REFLECTIONS OF AN EXTERNAL WORLD

IN THE OTTOMAN MIND

THE PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF

KNOWLEDGE

IN THE 18$^{\text{TH}}$ CENTURY OTTOMAN SOCIETY

A Masters's Thesis

by

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Department of History
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
September 2011

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Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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in

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ANKARA

September 2011

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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ABSTRACT

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Tekgül, Nil

M.A., Department of History

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September 2011

This thesis attempts to investigate Ottoman "perception of knowledge". The construction of collective perception of knowledge, various knowledge concepts, spaces for knowledge production, modes and channels of transmission are analyzed. It discusses the role of oral and written modes of transmission and claims that the loosening classical organizational structure of the Empire and the social transformation experienced in the 18th century, had an impact on the society's perception of knowledge. It is assumed in this thesis that knowledge was being transmitted by three different layers of society, namely "high-ranking professionals", "secondary professionals" and the "public". The main argument of this thesis is being tested by the empirical data showing the professional status of knowledge transmitters, the books they owned, and the contents of the books which were classified with respect to the kind of knowledge they possessed. The empirical data used consists of 2 registers of *kısmet-i askeriye*, individual distinct records chosen from *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Baş Muhasebe Kalemi* dating the first half of 18th century, and one Üsküdar *court record*. This thesis carries the previous research done on "Ottoman book culture" one step further for a better and meaningful interpretation of the results, and views the role of books from the perspective of perception of knowledge. Thus, it also hopes to provide an insight to the question of "Why did printing come late to Ottoman world?" that has occupied the minds of Ottoman historians for half a century.

Keywords; production, transmission, knowledge, Ottoman History, books, probate inventory records

ÖZET

DIŞ DÜNYANIN OSMANLI ZİHNİNDEKİ YANSIMALARI

18. yy OSMANLI TOPLUMUNDA "BiLGi"NİN ÜRETİMİ VE AKTARIMI

Tekgül, Nil

Master, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç

Eylül 2011

Bu tez Osmanlı bilgi algısını konu edinmektedir. Kolektif bilgi algısının oluşumu, Osmanlı'da farklı bilgi türlerini üretim mekanları, bilgi aktarım tarzları ve bu tarzlar üzerinden oluşturulan farklı aktarım kanalları incelenmektedir. Sözlü ve yazılı kültür pratiklerinin bilgi aktarımındaki rolü ve etkinlikleri tartışılmakta, 18.yy'da deneyimlenen Osmanlı toplumsal değişim ve dönüşüm sürecinin aynı zamanda kolektif bilgi algısını da etkilediği iddia edilmektedir. Bilgi aktarımının toplumda 3 ayrı katman tarafından gerçekleştiği varsayımına dayanarak, farklı katmanlarda yer alan aktarıcıların mesleki statüleri, sahip oldukları kitapların adetleri ve Osmanlı bilgi türlerine göre tasnifi gerçekleştirilen kitap içerik analizleri ile bu iddia ampirik veriler ışığında test edilmektedir. Konunun teorik çerçevesi 18.yy'a ait iki adet kısmet-i askeriyye defteri, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Baş Muhasebe Kalemi tarafından düzenlenen münferit tereke kayıtları ve bir adet Üsküdar mahkemesince düzenlenen kadı sicilleri ile ampirik olarak desteklenmektedir. Bu tez, bugüne kadar Osmanlı kitap kültürü kapsamında yapılan araştırmaların ortaya koymuş olduğu benzer sonuçları, farklı bir bakış açısı ile bir adım öteye taşıyarak, araştırma sonuçlarının sebeplerini açıklamaya yönelik bir katkıda bulunmakta böylelikle Osmanlı tarihçilerinin yarım yüzyıl boyunca zihinlerini meşgul eden "Matbaa Osmanlı'ya neden geç geldi?" sorusuna da yanıt olabilme ümidini taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler; bilgi, "bilgi üretimi", "bilgi aktarımı", "18.yy Osmanlı toplumu", sözlü kültür, kitap, tereke

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objective of the Thesis

Civilizations tend to develop and revolve around meaningful concepts of an abstract nature, which more than anything else gives them their distinctive character. '*Ilm* is one of the concepts that has dominated Islam and given Muslim civilization its distinctive shape and complexity.[1] Arabic '*ilm* is fairly well rendered by the term "knowledge". However, Rosenthal argues that "knowledge" falls short of expressing all the factual and emotional contents of '*ilm*.[2] Although it is considered to be the root of every innovation in human society today, and has been thus respected by many civilizations as such, different civilizations may have emphasized different aspects of knowledge. From a comparative perspective, it becomes, then, a valid

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[1] Franz Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam, Leiden, Netherlands, E.J.Brill, 1970, p.1. Franz Rosenthal (August 31, 1914 – April 8, 2003)was a German orientalist, a prolific and highly accomplished scholar who contributed much to the development of source-critical studies in Arabic in the US. His publications range from a monograph on Humor in Early Islam to a three-volume annotated translation of the Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun to a Grammar of Biblical Aramaic. He wrote extensively on Islamic civilization, including The Muslim Concept of Freedom, The Classical Heritage in Islam, The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society, Gambling in Islam, On Suicide in Islam and Complaint and Hope in Medieval Islam, as well as three volumes of collected essays and two volumes of translations from the history of the medieval Arab historian at-Tabari, Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam.

[2] Ibid, p. 2

question if there were noticeable differences in the perception of the concept of knowledge in Classical Antiquity, in the Christian West, in Islam, in China or in India.

Rosenthal's work, Knowledge Triumphant, specifically focuses on knowledge in Islam. Rosenthal also attempts to answer the aforesaid question, in his concluding remarks. He argues that in the merging of ethics with knowledge in Greco-Roman philosophy in the Ancient World, in particular in Greco-Roman philosophy, ethics always retained the greater attraction for the minds and emotions of the Ancients, and exercised greater influence over them. He also states that the sphere of religion was never fused that of knowledge as happened later on in Islam.[3] In Greco-Roman philosophy, identifying ethics with knowledge started with Socrates.[4] For the Western civilization created by Greek and Roman world, its medieval mind was not moved by any magic spell emanating from the word "knowledge" or a belief in its unsurpassed religious and worldly merit.[5] On the contrary, Chinese and, in particular, the Neo-Confucian thought was thoroughly dominated by the idea of inseparability of knowledge from action. In the Chinese view, action, not knowledge, was the chief concern of the individual and of society.[6] The most fundamental concepts of Chinese philosophy were "balance", "harmony", and the "Golden Mean".[7] To emphasize further the variations around this theme, "action" faded into the background in India.

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[3] Ibid, p.335
[4] J. Störig, "*İlkçağ Felsefesi Hint Çin Yunan*", trns. Ömer Cemal Güngören, Yol Yayınları, İstanbul, 1994, p. 238
[5] Franz Rosenthal, *nowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, Leiden, Netherlands, E.J.Brill, 1970, p. 337
[6] Ibid, p.338
[7] J. Störig, "*İlkçağ Felsefesi Hint Çin Yunan*", trns. Ömer Cemal Güngören, Yol Yayınları, İstanbul, 1994, p. 172

Instead, epistemology at its most abstract form came to fore as the abiding preoccupation of Indian thinkers. Moreover, the discussions about the relationship of knower, knowledge and the object known showed wide variations. Indian scholars probed deeper into the abstract problem of knowledge than Muslim scholars ever did. This speculation involved a great variety of terms each of which had specific meaning. There was no single dominating term like '*ilm* in Arabic.[8]

Rosenthal claims that knowledge, was indeed, Islam. Throughout centuries, perception of knowledge encompassed all the religious, philosophical, and mystical trends and thus enabling it to be the most dominant and inclusive concept of Islamic civilization which will be thoroughly analyzed in the second chapter.

To further focus on the main subject of this thesis, it becomes an important question to answer as to what the Ottoman perception of knowledge was as the Ottoman Empire was one of the most significant Islamic states. Firstly, the terms "perception", and "perception of knowledge" used within the context of this thesis need to be clarified. In its simplest form, perception (from the Latin *perceptio, percipio*) is the process by which an organism attains awareness or understanding of its environment by organizing and interpreting sensory information. In other words, perception involves a mental process of transforming sensory information which then is codified as a concept by the use of linguistics. Transmission starts as perceptions become codified as concepts. Through the transmission of concepts, a process of collective mental construction starts and thus perception becomes socialized. This collective mental construction of perception is defined as "knowledge" in this thesis.

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[8] Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, Leiden, Netherlands, E.J.Brill, 1970, p.339-40

Besides tracing the perception of knowledge and its impact on the Ottoman society, this thesis also attempts to answer the following questions; were there different kinds of knowledge; were there any differences in the individual's perception of knowledge between the classical and the post-classical period; who were the people producing knowledge and for whom; who were the transmitters of knowledge; what kind of effects did the comparative dominance of oral culture over written culture have on perception of knowledge; was literacy a distinguishing feature in Ottoman society; how were the written texts positioned in one's social life, and how did they correspond to one's needs?

This thesis seeks to answer the aforementioned questions by analyzing the various modes and channels of transmission of knowledge, the impact of the knowledge transmitters on the formation of "perception of knowledge" and how all these factors combine to create the stereotype individual of the Ottoman society. This thesis argues that 18th century is a crucial period of transformation with signs of change in both the production and the transmission of knowledge. Besides viewing the signs of change from a theoretical perspective, it also uses probate inventory records of the 18th century. The books which were classified with respect to the distinct knowledge they possess are used as a tool to trace the knowledge transmission mechanism.

It also sets the stage for the discussion that 18th century's changing perception of knowledge might be a precursor of 19th century's intellectual dynamism, thus also hopes to provide an insight to the question of "Why did printing come late to Ottoman world?" that has occupied the minds of Ottoman historians for half a century.

1.2 Literature Review

Albert Hourani challenged the so-called "decline" thesis with his essay "Changing Face of the Fertile Crescent in the XVIII century" which was published in 1957. His work exposed the dynamics of change in the eighteenth century and concluded that Ottoman Muslim society in eighteenth century was not decaying and lifeless, but it was rather a self-contained society "before" the full impact of the West.[9] His essay was rejecting the generally accepted assumption that it was the Western countries' impact in the 18th century that which made Ottoman society self-sufficient. Another researcher Sadji argues that Ottoman historians' started to question the validity of the "decline thesis" with their productive skepticism towards their sources and intensive research using empirical data. She further claims that those empirical studies offered a portrayal of internally dynamic Ottoman state and society which could easily be compared to other societies and polities with a changing nature. [10] Although there is still an on-going debate on the validity of decline thesis, most of the historians tend to regard 17th and 18th centuries as a period of social transformation. [11]

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[9] Albert Hourani , "The Changing Face of the Fertile Crescent in the XVIIIth Century," Studia Islamica, VIII (1957), pp. 89-122

[10] Dana Sadji, "Decline, its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction" *Ottoman Tulips Ottoman Coffee, Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, (ed. Dana Sadji), New York: Tauris Academic Studies , 2007, pp. 6-7

[11] There is still a debate going on between historians who view 17th and 18th centuries as a period of "stagnation and decline", and historians viewing the period as an "adaptation and transformation". For valuable research done on both views, pls.see: Halil Inacik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age*, London, Phoneix, 1994, s.41-52; Inalcık, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration", *Studies in Eighteenthcentury Islamic History*, s.27-52; Cemal Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consiousness in the Post-Süleymanic Era", *Süleyman the Second and his Time,* ed.Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar, İstanbul, İsis Press,1993, s.37-48; Cemak Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline", *Harward Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4, no:1-2, 1997-1998, s.30-75; Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities", *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962), s.73-94; Rifa'at Abou el-Haj, *The Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire,*

However, we do not know much about the Ottoman intellectual changes in this transitional period of 17th and 18th centuries. Hathaway argues that knowledge of the intellectual and cultural history of Ottomans is very limited; although, there has been many valuable research done on the economic and social history of Ottomans.[12] Kafadar also believes that its cultural history is one of the least studied areas and that our knowledge on the perceptions of Ottoman elite and society as a whole, their intellectual and emotional world, is still limited.[13]

As a part of cultural and intellectual history, most of the research done so far around the world and in Turkey used "books" or "written texts" as their primary sources for a better understanding of the minds of people. Thus, historians first focused on the "history of books" which may be summarized as follows:

Studies on "history of books" or "book culture" in the West started with Ecole de Annales in 1950's, evaluating the importance and the place of books within historical, social and cultural context. However, these studies mostly analyzed the impact of printed books rather than manuscripts. The first of those studies was made by Lucien Febvre and Henry-Jean Martin in 1958, named "L'apparation du Livre-the Coming of the Book". It was translated into English in 1976.[14] Since then, the

Sixteenth to Eighteenth century, Albany, State University of New York Press,1991; Madeline Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800),* Minneapolis, Bibliotheca Islamica,1998; Ariel Salzmann, "An Ancien Regime Revisited: Privatization and Political Economy in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Empire", *Politics and Society* 21, no.4 (1993) s. 393-424; Cornell Fleisher, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali, 1541-1600,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.

[12] Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth Century Ottoman History", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 19/1, 2004, p.29

[13] Cemal Kafadar, Question of Ottoman Decline, *Harward Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4 (1997-1998),1-2: 56

[14] Lucien Febvre, Henry-Jean Martin, "*L'apparition du livre,*" Paris: A.Michel, 1958 the translated into English as "*The Coming of the Book, The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*", London: NLB,1976

research done on "history of books" has gained ground in European and American academia that has applied different methodologies to almost all of the sources.

Studies on Muslim book history are rather new. The first attempt to study the role of the "book" in Islamic societies was made by George N. Atiyeh in his work "the Book in the Islamic world: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East".[15]

For the societies living in the Ottoman Empire, the role of book in their lives has been the subject of study only in the last few years. There are some studies covering cities like Bursa (15-16th cc)[16], Edirne (1545-1659)[17], Istanbul (17th cc)[18], Sofia (1671-1833)[19], Damascus (1686-1717)[20], Cairo (17-18.cc)[21], Rusçuk (1695-

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[15] Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)*, İstanbul: Yeditepe , 2006. p.26

[16] Ali İhsan Karataş, "Osmanlı Tolumunda Kitap (XIV- XVI. Yüzyıllar)", *Türkler* (der. C.Güzel, K.Çiçek, S.Koca), Ankara: Yeni Türkiye (2002). Also please see his articles "Tereke Kayıtlarına göre 16.yy da Bursa'da İnsan-Kitap İlişkisi", *Uludağ Ünv. İlahiyat Fakültesi*, V: 8/8, 1999 pp. 317-328 and also "16.yy da Bursa'da Tedavüldeki Kitaplar" , *Uludağ Ünv. İlahiyat Fakültesi*, V:10/1, 2001 pp. 209-230. Karataş analyzed the books in probate records found in 200 court registers in Bursa dating 16th century, classified them with respect to owners' neighborhoods, to subjects and contents of the books, their prices and found book ownership ratios for the mentioned period. His results indicate book ownership as %37 in the period 1500-1525, %33 in 1526-1550 , %17 in 1551-1575 , and %13 in 1576-1600. In his second work, he classified 2094 books found in terekes consisting of 400 different books according to their genres, and gave a short description of the most preferred ones.

[17] Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamına Ait Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659)", *TTK, Belgeler*, III/5-6, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968

[18] Said Öztürk, Askeri Kassama ait Onyedinci Asır İstanbul Tereke Defterleri(Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil) (Istanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1995)

[19] Orlin Sabev, "Private Book Collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671-1833 (Preliminary Notes)", *Etudes Balkaniques*, 2003 No:1,pp. 34-82

[20] Colette Establet, and Jean-Paul Pascual, "Damascene Probate Inventories of the 17th and 18th Centuries: Some Preliminary Approaches and Results" *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 24/3, Aug., 1992, s. 373-393. Christoph Neumann considers this study as the only statistical one of its kind. "Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual analyzed 450 court registers during 1700s in Aleppo which was a city considred to have a high level of education. The book ownership among women were very rare, but %18 of men owned at least one book." Neumann argues that these findings were not very different from that of Europe, and regards that it may even be considered as an evidence showing that even the manuscripts may reach a large number of people. "Üç Tarz-ı Mütalaa", Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar, Sayı 1, Bahar 2005

[21] Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books, A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century,* New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003 , p. 85. Hanna analyzed the amount of books in private libraries of both askeri and reaya class for the periods (1600-1610), (1703-1714), (1730-1740), (1749-1759) in Cairo. Number of private libraries had been found as 73, 102, 190, 102 and the number of books owwned as 2.427, 3.535, 5.991, 2077 for the mentioned periods respectively.

1786)[22], Eyüp (mid-18th cc)[23], Istanbul (1724-26, 1747-48)[24], Aleppo (18th cc)[25], Trabzon ((1795-1846).[26] The latest and the most comprehensive work is Sievert's article covering 36 bureaucrats who died between 1700 and 1800.[27] It is also important to mention the work of Johann Strauss who analyzed the contents of the books read in societies with different religious faiths in the 19th and 20th century

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Hanna claims that in the 18th century, a new class or strata has been formed whose culture was different from that of both the askeri class and ulema and also from rural culture. Additionally, she argues that this middle urban class composed of artisans, merchants, craft members, şeyhs, and those positioned in lower ranks of ulema hierarchy have been the determinant of reformist movements of 19th century.

[22] Orlin Sabev, "A Reading Provincial Society: Booklovers among the Muslim Population of Ruscuk (1695-1786)", Third International Congress on Islamic Civilization in the Balkans, Bucharest, Romania, 1-5 November 2006

[23] Tülay Artan, "Terekeler Işığında 18.Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp'de Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası", *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'de Sosyal Yaşam (ed. Tülay Artan)*, İstanbul; Tarih Vakfı, 1998, s.49-64. Artan in her study, analyzed the court registers of Havass-ı Refia/Eyüp numbered 184, 185, 188 dating mid-18th century. By the use of probate records in those registers, she presents a consumption group with respect to their profession, status, level of income and housing. Although she mentions books found in tereke registers, her study was not fully concentrated on books and readers. She indicates that only one woman had a book in her inventory, and claims that this was the case with most of the women from dynasty with either no book ownership or very few consisting of prayer books and mushaf-ı şerif.

[24] Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)*, İstanbul: Yeditepe , 2006.

[25] Abraham Marcus ,*The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity , Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1989, p. 237. With his finding, Marcus defines the book culture as follows: "……A majority of the men and almost the entire population of women remained outside the ranks of the functionally literate; others read and wrote for them. This condition of restricted literacy remained a consistent feature of the community throughout the century. In practice only a portion of the literate became members of a book-reading public. Books did not penetrate deeply into people's lives, and only in part because of restricted literacy. Both their availability and contents severely limited their cultural impact. Copied and illustrated by hand, the books were expensive and scarce. Only the better-off families and those with a long tradition of learning owned sizable collections, some of them containing several thousand volumes, acquired by purchase or by copying of extant manuscripts."

[26] Abdullah Saydam, "Trabzon'da Halkın Kitap Sahibi Olma Düzeyi (1795-1846)", *Milli Eğitim*, 170 (Bahar 2006), pp.187-201. He analyzed book ownership ratio within the mentioned period using the records from 29 court registers. In his findings, %11.6 of total probate inventory records had owned 1-2 books, %2.7 percent of the total owned 3-5 books. Those owning 1-2 books constitute %53.1 of the book owners, and those owning 3-5 books constitute %12.3 of the book owners.

[27] Henning Sievert, "Verlorene Schatze-Bücher von Bürokraten in den Muhallefat Registern" in Welten Des Islams Band 3, edited by Silvia Naef, Ulrich Rudolph, Gregor Schoeler, Bern, Peter Lang, 2010, pp. 199-263. He studied the probate inventory records of 36 bureaucrats and pashas deseased within the period 1700-1800, analyzed the educational background and their interest through the books they owned, and classified the books, both the manuscripts and the printed books, according to their content.

Ottoman Empire.[28]

The aforementioned research done on Ottoman local probate inventories attempt to determine the role of books in the society by analyzing the gender, social status of the Ottoman book owners, the content and price of the books. These studies, in general also attempt to find the book ownership ratio in the society. However they remain to focus on local data and are far from presenting an accurate and comprehensive picture of a longer time horizon.

