N.Y.: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007. — 273p.
41. Barkey K. Empire of Difference The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective. – Cambridge University Press, 2008. – 360 p.
42. Ulusoy K. "Saving the State" Again: Turks Face the Challenge of European Governance. [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу: http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/58/39/35371183.pdf
43. История Османского государства, общества, цивилизации: В 2 т. / Ред Э. Ихсаноглу. – Т. 1. – М.: Восточная литература, 2006. – 602 с.
44. Мусаева С.И., Халимбекова Э.Р. Османская империя и политика европейских государств во второй половине XVIII в. // Известия ДГПУ. – 2015. – № 1. – С. 11-15.
45. Çiydem E. Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Arka Planı // Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi. – 2014. – Cilt: 22, № 1. – S. 321-338.
46. Reform C. Aydın // Ágoston G., Masters B. Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire. – N.Y.: Facts On File, 2009. – 689 p.
47. Türkiye'de modernleşme ve ulusal kimlik / Ed. by R. Kasaba S. Bozdoğan. – Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 1998. – 595 s.
48. Zorlu T. Innovation and Empire in Turkey: Sultan Selim III and the Modernisation of the Ottoman Navy. – N.Y.: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008. – 269 p.

49. Лаврухина Е.В. Селим III и его реформы в современной турецкой исторической литературе // Отечественная османистика и туркология: итоги и перспективы: Доклады и сообщения международного научно-практического семинара, 2 июля 2009 года, проведенного в рамках II Евразийского научного форума. – Казань, 2009. – С. 74-82.
50. Mardin Ş. Türk modernleşmesi. – Istanbul: İletişim, 1991. – 366 s.
51. Дестари салих тарихи. [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу: http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Turk/XVIII/1720-1740/Destari_Salih/text.htm
52. Alderson A.D. The structure of the Ottoman dynasty. – Oxford: Clarendon press, 1956. – 252 p.
53. Финкель К. История Османской империи: видение Османа 1299-1922. – М.: АСТ, 2014. – 848 с.
54. Ataullah A. Tarih-i Ata'nın Eşar Faslına Dair Olan. Dorduncu Cildidir. – Istanbul: 1293 [1876]. – 67 s.
55. Hanioğlu M. Şükrü. A brief history of the Late Ottoman Empire. – Princeton university press, 2008. – 264 p.
56. Afyoncu E. Sorularla Osmanli Imparatorluğu. – Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2012. – 1313 s.
57. Engelhardt E.P. La Turquie et le Tanzimat. Ou les histoire des reformes dans L`empire Ottoman depuis 1826 jusqu`a nos jours. – Paris, 1882. – 331 p.
58. Yakut E. Ottoman ulama during the ottoman reform period // Proceedings of ISER International Conference, Buenos Aires, Argentina**,** 3rd-4th September 2017. – P. 1-4.

