Understanding Patrimonial Resilience:
Lessons from the Ottoman Empire

Tolga Kobas

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2019

ProQuest Number: 13805855

ProQuest 13805855

ABSTRACT
Understanding Patrimonial Resilience: Lessons from the Ottoman Empire
Tolga Kobas

Once declared as a habitual relic of 'the Third World' countries, patrimonial regimes have re-emerged on a global scale. Even in the fully bureaucratized states, patrimonial relations made a convincing comeback. How did patrimonialism, which used to be condemned as an artifact from a distant past, prove to be so tenacious, even resurgent in the current global political economy? How does modern capitalism, which emerges painfully out of the crucible of patrimonial states and empires, become, once again, a patrimonial formation? What makes patrimonial-type regimes resilient?

In pursuit of this question, the dissertation analyzes the historical-social *conditions of possibility* for the longevity and resilience of the Ottoman Empire –a patrimonial and bureaucratic empire that ruled a vastly diverse population of people spread over three continents and did so with relative peace and stability. How did the Ottomans kept their patriarchal core and its patrimonial organization intact for six centuries? The research finds **three elements** that contributed to the maintenance of the empire's patrimonial formation: *adab*, an Islamic tradition of professionalism, good manners, and moral propriety; a patrimonial status elite (*devşirme*) composed of men separated from their non-Muslim parents at childhood and carefully cultivated as Ottoman Sunni Muslims and employed in various capacities for state service; and third, a specialized apparatus of the patriarchal state, the imperial palace schools formed as a network around the main academy at the Topkapi Palace, the *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*.

The dissertation focuses on the life, curricula, and pedagogy at the Enderûn campus. As part of the imperial academy's courtly *habitus* the Islamic tradition of *adab* was central to the students' upbringing and cultivation. How did this historically unique combination of tradition, status, and apparatus contribute to the Ottoman Empire's structural stability and organizational endurance?

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter I: The Return of Patrimonial Governments

This research is inspired by Michel Foucault's 'history of the present'.[1] It begins with a categorical diagnosis of our current situation: patrimonial regimes are back (Adams and Charrad 2011; Piketty 2014; Adams 2015). Next, the dissertation presents the Ottoman Empire as a historical case –an exemplary case of durable patrimonialism and analyzes the conditions that contributed to the structural and organizational longevity of the empire's patrimonial setting.

On a global scale, in politics and perhaps more insidiously so in economics, patrimonialism and its ruler, 'the Boss', have returned. Once confined to the politics of the so-called 'the Third World', patrimonial modes of government are found all around the world; once an exception to the rule, today patrimonialism is ubiquitous. Even in fully bureaucratized states patrimonial relations are operational in remarkably diverse areas of social life: in the behavioral and structural organization of businesses, corporations, street gangs, political machines, and political parties.[2] Even the ways in which entire governments are organized around a figurative patriarch, for whom the office and all its powers are personal and political instruments at the same time.

What makes patrimonial rule resilient, given that not too long ago it was presumed to be on its way out? The dissertation historicizes the question of patrimonial resilience by looking at the one of the longest lasting patrimonial bureaucracies, the Ottoman Empire.

In patrimonial regimes, the patriarch occupies the center. As opposed to pure patriarchalism, the difference is that the patrimonial ruler is surrounded by

---

[1] Foucault explained in an interview: "I set out from a problem expressed in the terms current today and I try to work out its genealogy. Genealogy means that I begin my analysis from a question posed in the present." (Kritzman 1988: 262; also see, Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982: 119).
[2] For the patrimonial organization of the American street gangs, see Collins 2011; police organization, see Hensell 2012; state organization, see Hall 2015; political parties, see Gill 2016.

groups of extra-household elite; slaves, servants, and clients, who receive shares from the patrimony in return for their services –depending, of course, on the patriarch's benevolence. The ruler's exercising of personal discretion is the trademark characteristic of both patriarchal and patrimonial regimes. The only barrier to purely personal practices of discretion is the established tradition. Loyalty and obedience are the primary political currency while other standards – such as meritocracy, are pushed to the backseat.

The patrimonial ruler is 'sovereign' in a completely different sense than the kind of authority exercised under democratic regimes. The patrimonial *Boss* is a kind of sovereign who personally decides on the state of exception.[3] Since the division between 'the office' and 'the person' is not formalized nor the lines of demarcation between the two are delineated legally; he walks between the two spheres as he pleases. In politics, for instance, personal vendettas are effortlessly carried out through official channels; all kinds of personal discretion are exercised even to the severe detriment of the integrity of the office.

In the last decade, it has become abundantly clear that patrimonialism is neither a thing of the past nor a consequence of certain old habits lingering exclusively in the so-called 'post-traditional societies' (Eisenstadt 1973). Even the states that traditionally boasted well organized, deeply entrenched, and constitutionally protected bureaucracies have taken a turn towards patrimonial rule. Even though Max Weber himself championed the machine-like efficiency of the modern state's bureaucratic apparatuses, towards the end of his life, he more pronouncedly underscored a possible return of the traditional, value-rational, and affectual types of power. In the *Politics as a Vocation* lecture (Weber 1920: 564), he implied a kind of reflexive pendulum effect inherent in human societies –in a way, similar to Hegel's dialectical progression of history:

---

[3] The allusion here is to Carl Schmitt's (2005: 5) famous aphorism "Sovereign is he who decides on the exception […] All law is 'situational law.' The sovereign produces and guarantees the situation in its totality. He has the monopoly over this last decision."

"Wherever rational empirical cognition has systematically completed the disenchantment of the world, and its transformation into one causal mechanism, the conflict with the moral postulate that the world is a divinely ordained cosmos or somehow oriented to meaningful ethics will surface again *all the more forcefully*" (my emphasis).

In the lecture, Weber alluded to the return of charismatic leaders. Among the various variants of 'professional politicians', taking root especially in the United States, he mentioned the entrepreneur type (1920: 564), "like the American boss who considers his costs a capital investment which he brings to fruition through exploitation of his influence." It is not surprising then, that Max Weber was so taken by the figure of William M. "Boss" Tweed (1823-1878) and the Tammany Hall - the political machine of the Democratic Party that played a major role in structuring the outcome of 19th century New York City and State politics.[4]

The research question is simple: how did patrimonialism, a type of traditional domination that not too long ago was inseparably associated with the pre-modern society and considered categorically as antithetical to the modern condition, make such an effective comeback? How did patrimonialism, which was once condemned as a relic from a distant past, prove to be so tenacious, even resurgent in the current global political economy? How does modern capitalism, which emerges painfully out of the crucible of patrimonial states and empires, become, once again, a patrimonial formation? In short, what makes patrimonial regimes resilient?

Historically speaking, patrimonial regimes have a record of establishing long lasting centers of political power (Weber 1968; Eisenstadt 1958; Mann 1986; Doyle 1986; McLean, Paul D. 1998). The revival of patrimonial regimes, therefore, should not have come as a surprise. Throughout the second half of the

---

[4] "These clubs, such as Tammany Hall, are like Knight orders. They seek profits solely through political control, especially of the municipal government, which is the most important object of booty" (Weber 1965: 110).

20th century, however, the Weberian concept was slowly flattened into a reductive catchall (Theobald 1982: 548). Confined to the 'area studies', patrimonialism gradually turned into a value-ridden pejorative statement. Starting in the 1950s, patrimonialism - coupled with theories of economic developmentalism that followed the Keynesian model –became an important part in the emerging rhetoric of 'the Third World'. It became, for instance, a taken-for-granted aspect of 'the African state'. Whenever there was talk of 'the African politics and society', patrimonialism followed like an inescapable shadow –it became an *a priori* of African politics (Levy and Kpundeh 2004).

It did not take long for the rest of the area studies to jump on the bandwagon as the concept became increasingly popular in the explanation of the developing countries' struggles. First, Latin American studies picked up the concept and soon the list of countries whose modernization efforts stalled due in part to patrimonial practices included the Middle East, the Far East and the post-communist states (Morse 1964; Schwartman 1977; Oszlak 1986; Remmer 1989; Kitschelt 2001). As part of the larger discourse of economic developmentalism, patrimonialism "enters an argument as a *deus ex machina*" (Erdmann and Engel 2007). As a *catch-all* concept it single-handedly explained all the Third World's struggles like a blanket statement. Inevitably, the concept had become excessively schematic and one-dimensional, which led to a significant reduction of the concept's analytical capabilities. Patrimonial relations almost always indicated clientelism, corruption, and normalization and ubiquity of certain practices such as bribes and nepotism. By the 1980s several sociologists raised the question of whether the concept had lost its analytical unity entirely (Theobald 1982: 554-55). Confined to the bird's eye point of view, it presented social relations as seen from *top to bottom*, almost enforced, static relations. In part this dissertation follows Julia Adam's call "[…] to convince readers of [the concept's] broader possibilities" (2005: 238).

A fruitful way to rethink the concept might be to embed it into actual

4

historical circumstances where it was practiced and analyze its sociological dimensions to account for the social conditions that contribute to its resilience and staying power. The research design is straightforward: to find the conditions that make it possible for the patrimonial regimes build long lasting and resilient institutions and persevere, the dissertation looks at a historical patrimonial configuration renowned for its tenacious longevity. In this regard, there are only a handful of contenders that achieved the kind of unbroken organizational resilience the Ottoman Empire had attained, whose record becomes substantially more impressive considering the persistent problems of regime stability in the regions that the Ottoman rule was once unbroken.

The dissertation looks at the (historical-social) *conditions of possibility* for the Ottoman patrimonial regime's resilience and longevity. It finds that **a combination of three factors was fundamentally responsible for the central state's long-lasting stability**: a group of carefully selected young men, an apparatus of the patriarchal state (the Enderun royal academy), and an Islamic literary and pedagogical tradition (*adab*) came together in the creation of a uniquely Ottoman *habitus*. In Weberian terms, this was certainly a unique historical bond, a kind of elective affinity between these three elements.

The first of the three was an elite group of men. In Ottoman Turkish, they were called *kapıkulu* (the sultan's servants, his privy elite). These men were of *devşirme* origin. As young boys they were taken from their (mostly Christian) parents in large numbers, converted to Islam, and received specialized education depending on their skills, intelligence, and proclivities.