In general, their findings are consistent with each other, confirming that the most preferred book was Qur'an. Religious books, and the books on Islamic judicial law had a dominant position in probate inventories of Ottoman readers compared to those books with non-religious content like history, natural sciences, and literature. The literacy rate was low. The book ownership ratio in the Ottoman society were low except in the *ilmiyye*, religious class. However these findings are far from being an accurate tool to fully comprehend the underlying reasons for those findings in the Ottoman society.

There are also some studies done on specifically selected probate inventories rather than a time-series analysis which attempt to reconstruct the social history of the Ottoman world through content of the books owned.[29] However; these are not

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[28] Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th and 20th centuries", *Arabic Middle Eastern Literatures*, 6/1, 2003, pp. 39-76

[29] Pls. See as an example; Selim Karahasanoğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda 1730 İsyanına Dair Yeni Bulgular: İsyanın Organizatörlerinden Ayasofya Vaizi İspirizade Ahmed Efendi ve Terekesi", Christoph Neumann, "Kadı Halil Ağa'nın Kitapları", Orlin Sabev, *"İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)"*. Although Karahasanoğlu's study does not focus solely on the books owned by İspirizade, he analyzes 173 books in his private library, with respect to their names, prices, and total value of the books as a percentage of his total income. Neumann, analyzed the books owned by Halil Ağa deceased in 1751 who was a member of örf class , whose properties had been confiscated. Halil Ağa was called "Kadı Halil Ağa" due to large volume of books he owned.

sufficient either to analyze the perception of knowledge in the Ottoman society or determine its dynamics of change, or interpret the role of written texts from a wider perspective.

This thesis also takes into consideration the use of other transmission channels of knowledge in the society and various transmission methods practiced in addition to analyzing the books owned and their position in the in the Ottoman systematic of knowledge. This approach thus argues to provide a better understanding of the society's perception of knowledge presented from a wider perspective.

1.3 Methodology and Sources

Tereke or metrukat registers are the court records of the deceased Muslims showing the distribution of the remaining estates of the deceased to their heirs according to sharia, Islamic law. However, the practice was not obligatory.[30] In this respect, empirical evidence in "*tereke* registers" does not represent the society as a whole.

With the exception of cities like Bursa, and Edirne, kadıs, the judges would usually record probate inventories as a part of the registers called "*sicil-i mahfuz*", in which all the correspondence with the state, notaries, royal edicts, testimonies, court expert reports, lawsuits, etc. were recorded, including the probate inventories. Registers of

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And Neuman formed his hypothesis on Ottoman intellectual mind through the books owned by Kadı Halil Ağa. Orlin Sabev's book "İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)" is a precious work considering the sources used, the database he formed, and his arguments. His main objective is to evaluate the success of print, determine the profile of Ottoman readers of print books, while viewing the print from a different perspective. He also gives valuable information on Ottoman written culture.

[30] Inalcık, Halil, "15. Asır Türkiye İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi Kaynakları", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi Üzerinde Arşiv Çalışmaları, İncelemeler,* İstanbul: Eren, 1996, p. 188

"*sicil-i mahfuz*" were not used to record inventories specifically. This practice was valid for all the Ottoman *reaya*, tax-paying subjects.

On the other hand, the probate inventory records of *askeri* class, administrative-tax-exempt subjects, was kept and registered by the "*kassams*" working on behalf of *Kadıasker* and recorded on registers called "*kısmet-i askeriye*". In those registers only the probate records of the askeri class and the law suits related to inheritance would be recorded. That is the first reason for using the *kısmet-i askeriye* registers as the main primary source since it was assumed that those registers would contain more probate records compared to "*sicil-i mahfuz*" registers.

The primary sources used in this thesis consist of basically the probate inventory records registered in İstanbul Müftülüğü Şeriyye Sicilleri Archive. One of them is *kısmet-i askeriye* register numbered 22 covering the period hijri 1114-15 (1703-1704) having a total of 248 pages [31], and the next is *kısmet-i askeriye* register numbered 31 dated hijri 1124 (1712-1713) with 200 pages.[32] The second reason for choosing those registers initiates from the assumption that there would be a larger amount of books in the probate records of the deceased *askeriye* members. The third and final reason depends on the assumption that the members of *askeriye* class would be closer to sources where knowledge was produced, had an easier access to it, and if there had been any significant changes in reading practices it would first be observed in this group rather than the populace.

Although the aforementioned court registers constitutes the main database of this thesis, randomly selected probate inventory records in Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

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[31] Kısmet-i Askeriyye Şeriyye Sicilleri (hereinafter referred to as KAŞS), No.22
[32] KAŞS, No. 31

Baş Muhasebe Muhallefat registers issued in the period 1700-1750 were also analyzed.[33]

Additionally, the randomly selected court register of Uskudar dated hijri 1153-1154 (1741) was used to determine the book ownership of *reaya,* tax paying subjects.[34] The reason for choosing Istanbul as the space of analysis rests on the fact that it was both a center for production of knowledge and also the mostly developed center of book market and trade as the capital of the Empire.

In this thesis, the ones having at least one book are selected in those registers, and the names of the books owned are recorded. After finding the ratio of the book owners in the society, the owners are then classified with respect to their social status as a member of either *örfiyye, kalemiyye* or *ilmiyye* class. The books are then positioned in Ottoman systematic of knowledge depending on their subject.

The main assumption of this thesis is that the Ottoman society had three different main layers with respect to their functions as a knowledge transmitter. These were mainly "high-ranking professionals", "secondary professionals" and the "populace". It is also assumed that the group defined as "secondary professionals" was the main group of people transmitting knowledge to masses enabling the construction of collective perception of knowledge with their close contact with the populace, whereas "high-ranking professionals" possessing the genuine knowledge were only transmitting their knowledge to a very selected and distinguished group of people.

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[33] BOA, D-BŞM-MHF/87-12435, MHF/158-12508, MHF/116-12465, MHF/25-12373, 12382, MHF/44-12392, MHF/18-12366, MHF/21-12369, MHF/301-12652

[34] Ülkü Geçgil, Fatih Ünv. Unpublished Master's Thesis, "Uskudar at the begining of the 18th century (a case study on the text and analysis of the court register of Uskudar nr. 402)"

This thesis focuses on the content of the books owned by the "secondary professionals", identifying the similarities between the books and attempting to trace the process of change in collective perception of knowledge through those books. However, keeping in mind that written texts were not the only source of knowledge, various transmission practices are also analyzed in a comparative perspective with the written world.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTS DEFINING KNOWLEDGE

Since Ottomans were an Islamic state, in this part of the thesis, the value attributed to knowledge in Islam and different definitions of knowledge throughout centuries will be discussed.

Throughout the history of Islam, there were many definitions of "*ilm*", and the process of polishing and discussing them never stopped. Rosenthal gives more than eight hundred definitions of knowledge. He gives the classification of these definitions in a list that are neither historical nor in accordance with categories that might have been used by Muslim scholars themselves. He attempts to arrange the definitions according to what seems to be their most essential elements. He defines the term under eleven categories;

> Knowledge is the process of knowing and identical with the knower and the known, or it is an attribute enabling the knower to know.
> Knowledge is cognition.
> Knowledge is a process of "obtaining" or "finding" through mental perception. Similarly knowledge is a process of "comprehending".
> Knowledge is a process of clarification, assertion, and decision.
> Knowledge is a form (şurah), a concept or meaning (ma'na), a process of mental formation and imagination (tasavvur "perception") and/or mental verification (tasdik "apperception").
> Knowledge is belief. (ontological)

> Knowledge is remembrance, imagination, an image, a vision, and an opinion.
> Knowledge is a motion.
> Knowledge is a relative term because it is used in comparison with the object known.
> Knowledge may be defined in relation to action.
> Knowledge is conceived as the negation of ignorance.[35]

In its early usage, *ilm* was signified as accurate knowledge based on the Quran, its exposition and the sayings and examples (Sunnah) of the Prophet. Gradually the notion of *ilm* was broadened to mean "science", and an alim came to signify a scholar in a wide sense and a faqih came to mean a specialist in religious law. The numerous definitions and expositions of *ilm* produced during the classical period further expanded the notion of *ilm*. Religious, philosophical and mystical trends merged to expand the boundaries of *ilm*, which came to signify not just science but also thought and education, the deliberations of the philosophers as well as the mysticism of the Sufis, the endeavors of the calligraphers and illustrators, the art of the poets, and works of literature and belles-lettres.[36]

How was knowledge defined in Ottomans who had an Islamic identity, and what was the value attributed to it?

*Ulema i*n the Ottoman Empire were considered to be "*alim*"s, those who know. In every imperial edict addressed to kadıs, they were titled as "*evla u vulati'l muvahhidin*"- the highest in charge for administration of his territory since ulema had both juridical and administrative authority-, "*madenü'l fazl ve'l yakin*"- those who are considered to be the source of knowledge and virtue- , and "*varis u ulumi'l-enbiya' ve'l mürselin*"- those whose knowledge originates from that of the

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[35] Ibid,pp. 46-70
[36] Ziauddin Sardar, "*How We Know Ilm and the Revival of Knowledge*", Grey Seal Books, London 1991, p.2

knowledge of Prophet, heir of Prophet's own knowledge. Those esteemed titles may be assumed to indicate the value attributed to knowledge, and also to the ones who "know" in the Ottoman society.[37]

In the following section, classification of the Ottoman knowledge is reconstructed through the analysis of terms used by Ottomans in defining knowledge like *ilm, hal, haber, hüner, fen, sanat, marifet* and *adab.*
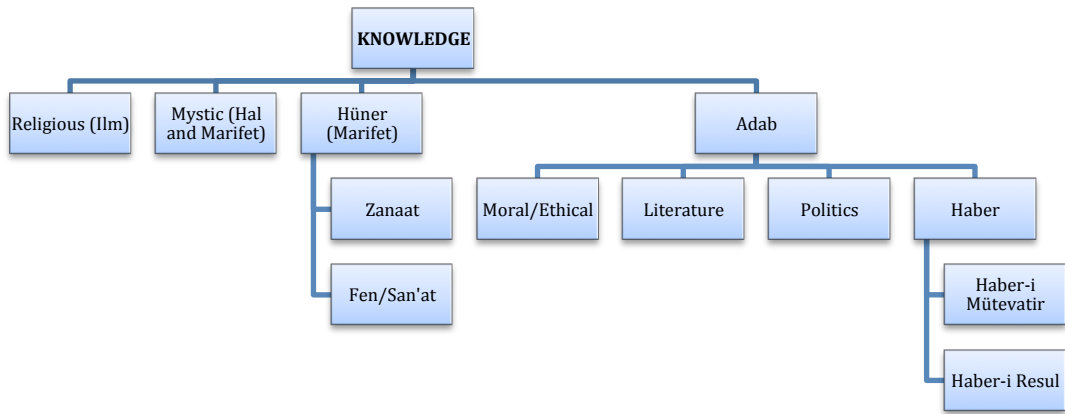
Figure 1. Classification of Ottoman Knowledge

2.1 'İlm

'İlm, in its practical use implies religious knowledge. Religious knowledge, in its essence, is accepted as being unchangeable and absolute truth. Since knowledge of God cannot be questioned, this unquestionable knowledge constitutes the basics of religious knowledge. [38] This is called "nas" in Ottoman Turkish, which means

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[37] Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde "Sağlık Bilgisi"nin Üretimi, Yayılması ve Kullanımı", p.1-2, *MESA 2010* Conference Proceedings
[38] Necati Öner, *Bilginin Serüveni,* Vadi Yayınları, Ekim 2005, Ankara, pp. 69-70

dogmatic. There is dogmatic knowledge in all religions claiming to be universal throughout time and space. Actually, what makes them universal is not the dogma itself, rather it is the knowledge related to tradition and pragmatic fundamentals of tradition constructed over dogma. This knowledge constitutes of varying interpretations of God and indeed all the controversies between different religions lie behind the knowledge of tradition and its practice. Rational thinking of men has always been a part of varying interpretations of pragmatic fundamentals constructed on dogmatic knowledge.

2.2 Ma'rifet

The term '*ilm* is defined as "knowledge", the opposite of ignorance, and is connected with a number of terms, the most frequent correlative of which is ma'rifet. On a more general sense, '*ilm*, is knowledge of a religious character, and ma'rifet, is profane knowledge. Marifet tends to be used for knowledge acquired through reflection or experience, which presupposes a former ignorance. On the other hand, *ilm* is a knowledge which may be described as spontaneous. In summary, ma'rifet means non-religious knowledge and '*ilm* means the knowledge of God, hence of anything which concerns religion.[39]

Ma'rifet is also defined as "knowledge, cognition" in Encyclopedia of Islam. It has two separate definitions. The first one denotes a term of epistemology and mysticism, while the second one denotes practical knowledge. Ma'rifet in mystical thought is usually considered to be knowledge, *'ilm,* which precedes ignorance. It is the knowledge, *'ilm*, which does not admit doubt, *shakk*, since its object, the *ma'lum*,

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[39] "'Ilm", EI[2], p. 1133

is the Essence of God and his attributes. Cognition of the essence consists in knowing that God exists, is one, sole and unique and that He does not resemble anything and that nothing resembles Him. It is necessary to distinguish ma'rifet based on proving indications, which, by means of "signs" constitute the proof of the Creator. Certain people see things, and then see God through these things. In reality ma'rifet is realized only for those to whom there is revealed something of the invisible, in such a way that God is proved simultaneously by manifest and by hidden signs. Definitions of ma'rifet given by the Sufis, and the mystical tradition also exist. The Sufis cite the following hadith of the Prophet, "If you knew God by a true ma'rifet, the mountains would disappear at your command." Cognition is linked to various conditions with which tasavvuf (Islamic mysticism) deals.[40] Definition of ma'rifet in mystic terminology may be associated with the knowledge of "hal".

The second definition of ma'rifet is secular knowledge, which is almost synonymous with the term hüner which is borrowed from Persian. It is knowledge which is non-religious, acquired through practice and it includes today's scientific knowledge.

2.3 Hal

The term "hal" is defined as a Sufi technical term, which can be briefly translated as "spiritual state". The term "hal" belonged to the technical vocabulary of the grammarians, the physicians and the jurists. In medicine, hal denotes "the actual functional or physiological equilibrium" of a being endowed with breath, *nefes*; in *tasavvuf,* it was to become the actualization of a divine "encounter" —the point of

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[40] "Ma'rifa", EI², pp.568-571

equilibrium of the soul in a state of acceptance of this encounter.[41]

 The way to God is explained in one of the hadiths as follows: Şeriat is my words, *şeriat akvalimdir(sözler),* tarikat is my acts/practices, *tarikat amel'lerimdir (işler),* hakikat is my inner circumstance, *hakikat ise ahvalimdir (iç haller).* After defining the first three stages of religious life as *şeriat, tarikat and hakikat*, the mystics started to analyze "makam" which were the various phases to be completed to reach the final spiritual state, or "hal". (*salikin süluku (yolculuk) sırasında geçeceği aşamalar*)[42] Famous mystic poet Rumi explains the difference between "hal" and "makam" in his verses as;

> *Hal, o güzelim gelinin cilvesine benzer;*
> *Şu makamsa o gelinle yalnız kalıştır.[43]*

It is important to mention that in Sufism, the methodology of tasavvuf depends upon knowledge of aforesaid spiritual state instead of education. Therefore, in Sufism it is believed that knowledge can only be acquired by the help of instructors (mürşid), or selected group of people who has reached the final spiritual state (mürid). The novice therefore is required to be a member of his master's circle.[44] A book was only a medium, which should be studied under the supervision of a master who would know what to teach the disciple and how to explain the difficulties, the inner meaning, according to time-honored and often experiential methods. That is why one finds

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[41] "Hal", EI², p.83

[42] Annemarie Schimmel, *İslamın Mistik Boyutları*, trns. Ergun Kocabıyık, Kabalcı, İstanbul, 1999, p.116, "Hal , Hakk'dan kalbe gelen bir (his, heyecan) manadır. Bu mana geldiği zaman, kul onu iradesi ve kesbi ile kendinden uzaklaştıramaz, gelmediği zaman da tekellüf ve zorla cezb ve celb edemez."

[43] Ibid, p.116-117

[44] Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuf,* Milenyum, Mayıs, 2000, pp.18-20

numerous remarks, especially among Sufis, against the use of books.[45] The poet Rumi had combined the book and the garden, expressing his pity for those who look only at books, as it were, turn them into a library:

"*If you are a library, you are not someone who seeks the garden of the soul*".[46]

Actually, this does not show a negative attitude towards books. It implies the superiority of the mentor's role in transmitting his knowledge to his pupil over the role of books, and that books may only serve as a mediator in the process.

2.4 Hüner-Marifet

The term hüner is Persian, and it may be translated as technical skills required for a specific art or craft. It is almost synonymous with the second definition of ma'rifet, which was non-religious knowledge, like the knowledge of dance, music, art of calligraphy, etc.

Fen may be translated into English as "science" or "rational sciences". However, it is interesting to note that, historically fen was almost synonymous with art (san'at). In Arabic, san' means "to make", and san'at is occupation, or work. Fen, on the other hand, in Arabic, was defined as the whole of principles or codes specified for a particular occupation or art (san'at), the knowledge of which is acquired through hand-ability and education, and an attempt to express an idea or an emotion which would fully satisfy one both mentally and emotionally with its utmost beauty. We may make an inference that science, *fen,* was considered like a craft or an art that

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[45] Annamarie Schimmel, "The Book of Life-Metaphors Connected with the Book in Islamic Literatures," s.85. in "*The Book in Islamic World The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*", der.George N. Atiyeh, State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, 1995
[46] Ibid, p.85

can be learned by those who have the sufficient ability from those who know the technical details and the fineness of it.   Both fen and san'at involve knowledge of hüner. For example, knowledge of medicine was considered to be a type of hüner. Ergenç's article gives us valuable information on the perception of knowledge of medicine. [47] A document dated 5th September 1573 (8 C. Evvel 981) is an imperial edict sent to Kadı of Istanbul.[48] It required measures to be taken upon the complaint of Chief Physician Muhiddin. The nature of the complaint is quite remarkable in the sense that it shows the prevailing conditions of the medical professionals or guild members. This document shows that medical professions were working in a guild system just like the other craftsmen. A physician who was the "master" of the guild had to have "knowledge/wisdom, craft and art". Knowledge and craft were considered to be "learned" or comprehended theoretical   knowledge while art involved the act of accurately implementing them on patients. The art of a physician initially involved the "diagnosis" of the patient's illness which was then followed by the application of the appropriate "medical treatment" for the diagnosed illness, that is, the implemented skill which encompasses treating one by medication. Acquiring such a skill required a long time within the guild under the guidance of a "master". Diagnosis had to be based both on one's own experience and also the knowledge

[47] Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde "Sağlık Bilgisi"nin Üretimi, Yayılması ve Kullanımı", *MESA 2010* Coonference proceedings.

[48]Ibid, ..."İstanbul Kadısına hükm ki, Gıyaseddin-zâde Muhiddin Dergâh-ı mu'allâma mektûb gönderüb, mahmiyye-i İstanbul'da ve memâlik-i mahrûsede ba'zı kimesneler, cerrâh, tabîb ve kahhâl nâmına gezüb, hengâme kurub ve dükkânlarda oturub, mücerred celb ü ahz-ı mâl için Müslümanlara tıbba mugâyir ve hikmete muhâlif şerbetler ve zehirnâk müshiller verüb ve âdet-i kadîme muhâlif yaralar açub ve gözlere dahi üslûbsuz yapışub ve muhâlif otlar koyub, Müslümanların mal ve canlarına zarar erişdirdüğin bildirüb, min ba'd bu gibilerin ma'rifet ve ilimlerini ve san'atlarında ehliyetini imtihân idüb, hâllerine göre kâdir olduklarn isbât eden kimesnelere ilâc eder, deyü icâzet verilmeyince, ânın gibilerin sergide ve dükkânda oturub hengâmegîrlik etmeyüb, Müslümanlara muhâlif otlar vermeyüb, zarar erişdirmeyeler, deyü tenbîh olunmak ricâsını i'lâm itmeğin …" (İzzet Kumbaracılar, Eczacılık Tarihi ve İstanbul Eczaneleri**,** Yayına hazırlayan: Ömer Kırkpınar, İstanbul 1988, p.54).

transmitted from the experienced ones. Treatment was just as important as the diagnosis and the success of the treatment depended on the exact combination and well preparation of "medication".[49]

Science of medicine (tıb), like other kinds of secular knowledge, was associated with knowledge of hüner.