References

1. Kromm, M.A. & Pymenova, L.A. (Eds.) (2013). *Fenomen reform na Zapade y Vostoke Evropy v nachale Novogo vremeny (XVI-XVIII vv.)* [The phenomenon of reforms in the West and East of Europe at the beginning of the New Time (XVI-XVVII centuries)]. Sankt-Peterburg: Yzdatelstvo Evropejskogo unyversyteta v Sankt-Peterburge. [In Russian].
2. Zareczkyj, Y., Levynson, K. & Shyrle Y. (Eds.). (2014). *Slovar osnovnyh ystorycheskyh ponyatyj: Yzbrannye staty v 2-kh t. T. 1* [Dictionary of basic historical concepts: Selected articles in 2 volumes]. Moskva: Novoe lyteraturnoe obozrenye. [In Russian].
3. Gavrov, S.N. (2004). *Modernyzacyya vo ymya ymperyy. Socyokulturnye aspekty modernyzacyonnyx processov v Rossyy* [Modernization in the name of the empire. Sociocultural aspects of modernization processes in Russia]. Moskva: URSS. [In Russian].
4. Nadyukov, S.A. (2009). Rannee voenno-polytycheskye reformy v Osmanskoj ymperyy [Early military-political reforms in the Ottoman Empire]. *Vestnyk Adygejskogo gosudarstvennogo unyversyteta* [Bulletin of the Adygea State University], *2*, 25-28. [In Russian].
5. Margretts, H., Perri 6, Hood, C. (Eds.) (2010). *Paradoxes of Modernization: Unintended Consequences of Public Policy Reform*. Oxford University Press. [In English].
6. Poberezhnykov, Y.V. (2001). Teoryya modernyzacyy: osnovnye etapy evolyucyy [The theory of modernization: the main stages of evolution]. *Problemy ystoryy Rossyy* [Problems of the history of Russia], *4*, 217-246. [In Russian].
7. Balezyna, E.A. (2013). Sovremennyj vzglyad na teoryyu modernyzacyy [A modern look at modernization theory].. *Vestnyk Permskogo unyversyteta* [Bulletin of the Perm University / Philosophy. Psychology. Sociology], *1*, 156-161. [In Russian].
8. Matveeva, Yu.Y. (2012). Modernyzacyya: teoryya y sovremennost [Modernization: theory and modernity]. *Yzvestyya Tulskogo unyversyteta* [Bulletin of Tula University / Humanities], *1*, 154-155. [In Russian].
9. Modernization (modernization theory) (2009). In J. Scott, G. Marshall (Eds.), *A Dictionary of Sociology*, [Online] (3 rev. ed.). Available from: https://bit.ly/2SU3VSC [In English]
10. Modernyzacyya [Modernization] (2019). [Online] *Socyologycheskyj slovar* [Sociological Dictionary]. Available from: https://gufo.me/dict/social_dict/ [Accessed: 15th February 2019]. [In Russian].

11. Akyshyn, M.O. (2011). Funkcyy gosudarstva y process modernyzacyy [The functions of the state and the process of modernization]. *Lenyngradskyj yurydycheskyj zhurnal* [Leningrad Law Journal], *3*, 58-74. [In Russian].
12. Suharev, M.V. (2011). *Komparatyvnaya ekonomyka y teoryya modernyzacyy* [Comparative Economics and Theory of Modernization]. Petrozavodsk: Karelskyj nauchnyj centr RAN. [In Russian].
13. Tipps, D.C. (1973). Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *15(2)*, 199-226. [In English].
14. Keller, Ya. (2002). Modernyzacyya – gumanyzacyya obshhestva yly korrozyya bytyya? Krytycheskye zametky o teoryy modernyzacyy [Modernization – the humanization of society or the corrosion of being? Critical notes on the theory of modernization]. *Sociologyceskie issledovaniya* [Sociological Bulletin], *7*, 49-52. [In Russian].
15. Rajnert, E. (2014). *Yak bagati krayiny zabagatily i chomu bidni krayiny zalyshayutsya bidnymy* [How rich countries got rich and why poor countries stay poor]. Kyiv: Tempora. [In Ukrainian].
16. Kıvanç K. & Pamuk, Ş. (2013). Different Paths to the Modern State in Europe: The Interaction Between Warfare, Economic Structure, and Political Regime. *American Political Science Review, 107(3)*, 603-626. [In English].
17. Gencer, B. (2012). *Islâm'da Modernleşme. 1839-1939.* Istanbul: Doğu Batı Yayınları. [In Turkish].
18. Shtompka, P. (2013). Modernyzacyya kak socyalnoe stanovlenye (10 tezysov po modernyzacyy). Osnovnoj doklad na Pervom mezhdunarodnom forume po modernyzacyy, Pekyn, 8 avgusta 2013 g. [Modernization as a social formation (10 theses on modernization). Keynote address at the First International Forum on Modernization, Beijing, August 8, 2013] *Ekonomycheskye y socyalnye peremeny: fakty, tendencyy, prognoz* [Economic and social changes: facts, trends, forecast], *6*, 119-126. [In Russian].
19. Aseev, A.D. & Shyshkov, D.D. (2018). Modernyzacyya gosudarstvennogo upravlenyya v imperiyakh novogo vremeny: sravnytelnyj polytologycheskyj analyz [Modernization of public administration in the empires of the new time: a comparative political analysis]. *Upravlenye* [Management], *1*, 45-46. [In Russian].
20. Holodkovskyj, K.G. (Ed.). (1999). *Evolyucyya polytycheskyx ynstytutov* Zapada [The evolution of political institutions in the West]. Moskva: YMEMO RAN. [In Russian].
21. Bayly, C.A. (2004). *The birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global connections and comparisons*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. [In English].
22. Karpat, K.H. (1972). The transformation of the Ottoman state 1789-1908. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *3*, 243-281. [In English].
23. Atabaki, T. & Zürcher, E.J. (2004). *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah*. N.Y.: I.B. Tauris. [In English].
24. Shyshkov, V.V. (2012). Osmanskaya imperiya ot zavoevaniya y integracyy peryferyj k popytkam modernyzacyy [The Ottoman Empire from the conquest and integration of peripherals to attempts at modernization]. *Socyum i vlast* [Society and power], *6*, 111-115. [In Russian].
25. Kudryashova, Y.V. (2008). Turtsyya kak fenomen sovremennosty [Turkey as a modern phenomenon]. *Polytycheskaya nauka* [Political science], *4*, 125-150. [In Russian].
26. Yakupov, S.F. (2012). Osobennosty yslamskoj cyvylyzacyy: mentalytet, polytyko-pravovye y ekonomycheskye ynstytuty [Features of Islamic civilization: mentality, political, legal and economic institutions]. *Vestnyk Chelyabynskogo gosudarstvennogo unyversyteta* [Bulletin of Chelyabinsk State University], *35*, 95-100. [In Russian].
27. Gökçek, M. (2001). Centralization during the era of Mahmud II. *Osmanlı araştırmalı*, *21*, 237-255. [In English].
28. Korkmaz, A. & Bilici, I.E. (2012). Şerif Mardin'in sosyal değişim ve kültürel tartişmalarinda modernleşme, iletişim ve dil bağlantisi. *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü*, *21*, 31-51. [In Turkish].