Although *devşirme* was not novel to the Ottomans, they took the practice to unprecedented heights. At first, the *devşirme* boys served mostly in the central (salaried) army or at the imperial palace as functionaries. In mid-fifteenth century, however, as part of the Ottoman state's maneuvering towards a more centralized and a truly 'imperial' state, their status had increased tremendously. Instead of relying on local or central aristocracies, whose machinations could –and did,

5

seriously harm the dynasty, the Ottoman patriarchal center used the *devşirme*, whose sole allegiance and loyalty laid first and foremost with the sultan and his family. They occupied almost the entirety of the highest and most strategic administrative and military positions. These men were also relatively easy to dispose of –as opposed to all the drama if they were connected by blood and through kinship ties to prominent aristocracies that the state could not do without. In a sense, it was with the strategic empowerment of the *devşirme kullar* ('the sultan's servants) that the Ottoman Empire successfully made the transition from a primarily patriarchal frontier state to a patrimonial bureaucratic empire. The personalism of the patriarchal arrangement was kept but the state also made sure that the necessary expertise and competence were also produced at the systemic level. With the former, one would eventually end up with an army of sycophants; with the latter, the Ottoman state produced absolute personal loyalty and merit at the same time.

In any case, the second element made sure that the state's procurement of both loyalty and expertise in these men would not be a matter of probability but a certainty. The Islamic pedagogical tradition of *adab* promulgated professionalism and competence among office-holders. It created a 'culture of office' and set non-negotiable standards for holding office. The personalism of office, a trademark of the patriarchal regime, was countered with a cultural tradition that promulgated professionalism and demanded proper ethical and behavioral conduct from the officials.

The third element is the primary focus of this dissertation: the imperial palace academy of the *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*. The first two elements, the *devşirme kullar* and the *adab* tradition came under one roof here. Between the fifteenth and the early eighteenth century, the schools recruited almost exclusively from the *devşirme*.[5] The *crème de la crème* of every *devşirme* cohort was taken to the

---

[5] As the empire's outward thrust slowed down and halted, devşirme policy slowly died down. At the same time, two other developments also affected the Enderun's traditional principles of

palace and received a uniquely designed education. Adab had been a cornerstone of an Enderun education. Its classics, its moral emphasis on earning merit and competence (being a worthy servant of the sultan, being a deserving candidate for the state's offices) as well as the overall pedagogical principles set by this Islamic tradition, adab was a fundamental aspect of the Enderun curricula.

The dissertation argues that the *Enderûn* was specifically a *patrimonial apparatus*. The schools not only graduated students into an immensely diverse array of positions, that is, groups of expert elite, but also it brought these men up in such a style that obedience and loyalty to the Ottoman sultan was deeply instilled into their soul. The royal academy graduated all kinds of experts: the majority of the state's administrative and military elite was Enderun alumni, but the schools also graduated the empire's cultural-intellectual elite, such as poets, historians, 'men of letters' in general, artists and artisans of all sorts (from master calligraphers and book-binders to professional athletes and masseurs). What these men had in common was vocational expertise and an unyielding loyalty to the patriarchal ruler. The imperial academy, therefore, brought together a merit-based technical education and a strong personal connection with the patriarch –hence, the Enderun was a patrimonial apparatus of the Ottoman state.

The imperial academy, from the mid-fifteenth to late-nineteenth century, graduated around eighty grand viziers, thirty-six navy admirals, countless viziers, governors, army commanders, bureaucrats –and innumerous artists, artisans, and craftsmen (Tayyâr-Zâde Atâ and Arslan 2010: 35). There were several different kinds of 'graduations' (*çıkma*) from the Enderun. Those who failed to impress at the lowermost (and youngest) cohorts were sent to the salaried army divisions and continued their careers there. Around eighty percent of the initiating cohort did

---

recruitment: the Muslim Turkish population that used to be kept strictly outside the circles reserved for the devşirme, was on the rise and this ethnic group's upward mobility eventually claimed the right of eligibility to the palace schools. Second, there was a significant demand for the second-generation –that is, the sons of devşirme to have access to the privileges granted to their fathers. Legally, these sons were Muslim-born, thus, excluded from these services –yet, as the leveraging power of their fathers significantly increased, the sons gained access to the schools.

not make the cut and was sent either to the imperial cavalry divisions (*kapıkulu sipahi*) or to the Janissary corps depending on each corps' need for manpower. At the mid-level, they could graduate and become members of the administrative bureaucracy with a clerkship position, or join the guilds of artists and artisans. The handful few that made it to the very top, however, received the most important as well as lucrative positions. They left the palace to assume command of the empire's districts and provinces as governors, or governor-generals. Following their promotion and assignment, they were also allowed to recruit promising Enderunî students and take them as part of their retinue. After all, they were to duplicate the dynastic patriarchal household at their designated locales. Before they left the palace, a majority of them were married to the girls from the Harem and the most promising candidates were inducted into the imperial family and became *damad* (groomsman) via marriages to the daughters of the dynasty.[6]

The Ottoman patriarchal center, therefore, created after its own image a macrocosm of patriarchs and households all over the empire. At the center, like the double helix of the DNA, were the men and women who were meticulously selected, brought up, and educated with extreme care at the very heart of the dynastic microcosm, the innermost quarters of the imperial palace.

It was this ingenious method of elite creation that for centuries kept the Ottoman Empire's patriarchal core and the state organization around it intact. In inculcating loyalty and obedience, the system did not sacrifice from meritocratic standards. In fact, through a unique 'culture of office', namely, the Islamic adab tradition, it promoted a certain character: urbane, well-read, professional, exemplary Muslims with impeccable moral conscience who looked down on those who acquired posts and positions by personal connections (*intisab*) alone.

---

[6] For instance, six out of nine grand viziers of Süleymān I were damads. Of the remaining three, two were already married upon receiving the position and *Hadım Süleyman Paşa* was a eunuch (his epithet *Hadım* meant eunuch in Ottoman Turkish.)

Conceptual Criticism

In the formative years of the *modern* social sciences the term 'traditional society' came to imply a static entity; a conservative society that clung to the guidance of the past and shunned novelty and change –as opposed to the revolutionary and progressive dynamism of modernity.[7] As Karl Marx (2013: 16) succinctly elucidated, the modern condition was historically unique for it had the power to take the beliefs and habits of a thousand years and reduce it to dust almost in an instant as if they suddenly disappeared into thin air. Traditional society was painstakingly slow to change if not impervious to it completely due to ingrained habits, a feature that was largely considered to be 'irrational', based in sentiment and emotion rather than calculating practical and instrumental reason.[8] The new world, it seemed, came to be despite the resistance and fight put up by the institutions, beliefs, and customs that drew their power from the sanctity of tradition; battles and fights that modernity seemed to have won. Traditions that unequivocally dominated the Western world were overcome in mere decades, why should the future be any different? It was only a matter of time for the artifacts of the past to completely disappear and get replaced by the new. For the classical sociologists at large traditions were doomed.

The second half of the twentieth century begs to differ. Traditional social forces made a decisive comeback. For instance, religions –traditional social forces *par excellence*, resurfaced globally (De Vries and Sullivan 2006; Casanova 2011). Religious institutions proved to be formidable social mediators. Religious belief remained as significant *models of* and *models for* social reality and social action (Geertz 1973). In a similar fashion, patrimonial modes of government also reemerged. Previously, the presumption was that as long as *the long arm of the*

---

[7] According to Gusfield (1967), in the study of social change the binary categories of 'tradition' and 'modernity' are 'misplaced polarities'. See Appendix 1 for the definition of 'tradition' that this research adheres to.

[8] Pointing at the heavily ideological interpretations of the contrast between tradition and modernity during the early development of sociology in Europe, Bendix (1967) suggests abandoning any terminological division that rests on the polarized modern-tradition perspective.

state and its bureaucratic machinery extended, personalism in official relations would be replaced with abstract-impersonal relations, formalized with rules and regulations set up in line with a goal oriented legal rationality (Schluchter 1985; see also, Roth and Schluchter 1984). The return of patrimonialism is not merely a matter of *lingering* old habits either. Modern patrimonial relations exceed simple behavioral social reflexes. They are habitual as well as systemic. Thomas Piketty (2014) describes today's global political economy as 'patrimonial capitalism' wherein the rate of return on capital outperforms the rate of growth. Consequently, the clout of *patrimony* is particularly potent an economic system where inherited wealth grows faster than earned wealth. Schlumberger (2008, 622) highlights the distinct features that characterize patrimonial capitalism: "structurally higher transaction costs and a distinct relation between formal institutions and informal rules that govern exchange processes." Even though he delimits the flourishing of patrimonial capitalism to 'specific types of non-democratic political environments', the presumption that 'democracy' and 'patrimonial power' are mutually exclusive, that democracies repel patrimonial relations and transactions, has proved to be incorrect (Charrad and Adams 2011: 6-15; 2015:1-5; Lachmann 2011: 204-230; Hall, J.R. 2015: 7-41).

The greatest difficulty with the term as used is that, rather than isolating a social and political phenomenon, it tends to gloss over substantial differences-both within a society at different stages in time and between societies at different stages of socioeconomic development. A large group of countries from the Congo, Egypt, Morocco, Indonesia, Thailand, Mali and numerous other polities are labeled as patrimonial. One must ask *what these societies have in common* other than clientage networks playing an important role in politics, or in more general terms, why personalism continues in official and political relations.

Secondly, in the analysis of patrimonial regimes the part played by the symbolic realm has generally been ignored. Turning a blind eye to the value sphere led to an excessively schematic conceptualization of patrimonial power. It

10

is mostly portrayed in a top-down and schematic manner, mostly designating patron-client relationships and as social action, patrimonial behavior almost exclusively indicated nepotism, bribery, cronyism, and political corruption. For Weber, however, patrimonialism is a traditional type of power and traditions operate perhaps most powerfully in the realm of symbols –in the *background* that provides a series of consistent imagery for the society as a whole.[9] Without the value sphere, we are half blind to the governing dynamics of the patrimonial regimes. Attitudes towards religion, relationships to authority, and social order have significant impacts on the nature of patronage relations, sometimes supporting strong hierarchies but also presenting limits to patrons themselves. For instance, Buddhist concepts of merit, karma and leader benevolence have profound impacts on basic social, political, economic and cultural patterns of Burmese, Thai, Laotian, and Cambodian people, which in turn affect the notion of hierarchy in these societies (Eisenstadt 1984: 117-137; Neher 1981: 92; Scott 1977; Hanks 1975).

The Culprits

If we are to look for a culprit in order to figure out the reasons for the persistent conceptual blunder regarding patrimonialism, Julia Adams says, we should start with Max Weber himself. As Adams observes, Weber applied the concept *inter alia* to estatist and absolutist politics of early modern Europe without detailed comparative specification between the European cases themselves.[10] Throughout the *Economy and Society*, it is also not clear whether

---

[9] The term 'background' is borrowed from Ludwig Wittgenstein, "But I did not get my picture of the world by satisfying myself of its correctness; nor do I have it because I am satisfied of its correctness. No: it is the inherited background against which I distinguish between true and false." (1969: 94). 'Background' refers to the embeddedness of the human agent. It is a framework of the social life that is taken-for- granted. "What determines our judgment, our concepts and reactions, is not what one man is doing now, an individual action, but the whole hurly-burly of human actions, the background against which we see any action" (Wittgenstein 1980, II, no.629).