Tekeli defines knowledge of hüner as tacit knowledge which is not coded, may not be easily pronounced, explained, or transmitted. This type of knowledge may be obtained only within close relation with the master while living, seeing and practicing. And thus it has a high tendency to be local. This knowledge which is termed as embodied, may also be rephrased as "hüner".[50]

2.5 'Adab

'Adab, is regarded as synonym of *Sunna*, in its oldest use, with the sense of "habit, hereditary norm of conduct, custom" derived from ancestors and other persons who are looked up to as models (as in the religious sense, was the *sunna* of the Prophet for his community). The oldest meaning of the word is that: it implies a habit, a practical norm of conduct, with the double connotation of being praiseworthy and being inherited from one's ancestors. The evolution of this primitive sense accentuated, on the one hand, its ethical and practical content: adab came to mean "high quality of soul, good upbringing, urbanity and courtesy" based in the first place on poetry, the art of oratory, the historical and tribal traditions of the ancient Arabs,

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[49] Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde "Sağlık Bilgisi"nin Üretimi, Yayılması ve Kullanımı", *MESA 2010* Conference Proceedings

[50] İlhan Tekeli, "Bilgi Toplumuna Geçerken Farklılaşan Bilgiye İlişkin Kavram Alanı Üzerinde Bazı Saptamalar", *Bilgi Toplumuna Geçiş* , (der) İlhan Tekeli, Süleyman Çetin Özoğlu, Bahattin Akşit, Gürol Irzık, Ahmet İnam, Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Yayınları,Sıra No:3, Ankara,2002, p. 19

and also on the corresponding sciences: rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, metrics.[51]

Ibn Mukaffa' in Abbasid period, had put the old Persian-Indian tradition into the frame of Islamic culture. Especially with the works of Cahiz[52], this Persian tradition gave way to a new genre of literature named "adab". According to Ch. Pellat, this movement consists of three categories:

> *1. Moral and ethical oral stories and texts.*
>
> *2. Literary-educational texts written for the administrators and high culture elites, including poems and literary rules and their oral versions.*
>
> *3. Genre of advice books named "nasihatname" regarding state government written for the Sultans, administrators and the intellectuals.*

For Cahiz, '*ilm* compasses all Islamic knowledge, whereas adab (edeb) compasses moral-educational narratives of old times. [53]

The other concept that needs to be mentioned under the category of adab is "*haber*". Because "*haber*" is the form of the abovementioned values that reached the public, *ahali*. *Haber* may be translated into English as "information" or "news". The plural form of *Haber* is ahbar, and it is defined as written or oral knowledge perceived and transmitted by senses.[54] It comes from the Arabic root hubr (hibre) meaning to get informed about, be noticed about, become aware of something. Common definitions of "*haber*" include the fact that it may be perceived by senses, and if it is a revealed knowledge, it may be about future. Scholars of speculative theology, *kelam,* accepted

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[51] "'Adab, EI², pp.175-176

[52] "Al-Jahiz - Introduction." Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism. Ed. Daniel G. Marowski. Vol. 25. Gale Cengage, 1998. eNotes.com. 2006. 25 Apr, 2011 http://enotes.com/classical-medieval-criticism/al-jahiz. Al-Jahiz is one of the best-known and most respected Arab writers and scholars. He is credited with the establishment of many rules of Arabic prose rhetoric and was a prolific writer on such varied subjects as theology, politics, and manners.

[53] Halil İnalcık, *Has-bağçede 'Ayş u Tarab, Nedimler, Şairler, Mutribler*, Türkiye iş Bankası Kültür yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, pp.15-16

[54] "Haber", İslam Ansiklopedisi, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, pp. 346-349

that for any information to be considered as a source of knowledge, it has to be correct, transmitting reality or truth.

There are two concepts related to real/correct information; Haber-i mütevatir and haber-i res'ul. Haber-i mütevatir is information given by a group of people for whom it is rationally impossible to lie unanimously. People would learn about historical societies, cities through haber-i mütevatir. It was considered to be almost factual. For example, in the book written by the Ottoman historian Lütfi Paşa-Lütfi Paşa Tarihi-, he mentions about an imperial letter written by Selim II to Shah Ismail, where the information regarding Shah Ismail's detrimental acts for all the Islamic societies had already reached the limits of factual information (*hadd-ı tevatüre yetişmek*) known and accepted by everybody.[55] The next related concept is haber-i resul which is information transmitted by the Prophet Muhammad. Although there is consent among scholars about the correctness of this kind of information, it has to be verified that the information has been transmitted from the Prophet, or the verification of the source of knowledge is required.

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[55] Lütfi Paşa Tarihi, İstanbul, 1341, p. 213.... "…..İsmail Bahadır aslahü'llah şanehu misal-i lazımü'l-imtisal vasıl olıcak ma'lum ola ki; Hetk-i perde-i İslam ve hedm-i şeri'at-ı Seyyidü'l-enam-aleyhi's-selam-itmeğe kıyam-ı tam gösterdiğin hadd-ı "tevatüre" yetişüb; nokta-ı tiynet-i mazarrat-nihadını ki; merkez-i daire-i fitne ve fesaddır ezfar-ı tıq-i ateşbar ve hançer-i abdarla safhe-i hatte-i rüzgardan hak eylemek kafe-i müslimine umumen ve selatin-i ulu'l-emr ve havakin-i zulkadirde hususen cümle-i vacibatdan idüğüne …………"

CHAPTER III

CONSTRUCTION OF "PERCEPTION OF KNOWLEDGE"

Naima depicts the methods of transmitting knowledge and the features of transmitters in his precious work, Tarih-i Naima.[56] The most crucial features for a historian, according to Naima, are expressed with three terms; "tefahhus", "teyakkun" and "tefakkud" in Ottoman Turkish which all nearly mean searching for truth, a detailed search for learning the essence. Naima requires the transmitter to search for the truth, and claims that only the ones who are knowledgeable will be eligible to transmit historical knowledge. Additionally, he warns that the essence of what is known may diverge from its original character while being transmitted from one to another within public.

In the following sections, places and institutions where knowledge is produced, and also the modes and practices of transmission of knowledge in the Ottoman society

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[56] Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Na'ima*, (ed) Mehmet İpşirli, TTK Yayınları, Ankara 2007, V I, p. 4 "……..Evvela sadıkü'l-kavl olub, ekavil-i batıla ve hikayat-ı zaife yazmaya bir hususun hakikatine vakıf değil ise muttali' olanlardan **tefahhus** idüb, **teyakkun** hasıl ittiği mevaddı yaza.Saniyen elsine-i nasda şüyu' bulan eracife iltifat itmeyub, vekayi'in mahüvel-akiini yazabilen ricalin mu'temed-ü mevsuk akvaline rağbet eyleye. Zira niçe umurun keyfiyyet-i vuku' ve sebeb-i suduru erbabına ma'lum iken, ukul-ı sahife ashabı tasavvurat-ı za'ifelerine mebni manalar virub, galat veyahud hiç aslı yok sözler işa'at iderler. Beynü'l avam şüyu' bulmuş bu makule türrehatı gerçek zan idüb, **tefakkud** eylemeden nakl idüb yazanlar her 'asırda katı çok bulunur."

will be analyzed. And we will see whether the transmitters search for the truth as Naima depicts or diverge the knowledge from its original character.

3.1. Spaces for "Knowledge" Production and Transmission

Members of all social layers of society had access to various kinds of knowledge with differing tones and content. Starting from the smallest social unit, the family, traditions accumulated from previous generations and course of conduct would be transmitted by parents. Transmission practices also existed in neighborhood/districts (mahalle) where someone could acquire various kinds of knowledge from his friends, elders of the neighborhood, district school, neighbors, coffeehouses and such. In its outmost cycle of those practices, polities would have their own ideologies, and would try to make its members be aware of this ideology codified in the knowledge produced.

Like every empire, the Ottoman Empire needed an ideology of its own that would protect its power and integrity for a long time, and also administrative structuring that would maintain its subjects loyal to its ideology. Legitimization of its power would be obtained by such administrative structures put in effect by the state authorities. State administrators who were exempt from taxes were defined as "askeri" class. Askeri class within itself divided into three groups as ilmiye, örfiyye and kalemiyye. Members of all three classes were responsible both to administer the state's subjects, and also to educate newcomers joining into the system by transmitting their knowledge from one generation to the next eliciting state's continuity. Members of ilmiye class would be educated in medreses, where as örf members would be educated in the Palace School, and kalemiyye members would be positioned in state's bureaucracy where they would get their pragmatic education.

The Palace School was also important in the sense of transmitting the ideology of the state. Members of örfiye class would have their education completed in this institution. Depending on their competence, they would then be appointed to positions either in the Palace or in the provinces. Barnette Miller in his work defines the institution as such; "One of the most remarkable of their institutions and at the same time one of the most remarkable educational institutions of its time, indeed of any time, was the Palace School (Enderun) or great military school of state of the Grand Seraglio."[57]

The boys recruited by devşirme method (levy of boys) called "Acemioğlanlar", would to be prepared for the *Enderun* School. The ones who had proved to be competent with moral codes would be selected for the *Enderun* School.[58] They would continue their education by passing from one service of the Palace to the next called "oda" or "koğuş" each of which having a rank in its own hierarchical

[57] Barnette Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1941, p.3. Miller, used the writings of foreigners especially French, Venetian and Britih ambassadors about Palace School. He writes that the average period of education was 12-14 years, the curricula of which almost equally consist of Islamic knowledge , martial art, and art of governing, practical education and physical education. p. 4. Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, writing in 1538 of the pages of the Palace School, says that "they are instructed in letters and arms in the same manner as the children of the sultan." p. 5. Ottaviano Bon, who held the post of Venetian bailo, the most distinguished post of the diplomatic corps at Constantinople, wrote in 1608:
"The course that is pursued with the pages is not that of a barbaric people, but rather of a people of singular virtue and self-discipline. From the time they first enter the school of the Grand Seraglio they are exceedingly well-directed. Day by day they are continuously instructed in good and comely behavior, in the discipline of the senses, in military prowess, and in knowledge of the Moslem faith; in a word, in all the virtues of mind and bodys" p. 5
[58] Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, Eser Kültür Yayınları, Istanbul 1997, V: 1-2, pp. 12. Here, Ergin makes a reference to "Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Mecmuası" written by Mehmet Refik Bey in 1913, pp.277 "Bu şakirdan giderek muteber mansaplar ihraz edip devletin ve memleketin siyasi ve içtimai hayatında birer uzuv olacaklarından Enderuna alınacakları zaman simaları kapı ağası huzurunda kiyafet ilmini bilir bir zata tetkik ettirilir, yüzlerinde sa'd ve meymenet görülenler mektebe alınır, şirret ve fesat görülenler alınmazdı."

structure.[59] The students would both serve and get their educations in the Palace simultaneously.

The students selected to be educated in *Enderun* School were called "İç Oğlanları" and they had three main responsibilities. a) Serving within the Palace and learning at the same time, b) Getting an institutional education on both Islamic and rational sciences, c) Getting an education either on art or bodywork depending on their talent.[60] The courses would mostly include the ones taught in medreses. However, the curricula were differentiated from that of the medrese in four ways. The first difference was the courses given on Turkish and literature. Secondly, courses encompassed the subjects necessary for a soldier and an administrative. Thirdly, courses on geography, cartography, history, politics, and art of war were also included in their curricula. Fourthly, it also included activities like calligraphy, bookbinding, illumination, carving, miniature painting, architecture and fine arts. Obligatory education would last for 7-8 years, and then the students would get specialized training depending on their aptitude for another 5-6 years.[61] *Enderun* School had qualifications that an institution of higher education would have. However, teaching was not a specialized area of functioning and it did not have a structured academic authority. Therefore it could not be depicted as an institution of higher education.[62] It was not a formal institution like medreses were.

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[59] İlhan Tekeli-Selim İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara,1993, pp. 19.
"The Palace School took its latest form in 17th century and divided into 7 rooms: Küçük Oda, Büyük Oda, Doğancılar Odası, Seferli Odası, Kiler Odası, Hazine Odası, Has Oda."
[60] Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi (Başlangıçdan 1997'ye),* İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Yayınları, No:1, İstanbul 1997, p.81
[61] İlhan Tekeli-Selim İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları,Ankara, 1993, p. 20
[62] Ibid, p.20

Several of the most popular books read in the *Enderun* Palace were; a translation of the Arabian Nights into Turkish; the Sayyid Battal or Battal Ghazi, an epic of struggle of an Arab hero against paganism in behalf of Islam, a story which enjoyed a perennial popularity among Turkish soldiers and Arab peasants; the History of Fort Vizirs, a compilation in prose of Turkish folk tales of different periods; and the Story of Kalia wa-Dimma or the Royal Book (Humayun Nameh), a book of fables translated from Indian into Pahlevi, thence to Arabic, and from Arabic into Turkish in the reign of Murat III.[63] The Persian language was the courtly language of the nearer Orient and the key to the literature of chivalry and romance. Students of the Palace School were promoted to the study of Persian as soon as they had attained proficiency in Turkish and Arabic. The books most commonly read were the Book of Advice (Pend-naama) by Ferid ad-Din Attar, the Gulistan and the Bostan of Saadi.[64]

Twelve different styles of calligraphy were taught in the Palace School. Students who specialized in calligraphy usually aspired to secretarial positions in some of the various lines of government service, or to the higher offices of government. Rycaut, who was one of the first to study the Turkish polity, wrote about the calligraphers as: "Those others who are of a contemplation, proceed with more patience of method, and are more exact in their studies, intending to become Masters of their Pen, and by that means to arrive to honor and office either of Rest (Reis) Efendi, or Secretary of State, Lord Treasurer, or Secretary of the Treasury, or Dispensatory". It was in the

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[63] Barnette Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1941, p.106. Miller here refers to 3 seperate sources: 1. Serai Enderun written by Albert Bobovi in 1655 in Italian, which then translated in 1666 as Memoires sur les Turcs. Bobovi, was enslaved by the Tatars and then sold to the Palace by Turkish merchants. He stayed for 19 years in the Palace. 2. The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, written by Sir Paul Rycaut in 1670, p.32. 3. The Travel Book of Evliya Çelebi. V:1, pp.132-139

[64] Ibid, p.110. Miller, here refers to the book of Albert Bobovi mentioned in footnote no.85

Palace School that the majority of the official chroniclers were trained to become the so-called palace historians.[65]

The third layer of "*askeri*" class was *kalemiyye*, the scribal elites, *ehl-i kalem*, the men of pen who produced all the correspondence of the state and who kept its financial records. The members of this group would be recruited either from the Palace School where the örfiye members were educated, or from medreses. They would themselves also educate the newcomers within the institution itself by a method of transmission from the master to the pupil pragmatically.[66] *Kalemiyye* members would constitute of representatives of places called either kalem or oda where all the correspondence of the state was recorded. Those representatives called küttab, would be responsible for both civil and financial service, and it was the place where Ottoman bureaucracy was reproduced.

Members of both örfiye and kalemiyye had two important qualifications. One of which was that they would undergo an elimination scheme continuously throughout their education. The second was their capacity of producing the most competent ones with this elimination method.

Outside the boundaries of this formal system, there were various spaces and institutions where the society produced its own knowledge. These were dervish lodges, *tekke and zaviye*, where rituals of tarikats would be performed, professional groups, *hirfet grupları*, where goods/services would be produced, and various

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[65] Ibid, p.107
[66] İlhan Tekeli-Selim İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara,1993, p. 7

communities with differing dimensions in the society as a whole. They would both produce and transmit knowledge.

With this mechanism of producing and transmitting knowledge either by the state, society or any other informal organizational structure, a stereotype individual of the society was established in the Ottoman mind with its distinctive perception of knowledge. Whether existed or not, this stereotype individual may be considered as the role model of the society continuously shaped and reconstructed depending on the changing collective perception of knowledge of the society. This complex mechanism is illustrated below as;
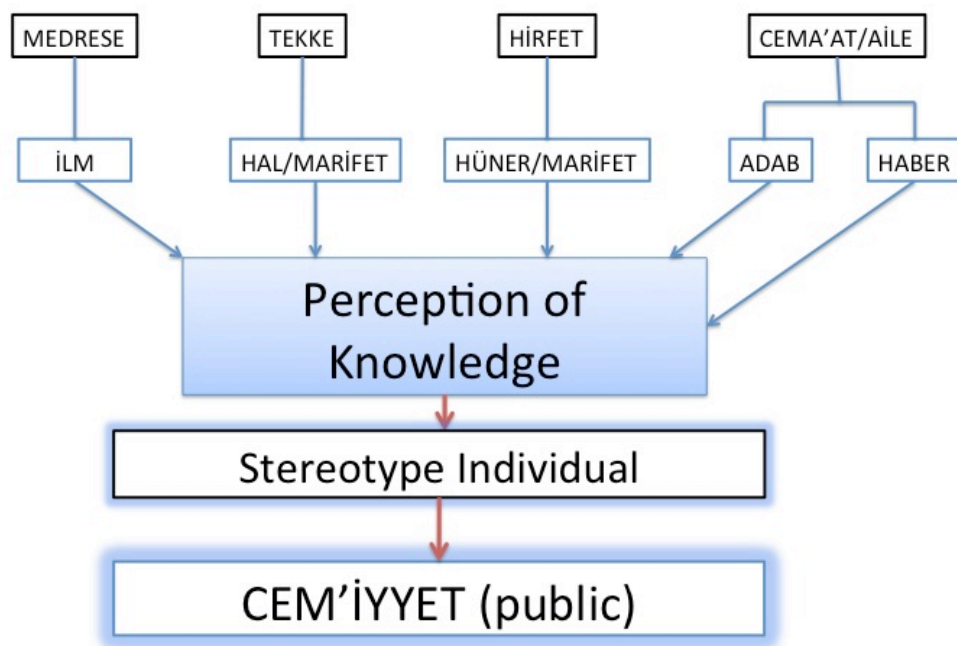
Figure 2. Perception of Knowledge

Medreses were the only formal institutions of education in the Ottoman Empire as in all Islamic countries. After graduating from *sıbyan mektebs*, elementary district

schools for boys and girls, where introductory Arabic courses were given and reciting Quran was taught, individuals who would like to continue with their training would enter medrese education. It was the place where religious knowledge was transmitted formally and the only institution where students had an access to systematized knowledge. Medreses were probably the most important institutions of the empire since they had two important functions. One of their function was to train people of religion, give religious knowledge that would be transmitted from one generation to the next, acting as an educational institution. Some of the graduates of medrese education would continue their occupation as scholars. However, the medrese also functioned as a place for recruitment of "kadı"s for the empire who were commissioned to towns and cities all throughout the empire having both administrative and judicial authorities, fully representing the state. They may easily be considered as the state's tools used to transmit its ideologies.

In general, knowledge was being classified in medreses as transmitted/religious knowledge, *nakli ilimler*, and rational/philosophical knowledge, *akli ilimler*. Transmitted knowledge was the knowledge acquired by revelation and thus transmitted from one generation to the next without questioning, and rational knowledge was a product of human intellect and experience. Whether the knowledge was transmitted or rational, final aim was same for both of them; that is, knowing, understanding, and comprehending "God". This feature of knowledge is a reflection of Ottoman perception of knowledge in the classical period.