29. Erimtan, C. (2008). *Ottomans looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey*. N.Y.: Tauris Academic Studies. [In English].
30. Stephanov, D.N. (2018). *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908*. Edinburgh University Press. [In English].
31. Budak, A. (2007). Osmanlı Modernlesmesi ve Edebiyat. *Dumlupınar Ünıversitesi sosyal bilimler dergisi*. (18), 1-28. [In Turkish].
32. Karabulut, M. (2010). Tanzimat dönemi'nde osmanlinin yenileşme sürecine bir bakiş. *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları, 187*, 125-138. [In Turkish].
33. Touraj, A. (Ed.) (2007). *The state of the Subaltern: modernization, society and the state in Turkey and Iran*. N.Y.: I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd. [In English].
34. Kym, O.V. (2014). Istory'cheskaya model perekhoda obshhestv Vostoka v Rannee Novoe vremya [The historical model of the transition of East societies to Early New time]. *Vestnyk Kemerovskogo gosudarstvennogo unyversyteta* [Bulletin of the Kemerovo State University], *3*, 66-70. [In Russian].
35. Faroqhi, S. (2004). *Approaching Ottoman History. An Introduction to the Sources*. Cambridge university press. [In English].
36. Poberezhnykov, Y.V. (2001). Teoryya modernyzacyy: osnovnye etapy evolyucyy [Theory of modernization: the main stages of evolution]. *Problemy istorii Rossii* [Problems of the history of Russia], *4*, 217-246. [In Russian].
37. Vytol, A.V. (1987). *Osmanskaya ymperyya (nachalo XVIII v.)* [Ottoman Empire (beginning of the 18th century)]. Moskva: Nauka. [In Russian].
38. Kia, M. (2008). *The Ottoman Empire*. Westport: Greenwood press. [In English].
39. Itzkowitz, N. (1972). *Ottoman empire and the Islamic tradition.* Chicago: The university of Chicago press. [In English].
40. Sajdi, D. (Ed.) (2007). *Ottoman tulips, Ottoman coffee. Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*. N.Y.: Tauris Academic Studies. [In English].
41. Barkey, K. (2008). *Empire of Difference the Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press. [In English].
42. Ulusoy, K. (2019).*"Saving the State" Again: Turks Face the Challenge of European Governance* [Online]. Available from: http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/58/39/35371183.pdf [Accessed: 20th February 2019]. [In English].
43. Yhsanoglu, E. (Ed.). (2006). *Ystoryya Osmanskogo gosudarstva, obshhestva, cyvylyzacyy: V 2 t.* [History of the Ottoman state, society, civilization: In 2 volumes]. *T.1*. Moskva: Vostochnaya lyteratura. [In Russian].
44. Musaeva, S.Y. & Khalymbekova, E.R. (2015). Osmanskaya imperyya y polytyka evropejskykh gosudarstv vo vtoroj polovyne XVIII v. [The Ottoman Empire and the politics of European states in the second half of the XVIII century]. *Yzvestyya DGPU, 1*, 11-15. [In Russian].
45. Çiydem, E. (2014). Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Arka Planı. *Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi, 22(1),* 321-338. [In Turkish].
46. Aydın, C. (2009). Reform. In Ágoston, G., Masters, B. (Eds.). *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*. N.Y.: Facts On File. [In English].
47. Kasaba, R. & Bozdoğan S. (Eds.). (1998). *Türkiye'de modernleşme ve ulusal kimlik*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları. [In Turkish].
48. Zorlu, T. (2008). *Innovation and Empire in Turkey: Sultan Selim III and the Modernisation of the Ottoman Navy*. N.Y.: Tauris Academic Studies. [In English].
49. Lavrukhyna, E.V. (July 2, 2009). Selym III y ego reformy v sovremenno tureczkoj ystorycheskoj literature [Selim III and his reforms in modern Turkish historical literature]. *Otechestvennaya osmanystyka y turkologyya: ytogy y perspektyvy: Doklady y soobshhenyya mezhdunarodnogo nauchno-praktycheskogo semynara, 2 yyulya 2009 goda, provedennogo v ramkax II Evrazy`jskogo nauchnogo foruma* [Russian Ottoman Studies and Turkology: results and

