

*From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks, and Southeast Asia*

Edited by A. C. S. PEACOCK and ANNABEL TEH GALLOP (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 2015), xiv + 348 pp. Price HB £70.00. EAN 978-0197265819.

The relations between Muslim Southeast Asia and the major contemporary Muslim power, the Ottoman Empire, have long remained under-researched. In English-language scholarship, a few articles by Anthony Reid on the sixteenth-century and late nineteenth-century diplomatic and military relations between Aceh and the Ottomans, published more than 40 years ago, pretty much summed up the available knowledge. There was little interest in pushing research beyond Reid's findings, for one could seriously doubt whether there was anything worth discovering. The relationships did not appear to have amounted to much beyond Acehnese professions of allegiance to the Ottoman Sultan as their suzerain and requests for military support against the Portuguese in the mid-sixteenth and against the Dutch in the late nineteenth centuries, and a half-hearted Ottoman gesture of support in the form of the dispatch of a number of gunsmiths to Aceh in the earlier period. Moreover, the linguistic range needed for a more systematic study of primary sources (Ottoman Turkish, Malay, Portuguese, Dutch) was an additional deterrent to most young scholars.

In the past decade, however, there has been a remarkable revival of interest in the subject, of which this edited volume is the latest product. To some extent, this renewed interest was due to the 2004 tsunami that devastated large parts of Aceh and was followed by a vast international relief and rehabilitation effort, in which Turkish relief organizations distinguished themselves favourably. Both Acehnese and Turks rediscovered the old connection between their countries. The Turkish Red Crescent not only rebuilt houses for tsunami victims but also restored the grave of a locally venerated saint, Teungku di Bitay, who was believed to have been one of the sixteenth-century Ottoman gunsmiths sent to Aceh, adding for good measure about a hundred anonymous gravestones decorated with the Turkish flag to symbolize his Ottoman companions and their descendants.

In academic studies, new ground was covered in an article by the Ottoman historian Giancarlo Casale (in *Turcica*, 37, 2005), on the mission of the Ottoman sea captain and diplomat Lutfi, who accompanied the first batch of artillerymen and gunsmiths to Aceh and returned to Istanbul in 1565 with requests for a more serious Ottoman commitment in ships and troops and weapons. This was the first significant publication based on first-hand study of pertinent Ottoman documents. Casale placed this mission in the context of the brief period of Ottoman expansion into the Indian Ocean under the vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the 1560s, covered more extensively in his subsequent 2010 book, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (OUP). Salih Özbaran, who in 1969 as a young Ottoman historian had contributed to one of Reid's early articles by translating the only hitherto published Turkish account of the Ottoman fleet that visited Aceh, published a book-length study on the same period, *Ottoman Expansion toward the Indian Ocean in the 16th Century* (Istanbul, 2009). Facilitated by the

improved accessibility of the major Ottoman archives, several other Turkish scholars worked on what could be found there on Aceh and Southeast Asia more generally. Two of them contribute to this collection of studies.

The volume under review is the product of an ambitious British Academy research project co-ordinated by the editors, in which historians, literary scholars and philologists mined not only Ottoman and Dutch but also Portuguese, Spanish and American archives, Malay oral tradition and literature, as well as Southeast Asian manuscripts, for new insights into Ottoman–Southeast Asian relations. The editors' introduction provides a useful summary of the state of the art, and in another introductory article Anthony Reid, who has for more than four decades remained the leading historian of Aceh, revisits his own early work on Acehnese–Ottoman contacts, and sketches the advances in research up to the present day.

Important new material on Ottoman–Acehnese relations in the mid-sixteenth century from Portuguese sources is presented by Jorge Santos Alves (who has previously published extensively in Portuguese on the Malay peninsula and North Sumatra in this period). I found it especially fascinating to read of the important role of Portuguese Jews and New Christians (i.e., recent and mostly involuntary converts from Iberian Islam or Sephardic Judaism) as traders in the East and intermediaries between Istanbul and Aceh. It brought to mind Casale's suggestion that there might be a connection between a violent uprising of Moriscos in Iberia in the late 1560s and concerted Muslim action against the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean of the same period, in both of which the Ottomans were approached for support, which was refused by the Sultan in nearly identical letters.

Andrew Peacock surveys the economic relationships between the Ottomans and Southeast Asia in the seventeenth century, using Ottoman geographical works and Western travelogues besides a wide range of secondary sources. The Ottoman state was not involved with Southeast Asia in this period, but there were extensive trading relations. Peacock's overview is necessarily fragmented due to the dispersed nature of relevant data but gives a good impression of the goods that were traded (pepper and other spices, but also a host of other goods), the ports between which trade took place and the traders (mainly based in India) who were the major actors in this market, and the (possibly) Ottoman subjects that travellers encountered in various parts of the region, even as far as the Moluccas. Most of these Ottomans—Muslims as well as non-Muslims, notably Armenians—were traders but a few individuals came to hold administrative positions in Southeast Asian polities.

Hadhrami traders and scholars constituted the most conspicuous network connecting the Eastern and Western extremes of the Indian Ocean (as well as the shores in between), but they always were at best on the fringes of Ottoman state and society. In fact, the attempts by some Indonesian Hadhramis to be recognized as Ottoman subjects around the turn of the twentieth century constitute one of the subjects of Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells' contribution on the Hadhramis and Ottoman influence. Mostly based on a wide range of secondary sources, this article's claim to originality is in the analysis of some

Ottoman diplomatic correspondence from the said period. (This is done more systematically by Göksoy, see below.)