The curricula of the Ottoman medreses which remained almost unchanged from sixteenth to nineteenth century with only varying emphasis on religious and rational

sciences is shown below; [67]

Table 1.   Ottoman Medrese Cirricula

	Course Name	Author/Work
Rational Sciences	Sarf	Emsile-i Muhtelife
		Muttarida
	Nahiv	'Avamil, Misbah, Kafiye, Elfiyye-i İbn Malik, Kafiye'nin Şerhi Molla Cami, Mugni'l-Lebib
	Mantık	İsagoci, Hüssam Kati, Muhyiddin Risalesi, Fenari ve
	Adab	Haşiyesi, Şemsiye, Tezhib Talik ve Şerhleriyle,
	Me'ani	Kutbuttin-i Şirazi, Seyyid, Kaea Davud, Sa'deddin, Şerh-i Matali'
	Nazari	
	Hikmet	Taşköpri Şerhi, Mes'ud-ı Rumi, Hüseyin Efendi Kitabı, Kadi Adud, Şerh-i Hanefiyye, Mir
	Hendese	
	Hesap	Telhis, Şerh-i Muhtasar, Mutavvel, İzah-ı Me'ani, Elfiyye-i Halebi
	Hey'et	
		Hidaye, Kadimir, Lari, Hikmetü'l Ayn, Kütüb-ü Şeyhayn
		Eşgal-i Telhis, Öklides
		Bahayiyye, Ramazan Efendi, Çulli
		Şerh-I Çağmuni, Bircendi
Transmitted Sciences	Kelam (Akait)	Ömer-i Nesefi, Şerh-i 'Akaid, Hayali, İsbat-ı Vacib, Akaid-i Celal, Mevakıf, Şerh-i Makasıd, Şerh-i Mevakıf Tenkih, Tavzih, Mustasar-ı Münteha, Şerh-i Adud, Seyyid, Telvih, Fusul-ı Bedayi'
	Fıkıh Usulü	
	Fıkıh	Halebi, Kuduri, Hidaye, Kadıhan, Bezzaziyye
	Hadis Usulü	Elfiyye, Nuhbetü'l Fiker, Ali el-Kari
	Hadis İlmi	Buhari, Müslim, some Müsnedler
	Tefsir	Vahidi'nin Veciz'i gibi Kuran'dan iki misli büyük tefsir, Vahidi'nin Vasit'i gibi Kuran'dan üç misli büyük tefsir, daha büyük tefsir, Kadı Beyzavi

Francis Robinson, in his article compares the curricula taught in the medreses of the three empires up to the end of seventeenth century and aims to reveal the differing balances maintained between the transmitted subjects, *ulumi'l nakliyye* and the rational subjects, *ulumi'l akliyye*. One point which emerges clearly from a comparison of the three curricula is the extent to which they all draw on the scholarship of Iran and Central Asia, and particularly that of the thirteenth and

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[67] Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)*, İstanbul: Yeditepe , 2006, p. 241

fourteenth centuries. Very few new texts emerge in the years from 1400 to 1700. In all regions during the years 1400-1700 there was a vigorous industry of commentary and in no area was this more vigorous under the Ottomans and Safavids than in law and jurisprudence." [68]

Before the establishment of the medrese as an institution, there was partition and disagreement between the philosophers/scholars on the essence of knowledge. Educating religious men through medrese institution however, where the essence of knowledge was already determined, the type of knowledge produced became more static. This may be considered as the reason for an increase in commentaries rather than original texts.[69] Although called and specified as "commentaries", some of them were considered to be better than the original evaluation or the text. In Ottoman Empire, it is sometimes hard to decide whether to consider a text as "original" or as "copied", where the copyist had added his own commentaries, *şerh*, overshadowing the original author.[70]

While comparing the differing emphases made in the application of curricula, Robinson proposes that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Ottoman medreses had kept a good balance between the rational and transmitted sciences, chalking up distinguished achievements in mathematics, astronomy, and scholastic theology. But by the end of sixteenth century, this balance had been upset and the rational sciences were severely threatened. The Safavid and Mughal curricula, however, gave

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[68] Francis Robinson, "Ottoman-Safavids-Mughals: Shared knowledge and Connective Systems", *Journal of Islamic studies* 8:2 (1997), p.151
[69] Ibid, pp. 154-155
[70] Christopher Neumann, "Üç Tarz-ı Mütalaa Yeniçağ Osmanlı Dünyası'nda Kitap Yazmak ve Okumak", *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, No: 1, 2005, p. 61

considerable emphasis to the rational sciences. The Safavid curriculum, for instance, offered medicine and mysticism, which did not exist in the other curricula. The most notable Safavid emphasis, however, was in logic and scholastic theology. [71]

Formal religious knowledge was being transmitted from a teacher, *müderris*, to his student, *molla*, using both oral and written/textual methods in a systematic way in the medreses. There were also groups that would vulgarize the knowledge produced in the medreses and transmit to the public or masses. This group of transmitters is represented with the term "*hademe-i hayrat*" in the figure below constituting of *imam, hatip, vaiz, ders-i amm* or they were people from lower levels of *ilmiyye* hierarchy with their direct contact to masses.
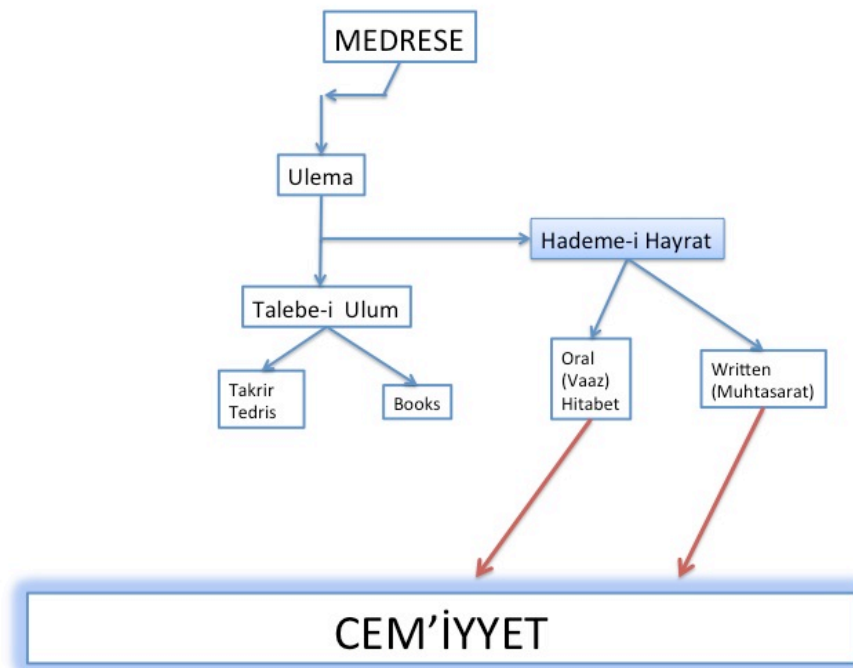

Figure 3.   Transmission of Knowledge in Medrese

[71] Francis Robinson, "Ottoman-Safavids-Mughals: Shared knowledge and Connective Systems", *Journal of Islamic studies* 8:2 (1997), pp.155-56

Knowledge of Islamic mysticism would be transmitted within dervish lodges, *tekke,* and places for Sufi gathering, *dergah*. Defined as knowledge of either "*hal*" or "*marifet*" in the Ottoman systematic of knowledge, it would be transmitted to *mürids,* disciples, who have entered the path of a particular *mürşid*, mentor.

The disciple*, mürid*, would need a mentor on his tough spiritual journey who would help him pass the various "*makam*"s and show him the way. The mystics would love the hadith saying "*Religion is advice, din nasihattır*". They have accepted the necessity of a mentor as "*conditio sine qua non*" meaning absolutely essential. [72]

The best evaluations regarding the transmission of the knowledge of "*hal*" which was the final spiritual state/the truth by the *mürşid* to his *mürid* were made by the *şeyh*s of *tarikat*s. Virani Baba who was the Şeyh of Bektaşi tarikat had beautiful and plain sayings on the necessity of a mürşid as a mentor to reach the Truth. [73]

Mürid had to be affiliated with a mürşid. This knowledge could only be transmitted by a mürşid who had reached the highest state of spirituality. We need to think those who adopted the doctrines of any tarikat in two distinct categories in the Ottoman society. The first would be those şeyhs-meşayih who would stay in and be a part of dervish lodges, *tekke* and *zaviye* where the knowledge of hal would be passed on from *mürşid* to *mürid.* They were called either "*tekkenişin*" or "*postnişin*". The

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[72] Annemarie Schimmel, *İslamın Mistik Boyutları*, trns. Ergun Kocabıyık, Kabalcı, İstanbul, 1999, p.117

[73] "... İmdî ey tâlib-i Hakk ve âşık-ı Dîdâr-ı Mutlak !..E'l-hamdü'llahdan murâd Allahu te'âlâya ınanmakdır ve Tengr-ite'âlâya inanmakdan murâd Allahu te'âlâyı farketmekdir. Eğerdilersen, kendi üzerine nazar eyle, zirâ özün bilen Hakkı bilür,özün bilmeyen Hakkı bilmez ve Hakkı bilmeyen Dîdâra irmez ve Dîdârairmeyen sûreti ve sîreti hayvandır ve hayvan olanlar makâm-ı fakr-ıfahrîden bî-haberdir. Her kim fakrda iktizâsı ne ise bilmese, ol kimesnee mürşide irmemişdir ve mürşide irmeyen Hakkı bilmemişdir......."

second group would consist of those who would live in their own spaces but make a visit from time to time to the tekke, follow some of the doctrines of the tarikat on their own, take advice from the şeyh, or be a part of small talks named *sohbet*, made by the postnişin meşayih within the tarikat. They were called "*tarikat müntesib*"s.
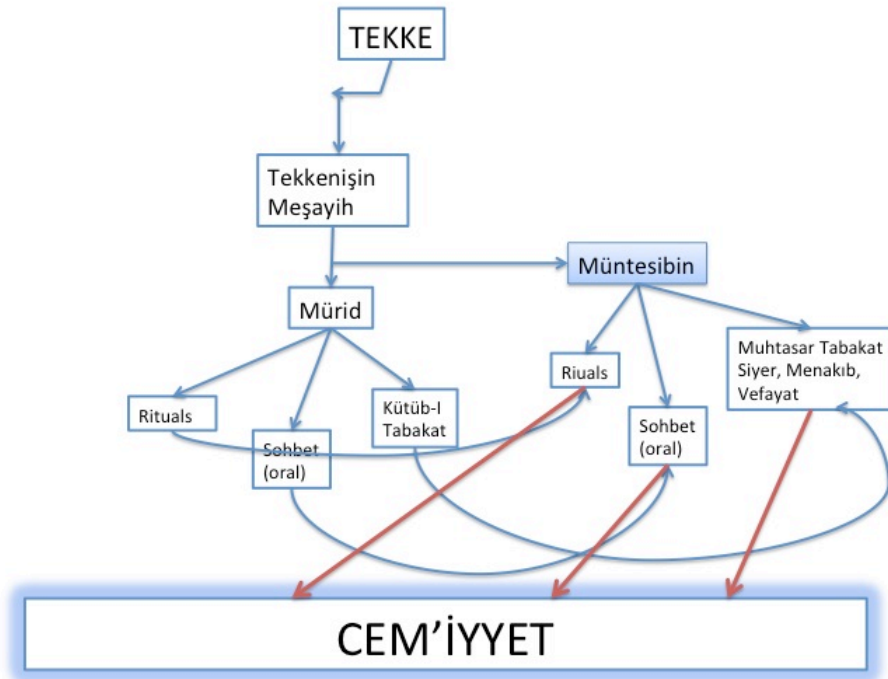
Figure 4.   Transmission of Knowledge in Tekke

Although the tekkes were apart from the formal organizational structure of the State, they had many functions in the society. Kara defines the important functions of the tekkes as follows: "…to provide unity and communication among public together with cultural beliefs. Tekkes and camis functioned as today's media organs. The public learned and loved his religion, moral, literature, art and culture by the aid of

tekkes."[74] The ones who had been educated in tekkes, would only be able to take a position in the tekke. Although they were left out of the official positions in the State, with their perfect organizational structure between towns and villages, they could keep their significance and exist for many centuries. [75]

Craftsmen guilds, *esnaf örgütleri*, were also another organization for transmission of knowledge for those who want to learn a profession to make a living. They could be subjected to a classification as "those who sell retail" and those who are "service providers/producers" of any sort. No matter which group they belonged to, these craft groups were compelled to produce the required goods and services appropriate to the standards set by the rules laid by the sultan and tradition. The fee they were to receive in exchange for this service had to be a suitable amount for the parties and was determined either by the official authorities or by a deal between the parties themselves. The name of the rules and regulations which enabled this exercise was called as "*hisba*" and the name of the tradition was called "*fütüvve*".[76] Knowledge was transmitted orally from the master, *üstad,* to the *şakird*, apprentice, in the guilds. "*Fütüvvetname*"s as literary genre were texts encompassing moral and ethical codes required to be a member of the specified guild. They were written texts, the content of which originated from anonymous oral cultural traditions. Thus, professional knowledge was being transferred pragmatically demanding a face-to-face relationship between the master and the apprentice. Since most of the people in the urban cities were *ehl-i hiref*, member of a guild, besides their function of producing

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[74] Mustafa Kara, *Din Hayat Sanat Açısından Tekkeler ve Zaviyeler*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 1977, p.126
[75] İlhan Tekeli-Selim İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara,1993
[76] Hülya Taş , Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Sağlık Hizmetleri, Proceedings of Mesa 2010 Conference

and transmitting of knowledge within the guilds, they also had a function of educating the society, namely *ehl-i belde*.
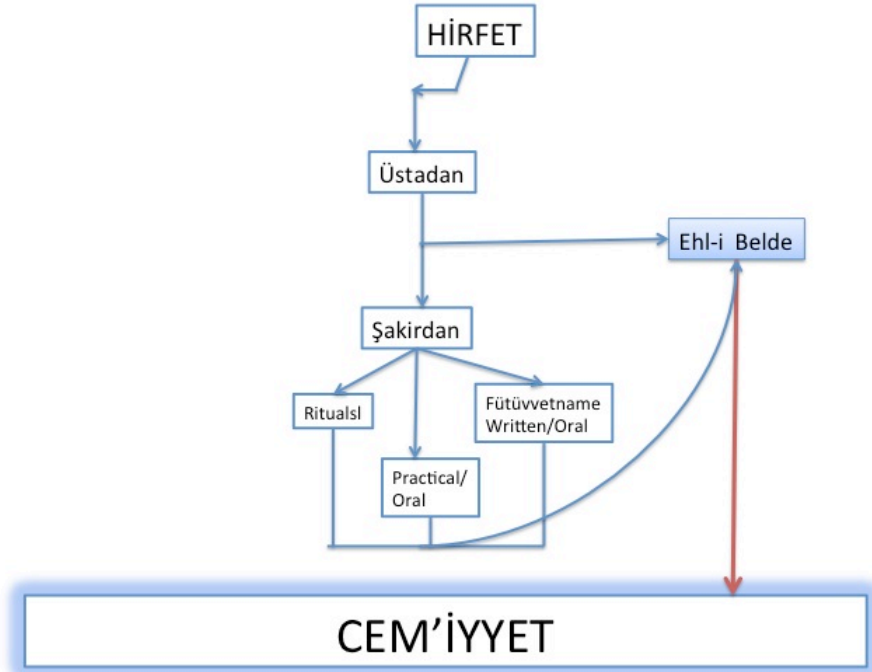
Figure 5.   Transmission of Knowledge in Hirfet Groups

Besides their social functions, public spaces like *kahvehanes, bozahanes, hamams, meyhanes*, and mosques were important places where knowledge was transmitted orally. They were called "*mecma'i nas*", social gathering places, in Ottoman Turkish in general. Their functions in the society will be mentioned in the following section.

Alan Mikhail argues that besides positing Ottoman coffee houses (*mahalle kahvehaneleri*) as primarily a site for political subversion, we may also consider coffee houses as a cultural space of socialization that served multiple functions within the city. He tried to show how the Ottoman coffee house was a space of overlapping functions in which a spectrum of ambiances and effects fluidly

combined to form a complex realm of social interaction.[77] Mikhail also considers Ottoman cafes as sites for important urban sensory experience-audition. He says "By this I mean that in coffee houses what was most important was not what was seen, but what was said and of course what was heard. Another way to make the same point is to remember the common proverb that is still found in many Turkish coffee houses: "*gönül ne kahve ister ne kahvehane, gönül sohbet ister, kahve bahane*"- The heart desires neither coffee nor coffee house. The heart desires conversation. Coffee is simply an excuse."[78]

Ali Çaksu argues that the economic and political changes that took place in the 18th century forced the once elite and relatively isolated Janissary corps out of its barracks and into the city, where they found refugee in the institution of the coffee house. While the Janissary coffee house was a place in which to drink coffee and smoke tobacco, it was also a cultural salon, a rebel headquarters, a police precinct, a Sufi lodge, a business office and a mafia club all rolled in one.[79]

In his work on social and economic history of 16th century Ankara, Ergenç attributes the high consumption of coffee in the city not only to city dwellers' preference but also to high number of visitors coming to the city like merchants, nearby villagers etc. He argues that high consumption of coffee may be considered as an evidence

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[77]Alan Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House", *Ottoman Tulips Ottoman Coffee, Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, (ed. Dana Sadji), New York: Tauris Academic Studies , 2007, p.154
[78] Ibid, p.154
[79] Ali Çaksu ,"Janissary Coffee Houses in Late Eighteenth-Century Istanbul", *Ottoman Tulips Ottoman Coffee, Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, (ed. Dana Sadji), New York: Tauris Academic Studies , 2007, pp.131

indicating the city's dynamism as a center of trade.[80]   There is no reason not to assume the same and even more dynamism for the coffeehouses in Istanbul. Coffeehouses were the most important social places where informational knowledge was transmitted intensively.

The other important public-drinking place was *boza*house, a place where *boza* was made, sold and perhaps consumed. The *boza* is a thick liquid made from fermented millet, as a beverage originated from pre-Ottoman times and boza-houses also served as a social gathering place.[81]

*Meyhane*s, tavern, were public drinking places in which alcoholic beverages alone or with various appetizers were consumed. Evliya Çelebi who uses the expression of "*esnaf- ı mel'unan-ı menhusan-ı mezmunan*" for the tavern owners, there were more than one thousand taverns operating in Istanbul and approximately six thousand employees in these places.[82] They were mostly used by non-Muslims.

Like coffeehouses, the *hamam*, public bath, was a social milieu created by people from the diverse social strata of the Istanbul's life in order to meet the cultural and social needs of the city. The public bath, as well as being a place intended for people's bodily hygiene, was a meeting place and a center of social life, by serving on certain days and hours of the week for men and women, though some were strictly reserved for one or the other sex. Lady Montagu drew the parallel and spoke of the public bath as "the women's coffeehouse, where all the news of the town is

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[80] Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, Ankra Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 1995, p.153

[81] Ahmet Yaşar, *The coffeehouses in early modern İstanbul:Public space, sociability and surveillance*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi,İstanbul, 2003

[82] Ibid, pp.39-40

told, scandal invented, etc." They were the only places where Ottoman women could socialize in their restricted lives outside the closed doors of their houses.[83]

*Cami*s, mosques and *mescid*s, mosques without a minaret in which no Friday prayers are pronounced, were also considered under mecma-i nas. Mescids were small places of worship visited mostly by the neighborhood parish or the artisans of the nearest bazaar. Mosques, constructed in the city's most important place, were houses of worship serving for the urban dwellers and the rural subjects coming for the city bazaar.[84] Especially on Fridays, a sermon would take place where social and religious subjects were discussed among the cemaat. They were also important tools for mass education. They were generally more important as places for gathering and information exchange than were "houses of worship". Ergenç, in his work on Ankara gives examples from court registers which shows that it was obligatory that royal edicts coming to towns would be read to public in public places including mosques.[85]

Zilfi emphasizes the egalitarian feature of mosques in her work. [86] She argues that unlike the Sufi's tekke or the scholar's medrese, profession of the faith was enough to enable one to secure a place alongside fellow believers, take part in mosque rituals and even address the assembled congregation. "Ritual and liturgy, condemning social distinctions, in such moments erased them."[87] While only the medrese-trained ulema

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[83] Ibid, p.47

[84] Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, Ankra Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 1995, p.151

[85] Ibid, p. 151

[86] Madeline C.Zilfi, *Dindarlık Siyaseti, Osmanlı Uleması, Klasik Dönem Sonrası, 1600-1800,* Birleşik Yayınevi, Ankara 2008

[87] Madeline C.Zilfi, *Dindarlık Siyaseti, Osmanlı Uleması, Klasik Dönem Sonrası, 1600-1800,* Birleşik Yayınevi, Ankara 2008, pp.129-130

had the right to enter the medrese, the mosques were common to all. Within the mosque, the non-medrese-trained held sway. Depending upon the terms of a major mosque's endowment, a number of ders-i 'aam (public lecturers) held classes for medrese students and for the interested public.[88] Distinct from the personal relation between *müderris,* teacher and *molla*, student, in medreses, and between *mürşid* and *mürid* in *tekke*s, in mosques *imam/vaiz/ders-i 'amm*, prayer leader, would transmit his knowledge to *ahali,* public.