[10] "[On the face of it,] Max Weber is as guilty as any other social theorist of joining, or rather leading, the parade of grand dichotomies. He authored many influential ideal types … into neat

patrimonial domination is a stand-alone type or is it simply a special case referring to specific historical configurations whereby an originally patriarchal establishment expanded beyond its initial domestic organization. It is not clear if the transformation is completely reformative, thus creating an altogether different type of authority or whether it refers only to historical instances of decentralization, in this case, of the patriarchal household. Weber says,

"At first [patrimonial domination] is only a decentralization of the household. It is a special case of patriarchal domination –domestic authority decentralized through assignment of land and sometimes of equipment to sons of the house or other dependents" (1961: 1010-1011).

In addition, Weber frequently juxtaposed patrimonial bureaucratic organization with modern bureaucracy. The former served as a background that enhanced the dramatic efficiency of the latter –and to an extent, its cost. For Weber the modern state's bureaucratic apparatus was 'machine-like' –devoid of emotion, reprieved from the sensibility of personal relations, it measured, fitted, and cut with cold-hearted efficiency, 'a precision instrument.'[11] This led to the assumption that these two regime types are mutually exclusive, that patrimonial power unavoidably puts any bureaucratic setting at a disadvantage as it is constantly hindered by patrimonial habits such as nepotism, clientelism, cronyism, and bribes. Inherent personalism of the patrimonial-bureaucratic office is a detriment to the formalization and standardization of bureaucratic knowledge and practices. In short, the *abstract* office is bound to be overrun by the *flesh and blood* individual; where there is personalism, formalism and legal-rationality cannot possibly be sustained. Insofar as the long arm of the modern state and its

categories signaling an epochal before and after, including the vexed contrast between "traditional" and modern "rational-legal" types of legitimate domination" (Adams 2005: 238).
[11] Similarly, in a novel from *La Comédie Humaine* titled *Les Employes* (The Bureaucrats) Balzac (1799-1850) focused on what he called *a' distinctively modern institution'*: the bureaucratic apparatus of the French state. He likened it to a "giant power set in motion by dwarfs."

bureaucratic machinery reached, personalism in official relations would be replaced with more efficient ones, with rules and regulations set up in line with a goal oriented and legal rationality.

However, neither in the historical configurations of patrimonial power nor in the modern versions, the relations between the two types of government have ever been monochromatic. Although Weber himself declared that the ideal-types are never found in their pure forms and what we are to expect as researchers is always a mixture of them; it seems that his fear of the speed and dehumanizing ferocity of the modern bureaucratic apparatus hindered his own objectivity. Consequently, his typologies (of domination, of social action, of rationality) to a degree suffered from a kind of dialecticism: in every Weberian typology what we have is a binary separation between a rational and an irrational type of (domination, action, rationality). For instance, in his typology of herrschaft (domination), although Weber presents three types, namely, charismatic, traditional, and rational-legal, the first type of authority is really an exception, a raw humane energy, a species-assured possibility that keeps happening throughout human social history –without a pattern, or a constant structure or habit to sustain it. In fact, true to the dialectical movement, charisma due to its ephemeral nature is bound to dissolve into two constant forms of legal authority: it either becomes a part of the established tradition, it gets routinized as it is incorporated into society, or, aspects of it becomes 'rationalized' and formalized – in both scenarios, the original charismatic movement loses its revolutionary edge as it is absorbed (and made 'banal') by the two primary types of power.

In short, Weber's charismatic authority –although powerful, was clearly the exception that kept popping up all throughout history.[12] The extraordinary form aside, however, Weber recognized two reliably constant patterns of power:

---

[12] "Charismatic rule is not managed according to general norms, either traditional or rational, but, in principle, according to concrete revelations and inspirations, and in this sense, charismatic authority is 'irrational.' It is 'revolutionary' in the sense of not being bound to the existing order" (Weber 2009: 296).

in terms of legitimate authority and domination all social action can be made meaningful with reference to either traditional or to legal-rational herrschaft. Thus, with Weber what we have is a theoretical segmentation of the meaningful life-world into two brackets with the third accounting for the exceptions.

Expectedly, such a design is bound to create severe confusions –especially when the imprint of the German (Hegelian) dialectical tradition in Weber's thought is unnoticed.[13] The case of Talcott Parsons and his interpretation of Weber have been subjected to much scrutiny. For the purposes of this research, I will present another case –in essence, similar to the one previously mentioned, but more to the point, as it concerns the Weberian concept of 'patrimonial power' and how the delicate dialectic that almost all his ideal types were coached ended up causing significant misinterpretations –even in his most faithful followers.

The Case Against Eisenstadt's 'Neo-Patrimonialism'

Currently, in the field of patrimonialism studies, one thing is certain: we need to rethink Max Weber's patrimonialism. At this point, the concept has lost much of its analytical capabilities. The kind of quick-fix, such as Eisenstadt's coinage of the term 'neo-patrimonialism' in order to explain the continuation of patrimonial relations under the modern society failed to provide the technical as well as descriptive depth and flexibility that the ideal-type has lost over the years. Eisenstadt's 'neo-patrimonialism' suffered exactly the same fate that 'patrimonialism' went through during the second half of the twentieth century. It slowly became a niche concept reserved exclusively for certain states and societies. All the area specialists had to do was to add a prefix (neo-) and they

---

[13] The Hegelian dialecticism in Weber's thought is not merely a nuance, nor an intellectual anecdote: for a richer understanding of his typologies especially his typology of domination (*herrschaft*) the Hegelian undertones of Weber's thought should be taken into consideration. Although Weber strongly disagreed with Hegel's teleological notion of history, for him as it was for Marx, the primordial catalyst behind social change was conflict (e.g., Knapp 1986; Mommsen 1965; Roth and Weber 1976; Mommsen and Osterhammel 1987; Bendix 1998).

could with a clear conscience continue to apply the pure-type as a blanket-statement that at times encompassed entire continents, e.g., 'neo-patrimonialism' and the African state.[14] In short, insofar as the patrimonialism studies are concerned, the global south is still patrimonial, corrupt, and plagued with clientelism –as it has been since the 1950s. All is still quite on the southern front.

The call is out in the area studies too. In the last decade, Eisenstadt's neopatrimonialism has been 'revisited', 'reconsidered', and 'rethought' (Erdmann and Engel 2006, 2007; Pitcher et al. 2009). It seems like reframing Weber's pure types by adding prefixes is bound to generate even more prefixes: 'neo-' eventually meets with a succession of 're-s', this time to deal with the problems created by the former.

Eisenstadt was among the first group of scholars that intently focused on patrimonial relations and problematized the continuity of this traditional type of power in the modern world (e.g., Eisenstadt 1973, 1980). To account for modern patrimonialisms Eisenstadt chose to differentiate between two variants: a patrimonialism of the past (traditional patrimonialism) and a patrimonialism of the present (neo-patrimonialism) His solution failed to explain why an archaic form of power remained functional and operational under the modern condition, which was, presumably, antagonistic to such relations of power. Although a self-

---

[14] A quick keyword and tag based search on the most popular academic search engines such as google.scholar, Ebscohost, and Proquest yield the same result: over eighty percent of the articles with the keyword 'neo-patrimonialism' come with an African state in the title. In fact, the search engines that 'learn' after years of repetitive searches of similar phrases, such as scholar.google, immediately suggests 'Africa' once 'neo-patrimonialism' is typed in. Similarly, among the sixteen suggestions the same website offers as 'related searches', 'neopatrimonialism Africa' is at the top and seven out of the remaining fifteen suggested searches are all African countries, e.g., Nigeria, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania, Zambia, and Ghana. Three are suggestions of scholars who wrote exclusively on 'neopatrimonialism' (Chabal, Bratton, Mkandawire), all three are scholars of the Africa studies –or, as they are more commonly called, 'Africanists.' Two suggestions associate keywords most commonly used with the term 'neopatrimonialism'. These are 'corruption' and 'clientelism'. The last suggestion for 'related searches' is the conceptual separation itself that Eisenstadt proposed to serve as the theoretical basis for his reconceptualization: 'neopatrimonialism, traditional patrimonialism'. In a single search of the academic databases encompassing thousands of publications, Eisenstadt's 'quick-fix', therefore, comes full circle at the end and accomplishes nothing.

professed Weberian, Eisenstadt's formulation was far from the analytical way in which Weber organized his typologies. Eisenstadt's understanding of historical development and societal variation took on a theoretical and conceptual turn that Weber intentionally and carefully avoided. Eisenstadt adopted an evolutionary typology, in which terms like "pre-bureaucratic" and "bureaucratic," "primitive," "archaic," "historic," and "modern" denote types arranged in a broad evolutionary perspective (see especially, Eisenstadt 1964). His description of the historical social process is an evolutionary process –primarily one of "increasing differentiation."

His 'solution' to the problem of 'modern patrimonialisms', that is, his coinage of the term 'neo-patrimonialism' suffers from the same problem. For two reasons, Eisenstadt's conceptual resolution misses the mark. First, Weber's ideal-types were designed to completely avoid and bypass any kind of temporal indication, thus, prefixes like 'neo' or 'post' are technically contradictory to Weberian typologies (of action, domination, rationality, etc.) Neo-patrimonialism, meaning 'the new patrimonialism' assumes a temporal division between the old and the new -as if, frozen in time and space, there is a unilaterally and objectively established marker of temporality that universally divide each and every social configuration into two categories. Weber did not qualify his pure types alongside artificially and retrospectively imposed divisions of time and space. Far from it, he was careful to identify the pure types with features he considered to be 'timeless' and qualified them in terms of organization and action that acted as the governing dynamics of the ideal types. For instance, pure personalism of relations, unrestrained discretion characterizes the patriarchal organization, and its symmetrical opposite, legal-formal bureaucracies strive towards depersonalization of relations.

Second, Eisenstadt's 'neo-patrimonialism' only postpones the problem and worse, it accepts the modern condition as the final period in the entire history of humanity. What are we to call the next one, if the modern configurations of

16

patrimonial power are typified as 'neo-patrimonial'? Following this logic we will end up with an endless string of the prefix (*neo-*) attached one after another until after many repeats we reach the original concept (i.e., neo-neo-neo-patrimonialism).