Most of the other contributions concern the renewed Ottoman interest in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century. İsmail Hakkı Kadı takes issue with what he believes to be a lasting misperception in Western scholarship that there was a Pan-Islamic movement actively fostered by Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909). The renewed Ottoman interest in other parts of the world well predated this sultan's time, he argues, and the initiative for new contacts consistently came from beleaguered Muslim polities in Asia rather than from Istanbul. The earliest petition for assistance that he found in the Ottoman archives came from the Malay state of Kedah, which in 1824 asked for support against the invading Siamese. Aceh, Riau and Jambi (in eastern Sumatra) sent similar petitions for support in response to the Dutch colonial expansion into Sumatra in the mid-nineteenth century, the ruler of Jambi even requesting the incorporation of his territory into the Ottoman Empire.

The Hamidian period is dealt with by İsmail Hakkı Göksoy, who presents the Ottoman view of the Aceh war and Dutch rule over the Indies generally on the basis of archival documents and newspapers of the period. Most of the events discussed are known from earlier studies, but this is the first time that they are narrated from an Ottoman perspective. The consul Galip Bey proudly reports back to Istanbul how he performed his Friday prayers in mosques in Batavia and Aceh where he had secured the mentioning of the Sultan in the *khutba*, as an expression of a seemingly expanding recognition of the Ottoman Caliphate as the suzerain power.

Much less has been known about the Ottoman involvement with the Muslim communities of the Southern Philippines. Isaac Donoso and William Clarence-Smith attempt to reconstruct this from pre-twentieth-century Spanish and early twentieth-century American archival materials. In the case of the earlier period, there was no actual involvement and only the occasional mention of a local ruler's desiring Ottoman support. Donoso's account is mainly a sketch of the history of the Moro sultanates as reflected in Spanish sources. The most surprising aspect of Clarence-Smith's richly sourced narrative (to this reader at least) is the role of an American district governor in Mindanao as an intermediary between the Moros and the Ottoman Caliphate, his interest in Islamic reform and his securing the appointment by the Sultan of the learned Shaykh Muḥammad Wajīh al-Nabulsī as a 'teacher of the Moslem population of the Philippines' (p. 203).

Amrita Malhi discusses an even more ephemeral Ottoman 'presence' in Malaya in the enigmatic appearance of an Ottoman or Republican Turkish flag (the 'Bendera Stambul') in the 1928 peasant uprising of Terengganu. Chiara Formichi describes Indonesian nationalists' perceptions of the Turkish revolution and the impact of the Kemalist reforms on debates on Islamism versus secularism during the final decades of Dutch rule. The Malay literary scholar Vladimir Braginsky surveys the presence of Turks, the Ottoman Empire (as Rum or Istanbul) and the Ottoman Sultan (*rāja Rūm*) in the Malay imagination of an earlier period, the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. Transnational ulema

networks connecting the Ottoman and Southeast Asian worlds are discussed by Oman Fathurahman, Indonesia's leading expert of Islamic manuscripts. He describes, among many other things, two nineteenth-century *khutba* manuscripts from Aceh that show that the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II's name was read in the sermon, and adduces some additional information on the seventeenth–eighteenth century Acehnese author Bābā Dāwūd, who may have been a local-born man of Turkish descent writing in Malay. Ali Akbar, finally, investigates the influence of the physical appearance of Ottoman Qur'ān on Southeast Asian Qur'ānic calligraphy and printing.

The volume as a whole does not offer dramatically new insights but represents a significant incremental growth of knowledge in a wide range of related areas. It presents a kaleidoscopic view of the Ottoman–Southeast Asian nexus and the great variety of places and circumstances and other contributing powers. Each of the chapters offers at least some new material, although several of the contributors have published major findings elsewhere before. No one interested in the transnational dimensions of Southeast Asian Islam or Ottoman foreign policy can afford to neglect this volume.

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*Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia: Sufi Dimensions to the Formation of Bosnian Muslim Society*

By INES AŠČERIĆ-TODD (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), xiii + 198 pp. Price HB €110.00. EAN 978–9004278219.

This book continues Brill's prestigious series 'The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage—Politics, Society and Economy'; its author holds a doctorate from the University of Oxford and currently teaches Arabic language and literature at the University of Edinburgh. On both counts, readers may expect well-documented and balanced argument properly fitted to established scholarship on the history and role of Sufi/dervish orders in Bosnia and the Balkans more widely: they will not be disappointed.

*Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia* has three major parts. The first looks, through the early stages of the Ottoman conquest and settlements of Bosnia, the establishment of urban centres, etc., at the Sufi contribution to this early development of 'Bosnian Muslim Society'. To a great extent the Sufis stood for a pacifying or revitalizing aspect of the conquest. Aščerić-Todd identifies the most remarkable dervishes of the time, recounts the construction of the first *tekkes* and hostels in Bosnia and explains their complex role.

The second part sets out how dervish-Sufi traditions permeated the life of the urban centres, their guilds, trades and crafts. The author examines in particular