Travellers and merchants were also representing another channel of knowledge transmission. Although they did not have any specified spaces, they were serving as cultural agents between different societies, transmitting what they heard and what they had learned about the traditions of the other societies.

The whole mechanism of production and transmission of knowledge through various institutions and the channels to reach *cemiiyyet*, public, analyzed above is illustrated in the figure below;

[88] Ibid, p.131
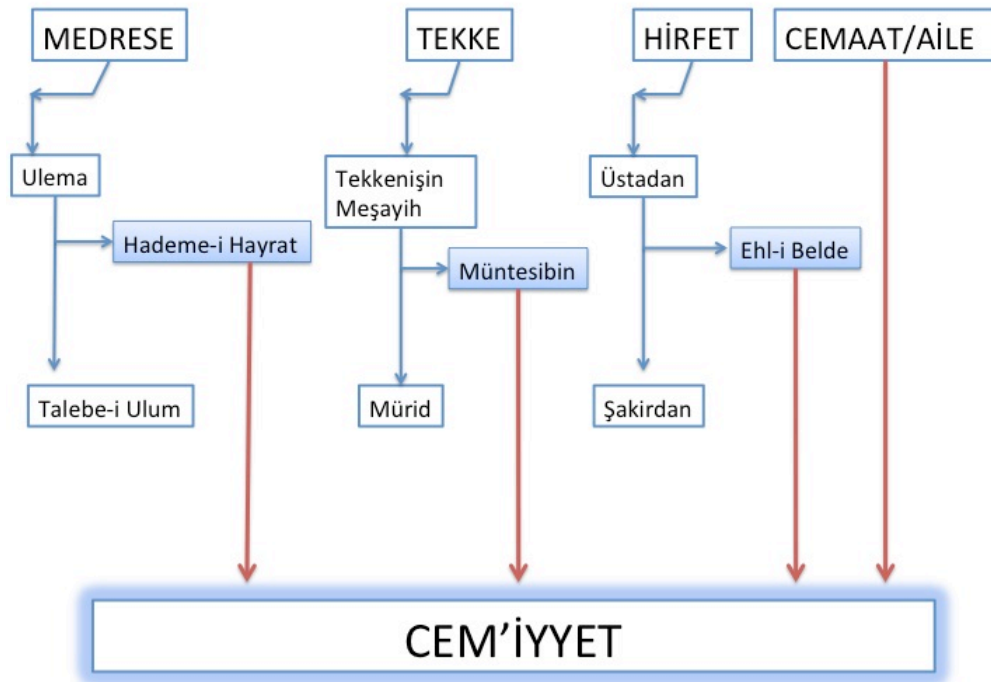
Figure 6. Transmission Channels of Knowledge to Cem'iyyet

3.2 Modes of Transmission

3.2.1 Rituals

Rituals had an important role as a channel for transmitting knowledge, especially within tekkes where tasavvufi knowledge was transmitted and within guilds.

Rituals also found place both in Palace traditions and populace daily life. It had a language of its own, with formulations and symbols, could appeal to vast majority, with its messages easily understood. With its universal language, it did not take place of oral culture, but rather they always co-existed with one another.

The sufi dervishes had many rituals. If the dervish would be considered eligible and competent enough, they would make a ceremony where he would wear a new *hırka*, coat, and he would hold the hand of his *şeyh,* symbolizing the transmission of knowledge from his şeyh. This ritual would be named as *ilbas-ı hırka.* Yet another important ritual was the wearing of a *tac*, crown. [89] Both rituals were a sign of handing in spiritual knowledge. Even in very early times, the mystics realized the danger of corruption for the rituals. The famous mystic poet Yunus Emre, in his verses, emphasizes that the crown and the coat were just simple symbols, and that the real dervish would not be recognized either by the crown or the coat.

"Dervişlik hırka ile tac değil, dervişlik baştadır tacda değil". [90]

Rituals were one of the most used modes of transmission within guilds. In rituals, symbols and concepts like tying a special belt (kuşak) to the pupil who had sucessfully deserved to be a master were used. The messages were easily transmitted, while enabling transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next without any change.

In his work where he questions the meaning and content of rituals, Goody rejects Durkeim's claim that assumes a universal "duality of the two kingdoms" of the sacred and the profane and defining rituals as sacred having only religious content. Goody claims that rituals may be religious, sacred, secular, ceremonial or magical in content, and emphasizes that in some societies the distinction of profane and the sacred is not as clear as in West. He believes that the scholars defending this

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[89] Annemarie Schimmel, *İslamın Mistik Boyutları*, trns. Ergun Kocabıyık, Kabalcı, İstanbul, 1999, p.249-50
[90] Ibid, p.250

dichotomy had been influenced by "rationalistic variety of positivism" valid in late 19th century in European societies as marked by the tendency to treat the actor as if he were a rational, scientific investigator acting "reasonably" in the light of the knowledge available to him.[91] He also claims that even the social organizations and their functions were not universal, and there are no clear and distinctive boundaries between them in various societies as they are in Western societies.

3.2.2 Oral

Oral mode of transmission of knowledge was always preferred over written texts in Islam. Francis Robinson's article is worth to mention here on the subject. He questions the origins of negative response of Muslim world to printing for so long, and he articulates about oral mode of transmission and its significance in Islam. He says "To be able to understand late use of print, we need to spend a little time examining the system of transmitting knowledge as it flourished over 1200 years from the beginning of Islam. At the heart of this system of transmission is the very essence of knowledge for the Muslim, the Quran. For Muslims the Quran was the word of God-His very word. "Quran" itself means "recitation", al-Quran, the recitation, the reading out loud. It is through being read out loud that the Quran is realized and received as divine. Muslims strive to learn as much of it as possible by heart." The Quran was always transmitted orally. This was how the Prophet transmitted the messages he had from God to his followers. When these messages were written down a few years after the Prophet's death, it was only an aid to memory and oral transmission. This has been the function of the written Quran ever

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[91] Jack Goody , "Religion and Ritual: The Definitional Problem", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Jun., 1961), pp. 142-164

since.[92] The oral transmission of the Quran has been the backbone of Muslim education. The methods of learning and transmitting the Quran influenced the ways all other knowledge was transmitted. For instance, one can consider the publication of a book in the early Islamic centuries. Its writing down like that of the Quran was merely an aid to oral publication. The author would dictate his first draft either from memory or from his own writing and then the copyist would then read it back to him. Publication would take place through the copyist reading the text to the author in public, usually in a mosque. During this process the author might make additions or amendments and several readings might have been required before he gave his final approval. This was known as his "*ijaza*", which means "to make lawful". Thus the author gave permission for the work "to be transmitted from him". Further copies had real authority only when they had been read back to the author and approved.[93] There would be the names of all those who had transmitted the text going back to the original author on that *ijaza.* The pupil had no doubt that he was the trustee in his generation taking part in the great tradition of Islamic learning being handed down from the past. This shows that person to person transmission was at the heart of the transmission of Islamic knowledge. The best way of finding the truth was to listen to the author himself. Muslim scholars constantly travelled across the Islamic world so that they could receive in person the reliable transmission of knowledge. When a scholar could not get knowledge from an author in person, he strove to get it from a scholar whose "isnad", or chain of transmission from the original author, was

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[92] Robinson, Francis, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print", *Modern Asian Studies,* 27/1, Special Issue: How Social, Political and Cultural Information is Collected, Defined, Used and Analyzed (1993), p.234
[93] Ibid,.p. 235

thought to be the closest.[94]

In the Islamic tradition the heart is the seat of the intellect and the instrument par excellence of original knowledge of which mental activity is a relatively externalized reflection. True knowledge is the knowledge of the heart, and it is here that man carries within himself the real "book" of knowledge. This "book" is composed of unwritten words. It is the inner chamber wherein the spoken word in the highest sense of the term, which means none other than the Word of God, reverberates. This inner "book" is not available for all to "read", for not everyone is able to penetrate into the inner chamber of his or her being, which is the heart, nor possesses a purified heart as white as the snow which has not yet become sullied by the darkness of man's passionate soul. Yet, this inner "book" has resonated and still resonates within the being of certain men and women and through them has left its deepest effect upon the intellectual life of Islam, not only in the domain of theoretical Sufism but also in later Islamic philosophy. One must never forget that to know something really well and to commit in this knowledge by heart has made possible, not only in Sufism but also in Islamic philosophy, the continuation of an ever-renewed oral tradition which has played such an important role in the Islamic education system and the modality of the transmission of knowledge from teacher to disciple over the centuries.[95]

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[94] Ibid, p.237

[95] Seyyed Hossein Nasr , " Oral Transmission and the Book in Islamic Education: The Spoken and the Written Word", "*The Book in Islamic World The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East,* içinde, der.George N. Atiyeh, State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, 1995, p.65

The oral tradition has affected the manner of reading and interpreting the written text, its teaching and transmission, and the role of certain texts and commentaries in the educational circles of the Islamic world. The oral tradition also provides a direct link between the student and the master who might have lived generations ago, enabling the student to study the teachings in question in depth and to concentrate on one or two works which are then penetrated inwardly over a whole lifetime rather than to study horizontally the text of many works written by the same master. But usually the oral tradition and the spoken word created a different type of intellectual ambience from the modern one, an ambience in which one or two works surrounded by a vast oral commentary came to constitute knowledge in depth of teachings of the traditional authority. The oral tradition transformed the written book from the definitive text which was the sole basis of the ideas to be understood to the gate of a whole living world for which the book became the point of departure.[96]

Abraham Marcus interprets the oral culture of the Aleppines in the 18th century as: "The masses for their part continued to see written literature as having little direct relevance to their lives. Within their largely oral culture they were able to obtain most knowledge, skills, and news without much recourse to the written word. Oral transmission, not books and classrooms, shaped their stock of knowledge, or what amounted, in a real sense, to their education. They learned from parents, peers, elders, religious readers, and masters. From them they absorbed what they knew about artisanal skills, weather, and a multitude of other matters.[97]

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[96] Ibid, pp. 65-66
[97] Abraham Marcus ,*The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity , Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, , Columbia University Press, New York,1989, p. 239

The aforementioned channels, institutions and spaces involve personal and face-to-face interaction and educational methods thus indicating that knowledge was being transmitted mostly with aural, instead of visual methods, indicating noticeable dominance of oral culture on Ottoman individual and society.

3.2.3 Written

Eisenstein, in her work on Print Revolution[98] claims that disparities between oral and written cultures are due to intellectual differences of societies, and she matches literacy with developed societies, while matching oral cultures with traditional societies. With the articulation of sociologists, linguistics, cultural anthropologists and historians in this debate, and especially with the empirical results of the research done by Jack Goody as a cultural anthropologist, Eisenstein's argument no longer holds true. Recent studies drawing attention on the continuities before and after the invention of print do not support the arguments of Eisenstein and her followers.[99]

N. Hudson analyzed dialectical pattern of attitudes towards writing and he argued that an early enthusiasm for the powers and benefits of written language in the 17th century was widely challenged in the mid 18th century. He claimed that perceptions of writing since Renaissance was ambivalent and conflicting, not as uniformly reverent or hostile. [100] "Harvey J. Graff has rightly referred to a "literacy myth" that

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[98] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, CUP, Cambridge v.s., 1983

[99] Christopher Neumann, "Üç Tarz-ı Mütalaa Yeniçağ Osmanlı Dünyası'nda Kitap Yazmak ve Okumak", *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, No: 1, 2005, p. 58

[100] Nicholas Hudson, *Writing and European Thought 1600-1830*, Cambridge Unv. Press, Cambridge, 1994, p. 2

can be traced back to the Enlightenment- a confidence in literacy as the triumph of light over darkness, and as the foundation of democratic liberties."[101]

Although Ottoman's cultural preference has been oral, "writing" and "speech" always co-existed side-by-side. State affairs and its administrative traditions have always been written from the very beginning, the literate have both owned and wrote books, pamphlets, poems, biographical works, shared literary texts among themselves, and public had an acquaintance with "writing" through marriage and purchase-and-sale contracts, testaments, court registers. Written and oral practices were not totally dissociated from one another with distinct boundaries, culturally and perceptually they were co-existing and overlapping with each other.

In the following section, the production, distribution and acquisition of books which were the main tools of written mode of transmission will be examined. It's worthwhile to analyze how books were produced, and for whom, for a better understanding of the relationship between individuals and books, and valuation criteria for books.

3.2.3.i. Production of Books –Author and Copyist

We do not know much about the process of writing in the Ottoman world. In Europe, there were places called "scriptorium", literally meaning a place for writing commonly used to refer to a room in medieval European monasteries devoted to the copying of manuscripts by monastic scribes. Comparatively, there were no such places for copying in the Ottomans.

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[101] Ibid, pp.2. Here Hudson refers to Harvey J.Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the nineteenth century city,* Academic Press, New York, 1976, preafce, pp. xii-xvii.

We know that the Palace was one of the places for copying books. Information about the workings and organization of manuscript production at the court is beginning to come to light with the emergence of such documents such as the *Ehl-i Hıref* register or the accounts of the wages paid to those artists on the court payroll as part of the Ottoman state bureaucracy. For the Ottomans, regional governmental and legal accounts, kadi sicili documents dating from fifteenth century to the early twentieth century, endowments, *vakfiyye*, the little published *Ehl-i Hıref* register, and other related accounts are important sources of information for the cultural structure of the court and the organization of the art production at the court during the Ottoman period. Among these documents are account books showing the expenditure incurred during the preparation of an illustrated manuscript, which furnish us with the name of the artists involved and their assistants, as well as those of the bookbinders and their associates. One section of the *Ehl-i Hıref* register, now published in chronological order, gives the names of all those involved in manuscript production, citing their origin (Persian, Georgian, Hungarian, etc), sometimes their provenance, and the date of their entry into the court service, details of their successor, their monthly wages and deaths. These documents do not, however, indicate the specific manuscripts for which these binders or artists were responsible.[102]

The calligraphers were always the first group to be written in *Ehl-i Hıref* defters, which may be interpreted as the Ottoman's moral valuation given to "writing" and "writers". In sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the name of the group was written as "*katiban-ı kütüb-ı hassa*", and in eighteenth century as "*cemaat-ı katiban-ı*

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[102] Zeren Tanındı, "Manuscript Production in the Ottoman Palace workshop", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990-91)

kütüb".[103] The number of calligraphers increased up to sixty in the end of sixteenth century. The main function of the group was to copy the religious, philosophical, scientific, literary and historical works. One of their major jobs was the copying of the Quran. Besides copying, they were also responsible for repairing previous works. They would also work for ornamenting some of the architectural buildings or structures. For example, Ahmet Karacahisari, one of the famous calligraphers, worked for the calligraphy of the Suleymaniye Mosque.[104]

There were also three other groups related to calligraphers, which were miniaturists, *nakkaş*, binders, *mücellit,* and ink-producers, *mürekkepçi*. It is interesting to note that there were no specified groups which were responsible for the preparation of the "paper" to be used which constituted an important effort. We may assume that, either they were obtaining paper from the market or the calligraphers themselves were involved in the production of paper.[105] In the beginning of the 18th century there were three calligraphers registered in *Ehl-i Hıref Defters*, and then decreased to two. Their daily allowance was 30 akçes which constituted the highest among the palace artists.[106]

Among the Ottoman guilds, there were plenty of guilds related to the production of a book like *nakkaş, müzehhip, mücellit, sahhaf, kağıtçı, mühreci, mürekkepçi, divitçi* and *kalemtraş*. Only, there were no copyists and calligraphers organized under a

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[103] Bahattin Yaman, *Osmanlı Saray Sanatkarları 18.yüzyılda Ehl-i Hıref,* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008 p.36
[104] Ibid,p.37
[105] Ibid, p. 38
[106] Bahattin Yaman,*Osmanlı Saray Sanatkarları 18.yüzyılda Ehl-i Hıref,* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008 p.40

guild. Christoph K. Neumann, in his article "Üç Tarz-ı Mütalaa", assumes that since the only institution known to have a studio for copyists and calligraphers was the "palace" itself where only five or six people employed, the production of manuscripts were highly decentralized which enabled the copyists to copy more freely.[107]

In a court register dated 1114/1703, a lady named Safiye Hatun in her will, orders ten *Mushaf-ı Şerif* ,Quran, to be bought from her inheritance, after her death. She also demands that 10 Qurans will be given to those who know how to read Quran elaborately and payment would be made to those who deserve in return of praying for her soul.[108]

How would those responsible for her will acquire 10 Qurans and from where? Would there always be a sufficient supply of Quran or other books in demand in book-sellers? How would the book-sellers supply them? Or, would the one in such a demand resort to mobile book-sellers who were selling their books in their backpacks while walking around the streets like Evliya Çelebi mentions in his Travel Book?[109]

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[107] Christoph K. Neumann, "Üç Tarz-ı Mütalaa", *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* Sayı 1, Bahar 2005, p.60

[108] KAŞC, Register no:22, pp.26 "Mahmiye-i İstanbul'da Kızıltaş mahallesinde sakin iken bundan akdem vefat iden Safiye Hatun ibnet El-Hac Süleyman bin Murad'ın zevc-i metrukesi hafızü'l-kitab zümre-i teberderandan fahrü'l-ayan El-Hac Mustafa Ağa bin Evliya meclis-i şer'-i hatir-i lazımü't-tevkirde müteveffat-ı mezburenin medyunu Yusuf bin Abdullah mahzarında üzerine da'va ve takrir-i kelam idüp " zevcem müteveffat-i mezbure Safiye Hatun ibnet El-Hac Süleyman bin Murad hali zarazında fevtinden 10 gün mukaddem ben diyar-ı aherde iken bi-emri'l-lahi-teala vefat eylediğinde "cem'-i terekemin sülüsünden 100 guruş ile ıskat-ı sal'atım görüle, ve yine sülüs-ü malimden 100 guruş ile 10 kıta Mushaf-ı şerif iştira olunub**,** fukara ve sülehadan müstehakkıma virilüb anlar dahi kıraat eyledikte sevabı ruhuma ihda eyleyeler ve sadriye-i sagire kızım Ayşe'nin ………"

[109] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, V.1, pp.325. "Esnâf-ı sahhâfân: Dükkân 60, neferât 200, zîrâ ayak sahhâfı çokdur. Bunlar dahi dükkânların niçe bin kitâb-ı gûnâ-gûn ile zeyn edüp ayak sahhâfları "Mültekâ ve Dürer [u]Gurer'im eydir ammâ Keşşâf'ımı keşf edüp Tarîkat-ı Muhammedî'den ayrılman, ey kitâbdır" deyü torba tobra kitâblarla ubûr ederler*"*

3.2.3.ii Book Trading and Demand

Was there a developed book market in Ottoman capital? How were the books in demand being acquired? What were the role of book-sellers, *sahhaf*, in trading and copying of books? Our current knowledge on book markets and sahhafs are very limited. However Erünsal enlightens us on the subject with his work based on primary sources on *sahhaf*s. [110]

The book trade in Istanbul must have developed significantly toward the end of the sixteenth century because Ebu'l-Hasan Ali bin et-Temgruti, who was an ambassador in Istanbul from 1589 to 1591, wrote in his memoir that "lots of books could be found in Istanbul, libraries and the bazaar were full to the brim, and books were bought to Istanbul from all around the world."[111]

A. Galland was an orientalist who maintained good relations with Istanbul's secondhand booksellers and bought many works. In a journal covering the period from 1672 to 1673, Galland recorded the books he purchased or came across, as well as interesting information about secondhand booksellers.[112] It is known that many Western Orientalists, such as Greaves, Pocoke (1604-1691), Ravius, Colbert, and Erpenius, collected a significant number of manuscripts for libraries in their countries during the seventeenth century and that they sent these works home through firms such as the Levant Company. It seems that the activities of the Europeans rose to disturbing levels because the Grand Vizier Şehit Ali Pasha- who

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[110] İsmail Erünsal, Osmanlılarda Sahhaflık ve Sahhaflar: Yeni Bazı Belge ve Bilgiler, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 29 (2007) pp. 99-146
[111] Ibid, p. 107
[112] Ibid, p. 110

was a renowned book collector- enacted a law at the beginning of the 18th century banning the sale of books to foreigners.[113]