Patrimonialism and its beating-heart: Person/Office

In Weber's typology of *herrschaft* (domination), patrimonialism refers to the political systems in which the ruler exerts power on the basis of kinship ties, patron-client relations, personal allegiances, and combinations thereof, with few formal rules and regulations.[15] Patrimonial power derives from the household administration of the ruler, specifically from the separation of followers (clients) from the chief's household and granting to them of fiefs, benefices, and tax-farming opportunities in exchange for state offices.[16] Out of this situation arises a form of bureaucratic administration, but this administration differs from the stereotyped (*legal-rational*) bureaucracies in that the following are largely absent: clearly defined spheres of competence that are subject to impersonal rules; the rational ordering of relations of superiority and inferiority; regular systems of appointment and promotion on the basis of free contract; technical training as a regular requirement; and fixed salaries paid in money. The ruler's authority is personal familial. Domestic authority is decentralized, which means that politics under patrimonial regimes is household politics. Personal relations and personal forms of attachment such as loyalty and obedience have primacy over formally defined roles.

---

[15] In a patrimonial system of authority, Weber wrote, "[the] object of obedience is the personal authority of the individual which he enjoys by virtue of his traditional status. The organized group exercising authority is, in the simplest case, primarily based on relations of personal loyalty, cultivated through a common process of education" (Weber 1997: 341).

[16] "We shall speak of a patrimonial state when the prince organizes his political power over extrapatrimonial areas and political subjects –which is not discretionary and not enforced by physical coercion just like the exercise of his patriarchal power" (Weber 1978: 1013).

While legal-rational bureaucracy rests upon well-defined spheres of competence patrimonial bureaucracies generally are founded on a shifting series of tasks and powers granted on an *ad hoc* basis by the ruler. In the absence of clear-cut spheres of competence and regular fixed salaries, there can be no unequivocal division between incumbent and office. Accordingly, some degree of appropriation of office is endemic. For Weber, the essence of patrimonial domination is <u>the non-differentiation and non-separation of the abstract office and the flesh and bones individual person.</u> When 'office' is mentioned, for instance, when someone was seeking office, he was at once seeking a share in the patron's patrimony and he was seeking it as himself and the clients he represented. Personal connections mattered a great deal and the boss himself was the major hub that major connections were made, big chunks of the shares were distributed, a human center of important connections thus the place where the game of 'who of whom' was played. His frequent practice of it set the global standards.

Both patriarchal and patrimonial types are characterized with "a realm of free arbitrariness and favor of the lord, who in principle judges only in terms of *'personal' not 'functional,'* relations. In this sense, Weber says, "traditionalist authority is irrational" (1978: 1003-1011). Patriarchal organization and domination required no staff, it was based on gerontocracy and kinship networks, and the type of authority is a sort of 'domestic authority' based on personal relations that are perceived as natural. Patrimonial form arises as an outgrowth of the patriarchal household especially with the subsequent institutional development of the staff, i.e., administrative and military. Development of expertise –especially in relation to status group formation, is key (Weber 2013: 231).

In contrast to the personalism and discretion of patriarchal and patrimonial models, submission under legal authority is based upon *an impersonal bond* to the generally defined and functional 'duty of office.' The official duty -like the corresponding right to exercise authority, is fixed by rationally established norms and regulations. Bureaucracy has a 'rational' character: matter-of-factness

18

dominates its bearing. For this reason Weber likens it to a "machine," a "precision instrument," a "ceaselessly moving mechanism," an apparatus of cogs and gears (Weber 1978: 987-990).

In contrast, patrimonialism is more like a manor house with particularly extensive grounds (Weber 1978: 1013). Patrimonial rulers cite "age-old rules and powers" and 'sacred tradition' as the basis of their political authority. Their power is discretionary, and the line between persons and offices notional (Weber 1978: 226, 1028-1029). State office is a natural part of the leader's patrimony.[17] In short, the governing dynamics of the patrimonial type is the non-separation and non-differentiation of the person and the office.

This doesn't mean however that the relation between the abstract office and the flesh-and-bones individual is one sided. Although as previously shown so far in the literature the focus has completely been on how personalism of office affects the bureaucratic institution negatively. There is, however, also the flip side of the coin. If 'office' and 'person' are not differentiated nor separated we must also consider the possibility of the abstract office having an impact over the person occupying the office. Such a connection is possible through cultural, ethical, and symbolic meanings and values associated with the office; its 'weight' in the value realm that the individual person has to bear. This reverse relationship is already a theoretical possibility in the way in which Weber formulated social power as *Herrschaft*. Forms of domination always involve ethical connections between sources of power and social actors.

Diagnosis

The research identifies three issues that have caused significant problems with regards to the uses of Weber's ideal-type of patrimonial power.

---

[17] Weber (2009: 297) defined status patrimonialism as an outgrowth in the use of princely prerogatives over his retainers and staff: "The staff derived its legitimate power in greatly varying stages of appropriation, conferment, and appointment. By virtue of conferment, the client has as a rule had *a personal right* to the office bestowed upon him. Like the artisan who possessed the economic means of production, the prebendary possessed the means of administration."

1. The meaning attributing person living under a patrimonial regime and the person that acts on the meaning informed by patrimonial power had been largely missing in patrimonialism studies. Patrimonial power had almost exclusively been defined as a form of organization, mostly in structural terms and with schematic formulas -e.g., patron-client networks. It is considered mainly in terms of *action* while also it is –and in principle ought to be, about *thought*. A connection needs to be made between patrimonial action and patrimonial thinking. As Foucault (2004: 28) puts it, "rather than asking ourselves what the sovereign looks like from on high, we should be trying to discover how multiple bodies, forces, energies, matters, desires, thoughts and so on are gradually, progressively, actually and materially constituted as subjects." To put it in other words, patrimonial domination –as opposed to top-down schematicism, requires analysis from, as Geertz (1974) puts it, the native's point of view.

2. Our formulation of the office/person (o/p) is incomplete. The relations between the person and the office (P/O) have been considered in a one-sided manner, i.e., P→O, personalism undermines office. Patrimonialism studies have focused solely on the impact of 'the personalization of the office'. Yet, there is also the flipside of the coin, i.e., O→P, officialization of the person, the incumbent being subjected to such elements that when he receives an official position, he is already transformed, there are internalized limits and barriers to his exercises of personal discretion. As part of a culture of office, raised within a particular habitus the flesh and bones individual and his conduct are made to comply with sets of criteria e.g., a degree of merit, technical knowledge and expertise, performance, manners, knowledge of protocol and etiquette, etc.

In the ideal typical patrimonial equation, the person does not equal to the office, that is, the relation between them is not exact *replicability* so that one covers entirely the other's area of powers and competence. Rather the relation between office and the person under patrimonial rule is similar to Foucault's positioning of "power" and "knowledge" as power/knowledge; under patrimonial

20

regimes person and office are not the same things but more often than not they 'go together' without saying. In our formulation, therefore, office and person designates a two-way relationship.

3. As Guenther Roth (1968: 195) observed, "a widespread neglect of Weber's typology of *herrschaft* (domination)" led to a narrower understanding of patrimonial rule. The focus of analysis had frequently been how patrimonial rule is *organized*, and the emphasis was taken away from how it was *exercised*. Yet, Weber's *herrschaft* deals not only with beliefs in legitimacy but also with the actual operating modes and administrative arrangements by which rulers "govern," not just "rule."[18] Consequently Weber's formulation of social domination refers to a two-way relationship: it is a 'voluntary' submission; it presumes 'a free state of being.' In *Herrschaft*, therefore, there is a 'dialectic of control': every genuine form of domination implies a minimum form of compliance. [19] Power is only *power* when addressed to individuals who are *free to act* –in one way or the other. It presupposes rather than annuls their capacity as agents; it acts upon, and through, an open set of practical and ethical possibilities. Power, therefore, is less a confrontation between two adversaries or the linking of one to the other than a question of government.

In effect, it is only by adopting a larger definition of 'government' we can create a theoretical space to start analyzing how 'the office' affects and shapes the conduct of the individual person, 'the official.' For a study of primarily a cultural-literal tradition, a complex, normative, and a layered institution the research uses a larger definition of 'government' –the concept as is used does not indicate a set of relations between a 'governor' and a 'governed' it refers to the entire process that produces government, makes it possible, makes it happen, it is the process

---

[18] For Anthony Giddens (1970, 1981, 1997) this was precisely the reason why Talcott Parson's translation of Weber's *herrschaft* into English as "(authoritarian) power" missed a crucial element: Weber's interest in "*How* power is being exercised."

[19] It is remarkable how at this point Weber and Foucault's views come together and meet at an intersection, a result perhaps of their fascination with Nietzsche in whose thought power and morality are always fused.

that conditions what government is and what it means. Approaching 'government' from a wider angle creates a theoretical space to look at the ways in which 'the culture of the office' affects and shapes the conduct of the individual person, 'the officer/the official.' Government, in a larger sense, designates the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed. In a similar fashion Foucault reframed the commonly held notion of "government"—which referred to the sovereign state and its institutional apparatuses— and instead embraced an earlier and broader definition.[20] The exercise of power lies in guiding the possibility of conduct and arranging the possible outcome. (Foucault 1982)

Governmentality studies analyze how the exercise of power in societies is infused with knowledge about the nature of what is governed and what it means to govern (Foucault 1977–1978 [2007]; Burchell et al. 1991; Gordon, 1991: 14-27; Rose 1992; Barry et al. 1996: 7-16; Rose et al. 2006). Governmentality is an approach to the study of political power as involving multiple and competing arts of governing human conduct. Arts of government are ensembles of discourses, practices, and institutions, i.e., of both knowledge and power. [Hence,] the discussion is centered around "epistemic forms" or "ethical technologies" upon which individuals draw to legitimate or make sense of particular kinds of intellectual conduct (Eyal and Buchholz 2010)

Governmentality deals with the problem of how knowledge is inserted into the social body. It asks how the act of ruling is infused always and by definition with a political rationality. Arts of government are at one and the same time styles of thought and political practices. In analyzing arts of government, one does not have politics on one side and knowledge and intellectual life on the other, but on the contrary, one is describing an interstitial domain where the boundaries between the two are blurry, a domain composed of movements (Mitchell 1991;

---

[20] Foucault (1991: 93) quotes the 16th century writer Guillaume La Perrière, who explains, "Government is the right disposition of things, arranged so as to lead to a convenient end."

Rose et al. 2006). In sum governmentality is an approach to the study of political power as involving *multiple* and *competing* arts of governing human conduct.

In this research, Weber's patrimonial domination is supplanted by an understanding of this particular type of power and organization also as a specific mentality of government, or a governing mentality. That is, while for instance, the Ottoman patriarchy nor the kind of patriarchalism the state center imposed upon extra-patriarchal actors and institutions never ceased –although some of its patriarchal strategies and tactics did receive challenges, carried into negotiations and bargains, and the proto-bureaucratic institutions of the earlier empire did indeed develop somewhat autonomous spheres of activity and influence, the overarching mentality remained the middle-position between pure patriarchy and pure legal-rational formalism.