prospects: Reports and messages of the international scientific and practical seminar, July 2, 2009, held as part of the II Eurasian Scientific Forum] (pp. 74-82). Kazan. [In Russian].
50. Mardin, Ş. (1991). *Türk modernleşmesi*. Istanbul: İletişim. [In Turkish].
51. Destary salyh taryhy [Online]. Available from: http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Turk/XVIII/1720-1740/Destari_Salih/text.htm [Accessed: 15th March 2019]. [In Russian].
52. Alderson, A.D. (1956). *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*. Oxford: Clarendon press. [In English].
53. Fynkel', K. (2014). *Ystoryya Osmanskoj ymperyy: vydenye Osmana 1299-1922* [History of the Ottoman Empire: A Vision of Ottoman 1299-1922]. Moskva: AST. [In Russian].
54. Ataullah, A. (1876). *Tarih-i Ata'nın Eşar Faslına Dair Olan. Dorduncu Cildidir*. Istanbul. [In Turkish].
55. Hanioğlu, M.Ş. (2008). *A brief history of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton university press. [In English].
56. Afyoncu, E. (2012). *Sorularla Osmanli Imparatorluğu*. Istanbul:Yeditepe Yayınevi. [In Turkish].
57. Engelhardt, E.P. (1882). *La Turquie et le Tanzimat. Ou les histoire des reformes dans L`empire Ottoman depuis 1826 jusqu`a nos jours*. Paris. [In French].
58. Yakut Esra. (2017, September 3-4). Ottoman ulama during the ottoman reform period [Paper presentation]. *Proceedings of ISER International Conference*, (pp. 1-4). Buenos Aires, Argentina, [In English].