This is mostly about Orientalists or foreign embassies' demand for Ottoman, Arabic or Persian books from Istanbul book market. They do not give much information on the acquisition channels of books owned by Ottoman individuals and sahhafs. How would the sahhafs, Palace members or the interested Ottomans acquire their books? Secondhand booksellers, especially those in Istanbul, acquired books through a variety of different channels. The palace played a significant role in this issue. Many times, the belongings of individuals were confiscated and entered into state treasury. The most valuable or useful books were sent to royal library, and the rest were auctioned off in the Bezzazistan or in the courtyard of the Fatih Mosque.[114] Another method of obtaining books was through the auction of works included in the inheritance of deceased individuals. If bibliophiles and scholars did not donate the books they collected while they were living, their books were either divided among their heirs or auctioned off after their deaths, and the resulting income duly shared.[115] Another way of moving books out of the Palace was gift-giving to various guests, diplomats, and officials. [116]

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[113] Ibid, p. 111
[114] Ibid, p. 122
[115] Ibid, p. 125
[116] Ibid, p. 123. Here, Erünsal makes a reference to Travel Book of Evliya Çelebi where he mentions the books that has been given by the Sultan from the Palace to him. "...heman hünkar tiz hazinedarbaşıyı çağırın ve devat ve kalem getürün diyüp dest-i şerifine kil-i cevahir-nisarın alub bir hatt-ı şerif yazub Sen ki hazinedarbaşısın, Evliya'ya bir Kafiye ve bir Monla Cami ve bir Tefsir-i Kadı ve bir Misbah ve bir Dibace ve bir Müslim ve Buhari ve bir Mülteka'l-ebhur ve bir Kuduri ve bir Gülistan u Bostan ve Risabü's-sibyan(!) ve bir Lugat-ı Ahteri al-hasıl yigirmi kıta müluk içün tahrir olunmuş kitab-ı nefiseleri hazine kethüdası fi'l-hal getürüb ve kendüler tilavet itdükleri Yakut-ı Müsta'simi hattıyla bir Kelam-ı İzet ve bir murassa' gümüş devat ve bir Hind sedefkarisi 'ud levhalı piş-tahta ihsan idüb..." Evliya Çelebi Seyehatnamesi, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, V.I, İstanbul 1996, pp.102-103

A significant number of books were sent to Istanbul's secondhand booksellers' bazaar from the Islamic world's oldest cultural centers, including Baghdad, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, and Cairo, as well as various cities in Persia, which was also an important area for book production.[117] Even the historian Tarihçi Mustafa Ali wanted to return to duty in Cairo because of its famous secondhand book market. From the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, Cairo was an important place for Ottoman scholars, as well as European Orientalists interested in Islamic culture, to acquire books. [118]

Lale Uluç surveyed the archival lists of holdings of private libraries of Ottoman intellectuals, bureaucrats and elite.[119] She searched for codi-cological evidence from the illustrated luxury editions of the works of classical Persian authors found in the Istanbul collections. Both in Akkoyunlu and Safavid periods, Shiraz has been an important place of high quality manuscript production. Significant quantity of Shiraz illustrated manuscripts with their unique style in the Topkapı Palace dating 16th century shows that they were in considerable demand in Ottoman capital.[120] There were 200 illustrated manuscripts dating back to the 16th century Safavid period. Almost half of these manuscripts had been produced in Shiraz.[121]

These findings show that Istanbul was one of the main centers of book trade in the world, having precious and rich collections. However, it's hard to estimate how much of this interest originated from Ottomans who really enjoyed reading and how

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[117] Ibid, p.126
[118] Ibid, pp. 120-121
[119] Lale Uluç, "*Türkmen Valiler Şirazlı Ustalar Osmanlı Okurlar XVI. Yüzyıl Şiraz Elyazmaları*", Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006, İstanbul
[120] Ibid, p.19
[121] Ibid, p. 474

much of it from those who just wanted to own them as a precious commodity in their collections.

Knowledge produced in various spaces and transmitted by various channels had a determinant impact on the individuals. The perception constructed with this impact in the Ottoman minds is a composite of different knowledge types. This composite knowledge forms the basics of a collective definition regarding one's view of external world, reason of his existence, and his general attitude to life. In the subsequent sections the perception of knowledge in Ottoman "classic"[122] period constructed as a collective mind of the society and its propensity to change in the "post classic" period tendency to will be scrutinized.

3.3 Individual and his Perception of Knowledge in Classical Period

In this section, knowledge of the individual of the classical period will be analyzed with respect to the organizational model established by the Ottoman State and the stereotype individual as perceived in the Ottoman society.

In most biographical works, there are four adjectives used in describing almost all individuals' personal traits, which are *mütedeyyin,* religious, *mütevekkil*, patient, one who leaves his destiny in the hands of God, *fazıl*, virtuous, and *salih*, righteous. There was not much room for personal qualifications. Those qualities may show us the society's prototype, or the ideal-type of individual that was constructed by the state and society, which were also compatible with the state's ideologies implemented via its organizational structure. The individual who does not question

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[122] Here the term "classic" refers to the period between 14th and 16th centuries, whereas "postclassical" refers to the period of 17th and 18th centuries of Ottoman Empire.

the dynamics of the system outside his own boundaries and who would believe in pre-ordination of life by the Divine would perfectly fit the established and idealized system of life.

Ergenç defined the features of a stereotype individual in the classical period as follows: "He was "*mütedeyyin*", pious, "*ulü'l emre itaatkar*", obedient, who did not hold himself responsible for the world order and its future, and who did not question the established order, with no enthusiasm to change either his locality or his attitudes.[123] The basis of Ottoman order was the well-being of "*reaya*", tax-paying subjects of the Empire. This was the most fundamental tool by which the Sultan legitimized his rule. In the social order established for the well-being of the *reaya*, the residential immobility of *reaya*, defined as horizontal, and also vertically within social strata tied the *reaya* to his residence and the social stratum that he belonged to.

The most important organizational structure of the classical period was the system of *timar*. The success of the *timar* system depended on the regular tax payments of the *reaya* throughout the empire which demanded a strict immobility both horizontally, residence wise and also vertically, strata wise. Those strict, yet sometimes set aside regulations offered by the organizational system had sociological effects both on the individual and society. Locality was demanded, in other words. The state demanded the *reaya* to be "*defterlü*", registered, and any request to change residential area required the permission of both the previous timar-holder and also the subsequent

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[123] Özer Ergenç, "İdeal İnsan Tipi üzerinden Osmanlı Toplumunun Evrimi Hakkında bir Tahlil Denemesi", paper presented in XI. International Congress Of Social and Economic History of Turkey, Bilkent University, Ankara,17-22 June, 2008

timar-holder. For the sake of the continuation of the world-order, *nizam-ı 'alem*, social mobility was restricted. If timar was the system regulating the relationship between the *reaya* and the state, the neighborhood, *mahalle*, was the determinant of the relationship between the individuals themselves. *Mahalle* was the main governmental unit in an Ottoman city. It was a place where most of the people recognized each other, were responsible for each other's behavior and lived in social solidarity. With its definition in the Ottoman period, it was a part of a city where the believers who prayed in the same "*mescid*", small mosque lived with their families.[124] In Ottoman law, the people living in the same neighborhood were joint guarantors of each other. All residents of a *mahalle* were held responsible in a case which remained unsolved.[125] There were many payments made collectively, like renovation expenses of the mosque, the *mescid*, the school, the neighborhood fountain, the salaries of the clergy, the teachers, and some of the tax payments called "*avarız*".[126] Dismissal of some of the individuals from the *mahalle* was even possible with a justified decision. The right to live in a *mahalle* required obedience of a set of rules determined collectively by its members. There existed a collective consciousness among individuals, constituted by a whole set of unwritten regulations, like traditions and especially ethical codes.

The order of "*hırfet*", professional groups [127] had their own regulations. Supply was determined according to demand. There, the number of the people in those "*hırfet*

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[124] Özer Ergenç, *XVI.Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, Ankara Enstitü Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 1995, p. 145, ".....aynı mescidde ibadet eden cema'atin aileleriyle birlikte ikamet ettikleri şehir kısmıdır."
[125] Özer Ergenç, *XVI.Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, 2006, p.170
[126] Ibid, p.172
[127] Hirfet, in Arabic means art, work, performance, and labor done to make a living. The plural of which is hiref. In the Ottoman era, hırfet or hiref, came to mean competents of manufacturing. The

erbabı", professional groups, was fixed, and it was forbidden for anyone coming outside to take part in that profession. Besides the regulations demanded of the members, there were also some moral codes and required behavioral qualifications. This whole set of regulations, called "*fütüvvet*" in Ottoman Turkish, was to be transmitted from one generation to the next. In this organizational structure where the traditions were dominant, transmission was accomplished by symbols, ceremonies and rituals, like tying a belt to the student who has proven his competency for master hood. Knowledge of the "*hüner*" kind, was transmitted pragmatically, in their long educational period where they learned the "*sır*", secrets of the profession, just like in mystic sects. The career path to master hood was quite tough. Along the way to master hood, the apprentice would learn his trade and also some ethical and moral codes which were required of him to be a member of the guild.[128] The primary responsibility of the heads of guilds was supervision of the group members. However, their secondary responsibility was to educate their students which was termed as "*şakird çıkartmak*" in Ottoman Turkish. This education was the most important element which would enable the continuity of their trade. Once the "*şakird*", student was considered to be competent, his passage from student to master in his career path, would only be legal with his master's permission.[129]

A child born in this environment, with the help of the then available level of technology, would be equipped with cultural values and when he reached puberty he would be a member of his father's group. When he reached a certain age, he would

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artists would be named as ehl-i hiref. See; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Sözlüğü, I, p. 509

[128] Özer Ergenç, *XVI.Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, 2006, p. 181

[129] Ibid, p. 190

attend the "*sıbyan mektebi*", elementary school near the mosque, which was established by a waqf and learn how to read and write. However there was no widespread need for elementary schooling. Since the values of the society were transmitted from one generation to the next orally, acquisition and improvement of professional competence depended highly on practice acquired by seeing, hearing and watching the masters. Novices would attain the values of their culture from the religious stories heard in mosques, coffeehouses, from "*fütüvvetnames*" which were stories about the traditions of his trade. He would be informed about something when he hears a royal edict coming from Istanbul read by a "*çavuş*", official Ottoman messenger, or hear a story when there was a farewell ceremony for the pilgrimages from the city's "*namazgah*", a place where pilgrimages start their journey. [130]

It can be said that the individual's perception of knowledge in the classical period was harmonious with the state's organizational structure, with the society's social and spatial immobility, with its local character and practice- a society fed by oral traditions.

Knowledge was not acquired within institutions, rather it was knowledge acquired in one's life experience. Starting from birth, individuals would learn previous generations' cultural values and the basics of social order firstly from their families, then from those in their own group, profession, and neighborhood, or from "*ihtiyaran*", elites of the society.

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[130] Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Klasik Döneminin İdeal İnsan Tipi Üzerine Düşünceler",paper presented in XI. International Congress of Social and Economic History of Turkey, Bilkent University, Ankara, 17-22 June 2008

3.4 Individual and his Perception of Knowledge in Post-classical Period

In this section, the effects of the social transformation experienced in 18th century on the perception of knowledge of the individual will be discussed.

It has been shown that starting from the late seventeenth century, the change in the Ottoman social order was inevitable. Rural unrest starting with the Celali rebellions, the formation of a professional army as a response to Western military superiority, the reduction of the impact of the timar-system, the formation of central treasury as a response to the increase in government's deficit, imposing of new taxation formulations, establishment of new recruitment criteria and change in the profiles of those entering the civil service constitute only some of the causes of change. They all led to a change in the functions of the Ottoman state's organizational and institutional structure.[131] It is necessary to mention that, throughout the centuries, the Ottoman institutions remained the same officially in documents, while their functioning in fact changed. New practices were always implemented without totally abolishing the previous ones, old and new remaining in effect side by side, until the old practices simply faded away.

In this part, the effects of changes which occurred in the functioning of some of the institutional structures and led to a change in the Ottoman individual, compared with that of the classical period will be considered.

The timar-system was a central and absolute model observable throughout all the Ottoman lands. However, the spatial hegemony of the empire broadened. New

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[131] For the causes of change during this period pls. see. Halil İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire,1600-1700," *Archivum Ottomanicum* VI, 1980, pp. 283-337.

territories had to be administered and governed and there were regional disparities. The timar system in the classical period was based on the by then prevailing technologies for transportation, which were based on human and animal power. Throughout the vast lands of the empire, with its ethnic, religious, cultural and traditional disparities, the Ottoman State could not govern all the territories under the timar system. With almost a hundred percent increase in population by the end of sixteenth century throughout the Mediterranean, and a relative deficit in the total production of goods and services, individuals with no land, attempted to change their residential areas. Vertical mobility within social layers of the society and residential mobility forced the state to make changes in the functioning of classical institutions of the empire. Individuals started migrating to cities. Horizontal mobility started, with people moving out of their neighborhoods to big cities where the society was more heterogeneous. Thus, we see the growth of regional cities and towns and rise of the urban commercial classes by the end of seventeenth century.

Changes in military technology and the spread of firearms forced the state to change its traditional military organization and the government had an increasing need for mercenary troops. This need also coincided with the supply of the landless peasants, searching for new opportunities and willing to become soldiers and change their social status. The state had to transform its military organization from seasonal *sipahi* cavalry using traditional arms into a professional army capable of using firearms. The timar system started to lose its previous function, whereas the *kul* system started recruiting from a greatly expanded pool with differing origins, traditions and education. It was a burden for the state to pay their monthly payrolls, thereby pushing the new comers to squeeze into guilds to make a living. There was now a

vertical mobility where people from the "*reaya*"-tax-paying subjects class converted to a tax-exempted status of "*askeri*" -ruling class.

This change in social strata which is defined as vertical mobility may account as the next most influential factor which had an effect on the individual. This mobility has been considered as "*ihtilal*"-disturbance of "*nizam-ı alem*"- world order by some of the contemporaries. The new order was different from what had been perceived as the world order in the previous period.

This horizontal and vertical mobility also differentiated the individuals' knowledge. An increase in the rate of change of knowledge, slowly led knowledge to loose its locality. The rate of communication of knowledge between neighborhoods, cities and even states and the need for systematic knowledge increased. In this changing and developing world, individuals were in immediate need of having an access to knowledge, whether formal or not. We may assume that people started to regard texts as more confidential and easily accessed while trying to survive in their new world, leaving their home towns where knowledge was local and communication was oral.

Besides changes in the timar and kul systems leading to both horizontal and vertical mobility, there were also important changes within the human element of the Imperial Council. The main central organ of Ottoman Administration, the Imperial Council, had four categories of members; the viziers, the scribes represented by the treasurer, the chief of the council's scribes, and the chief translator, the military men represented by commander of Janissary corps, and the ulema represented by the *Kadıasker*, judicial chiefs of Rumeli and Anatolia. In summary there were three groups functioning in the administration; *örfiyye* , men of arms, *kalemiyye*, men of the pen and *ilmiyye*, men of faith. During the classical period, *örfiyye* members were

the most powerful. However, with the Empire's change in foreign politics, *ilmiyye* and especially *kalemiyye* members gained strength. Most of the viziers began to be recruited from *kalemiyye* group. It shows a distinct change of politics in the recruitment process of the administration. This may even be considered as a sign of changing valuation criteria of knowledge. The appointment of those who were literate, who had the ability to interact with foreign ambassadors, who had knowledge about the outside world, and who were more intellectual may be considered as a determinant factor in shaping the foreign politics of the Ottoman Empire. Although it was not a factor that had a direct impact on all members of society, changes in the characteristics of the elite administrators may be assumed to have had some impact on lower social layers over time.

CHAPTER IV

KNOWLEDGE TRANSMITTERS

In this chapter, the main hypothesis of this thesis will be tested. The channels through which the knowledge produced and transmitted will be analyzed. There are two problematic in this analysis. The first problematic is how knowledge produced in different spaces was being transformed into a collective perception. The second problematic is whether this process of production, transmission of collectively constructed perception of knowledge showed any signs of change during the early 18th century which is believed to be an era of social transformation. To be able to answer those questions, the theoretical perspective on the subject given in the preceding chapters will be analyzed by using the empirical data from the Ottoman primary sources. Thus, empirical data analyzed by various historians previously and the sources used in this thesis will be scrutinized thoroughly.

4.1 Primary Sources of the Previous Research and Their Results

The results of the previous research done on the same subject which includes Istanbul done by Ozturk for the 16th century, Ruscuk and Sofia by Sabev for the 18th

century, and Salonica by Anastassiadou for the 19th century is shown below[132]

Table 2.   Results of Previous Research on the book-ownership ratio

Place	Period	Total No. of Terekes	No. of Book Owners (% of total)
İstanbul[133]	1595-1668	1003	239 (%24)
Rusçuk[134]	1695-1786	358	65 (%18)
Sofya[135]	1671-1833	1111	180 (%16.2)
Salonica[136]	1828-1905	835	54 (%6.46)

Results of Ruscuk and Sofia covering 18th century which were found to be %18 and %16.2, respectively. The same ratio for Istanbul in the 16th century seems higher than expected which was %24. Sabev thinks that it was reasonable for Istanbul as the capital of the Empire to have a higher ratio of readers than the provinces. However, the ratio of %6.4 for Salonica for the 19th century still deserves an explanation.

Being a comprehensive one of the research on the subject, Sabev analyzed 335 probate inventory records in 56 court registers of askeri class covering the period from 1724-26 to 1747-48 and determined the records having 3 or more books as his database. [137] Then he classified 335 records with respect to owners' profession. He

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[132] Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)*, İstanbul: Yeditepe , 2006, p. 272

[133] Said Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama Ait Onyedinci Asır İstanbul Tereke Defterleri*, pp.174-176

[134] Orlin Sabev, "A Reading Provincial Society: Booklovers among the Muslim Population of Ruscuk (1695-1786)", Third International Congress on Islamic Civilization in the Balkans, Bucharest, Romania, 1-5 November 2006

[135] Orlin Sabev, "Private Book Collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671-1833 (Preliminary Notes)", *Etudes Balkaniques*, 2003 No:1,pp. 34-82

[136] Meropi Anastassiadou, "Des defunts hors du commun: les possesseurs de livres dans les inventaires apres deces musulmans de Salonique", Turcica, V.3, 222, pp.197-252

[137] Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)*, İstanbul: Yeditepe , 2006.

defined the professional groups as religious, military and administrative, bureaucrat, and craftsmen. The results of his findings for Istanbul, compared with his previous research done for Ruscuk and Sofia is shown below;[138]

Table 3.   Sabev's findings of book ownership with respect to owners' profession

Career	Istanbul/Owning 3 or more books	Sofia/Owning 2 or more books[139]	Rusçuk/Owning 2 or more books[140]
Ulema – Religious class (including those having Efendi or Molla titles)	227	19	7
Military	59	11	4
Bureaucrats	14	2	-
Craftsmen	8	5	1
Other	18	9	4
Total	**335**	**46**	**16**

In all three cities, the book ownership ratio was clearly the highest in the religious class. Especially in Istanbul, 227 out of 335 records were from religious class, which is almost %68.

4.2 Primary Sources

There are two groups of primary sources used in this thesis. The first group consists of two registers of probate inventory records, *tereke defterleri*, belonging to askeri

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[138] Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)*, İstanbul: Yeditepe , 2006. p.275

[139] Orlin Sabev, "Private Book Collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671-1833 (Preliminary Notes)", *Etudes Balkaniques*, 2003 No:1,pp. 34-82

[140] Orlin Sabev, "A Reading Provincial Society: Booklovers among the Muslim Population of Ruscuk (1695-1786)", Third International Congress on Islamic Civilization in the Balkans, Bucharest, Romania, 1-5 November 2006

class called *kısmet- askeriyye*. One of them is numbered 22 dated 1114-1115/ (1703-1704) with 248 pages, and the next is numbered 31 dated 1124 /(1712-1713) with 200 pages.

The second group consists of individually distinct probate records selected randomly from Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Baş Muhasebe Kalama collections showing ownership of at least one book and recorded in the period of 1700-1750.

The database formed using the first group of primary sources was thoroughly analyzed and the results were systematically classified and shown in various tables enabling us to draw general conclusions. The individual records of the second group on the other hand, consists of distinct records that support the general conclusions drawn.