In short, at least between the mid-fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, patrimonialism remained the governing mentality of the Ottoman Empire. Before the mid-fifteenth century, the patriarchal establishment around the founding dynasty exerted its will and agenda mostly through the strong and powerful individual personas, that is, the Ottoman sultans themselves. With the onset of a more patrimonial arrangement, that is, with the allocation of considerable powers to the agents and clients of the sultans, most important among them being the status group known as the kullar (the sultan's slave-servants), the patriarchal core took a few steps back from the frontline of politics as the political volatility – typical to patriarchal and patrimonial regimes, became increasingly more dangerous.

By the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, several status groups that had traditionally been parties to the state organization acquired so much power that the patriarchal core could not prevent the first historical instance of a regicide, the murder of the young 'reform-minded' Ottoman sultan Osman II (1604-1622) at the hands of an alliance between the kullar and the 'ulema (Piterberg 2003). The patriarchal center's transformation towards a patrimonial

setting, at first, protected and strengthened the dynastic center although later on, some re-balancing and re-positioning of the patrimonial groups were required, the empire did not loose its patrimonialism-heavy mentality of government and organization until the very end of the empire.

As Weber cautiously and repeatedly warned, the ideal types are only pure in theory. As part of the historical and social reality, the sociologist, however, is bound to find admixtures of ideal-types and it is precisely at this point that they prove their worth as analytical measuring sticks. Confronted with a particular social configuration, the researcher's task is to explain, as much as possible, why as part of that particular society that we find the sort of combination of the ideal-types –in comparison to others. The dissertation firmly stands behind the analytical and technical value of Weber's ideal-types and supports the view that concerning patrimonialism studies, one of the underlying causes for the concept's unfortunate journey towards a highly caricaturized version of itself has been that contrary to Weber's warnings, researchers increasingly used the term in its ideal-typical implications, as part of the explanation of the situation whereas Weber's ideal-types are most effective when, as pure types, they remain more at the side of hypothesis building and testing rather than a part of the explanation.

4. In the sociological analysis of patrimonial governments the symbolic realm has been ignored. Patrimonial power operates in multiple spheres of life and the 'inherited background' peculiar to this form of power needs more attention. In the historical-sociological analysis of the Ottoman patrimonial power, the dissertation employs Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and Charles Taylor's 'social imaginary' as conjectural tools to bring about the particular background that acted as the primary framework within which Ottoman patrimonialism was formed. Specifically, the research goes after 'the Ottoman patrimonial mentality of government.' It focuses on the structural organization as well as the daily life at the Enderun-i Hümâyûn, the Ottoman imperial academy of arts and sciences and looks at the Enderunî *habitus*, that is, the school's 'system of embodied

dispositions, tendencies that organize the ways in which the students perceived the social world around them and reacted to it.'

While unfolding the deeply ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions of the students, the dissertation also sketches out the general framework within which the Ottoman patrimonial configuration had developed and achieved its character form. The focus of analysis, as Charles Taylor (2007: 13) put it, is the "framework of tacit belief" –a notion borrowed from phenomenologists (such as Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and Dreyfus) (see also, Taylor 1990; 2005). Following Wittgenstein and Husserl, Taylor stated that all beliefs "are held within a context or framework of the taken-for-granted, which usually remains tacit, and may even be as yet unacknowledged by the agent, because never formulated" (2007: 13). The surrounding within which our thoughts take their root and gain their shape consists of many areas, which are not yet subjected to rational scrutiny. They operate as if they are *a priori*, thus, they condition our knowledge, although more often than not they are culturally and temporally finite, shared but limited assumptions created in history. In his last book, *A Secular Age*, he incorporates the idea of the background with Cornelius Castoriadis' concept 'the imaginary institution of society' (1987) and defines 'social imaginary' as "that common understanding which makes possible common practices, and a widely shared sense of legitimacy" (Taylor 2007: 172).

A Theory of Patrimonial Power: Weber *à la* Foucault

In the reconsideration of patrimonial power the dissertation brings together Max Weber and Michel Foucault. In a way, the research proposes that considering patrimonial domination as a type of 'mentality of government' could bring about more depth to Weber's ideal-type as opposed to structural and top-down approaches.

As stated earlier, one of the main problems that had long plagued the concept has been that it has become rather two-dimensional and that it has largely

been used in a top-down fashion –as opposed to exposing the indigenous similarities and differences between distinct occurrences. In the absence of a 'bottom-up' approach, Michel Foucault's intellectual toolbox could help to enlarge and diversify Weber's ideal-type term, especially considering how restricted its analytical focus had become. Patrimonialism studies could benefit from the view from below.

Even though the similarities of their thoughts had not been sufficiently analyzed Max Weber and Michel Foucault shared a common fascination with power.[21] How throughout history had the relations between individuals been shaped insofar as they were both objects and subjects of power? Both Weber and Foucault chose to look for answers in history; both paid significant attention to the role ethics play in societies in general. The influence of Nietzsche on both scholars' intellectual outlook is widely recognized (Gordon, Whimster, and Lash 1987; Szakolczai 2013).

In an interview, Foucault says he began reading Weber rather late. Several close friends pointed out to certain similarities the two shared concerning the analysis of power and urged him to look at Weber's works. Foucault recognizes the likeness but also acknowledges the differences: since Weber's sociology goes after generalizable universal patterns of social behavior, his terminology contains all sorts of concepts that Foucault almost religiously avoids. Rationalization, secularization, bureaucratization, religion, and so on are not central to Foucault's thinking and deliberately so. Yet, as Foucault himself concedes, this does not mean that there are insurmountable walls between them: in a way, Weber looks at the common, the most visible, and from top-down while sweeping across the pages of history covering large epochs; Foucault picks up the ones that escape such a hovering gaze: the mad, the sick, the incarcerated, etc. and provides a look from the inside out. There is a unity to their endeavor –demonstrated best in their

---

[21] There are two exceptions: Szakolczai, A. (1998). *Max Weber and Michel Foucault: Parallel life-works* and Owen, D. (1994). *Maturity and modernity: Nietzsche, Weber, Foucault, and the ambivalence of reason*.

own words.

For Weber, "[Sociology...] is a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences. We shall speak of 'action' in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behavior — be it overt or covert, omission or acquiescence. Action is 'social' in so far as its subjective meaning takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course" (Weber 1978 v. 1: 4).

In a lecture delivered at Berkeley on 1983, Foucault described the object of his interests –as guides to his method, in the following way: "What I want to analyze is the meaning they give to their own behavior, the way they integrate their behavior in general strategies, the type of rationality they employ and recognize in their different practices, institutions, models and behavior." A good part of Foucault's above description is also a fitting description of Weber's *verstehen soziologie*.

A relational approach to power; keeping an eye on the relationship between power, knowledge, and ethics; and recognizing multiple rationalities that guide social action, Weber and Foucault seem to have more in common than commonly acknowledged.

Keys to patrimonial resilience: Tradition, Patriarchy, Apparatus

The research proposes that there are three components common to resilient and long-lasting patrimonial systems: first, *tradition* as the primary conditioning element, second, *patriarchy* as the dynamic core, and third, *apparatuses* with strategic objectives. Apparatuses of the patrimonial state bring together the first and second components; they fuse an eclectic amalgamation out of available traditions and utilize the compound in the service of the patriarchal center. The dissertation argues that patrimonial regime is indeed 'a special case of patriarchal

27

power' and without the underlying patriarchal core, we cannot speak of a patrimonial system –not at least in the typical-archetypal sense.

Weber's Patrimonialism: Patriarchal at heart, traditional through and through

For Weber, patrimonialism is **a traditional type of power.** It stems from habitual social behavior and from there extends into the political. Compared to goal oriented (instrumental) rationality, traditions operate at a deeper level, which Weber calls 'the psychic attitude.' Customary behavior is hardly critical and scarcely self-reflective. As a "collective way of acting" (*Massenhandeln*) tradition "persists by unreflective imitation" (Weber 1978 v. 1: 319). Exactly for this reason, however, traditional power Weber says is more potent and it persists longer than the types of mentalities that originate in means to ends calculations. [22] What Weber calls 'the sanctity of the eternal yesterday' conditions patrimonial rule: tradition is the background that produces and enables it but at the same time modifies and limits it.[23] In fact, other than traditionally accepted limits on the patrimonial ruler's otherwise unrestricted exercise of personal discretion, 'the realm of free arbitrariness', there is no other barrier that cannot be negotiated or bypassed by the sovereign.

Traditions sanction as well as modify and limit patrimonial practices. Weber says that in the absence of legally defined formal constraints, the established tradition (or, custom) is the only limit to the ruler's otherwise purely

---

[22] "An order which is adhered to from motives of pure expediency is generally much less stable than one upheld on a purely customary basis through the fact that the corresponding behavior has become habitual. The latter is much the most common type of subjective attitude. But even this type of order is in turn much less stable than *an order which enjoys the prestige of being considered binding, or, as it may be expressed, of "legitimacy"*" (Weber 1978: 31). Emphasis added.

[23] "'Traditionalism' refers to the psychic attitude -set for the habitual workaday and to the belief in the everyday routine as an inviolable norm of conduct. Domination that rests upon this basis, that is, upon piety for what actually, allegedly, or presumably has always existed, will be called 'traditionalist authority.' Legitimacy is claimed for and believed in by virtue of the sanctity of age-old rules" (Weber 1978: 226).

discretionary authority. "Mere habituation is the first factor that stereotypes the patrimonial relationship and in fact limits the master's discretion. From there the sanctifying power of tradition evolves… [in addition,] the master is restrained from introducing innovations."[24] The result of this arrangement, Weber adds, is a legally unstable, but in fact very stable order that diminished the area of the master's discretion in favor of traditional prescription. In patrimonial regimes tradition, therefore, plays a dual role: authority is legitimate insofar as it originates in tradition; thus, tradition is the primary formative force yet it is also the main boundary setter and the only authoritative constraint on the patrimonial ruler's discretionary powers.

Weber describes the origins and autonomous, stand-alone typology of patrimonial power in contradictory ways. In certain cases, it does look like a differentiated type of legitimate authority; in others, it is an extension, an outgrowth of the patriarchal type –which remains as the most dominant type. He says "It is characteristic of patriarchal and of patrimonial authority, which represents *a variety of the former*, that the system of inviolable norms is considered sacred an infraction of them would result in magical or religious evils.