Чалий А. Концепція модернізації Османської імперії у XVIII ст.

Стаття висвітлює процеси реформування Османської імперії впродовж XVIII століття з позицій «теорії модернізації», яка, зважаючи на наукові й ідеологічні позиції другої половини XX століття, мала на меті вибудувати уніфікований магістральний шлях розвитку суспільств незалежно від їхньої історико-культурної чи цивілізаційної специфіки – від бідності до багатства, від політичної розпорошеності до створення модерної нації. Робиться спроба змоделювати загальний шаблон розуміння і впровадження владою необхідних реформ для успішної конкуренції Османської держави із європейськими країнами. Робиться наголос на двозначності самої концепції, і що з самого моменту виникнення як дослідницької гіпотези, теорія модернізації увібрала в себе велетенський масив різноманітних ідей, теорій та припущень, суперечливих та все ж існуючих у соціальних науках, зокрема історії, що намагаються дати відповідь на питання як країнам Західної Європи, що загалом були слабшими від своїх неєвропейських суперників, вдалося здійснити комплекс заходів по оновленню, чи то пак створенню нового типу організації суспільства, що дозволило країнам «Заходу» вже в другій половині XIX століття бути абсолютними світовими лідерами в усіх можливих галузях. В статті робиться акцент на соціальній видозміні Османської імперії впродовж XVIII-XIX століть, коли численні спроби поступових реформ в окремих сферах, пов`язаних в першу чергу із військовою справою, засвідчили намагання правлячих верхівок османів здійснити системні реформи для надолуження втрачених позицій на геополітичній арені. Робиться спроба обережної оцінки даних явищ для відповіді чи були ці зміни модернізацією чи «вестернізацією» (при відзначенні суперечності даних термінів), аналізуються фактори які сприяли й заважали процесам модернізації та які створювали замкнене коло, без розриву якого будь-які якісні зміни були б неможливі. Наголошується на тому, що загальний напрям реформ зводився до намагання дорівнятись до європейських інституцій, умінь та реалій, зберігаючи османську самобутність.

Ключові слова: *Схід, Османська імперія, модернізація, історіографія, Східне питання, індустріальне суспільство.*

Чалый А. Концепция модернизации Османской империи в XVIII в.

В статье исследуется процесс реформирования Османской империи в XVIII веке с позиций совокупности взглядов на типологию развития обществ в Новое и Новейшее время получившее комплексное название «теория модернизации», и обьеденяющея в себе множество разнообразных подоходов и гипотез на суть качественных преобразований, что привели к созданию обществ современного типа – индустриальных и частично постиндустриальных, создав современное государство, нации и экономику. Анализируеться комплекс обоснований, каким образом и благодаря чему западные общества смогли призвести качественный рывок вперёд и во второй половине XIX века доминировать по всей планете, хотя до этого уступали Азийским цивилизациям и государствам по всем основным параметрам, Основная проблема, почему обществам условного «Востока» не удалось такое же, несмотря на наличие всех необходимых элементов. Суммируеться и характеризуються сами реформы и полученая модель используеться в качестве методического инструмента в приложении к обществам «Востока», а конкретно к его репрезентативной части – Османской империи, что в XVIII веке после ряда существенных военный и политических поражений вступила в полосу «упадка», продемонстрировала желание к переменам и частино призвела их но так и не смогла создать полноценно новый социально-политический организм для успешного противостояния западноевропейским странам. Характеризируется процессы политических, военных и экономических пертурбаций, происходивших при правлении одних из самых неизвестных султанов – Махмуда I (1730-1754), Османа III (1754-1757), Абдулхамида I (1774-1789). Автор пытаеться ответить, были ли эти преобразования вестернизацией – пустым и бездумным копированием европейського опыта, или османские власти пытались эмулировать европейцев – приравняться к европейским институциям и даже превзойти их на основе собственного опыта и ресурсов.

Ключевые слова: *Восток, Османская империя, модернизация, историография, Восточный вопрос, индустриальное общество.*