The database of the first group of primary sources was formed from the records of those deceased who owned at least one book. Then this database had been analyzed to find the book ownership ratio for the specified periods which is illustrated below.

Table 4. Book ownership ratio in KAŞS no. 22 and 31

Place	Period	Total No. of Probate Inventory Records	No. of book owners / (% of total)
İstanbul	1703-1704	223	36 / %16.14
İstanbul	1712-1713	215	39 / %18.14
Total		**438**	**75 / %17.12**

Since there was only 10 years of lag between the two periods, the findings of the two registers were combined for a better view. The book ownership in this combined database had been found as %17.12.

In this thesis, the same method had been used to determine the professions of those owned books. The professions defined in this thesis are ilmiye (religious), örfiye (military), and kalemiyye (scribes-bureaucrats) which were similar to Sabev's categorization. In addition to that, number of the books owned by relevant professions were also determined which is shown below:

Table 5.   Book ownership and the no. of books owned with respect to owners' profession in KAŞS no. 22 and 31.

Career	No. of people owning at least one book / % of total (Register no: 31)	Number of books owned / % of total (Register No: 31)	No. of people owning at least one book / % of total (Register No: 22)	Number of books owned / % of total (Register No: 22)	Total number of books/ % of total
İlmiye	18 / %50	580 / %78.2	17 / % 42.1	501 / %79.7	1081 (%80)
Örfiye	10 / %27.77	132 / %17.8	18 / % 21.1	23 / %3.7	155 (%11.4)
Kalemiyye	1 / %2.77	10 / %1.3	-	-	10 (%0.8)
Others	7 / %19.44	19/ %2.5	14 / % 36.8	86 / %13.6	105 (%7.8)
Total	36	741	38	630	1351

In this analysis with respect to professions of the owners of books, *ilmiyye* class was determined to be the class owning the highest amount of books. In register number 31, the ratio was %50, and in the register number 22, the ratio was %42.1. More striking though was that the number of the books owned by ilmiye (religious) class constituted %80 of the total number of books. These findings were also consistent with the previous research done as far as determining the profession of those who owned the highest amount of books.

Up to this point, the findings of the primary sources of this thesis may be considered to be consistent with the current research literature. However, these findings do not help us grasp the underlying reasons behind these results. We need to take the findings one step further for a better understanding.

4.3 Defining Knowledge Transmitters

The main assumption of this thesis was that there were three layers in the society who transmitted knowledge. Ergenç assumes the same 3 layers in transmission of medical knowledge in Ottoman society.[141]

The first layer consisted of "high-ranking professionals". High-ranking professionals were the ones who would either produce knowledge or were those able to acquire the

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[141] Özer Ergenç, Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde "Sağlık Bilgisi"nin Üretimi, Yayılması ve Kullanımı", MESA 210 Conference Proceedings

best resembling copy of the original knowledge. They were assumed to be positioned in the highest rank of their profession. They would appeal to only a very limited, distinguished and elite students. This group did not transmit knowledge to masses directly. The members of this group would most likely be a "*müderris*" in medreses, a "*pir*" or an "*üstad*" in guild organizations, a "*mürşid*" or a "*şeyh*" in tekkes that were defined in previous sections. Professionals were either müderris or mürşid producing and transmitting religious knowledge or *"üstadan-ı ehl-i hıref"* which means experienced masters of a craft, with a knowledge of the traditions of the organization transmitting knowledge of "*hüner*" kind. The distinctive feature of the knowledge possessed by this group was that it was not "censurable", in other words, they were not a kind which could be advanced or developed further. It involved information which was passed on from the "master" only to the "apprentice" and that "it was required from the master to meticulously keep the details as secret as an indication of his mastery". In this regard, the knowledge stayed within the profession. It was basically the reason why the rate of transmission and nature of the accumulated knowledge displayed a long-term stagnation.[142] A *müderris* would expect his students to transmit his knowledge without changing its original version. Actually, this is how Islamic knowledge could indeed remain unchanged throughout centuries. While this approach prevented new pursuits, after a while those professionals would be continuously using the same knowledge with little interest to enrich or reproduce it.

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[142] Özer Ergenç, Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde "Sağlık Bilgisi"nin Üretimi, Yayılması ve Kullanımı", MESA 210 Conference Proceedings

The second layer constituted of individuals defined in this thesis as "secondary professionals". This group was not totally aware of the source of knowledge. They did not themselves produce knowledge, rather, it is assumed that they were on their way to get specialized either on their own profession or any subject of their interest. Their knowledge may not have been the "original" or resemble closely the original knowledge. They may have learned mostly anonymously from previous generations, or they may understood either the commentaries or the shortened and simplified versions of original texts. But more importantly, they were the ones whose transmission of knowledge was trusted and publicly accepted. This important feature would enable them to appeal to masses. They would be members of an ancillary profession, or would be supplementary staff like a *vaiz*, preacher, who did not receive medrese education but had some shallow religious knowledge, an *imam,* who transmitted religious knowledge or daily practices of worship that he had heard from others. The preachers included in this group had very differing qualities from that of ulema although they both were a member of *ilmiye* class. Zilfi, who had analyzed the "Kadızadeli Movement" emphasized the differing positions of the sermons with respect to hierarchical organizational structure of *ulema* class. She wrote; "The Ottoman *vaizan* had received their initial training in their home provinces rather than in capital. Their training –heavily mixed with the theory and practice of public oratory- was barely comparable to the Istanbul medreses' ten-plus graded years in the law. Most members of the preacher corps were less educated. Their task stressed exhortation rather than explication, and repetition of notable sermons of the past rather than original sermons. Apart from differing recruitment patterns, training and career expectations, perhaps the chief difference between the *vaizan* and the *ulema*

resided in their actual functions. Ulema as judges had narrow and prescribed interaction with the public. As professors they dealt not only with the literate, but with the most select of the literate, the budding of the *ulema*." [143]

A person who was an *örf* member but called by his fellows as "*kadı*" due to his rich private library, or a "*musinn*" or "i*htiyar*", elder individuals in the neighborhoods having anonymous knowledge from their ancestors, having experience and who had gained the community's trust were also evaluated under this group.

The main group focused in this study is the "secondary professionals" as is defined, since they were the ones transmitting their knowledge to the public, or *ahali*, having a face-to-face contact with the populace and assumed to have a dominant role in determining the level of the public's perception of knowledge.

The questions of how knowledge was perceived by masses, what the type of knowledge transmitted to public were, what the role of written transmission of knowledge was compared to the traditional modes of oral and ritual transmission are attempted to be answered through the books owned by the knowledge transmitters.

4.4 Transmitters Reflected in the Sources

Regarding the two probate inventory records that have been already defined in section 4.2, the two tables were formed illustrated below. The first table was formed according to probate inventory register numbered 31 dated 1124/ (1712-1713) and the second table was formed according to probate inventory register numbered 22 dated 1114-1115/ (1703-1704). Although they were recorded at differing time

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[143] Madeline Zilfi, *Osmanlı Uleması Klasik Dönem Sonrası 1600-1800*, çev. Mehmet Faruk Özçınar Birleşik Yayınevi, Ankara, 2008, p. 164

periods, they both gave results whict support each other. Thus, the two registers were analyzed together.

Table 6.   Analysis of KAŞC No. 22 dated hijri 1114-1115 (1703-1704)

22						BOOKS				
Total number of inv.	Inv. with books	No. of books	Inv. With respect to no.of books owned	Title of the owners	No.of book owners with respect to their titles	Mushaf	Ulum-i Nakliyye	Tabakat, Vefayet	Risale, Tevarih, Adab, Menkıbe Siyer	Fütüvvetname
215	39(%18.14)	630	Owners of 1-9 books (22 individuals)	Without title	10	✔	✘	✘	✔	✘
				Çelebi	1	✔	✘	✘	✘	✘
				Bey/Beşe	5	✔	✘	✘	✘	✘
				Efendi	5	✔	✔	✘	✔	✘
				Üstad	1	✔	✘	✘	✘	✘
				Total	22					
			Owners of 10-33 books (10 individuals)	Without title	1	✔	✘	✘	✔	✘
				Çelebi	-	-	-	-	-	-
				Bey/Beşe	2	✔	✘	✘	✔	✘
				Efendi	7	✔	✔	✔	✔	✘
				Total	10					
			Owners of 33 and more books (7 individuals)	Without title	-	-	-	-	-	-
				Çelebi	-	-	-	-	-	-
				Bey/Beşe	-	-	-	-	✔	-
				Efendi	7	✔	✔	✔	✔	✘
				Total	7					

✔ Own
✘ Do not own

Table 7.   Analysis of KAŞC No. 31 dated hijri 1124 (1712-1713)

31						BOOKS				
Total number of inv.	Inv. with books	No. of books	Inv. With respect to no.of books owned	Title of the owners	No.of book owners with respect to their titles	Mushaf	Ulum-i Nakliyye	Tabakat, Vefayet	Risale, Tevarih, Adab, Menkıbe Siyer	Fütüvvetname
223	36(%16.14)	741	Owners of 1-9 books (17 individuals)	Without title	3	✔	✘	✘	✘	✘
				Çelebi	3	✔	✔	✔	✔	✘
				Bey/Beşe	5	✔	✘	✘	✔	✘
				Efendi	6	✔	✔	✔	✔	✘
				Total	17					
			Owners of 10-33 books (10 individuals)	Without title	-	-	-	-	-	✘
				Çelebi	-	-	-	-	-	✘
				Bey/Beşe	2	✔	✘	✘	✔	✘
				Efendi	8	✔	✔	✔	✔	✘
				Total	10					
			Owners of 33 and more books (9 individuals)	Without title	-	-	-	-	-	✘
				Çelebi	-	-	-	-	-	✘
				Bey/Beşe	2	✔	✘	✔	✔	✘
				Efendi	7	✔	✔	✔	✔	✘
				Total	9					

✔ Own
✘ Do not own

The parameters used in the formation of the tables are; total number of probate inventory records in the registers, the number of the records where the deceased owned books, the titles of those deceased owning books showing their social and legal status, the total number of the books in the registers, and the general content of the those books depending on the kind of knowledge they possess. The deceased who owned books in the registers have been analyzed under 3 groups. Numerical distribution and its cluster point were used in determining those 3 groups. Accordingly, the 3 groups were defined as those owning 1-9 books, 10-33 books and those owning over 33 books.

All the books recorded in probate inventories were classified under 5 groups for a better analysis as such; 1) *Mushaf-ı şerif, Kuran'ı Kerim, enam-ı şerif, ecza-ı şerif* and *yasin-i şerif.* The books under this group are represented by the main book of Islam, *Kuran-ı Kerim* and books that contain some of the surahs and verses of the Quran. 2) The books that were studied in the medreses either under transmitted sciences, ulum-ı nakliye, or rational sciences, ulum-ı akliye covering formal religious knowledge. 3) The books that contain mystic knowledge written by famous *mutasavvıf*s, sufi mystics, or biographical books of them. They were all termed as books of *tabakat* and *vefayat.* 4) Books of *adab* like *tevarih, eş'ar, menkıbe, siyer, siyasetname* or *mecmua*, miscellany or *risale*, pamphlets which contain samples of such. 5) *Fütüvvetname*s giving the rules and regulations of the guilds.

The two tables formed with the above mentioned parameters enable us to make the evaluations regarding knowledge transmitters of the society for the specified time periods.

In both of the tables the number of those deceased who owned books were significantly low. When the group who owned 1 to 9 books is analyzed, most of the books they owned were from the group (I), namely *Mushaf-ı Şerif.* Also, we see that those who were recorded without any titles either did not own any books or owned only one or two *Mushaf-ı Şerif* or *Enam-ı Şerif,* in other words only books from the group (I). This shows us that literacy rate was still very low in the Ottoman society in the 18th century. Because we may claim that most of those who had *Mushaf-ı Şerif* in their probate records did not know any Arabic language and had Quran in their home as a religious ritual or a symbol of their faith. Based on these findings, we may suggest that the knowledge produced in the society was being transmitted orally by the transmitters mentioned above.

The analysis of the sources with the parameters of the titles of the book owners and the content of their books enable us to make some further conclusions. Those who are titled as "*efendi*" who were either a member of ulema or any *din görevlisi,* religious official, own books from the groups (I), (II), and (IV). In the second table, there were no records of books from the group (III), or namely vefayet and tabakat books. However, since there were efendis owning the books from group (III) in the first table, we may say that some of the ulema owned "*tabakat and vefayet*" books representing content of mystic knowledge showing that *efendi*s, who were a member of ulema, were at the same time a *tarikat teknenişin* or a *müntesib* of a tarikat. Besides those affiliations, they also had interest in books of *adab*. Although it's not clearly reflected shown in the tables, they owned *muhtasar*, brief or summarized versions of standard religious books şerh, commentaries, *fetva* collections. Thus showing that both groups of knowledge transmitters that were defined as primary and

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secondary professionals in previous sections in a theoretical perspective have been represented under "efendi" titled group. However, the fact that most of the books recorded were muhtasar versions, puts the secondary professionals forward.

The books owned by those deceased who were titled as "çelebi" did not show any significant or distinctive qualities to make a meaningful analysis.

Those deceased who were titled as "bey", "beşe", or "ağa" who were clearly a member of örf, military class mostly owned books in group (IV), namely the books having the content of adab. This may show that they did not have a special mission besides transmitting the values of their own class.

Although there were guild members in the probate records, there was no single book of *fütüvvetname,* the book of rules and regulations of a specific guild. guilds. This implies that the knowledge of hüner was being transmitted orally or pragmatically from üstads to şakirds in the guilds, while transmission of their ethical values were the subject of rituals.

Lastly, the tables show that, within the specified period of two registers, oral and pragmatic methods of transmission of knowledge were still dominant in the Ottoman society although there was a sign of propensity to written modes of transmission. What leads us to this conclusion is the fact that in 16th and 17th centuries the books found in tereke registers were both lower quantitatively and were not differentiated so much as far as their contents were considered.

The specific examples from the sources which support the general conclusions drawn will be given below.

In the following section, the content of the books owned by the members of the layer defined as "secondary professionals" will be analyzed. For example, there are 12 books contained in the tereke register of Abdülrezzak Efendi who died in 1124/1712 who was an imam of Orta Camii.[144] If *Mushaf-ı Şerif* and *Sadr-ı Şerif* books are left aside, he owned "*Tarikat-ı Muhammediye*", *mecmua* (collection of diverse texts, usually for the collector's private use) and "*Muhtasar*". There are only two books from the curricula of the medreses which were "*Dürer*" and "*Mülteka*". Mostly recorded as "Dürer" however originally named "*Dürer ve Gürer*" was a book frequently used as a reference and written by Molla Hüsrev (d.855/1480). The full name of the book studied in Ottoman medreses was "*Dureru'l-Hukkam fî şerh-i Gureri'l-Ahkâm*".[145] Since it was a book of Islamic jurisprudence (fıqh) appealing to daily lives, it is found in most of the tereke registers. "*Mülteka*" was also a book from the medrese curricula on Hanefi jurisprudence. It was written by İbrahim Halebi. This was also a book that could be referred to for everyday practices. "*Tarikat-ı Muhammediye*" was also a very frequently found book in tereke registers. Due to its contents it may also be considered as a history book. It was written by Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed Bîcân (855/1451) and considered to be one of the books which constituted the base of Islamic culture. It was one of the most popular books cherished by the public for centuries long. It was about Muhammad the Prophet's life, giving explanations of Islamic perspective of world. [146] Apart from those books, Abdürrezzak Efendi owned some miscellany called "*mecmua*" containing diverse

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[144] KAŞS, 31, p. 87
[145] Ali İhsan Karataş XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Tedavüldeki Kitaplar, Uludağ Ünv. İlahiyat Fakültesi 10/1, p. 212
[146] Ibid, p.215

texts like poems, tales, prays, and even some sample lawsuits. Recorded in tereke registers either as *Mutavvel or Muhtasar*, was a famous work of Sa'deddin Taftazânî (d.722/1322) on rhetoric. It was a book that was studied in medreses, being a commentary made to the book named "*Telhîsu'l-Miftâh*" of Celâleddîn Muhammed b. Abdurrahman el-Kazvînî (d.739/1338). There were two commentaries made by Taftazani, the longer of which was called *Mutavvel*, while the shortest one was called *Muhtasar*.[147] The book recorded as "*Muhtasar*" in tereke records may also refer to the shortened version of the book named "*Fıkh-ı Ekber Şerh-i Muhtasar*". This was a shortened version of the book written by İmam-ı Azam- the founder of Hanefi school. These books were the type of books which included knowledge pertaining to large number of people, understood more easily than the curricula of the medrese and came across in the practical lives of the public and possessed simple answers to the religious faith questions.

İbrahim Efendi, the judge-adjunct, *naib* of İstanköy[148] owned 9 books. He was assumed to be qualified as "secondary professionals" since he was a member of middle ranked ulema. The books that he owned were suitable for a role of transmitting judicial knowledge in the society. He owned "*sakk mecmuası*", various miscellany and some story books. *Sakk mecmuası* were reference books showing the rules and procedures of filing a lawsuit in Ottoman courts. Those books were mostly written by judges or scribes who had long years of judicial experience in courts. The naib of İstanköy would most probably, by the help of sakk mecmuası as his reference tool, appeal to those who were in search for legal procedures.

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[147] Ibid, p. 216
[148] KAŞS, 31, p., 107

Ders-i amm, the public lecturer, El-Hac Ömer Efendi owned 10 books like *Tuhfetü'l Müluk, Gülistan, Menasihü'l Hac, Muhtasar, and Molla Camii*[149] . *Gülistan* was a book written by Sa'dî-i Şîrâzî (ö.691/1292) that was studied in medreses. It was mainly aiming to regulate social routines. Sadi glamorized his work with stories some of which were based on his own observations, while some were based on hearsay. There were many books written as its commentary by various authors. It was dedicated to Persian Atabek named Ebu Bekir, summarizing Sadi's life experience. It was considered to be a masterpiece of Persian literature with its plain and simple language, highly esteemed by masses.[150] *Tuhfetü'l Mülük* was a *pendname,* the book of advice. *Menasihü'l Hac* was a book explaining the route of pilgrimage. *Molla Cami* was a book frequently found in tereke registers. Molla Câmî (b. 1414 - d. 1492), was a Persian philosopher. He was considered to be a mystic luminary. The content of the books in the private library of Ömer Efendi as a *ders-i amm* were well-matched for somebody transmitting his knowledge in daily religious practices.

There was a hierarchy in Ottoman ilmiyye class. The graduates of medrese would first be sent to provinces in Anatolia as a *kadı,* judge, and spend their first years of experience in provinces. And later, they would come back to the capital after their fulfillment of duties as province judges. The tereke register of Hüseyin Efendi who was a judge in Anatolia is worth to mention. He owned 17 books.[151] Although he should have been included in the "professional group" due to the number of books

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[149] KAŞS, No.31, p. 35
[150] Ali İhsan Karataş XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Tedavüldeki Kitaplar, Uludağ Ünv. İlahiyat Fakültesi 10/1, p. 214
[151] KAŞS No:31, p. 54

he owned, when the contents of his books are analyzed, it was found that his private library was distinct both from that of high-ranking professionals like *müderris*, *Kadıasker*, highest rank of judges, and also from that of "secondary professionals" like *imam/ vaiz/ ders-i 'amm*. Although his library included "*Dürer*" and "*Mülteka*" which were studied in medreses, he also owned "*mecmua*", miscellany or books with diverse texts, "*duaname*", prayer books, "*Pendname*", book of advice, "*Van Kulu Lügatı*", dictionary. As a provincial judge, he did not own books that included sophisticated religious knowledge, rather he owned books which would meet the needs of the public in the provinces that he would be serving about daily religious practices, It may be assumed that as he moves up on the hierarchical ranks of ilmiyye, his private library would become more refined and rich meeting his professional needs.