"Side by side with this system there is a realm of free arbitrariness and favor of the lord, who in principle judges only in terms **of *'personal,' not 'functional,'*** relations. In this sense, traditionalist authority is **irrational**" (Gerth and Mills 1946: 296).

If, following Weber, patrimonialism is a special case of the patriarchal type, we should consider the question of whether patrimonial regimes ever completely lose the inherent patriarchal core after a certain critical point is passed

---

[24] "Everywhere the purely factual resistance against everything unwonted is powerful; in addition, the master is restrained from introducing innovations by the possible disapproval of his environment and by his own fear of religious powers which everywhere protest tradition and dependency relationships. Furthermore, the master is considerably influenced by the well-founded apprehension that his own, especially his economic interests would be badly hurt by any shock to traditional loyalty produced by groundless and "unjust" interference with the traditional distribution of duties and rights" (Weber 1978: 1011-1012).

and an autonomous legal-rationalism takes the helm or is it always the case that no matter how developed and ingrained the bureaucratic apparatuses become, the patriarchal core never completely leaves the body? The research suggests that the latter is the case. Patriarchy is not only a threshold that patrimonial government steps out of; it remains as the conditioning element even after earlier proto-bureaucracies carve themselves certain spheres of freedom, nonetheless, they remain principally attached to the archetypical personalism that patrimonial regimes inherit from their patriarchal origins.

Julia Adams (2005), for example, demonstrates the central role of patriarchalism in early modern patrimonial polities. Not only the monarch but also his patrimonial subordinates were patriarchs, male heads of patrilineal families whose public powers constituted part of their heritable patrimony. They ruled "paternally," as real and symbolic "fathers," over their familial subordinates and clientele. Thus, under patrimonial regimes patriarchal strategies and mechanisms of domination continue to be operational and remain as legitimate sources of authority.

Apparatuses of Patrimonial Power

Dispositif (Eng. apparatus) was a decisive technical term that Foucault used quite often, especially from the mid 1970s onwards, when he became increasingly more concerned with what he called "governmentality" (1973: 1975).

Apparatus is *a grid of analysis* constructed by the historian. Foucault says one has succeeded in isolating "strategies of relations of forces supporting various types of knowledge" then one has a *dispositif* (1980, 196). Foucault's *dispositif* captures significantly diverse areas of life: "[I shall call an apparatus] literally anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviors, opinions, or discourses of living beings" (Agamben 2009: 14).

According to Agamben "[The term apparatus] designates that in which, and through which, one *realizes* a pure activity of governance devoid of any foundation in being. This is the reason why apparatuses must always imply a process of subjectification, that is to say, they must produce their subject" (2009: 12).

Apparatus always has a concrete strategic function and is always located in a power relation. As such it appears at the intersection of power relations and relations of knowledge. It brings together power and knowledge into a specific grid of analysis.

"[An apparatus is] a thoroughly heterogeneous set consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions-in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the network that can be established between these elements" (Foucault 1973: 194).

Traditions by themselves are not essentially strategic. Traditions are made into strategic entities only after they are brought together purposefully as part of the patrimonial state's apparatuses and after a selectively devised compound of them is coated with orderly and systematic mentalities of government. To meet specific ends, to produce particular groups of individuals (etc.,) apparatuses exploit an eclectically assembled composite out of existing traditions; they devise a cherry-picked assortment from the available motley of traditions. As Foucault says,

"[the] nature of an apparatus is essentially strategic, which means that we are speaking about a certain manipulation of relations of forces, of a rational and concrete intervention in the relations of forces, either so as to develop them in a particular direction, or to block them, to stabilize them, and to utilize them. The apparatus is thus always inscribed into a play of power, but it is also always linked to certain limits of knowledge that arise from it and, to an equal degree

condition it. The apparatus is precisely this: a set of strategies of the relations of forces supporting, and supported by, certain types of knowledge" (1980: 194-196).

According to Foucault, there are two important moments in the genesis of an apparatus: first, a moment which is the prevalent influence of *a strategic objective*; second, the apparatus as such is constituted and enabled to continue in existence insofar as it is the site of a double process. First, a process of functional over determination –because each effect –positive or negative, intentional or unintentional- enters into resonance or contradiction with the others and thereby calls for a readjustment or a re-working of the heterogeneous elements that surface at various points. On the other hand, there is a perpetual process of strategic elaboration (Foucault 1980: 195). But there are always movements in the opposite direction, whereby strategies, which coordinate relations of power produce new effects and advance into hitherto unaffected domains. The result of the dual process can lead to an establishment of a new set of relations that are now merged into a single apparatus and all these as a strategic reaction to a specific historical problem. Hence, the social body reproduces its own apparatuses continuously as a result of this dialectical process of dual creation of both motive and its aim.

An apparatus is **strategic** on many grounds. First, it arises at *a point of need*. A tool of power, however, becomes an apparatus not only because it responds to an urgent need in a certain manner of satisfaction. It becomes an apparatus because it demonstrates *staying power*.

Following Foucault's definitions, there are several important advantages in employing the term 'apparatus' as part of a historical analysis of patrimonial resilience. First, the patrimonial subject and the kind of subjectivity that patrimonial regimes typically generate come to the forefront of the analysis. As Agamben explains,

"The term apparatus designates that in which, and through which, one *realizes* a pure activity of governance devoid of any foundation in being. This is the reason why apparatuses must always imply a process of subjectification, that is to say, they must produce their subject" (Agamben 2009: 12).

Second, as mentioned before, as the conditioning element of patrimonial power, that is, as the enabler as well as the limit setter of patrimonial regimes, traditions play a central role yet by themselves traditions are not necessarily 'strategic'. In them, one can find facilitators of certain types of power as well as catalysts of resistance. Thus, traditions require 'honing' for them to spur and incite a specific form of power –and suppress the inherent potential for conflict. Under the prevalent influence of strategic objectives, apparatuses refine traditions, provide them with clear incentives, and equip them with instrumental objectives.

Case Study: The Ottoman 'Patrimonial' Empire

What were the historical conditions that made it possible for the Ottoman state to keep its patrimonial core intact for more than six centuries?

This question has been one of the main underlying themes that bind Karen Barkey's two books together (1994, 2008). As Barkey says, the Ottoman Empire's grandeur produced an equally grandiose rhetoric of imperial demise, a kind of teleological tragedy that we are all familiar with. By focusing on the empires' demise however we lost sight of a rather important element that the pre-modern and early modern empires had in common: a strategic institutional and structural elasticity, with a willful ideological ability to bend and adjust, which provided the empires with the necessary flexibility required in managing not only diverse populations but in governing 'difference' in general (Barkey 2008; Rodrigue and Reynolds 1995). A strategic pragmatism, perhaps an element unique to multicultural empires, was an essential part of the Ottoman mentality of government.

33

The research follows Karen Barkey's insights and scrutinizes the historical conditions of possibility that contributed to the Ottoman Empire's institutional longevity and resilience. The empire was a predominantly patrimonial polity that demonstrated tremendous temporal longevity –not only in terms of the longevity of the state's central institutions but also the state's continuous active presence as a cultural-social center of gravity. In Eisenstadt's terms, a center that not only attracts the 'free-floating sources' but one that manages to hold onto them and bend them to its will and agenda. In this regard there are few other contenders to the heights achieved by the Ottoman Empire.

For more than six centuries the Ottoman Empire ruled vast territories that extended into three continents. More striking than the immensity of the imperial borders, however, was the degree of ethnic, religious, racial, and cultural diversity that the Ottoman apparatuses of government managed to rule (Barkey 2008). A remarkable achievement that generally goes without notice is the Ottoman central state's ability to keep the familial dynastic line intact.

Although the Ottoman ruler's authority was personal-familial and the mechanics of the household were the model for political administration the Ottoman Empire did possess a rational-legal core (Murphey 2008). Towards the end of the classical age (1300-1600) the Ottoman Empire had successfully transitioned into a patrimonial bureaucratic empire. Whereas the earlier 'frontier state' had been primarily a patriarchal entity with the charismatic sultan at the front and center of most state businesses, by the mid-fifteenth century, it became the state tradition that the sultans delegate most of their powers to a special group of men whose loyalties and competencies the center made sure not to waver.

This does not mean that it didn't possess a functioning bureaucracy. To the contrary behind the empire's success –in terms of acquiring lands through conquest, as well as administrating the diverse populations after the conquests, laid a well-organized and differentiated apparatuses with specialized and formalized rules and standards of conduct. One might even say that these

apparatuses established themselves in time to the very idea of 'traditional state' such that the Ottoman state could not be taught of without them –which, in turn, made it harder to get rid of them.

The research focuses on the historical-civilizational conditions that contributed to the Ottoman Empire's institutional resilience. The emphasis on institutional longevity is deliberate. After all, it was not only the state organization that displayed remarkable staying power, but for instance, the empire also managed the preserve its dynastic lineage remarkably well –in contrast to other long-lasting monarchies such as the British or the French.[25] As apparatuses connected to the state and yet with relative autonomy, the organization of the army or the bureaucracy also enjoyed long lives –in fact, these two outlived the dynastic-monarchical institution and continued into the sovereign nation states that sprawled after the empire's collapse. It should not come as a surprise that almost all the sovereign states after the dissolution of the empire have gone through similar struggles in their democratization-modernization efforts. The specter of patrimonialism never entirely left the region.

The Ottoman imperial state was predominantly a patrimonial polity.[26] The state center demonstrated tremendous temporal longevity –not only in terms of the longevity of the state's central institutions but also the state's continuous active presence as a cultural-social center of gravity. In Eisenstadt's terms, a center that not only attracts the 'free-floating sources' but one that also manages to hold onto them (Eisenstadt 1969). Maintaining a strong cultural and political center contributes to overall systemic longevity (Shils 1961: 117).

---

[25] The patriarchal dynastic household, 'the House of Osman', lasted for an impressive six hundred and twenty-three years (1299-1922).

[26] C. V. Findley (1980, 1989) used a similar theoretical framework following Weber's "patrimonial power-bureaucratic power" typology in his analysis of the Ottoman bureaucratic institution where patrimonial and bureaucratic forces come together –not only and not always in a competitive spirit but with creative ways in which both types of power won.

Adab

An important aspect of the medieval Muslim identity, *adab* has been notoriously difficult to translate into modern terminology. There are several reasons for this struggle: the concept is no longer practiced nor understood as it once had been; with the disappearance of the social group who practiced it, it has lost many of the layers that used to be its constitutive parts. In modern Arabic, *adab* indicates two things: literature and etiquette. Frequently it is translated as *belles-lettres*, which underscores its literary character but the emphasis should immediately follow that the Islamic *adab* contained an equally pronounced behavioral and disciplinary aspect as well as a vocational bent that indicated 'professionalism' and 'expertise'. As a literary genre, adab literature contained a large variety of works such as technical compendiums similar to modern dictionaries and encyclopedias, vocational collections (e.g., *how-to* books), treatises written for the elite (e.g., *Mirrors for Princes*), and books on etiquette and manners. To the literary elite these compendia provided the sources for self-cultivation, which implied professional as well as moral development (Sperl 2007).

According to Marshall Hodgson (2009) adab was "education as conservation," the goal of which was both to transmit the cultural heritage of the past and to guide the educated man in the ideals of the good life, both worldly and spiritual. This 'heritage' could be cultural, moralistic, professional, or technical in its contents; the adab literature contains as many encyclopedias and compendiums as it does collections of poems, excerpts from books, and saloon conversation diaries.

Two adab traits are "the noble and humane tendency of the character and its manifestation in the conduct of life and social intercourse" (Gibb 1980: 175). Charles Pellat (1964) stressed that the functional purpose of adab was to serve a repertoire of moral, social and intellectual curriculum that kept updating as the nature of the Islamic state and its administrative and cultural elite had transformed

36

in reaction to the social and political changes. As the Islamic society expanded and came into contact with –later absorbed, different cultures, ethnic groups and their diverse beliefs and practices, it expanded also culturally. From a social unit, the Islamic culture evolved into a civilizational entity. It developed a certain kind of toleration, which resulted from the elasticity and flexibility required in the government of imperial enterprises. It developed a wide range of rules –ranging from the most to the least direct forms. Adab tradition, in this regard, provided the Islamic civilization with an instrument of historical adaptation. Adab had a fundamental role in the Islamic civilizing process.

Adab was *a cosmopolitan approach* to life. George Makdisi (1990), for instance, likens the Islamic adab tradition to *humanitas*: first originated in the Roman Empire, during the re-discovery of the Classical Antiquity in the early 15th century *humanitas* became a central element of the Italian *Renaissance*. The Latin word *humanitas* corresponded to the ancient Greek concepts of *philanthrôpía* and *paideía*. As part of the ancient Greek philosophical life these were closely related concepts (Breeze and Moody 2016). The former referred to 'the love of what makes us human' and the latter indicated to a kind of pedagogical *ethos*, a civic education geared towards possessing a collection of virtues of character suitable both for an active life of public service and a fulfilling private life. The study of *bonae litterae* ("good letters", i.e., classical literature) was central to such an education.)

Humanitas denoted pedagogical and moral cultivation especially in relation with arts and literature. Politically and morally engaged, artistically driven, and concerned with the improvement of the human condition as it could and ought to be (Kraemer 1986). As the individual reclaimed its position as a 'creator' its potential to create, to produce, to better himself as much as possible and not for the afterlife as a spiritual being but as God's special creation endowed with gifts that no other being possessed the individual person came to be regarded as potentially 'perfectible' *ad infinitum*.

One of the pioneers of the pedagogical adab tradition was a highly influential Umayyad chancery secretary ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (c.685-750). He was known as *al-Kātib* ('The Secretary'). He wrote a *risale* (epistle) to the Umayyad heir apparent on the proper conduct of rulers. In the introduction of the book he blends Islamic teachings with Iranian traditions on court etiquette. In another epistle on the qualities and expertise required of the scribal class, Letter to the Secretaries, he says his aim in general is "molding the soul and mind of the kuttāb." He identifies in the very first line of the book the marker that lies at the foundation of the scribal class' identity: it is their *techné* (*sina'a*), whence he calls the kuttāb "the people of this *techné*/craft" (*ahl hadhihi al-sina'a*).

In short, **adab connected the public office with the private lives of its occupants** (Farag 2001). Consequently, it was a vital element in the organizational make up of the medieval Muslim patrimonial regimes. Since the predominant assumption in the pejorative consideration of patrimonial regimes in general is the dual nature of the person/office, that personalism undermines officialdom, adab as a culture of office that underscores merit, proficiency, competency, and professionalism could prove to be a vital element in the organizational longevity of the Ottoman Empire. The empire's status elite considered adab as the most important marker that separated the deserving office holders from those who acquired it through nepotism or bribery.

For the Ottoman elite *adab* was a shared cultural entity. It provided the status elite with *models of* and *models for* behavior (Geertz 1973: 93). It was an important item that separated the uncouth masses from the educated and dignified (*zarif*) elite. The class of scribes (*küttâb*), the Islamic scholars, jurists, and educators (*'ulema*) adhered closely to its principles. If a person had political ambitions and wanted to become a member of the high society learnedness was not enough. One had to also display the character demanded of the respective position. Privilege –especially vocational expertise as opposed to aristocratic privilege, needed to be shown with humility, sincerity, and decorum. Among the

Ottoman status elite *adab* was a counterbalance to *intisab* (personal connection, clientelism). Having connections was important but it was not sufficient to receive a position in the state. There were cultural standards to officialdom and they needed to be vigorously observed.

In the Ottoman Empire, the Islamic 'ulema and the scribal elite (*küttâb*) strongly subscribed to the principles of adab. These two status elite, however, was not unique to the Ottomans. From the Abbasid Caliphate until the Seljuk Turks – the immediate predecessors of the Ottomans, the Islamic institution of the 'ulema and the scribal bureaucracy had been hallmarks of every Muslim state. The dissertation focuses on the uses and effects of the adab tradition by a uniquely Ottoman status group: the *devşirme kullar* (slave-servants) of the Enderun schools. Starting with the mid-fifteenth century and with the central state's powerful push towards centralization, this particular group (the Enderunî) gained tremendous power and influence –at the expense of other status groups that during the earlier period received the most important and lucrative positions. The school's graduates rose to the highest ranks in the empire's administration and military. In his *Tarîh-i Enderûn* (History of the Enderun), Tayyar-zade Atâ provided brief biographies of the academy's most famous graduates. Among them, there are sixty grand viziers, three Şeyh-ül İslam, twenty-three Kapudan-ı Derya (grand admiral), and thirteen Kapudan Paşa (navy admiral). More important for the purposes of the research, however, and as it was with the Ottoman *'ulema* and the *küttâb*, the adab tradition was quintessential in the upbringing and education of the Enderunî elite.

An Ottoman State Apparatus: The Palace Academy of the *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*

In the 15th century the Ottoman state had started its transformation from a small frontier state into an empire whose territories extended three continents. The territorial expansion rapidly diversified the empire and with the assimilation of

new cultures that blended into Ottoman life, it created a highly multicultural subject population. With the increasing complexity in the management of the state's affairs, the selection and education of statesmen became critical. The state's central institutions started transforming into apparatuses that were structurally and bureaucratically more complex –more *imperial* in magnitude and depth. To continue its rule the Ottoman state needed to make an important transition not only in terms of its institutions, their personnel, but also in terms of *mentalities of government* (or governing rationalities). With the increasing complexity in the management of the state's affairs the selection and education of administrators, civil servants, and bureaucrats became critical. In this regard, the empire's bureaucratic and religious (educational-juridical) apparatuses stepped up to the task at hand, but also did the central state's own educational apparatus, the Enderun-i Hümâyûn. In this regard Enderun was a strategic state apparatus that responded to the needs of a particular moment in the history of the Ottoman Empire.

The Enderun recruits came from **the devşirme**, the Ottoman system of child levy imposed on the non-Muslim -mostly Christian- subjects (Imber 2002: 15-19). Whenever there was a need for a new cohort a select group of Palace officials and experts would go to the designated provinces and, in a very systematical manner, collect the young boys mostly below the age of puberty and bring them to the capital for further inspection. Depending on the initial set of assessments and tests the boys were separated into groups. The most promising of them were enlisted to the Enderun Palace School complex, which was designed to educate and graduate the empire's most loyal elite level administrators, governors, and generals –but also artists, musicians, poets, scientists, and historians. The boys were always under strict surveillance of the Palace wardens, their instructors, and their peers. Camaraderie was at an arm's length to backstabbing; the highest level of education the empire could provide went with the highest level of intrigue and sabotaging of careers. The Enderun was the perfect place to

40

learn the patrimonial game.

Barnette Miller describes the school as "one of the most remarkable educational institutions of its time, indeed of any time" and defines the Palace school of the Enderun as the "great military school of state of the Grand Seraglio" (1941: 3). Writing in 1538 of the pages of the Palace School, Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), the Bishop of Nocera de'Pagani, said "they are instructed in letters and arms in the same manner as the children of the sultan" (Miller 1941, 5). Bishop Giovio's observation was correct. According to Sehî Bey (1471-1548), an Ottoman poet and bibliographer, the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II and an Enderun student of Albanian origin Lütfi Paşa shared the same tutors when they were both youngsters (1978). Lütfi Paşa later became a grand vizier under Süleymân I.

The Enderun curriculum was completely unique. The average period of education was twelve to fourteen years. After the basics, such as reading and writing, algebra, Arabic and Persian the students learned about theoretical and practical law, the sciences of Qur'anic interpretation, martial arts, art of government, and received vocational training per their proclivities and interests. Considering that the only type of higher education available for the rest of the empire's subjects was the madrasa education whose focus was on basic Arabic literacy for the elementary and the Qur'anic sciences and law for the higher levels, the Enderun's system of education as well as its pedagogical constitution was singularly unique. The imperial palace school's curriculum was not at all dominated by an Islamic discourse. The Holy Book was surely important and central to the imperial schools including the academy at the Enderun, but it was not scrutinized nor studied in the ways typical to the madrasas. Deep, exegetical, and intellectual studies and discussion were available and among the Enderunî there did develop serious and remarkable students of the *'ilm* (the sciences), yet these were always auxiliary to their expertise and not primary to their standing and status.

41

The Enderun utilized religion in more complex ways –similar to the approach praised by Machiavelli in his *Discourses* where he praises the Roman Empire's practical and strategic understanding and uses of religion (Machiavelli 1996: 34-44). Islam was only one of the elements of the Ottoman culture of the high court and the state elite, such as those who studied at the Enderun, primarily identified themselves as Ottoman –being an Ottoman meant an orthodox Sunni Muslim, it is true, but also it indicated to a very particular type of Muslim: a cosmopolitan one. These men not only could read Arabic very well and during their long years at the campus they were instructed to read the Qur'an for their studies at first and later, during their spare times. In the *Âyîne-i Derûn*, a book on the history, laws and customs of the palace school, the author Abdüllâtif a graduate of the school, says "of all the contemptible behavior, idleness is abhorred the most. In their spare times, the students should read the Qur'an and pass the time in silence contemplating the wisdom of the faith" (Abdüllâtif Hâfız Enderunî and Koç 2013). These men also read the canonical commentaries, various histories of the faith, its rise, earlier troubles, the times of the caliphs, and so on. Thus, not only they were well versed in the book itself but also they had a deeper, more theoretical and historical understanding of the faith. This was a lot more than a commoner's faith and when ultra-conservative movements arose and became popular, these men stood above the kind of creed advertised by the fundamentalists and their followers. They did not hesitate to show their disdain of the kind of parochialism and antiquarianism promoted by these movements.