Karahasanoğlu, emphasizes the distinctive position of the preachers, *vaiz,* of Ayasofya Mosque in his work where he reconstructs the rebellion of 1730 using the tereke register of İspirizade Ahmet Efendi, the preacher of the Ayasofya Mosque during the mentioned period.[152] Friday preachers were appointed by the Palace and the peak of their career path was their appointment to Friday sermons of Ayasofya Mosque.[153] Being a preacher in Ayasofya was a powerful position since most of the administrative elites were attending Friday sermon of this Mosque. The tereke register of İspirizade, for this reason, was quite different from the terekes of the aforementioned preachers. It was much more heterogeneous and rich. His books also

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[152] Selim Karahasanoğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 1730 İsyanına dair Yeni Bulgular: İsyanın Organizatörlerinden Ayasofya Vaizi İspirizade Ahmed Efendi ve Terekesi", OTAM 24, 2008, pp.97-128
[153] Ibid, p.101

may be considered as an evidence of differences of individual's knowledge within the hierarchical structure of *ilmiyye* class. The private libraries of those positioned in the higher ranks of the hierarchy, would include a variety of books enabling them to fulfill the expectations of the elite audience that they were appealing to.

Hafız, one who can recite the Qu'ran, İbrahim owned only 5 books, one of which was *Mushaf-ı Şerif* and the next was *Mevlid-i Şerif,* both of which were fully compatible with his profession. [154] Although all lengthy poems about the birth of Muhammed, his life, and small passages about his life, his miracles are termed as Mevlid, in Islamic literature they constitute a kind of literary genre. The most prominent work of this genre was "*Vesîletü'n-Necât*" , means of salvation, dating 15th century, written by Süleyman Çelebi in Turkish. There is no reason not to assume that circumcision feasts, when hajıs would return from pilgrimage, in farewell ceremonies to soldiers, when somebody was deceased or at sacred nights Hafız İbrahim Efendi would recite *Mevlid-i Şerif* and he would keep his book with himself in case he needs assistance.

Ulvi Ali Efendi, who was one of "*reis katips*" , scribe, in the *kalemiyye*, had 10 books including "*Kanunname*" and "*Hilye-i Hakani*".[155] "*Hilye-i Hakani*" was an anonymous work including the stories and tales of the prophets. It was one of those works that was frequently owned due to its simple language and the messages it included. "*Kanunname*" was a book of Ottoman documents about Sultanic law which Ulvi Efendi would mostly refer to in his profession. It cannot be said that Ulvi Efendi

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[154] KAŞS no:31, p.36

had the knowledge from original sources. He was literate and reading mostly tales and anonymous books probably sharing his knowledge with other fellows of his class.

When the tereke registers of those who were a member of *örfiyye* class with their Ağa titles are analyzed, some similarities in the books owned could easily be determined. El-Hac Hasan Ağa who died on his way to pilgrimage had 57 books.[156] Although the amount of the books he owned resembles that of a high-ranking professional's library, the content of the books shows that he was a member of a mediocre culture. Besides the recognized books on fıqh, Islamic jurisprudence like *"Kitab-ı Buhari", "Feteva-i Ali Efendi", "Mutavvel", "Dürer Gürer", "şerh-i mevakıf",* and *"Kadıhan"* , he also had many books on differing subjects including history books, popular religious books, books of advice of government, like; *"Tevarih-i Ali", "İskendername", "Tercüme-i Kemal Paşazade", "Nusretname", "Menakıb-ı İmam Azam", "Kıssa-i Bürde", "Hadis-i Erbain",* and *"Türki tefsir"*- Turkish Quranic commentary books. *"İskendername"* was written by Ahmedî (d.815/1412), with an annex of Ottoman History is considered to be one of the first of its kind. It is an epical poem about the tales of the life, ideals, lovers, and the conquests of Iskender the Great.[157] *"Tevarih-i Ali", "Tercüme-i Kemal Paşazade", "Nusretname"* were also historical books like *"İskendername"*. *"Kasîde-i Bürde"* was a famous eulogy written by el-Busirî (d.1213/1296). Believed to have miraculous deeds among Muslim believers, this eulogy was translated to many

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[156] KAŞS No:31, p. 128
[157] Ali İhsan Karataş XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Tedavüldeki Kitaplar, Uludağ Ünv. İlahiyat Fakültesi 10/1, p. 220

languages and had many commentaries.[158] "*Hadis-i Erbain*" was a booklet of 40 hadiths enlightening the daily lives of public. He also owned a Turkish Quranic interpretation called "*Türki tefsir*". Rather than an "*alim*", El-Hac Hasan Ağa, although literate, better fits the "secondary professionals" group whose knowledge may be considered to be shallow, acquired by anonymous sources and easily understood and interpreted.

The tereke register of Ahmed Ağa bin Mustafa owning 10 books is worth to mention with interesting books recorded.[159] "*İbretname*" is one of them. *İbretname* was written by Eşrefoğlu Abdullah Rûmî, (? - 1469) , who was known as Eşref-i Rûmî , one of the most prominent names of Turkish Mystic literature. The next one is "*Ebu'l Leys*" which was written by Semerkandî (d.373/938) about ritual worship which was very popular among masses.[160] Ahmed Ağa also owned "*Yusuf and Züleyha*" which was written by many people with different versions, about the life of Prophet Yusuf and Zuleyha from the Quran. "*Aşık Paşa*" is another popular book. Although recorded as *Aşık Paşa* in documents, the name of the book was "*Garibname*" written by Aşık Ahmed Paşa (d.730/1330) with 12.000 verses. It had 10 sections and written to educate people. "*Garibname*" was very effective in Anatolia which was considered to be one of those books ensuring Ottoman unity. It has been observed that Ahmed Ağa as an Ottoman reader, preferred works in Turkish, literate genres based on stories rather than religious books.

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[158] Ibid, p. 219
[159] KAŞS, No:31, p.130
[160] Ali İhsan Karataş XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Tedavüldeki Kitaplar, Uludağ Ünv. İlahiyat Fakültesi 10/1, p. 213

There are 11 books in the tereke register of Yakub Ağa.[161] Besides books on history and Tarih-i Sultan Osman, there is one Turkish book called "*Türki kitab*" and one book named *Lamii* which is probably the work of Mahmûd b. Osmân el-Bursevî (d.939/1532) named "*Dîvân-ı Lamiî*" and also a translation of Lamii named "*Hüsn-i Dil*". [162]

Baş Kapucubaşı El-Hac Halil Ağa, a member of *örfiyye* class, died in 1164 / (1750-17551) owned 36 books.[163]

Bağdat Ağası Es-Seyyid Ali Ağa, a member of *örfiyye* class, died in 1101/ (1689-1690) owned 10 books.[164] However, they were not recorded separately. All 10 books were recorded as "*alai kütub*"- old and disorganized books and magazines with disjointed folios.

Mirahur-ı evvel, head of royal horse barn, Ali Bey, from *örfiyye* class owned 14 books who died in 1114/ (1702-1703).[165] He owned a book called "*baytarname*", book of veterians, which he needed for his profession. He was also mainly interested in reading Turkish books since he owned "*Türki şehname*", Turkish book of advice of governing, "*Türki mecmua*", Turkish miscellany. As a member of military class, he also owned "*Tuhfetü'l Kibar*" written by Katip Çelebi on naval history. The book "*Acaibü'l Mahlukat* " was a book on astrology and geography. Siyavuş Ahmed bin Abdullah Bey, member of *örfiyye* class, died in 1100/ (1688-89) owned 5 books.[166]

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161 KAŞS, No:31, p. 162
162 Ali İhsan Karataş XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Tedavüldeki Kitaplar, Uludağ Ünv. İlahiyat Fakültesi 10/1, p.218
163 BOA, D.BŞM-MHF/301-12652
164 BOA, D.BŞM-MHF/21-12369
165 BOA, D.BŞM-MHF/21-12382
166 BOA, D.BŞM-MHF/18-12366

They were *kelam-ı kadim*, *lügat*, dictionary, and *Gülistan*.

It was interesting that the governor of Diyarbakır İbrahim Paşa[167] who died in 1128/ (1715-16), member of *örfiyye* class did not own any books just like Yeniçeri Ağası Çolak Hasan Ağa[168] who died in 1120/ (1708-1709) who did not have any books recorded in his tereke. There were also two deceased from the *örfiyye* class who owned only one religious book. One of them was "*Kandiye muhafazasında memur Dergah-ı Ali Yeniçerileri 14.cemaatiden Hasan Çelebi*" who owned only one book of *Mushaf-ı Şerif*.[169] The other one was "*sabıka Azak defterdarı olup hala Girit defterdarı olan*" Mustafa Efendi, provincial treasurer of Crete, owned only one book of *kelam-ı kadim*. [170]

Revan muhafızı ve seraskeri İbrahim Paşa, member of *örfiyye* class in the city of Revan who died in 1147/ (1734-35) owned 71 books written on differing subjects.[171] Although he was a member of military class, his private library included books on religion, jurisprudence, history, books of literature, poetry books, poem books, a book translated from Italian, miscellanies, and also a printed book named "*Tuhfetü'l Kibar*" written by Katip Çelebi on naval history. Besides being literate and interested in reading books either for his own profession or just for enjoyment, he may also be a collector of books because he had calligraphic Quranic books written by famous calligraphers like Süleymani Üsküdari. He also had many copies of a book named "*tarih-i mirant*", which was a Persian history book. Owning many copies of the same book may also indicate that he was a collector of precious books.

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[167] BOA., D-BŞM-MHF/21-12392
[168] BOA, D.BŞM-MHF/21-12369
[169] BOA, D.BŞM-MHF/12373
[170] BOA, D.BŞM-MHF/12465
[171] BOA, D.BŞM-MHF/12435

Neumann, analzed in his article the tereke of Halil Ağa who died in 1751 and owned 62 books. Although he was not a "kadı" officially, but a member of *örfiyye* class, he was called among his own class as "kadı" since he owned so many books. Neumann, argues that his library was quite different from that of an "*alim*" in a medrese.[172] He had a rich private library with history books found in the terekes of other örf members, menakıbname genre. Besides biographical works of Ottoman elite, he also owned reference books on *fiqh*, Islamic law, hadith and *tefsir*, Quranic interpretation. However there were no fetva (religious legal decisions) books which give practical religious information that the kadıs would mostly demand, no miscellanies of Arabic grammar and no booklets called "*sakk mecmua*" which would give practical information on how to file a lawsuit. Besides, there were not any fundamental books that were a part of Ottoman medrese curricula like *sarf* (Arabic grammar rules), *nahv*, Arabic literature rules, logic, *kelam,* speculative theology and *usul-ı fiqh*, rules of Islamic law. Thus, Neumann righteously claims that private library of Halil Ağa was different from a library of a professor in the medrese.

In Sievert's article where tereke registers of 36 bureaucrats who have died within the period 1700-1800 have been analyzed[173], 5 out of 36 bureaucrats' tereke records have been published in its appendix. And these published records have also been used an analyzed in this thesis from a differing perspective. Published records include; Bahir Mustafa Paşa deceased in 1765 owning 13 books,[174] Teryaki Mehmet

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[172] Christoph K. Neumann, "Osmanlı Okurları ve yazma koleksiyonları I: Kadı Halil Ağa'nın kitapları", *Simurg,* Simurg Yayıncılık, İstanbul, Ekim 2000, No: 2-3, pp.446-458

[173] Henning Sievert, "Verlorene Schatze-Bücher von Bürokraten in den Muhallefat Registern" in Welten Des Islams Band 3, edited by Silvia Naef, Ulrich Rudolph, Gregor Schoeler, Bern, Peter Lang, 2010, pp. 199-263.

[174] D.BŞM.MHF 50/51, 12710, 12718, 12719

Paşa deceased in 1750 owning 17 books,[175] Abdurrahman Paşa deceased in 1752 owning 87 books, [176] Numan Paşa deceased in 1752 owning 33 books,[177] and Divoğlu el-Hac Mustafa deceased in 1757 owning 11 books.[178] Four out of five were a member of örfiye class with their "Paşa" title. With respect to their books owned they all qualify as a member of the group "secondary professionals". The books owned were very similar to those owned by secondary professionals of this thesis. There were history books like; *Tarih-i Raşid, Tarih-i Naima, Tevarih-i Taberi, Tarih-i Ali Osman, Tarih-i Hamis, Tuhfetü'l Kibar* which is about Ottoman naval history written by Katip Çelebi, and Tarih-i Peçevi. There were books on geography like *Cihannüma* by Katip Çelebi and also books of advice like *Pendname, Ahlak-i Alai, Şahname*. There were popular religious books like a booklet of prays written by İmam el-Cezûlî which was believed to cure physical and psychological illnesses called "*Delâil-i Hayrât*", praying books like *Ed'iye mecmuası, Duanâme, Muhammediye*, miscellanies about varying subjects like religion, medicine, astrology. Adab books like *kıyafetname, harbname*, literary genre like *Yusuf and Züleyha*, books of miscellaneous poets were included in those 5 terekes. Although relatively few, there were also religious books on Islamic law like fetva books, commentary books, *Dürer ve Gürer, Mülteka* which all involve practical information for daily lives of Muslims It has been observed that the books consist of wide range of subjects including religion but mostly hüner and adab genre.

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[175] D.BŞM.MHF 12586
[176] D.BŞM.MHF 12606
[177] D.BŞM.MHF 12641
[178] D.BŞM.MHF 12664

Besides the inheritance probate inventories of the askeri class, tereke records of the Uskudar court register dated 1741 numbered 402 also analyzed.[179] Since this register was for those people who were from *reaya* class, it is assumed to portray the populace in terms of book ownership and it was selected randomly. Although it may seem as a low probability that this one court register would represent the data of all the remaining public, it is argued that court registers for the same period from different neighborhoods of the city, would come up with similar results. In this register , 302 records out of 392 were lawsuit records. And there were 12 tereke registers, 4 of which belonged to non-Muslims and 8 of which belonged to Muslims. There were "no" books recorded in any one them. It may be argued that for the period being analyzed and even for previous periods, oral transmission was still dominant with respect to written for the masses with no specific necessity for written texts in their daily practices.

4.5 Evaluation of the Sources

Since high-ranking "professionals" appeal to a very limited and distinguished group of people, and responsible for transmitting their knowledge to this elite group, it is hard to assume a determinant role for them in changing or transforming the perception of "knowledge" of masses, even though they represent the group owning the highest number books.

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[179] Ülkü Geçgil, Fatih Ünv. Basılmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, "Uskudar at the begining of the 18th century (a case study on the text and analysis of the court register of Uskudar nr. 402)"

It has been shown that the books owned by the group defined in this thesis as "secondary professionals" having a profound effect on societal perception of "knowledge", include mostly anonymous books that were transformed to written textual forms from oral traditions embodying oral practices, and religious books which were in the form of commentaries, shortened and summarized versions of original books enabling easier cognition, and fulfilling daily religious practical needs. Even the historical and literate texts considered to be the knowledge of "adab" were comprised of anonymous knowledge transmitted orally from previous generations with popular culture features.

Although there were signs of a change, the quantitative analysis of books show that they were not still widely-used in early 18th century. Literacy was not a distinguishing feature in the society. Those who were illiterate could easily join or be a part of a literate group. There were no strict boundaries between orality and written culture. Books were not the only way of possessing and transmitting knowledge and the traditional modes of transmission were still dominant. The members of religious class still owned the highest amount of books. However, we observed gradual signs of change both in the amount of books owned by lower-ranking members of askeri class and also in the content of the books owned.

Masses acquired their knowledge from the group defined as "secondary professionals" and the increase in the amount of books owned by this group, as well differentiation of the contents of the books they owned had a determinant role in the formation of public's perception of knowledge.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The results of both theoretical and empirical research of this thesis were given at the end of each related chapter. Therefore, in this concluding chapter the general evaluations drawn from our results will be discussed thoroughly.

Philosophically, knowledge which is defined as the relation between what is known and who knows, guides all of the mindful deeds of mankind. What dictates our actions is the knowledge that we practice.[180] For centuries throughout the history of mankind, humans attempted to push or enlarge the boundaries or the limits of their knowledge. This thesis discussed the transformation of the Ottoman society's perception of knowledge in the 18th century which was assumed to have a profound impact on the behavior of individuals.

Firstly, individuals' perception of knowledge has been analyzed within the context of the social and organizational structure prevailing in the Ottoman classical period. Within this period, the prototype of society was the one who fully absorbed the

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[180] Necati Öner, *Bilginin Serüveni,* Vadi Yayınları, Ekim 2005, Ankara, s.92

knowledge transmitted by his congregation. The collective mind of the society and the state's authority which was established through its socially immobile structure were consistent with individuals' perception of knowledge. Individuals' behaviors did not lead to a serious conflict. In this organizational structure which expects immobility, both socially and spatially, knowledge of people living locally and having face-to-face interaction with each other was also local, and was based on oral practices. Literacy was not a distinguishing feature in their society.

With loosening social and organizational structure of the classical period leading to horizontal and vertical mobility, individuals became a part of a more complex body of relationships. Their perception of knowledge having a profound behavioral impact started to conflict with the collective mind and state authority. Experienced not only in Ottomans but in all civilizations as a parallel, the new social consciousness sprouted within the society which may be summarized with Fletcher's words as "......whose minds were less the captives of traditional culture than were the minds of older traditional elites." [181]

This new consciousness starting from the group of people defined as "secondary professionals" who were positioned between the learned and the populace, would in the 19th century broaden its content and expand its impact.

Valuable research done on the subject mostly emphasized the relative abundance of book ownership in ilmiye class; however, in this thesis, transmitters of knowledge having a pivotal influence on masses regardless of their profession have been the

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[181] Joseph Fletcher, "Integrative History: Parallels and Interconnections in the Early Modern period, 1500-1800."*Journal of Turkish Studies*, volume: 9, 1985 s. 51

main concern. Therefore, the collective perception of knowledge of the Ottoman society has been analyzed from a different perspective. Although, at first sight there's no clear notice of 18th century literacy level, the comparative analysis between 16th and 18th century shows that there was a higher propensity to own books in the 18th century. But, this propensity was not still dominant in the 18th century.

During the 18th century, it has been shown that besides the *ilmiyye* class, in other ruling classes too, the number of the books owned have started to increase gradually and the contents of the books have become more diversified. A new group of people emerged who were neither a member of the learned elite nor of populace. Although varying in their content, most of the books owned were the written forms of oral practices and culture. An increase in the amount, and the variety of content was considered to be an early sign of increasing use of books by "secondary professionals". The tacit knowledge or the knowledge embodied in those who possessed it started to be codified. The codification of knowledge enabled mass transmission and communication.

It has been shown that in early 18th century, oral culture was still dominant among the masses, and that knowledge was local and acquired through face-to-face channels, consisting of pragmatic knowledge well adapted for everyday practices and necessities. Knowledge of secondary professionals who transmitted their knowledge orally, was also still fed by oral culture since their books owned were the written text forms of oral traditions. It may easily be concluded that books were not still a part of people's daily lives. Although it has not been undertaken in this thesis, it is claimed that the same conclusion would be true for a longer term periodic analysis and this period was a forerunner of a change.

A comparative analysis for 16th and 18th centuries on book ownership could not be statistically proved. There are basically three reasons for this deficiency. Firstly, instead of *ilmiyye, örfiyye* and *kalemiyye* classes that were used by previous research, different parameters have been used in this thesis, namely; professionals, secondary professionals and the public. Secondary professionals have been the main concern. Therefore, a comparative analysis using the data of the research done for previous periods could not be made. Secondly, a comparative analysis for 16th and 18th centuries would be far beyond the limits of a master's thesis. Thirdly, if I had concentrated more on the comparative and empirical analysis for a period of three centuries, my arguments that I wanted to emphasize would fall short of my expectations.

Most of the research done in the West on the role of books takes Enlightenment as a point of reference. With the use of terms and concepts coined in the West in the 19th century like "Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution, Scientific Revolution, Individualism, Democracy", they attempt to explain 19th century Western supremacy as if it started way back from the 16th century in an anacronic and teleological way. This thesis opposes this teleological approach in history writing. It claims that the path to modernity should not necessarily follow the same pattern as it did in the West, and that there is not "one" modernity, rather "multiple" modernities traced in various cultures and civilizations. Therefore, it did not take "modernity of the West" as its point of reference. Instead, it claims that "parallel" social, economic and cultural changes starting from the late 17th century all around the world lead to a change in perception of knowledge of masses. If the fact that there are more than "one" modernity is accepted, starting from the late 17th century, especially in the 18th

century, we may easily trace that Ottoman individuals' knowledge is no longer local, rather it has differing contents. The outcome of this change would be detected more easily in the 19th century. The 19th century reformist movements may be rooted in this changing perception of knowledge.

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