Conclusion

The underlying premise of the dissertation is almost commonsensical: patrimonial empires renowned for their longevity are those that managed to counterbalance the systemic detriments peculiar to the ideal-type. Their resilience

depends on managing and regulating the adverse effects of personalism on bureaucratic formalism.

For Weber, tendency towards decentralization, for instance, was a typically patrimonial problem. The non-differentiation and non-delineation of the abstract office and the flesh and blood person instigate obvious drawbacks: keeping an optimum level of meritocracy and safeguarding a degree of formalism are essential for the bureaucratic and legal apparatuses to work; yet, patrimonial relations are primarily personal relations –thus, mere conservation of such standards require care, effort, diligence, and resources.

Under patrimonial regimes personalism and formalism are not mutually exclusive. The relation between the two is not completely oppositional; what defines their relationship is less of *antagonism* but rather *agonism*, a relationship of 'reciprocal incitation and struggle' (Foucault 1982: 790). If the former had been the case, that is, if personalism and formalism constantly undermined each other, pre-modern patrimonial empires could not have lasted as long as they did.

In the Ottoman Empire *adab* functioned as a counterbalance to the potential detriments of 'personal connections' (*intisab*), or in more general terms, the negative effects of the personalization of the office, the P→O. As a pedagogical and vocational tradition adab made it more likely that 'the Ottoman official,' that is, the status elite would at least have a minimum level of technical education as well as the decorum, proper behavior and professionalism that goes with it. The power of adab was its making merit also cultural requirement, a part of the elite identity and behavior but equally importantly by opening up a space that enabled them thinking about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern; what governing is; what or who is governed)" in terms that make it in some form "thinkable and practicable both to its practitioners and to those upon whom it is practiced" (Gordon 1991: 1-52).

At the same time, adab established a sort of ground rules, a general *conduct of conduct* insofar as one belonged to the social elite. For instance, it was

43

typically an Ottoman patrimonial policy to play major interest groups off of each other thus maintain a critical balance of powers whereby the state center retains its pivotal position. The Ottoman patrimonial system, therefore, found ways to turn diversity into an advantage, for instance, in the form of using diverse identities, ethnic and religious backgrounds against one another for the maintenance of the central state.

There were also other forms in which the Ottoman patrimonial preference of diversity became manifest: throughout its institutional history that spans over four hundred years, the Ottoman institution of the devşirme, the systematic collection of non-Muslim youth from the empire's subject populations, the Ottomans continued to cover diverse areas even when certain regions, locales, and villages continuously produce 'good human stock' the empire kept the pool of devşirme as diverse as possible. After its inception, certain regional or ethnic groups started to establish themselves as powerful factions with members holding important gatekeeping positions.

Adab acted as the social glue that connected this multitude of diversity together under one roof, or to be symbolically accurate, around one court.

An Ottoman patrimonial agent's interpretation of bribe and gift giving would be fundamentally different from what we would expect (Mumcu 1985). A world where bribe is not only illegal but in fact something that was expected, a practice that went without saying is another world entirely; it is this world of values that the research analyzes. The patrimonial world made meaningful in itself with its own values and practices.

The practice of bribe or gift allocation was not only a necessary practice under early modern patrimonial settings, it was an art that needed to be learned and mastered. Any possessor of riches can make a gift whenever, to whomsoever, and of whatever size he pleases, but there is a risk that his manner may embarrass or humiliate the recipient. The rules are therefore intended to instruct the giver on refinement of conduct so that he does not hurt the recipient's feelings; this is why

it is taught that the giver should be grateful to the recipient, not vice versa, because the giver buys peace and serenity for his soul with his gift and is really comparable with a merchant who has profited from a transaction (Firdawsī and Levy 1967: 260). In other words, generosity is presented here as a natural and normal human characteristic, and this implies that generosity is brought within the scope of adab not by the act of giving in itself, but by the observance of its rules and the etiquette it requires.

There were books written on the art of bribes and gifts; what you presented to a person especially of importance demonstrated how well you knew the person; how much you care not only for the favor but for the person, which went together characteristically under patrimonial regimes. The gift should reflect exactly the weight of the favor one asked. All the information on the adab of gift giving, the Ottoman elite could find in various types of works. The books known as *Har-name* (The Book of the Donkey) were thematic compilations of 'what not to do' as long as one wanted to participate into the patrimonial politics of the court (Şanzumî 2006). In the book there are around a dozen stories of people who failed miserably in their attempts of attaining favor and humiliated themselves because among other things they failed in the art of gift allocation.

On the other hand, especially the empire's intellectual elite produced treatises in the form of advice literature in which they displayed a strictly moralistic and prohibitive take on the giving and taking of bribes. For instance, at certain gatherings such as religious festivals approaching a power figure in request of a material benefit would be frowned upon. Certain status groups were especially targeted. The kadis were told to have taken bribes by the courtly elite as well as the bureaucratic, whereas the Ulema accused the secular state elite for the same crime. The Ottoman patrimonial art of government, in short, prohibited as much powerfully as it practiced certain *transgressions*. Perhaps its power to produce as diverse 'transgressions' as it did was connected to its power of

prohibition. In any case, adab was both the technique of bribing (i.e., how-to bribe) and a technique of admonishing it (i.e., in literature).

Adab literature both admonished the act of bribery yet also produced the gentile ways, the proper manner that it needs to be practiced. The uncouth bribe is to be avoided. For instance, at certain gatherings such as the religious festival of Ramadan, approaching a power figure in request of a material benefit would be frowned upon.

In this regard adab, to borrow Simmel's term, was a central aspect of the Ottoman elite's *sociability*. As Simmel said, "in sociability talking is an end in itself; in purely sociable conversation the content is merely the indispensable carrier of stimulation, which the lively exchange of talk as such unfolds. …In order that this play may retain its self-sufficiency at the level of pure form, the content must receive no weight on its own account; as soon as the discussion gets businesslike, it is no longer sociable; it turns its compass point as soon as the verification of truth becomes its purpose" (Simmel 1950: 136).

A major finding of the research is that patrimonial domination at its core is a conservative strategy in the hands of a narrow group of elite. The privileged status elite largely utilizes patrimonial strategies to protect their share, entitlement, and access to the patrimony by controlling access.

In fact**, one of the main arguments of the study is that in the long run patrimonial relations are more powerful than legal-rational relations.** The former gets its resources and power from established tradition habits and norms while the latter is at its strongest where the reach of 'legal-rational' centers are far and encompassing –consequently, they are weak when such centers are far away and not only spatially but also ideologically. The state can chose to stay clear and opt out from interfering certain areas of life. Extra-formal organizations dwell in such milieus. Street gangs, mafia organizations and their relations with the state can be explained in this manner (Collins 2011: 16-31). Paoli argues that the Sicilian and later the American mafia organized most powerfully in the social

milieus where the state could not –or did not want to, reach (Paoli 2003). These organizations continue to dominate certain areas of life not despite the resistance of the state but rather because they provide a degree of control and limit to those practices that the state cannot legally nor formally get involved –nor eliminate entirely for there is ultimately 'demand' for these practices. The long arm of the law and the state has a limited reach.

Thus, patrimonial domination is not only confined to the state. It is also an ideological construct and operates on powerful symbolic levels that generate various forms of social action.

CHAPTER II

ADAB

"Central to the understanding of Arabic literature in the pre-modern period is the concept of *Adab*, a curriculum of learning and good manners, of courtliness, leading to the formation of the *Adîb*, the gentleman-scholar, a cultural type of many guises, recognizable over a broad swath of time and from Greece to China. Adab presupposes that there can be no true erudition without the polished character that goes with it. The *Adîb* was an ornament to any salon, holding forth with ease on all branches of learning but careful to keep himself aloof from the plebs and the contamination of the *mauvais goût*. He peddled his graces to his own ilk but often under the patronage of the rich and powerful, who were very fond of staging debates between prominent *Adībs*. His scholarly accoutrements would typically have ... consisted of quite a formidable array of arts and sciences of his age: poetry, the network of religious sciences, history, philology, critical theory, medicine, as well as a pretty solid acquaintance with the natural sciences, from arithmetic to zoology. Almost by definition, *Adab* militated against specialization, opting instead for breadth of cultivation. In a cosmos, the various parts of which were thought to be so intimately linked, *Adab* provided an appropriate literary and moral response, its emphasis falling on the interconnectedness of things. The *Adab* style was of necessity eclectic, variegated, full of asides. It was important not only to educate the reader or listener but also to avoid boring him with pedantry. Clearly, *Adab* does not correspond to literature in the strict sense; perhaps the happiest synonym so far suggested is [the] Greek *paideia*" (Khalidi 2000: 8).

Chapter II: Adab

In modern times the Arabic term *adab* is understood to specifically mean literature. In earlier times, however, its meaning included 'all that a well-informed person had to know in order to pass in society as a cultured and refined individual' (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad et al. 2006). As the Islamic civilization developed and especially towards 'the Golden Age' of Islam, the term also evolved and included *belles letters* in the form of elegant prose and verse that was as much entertaining as it was morally educational such as poetry, pleasant anecdotes, proverbs, historical accounts, general knowledge, wise maxims, and even practical philosophy.

Adab was a crucial term in the classical Islamic culture. Depending on the context the term denoted *good breeding*, *manners*, being *cultured*, and *refinement*. It is one of those multi-layered terms that acquired new meanings over the course of time without entirely shedding the old ones. Its semantic evolution mirrors the changes the Islamic society and culture have undergone roughly between the 7th and 13th centuries. Although it is generally translated as *belles-lettres* and mainly conceived of as a genre of literature, the emphasis should immediately follow that adab contained an equally pronounced pedagogical, behavioral, and ethical qualities. There was also a distinctively vocational element that was embedded into its meaning early on, which indicated a kind of 'proper conduct' in terms of office holding –similar to the modern term 'professionalism.'

The purpose of the adab tradition was the training of the Muslim elite in ethics, culture, and crafts without him risking Islamic principles. In the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, an early adab classic, Ibn Qutayba says the main concern of mankind is to work out their salvation, but no man must neglect his interests on earth; for that purpose he has to be given some knowledge of everything (Bray 2003). In the opening chapter of his book, he openly says that he wrote the *ʿUyūn* to make adab accessible to everyone so that they can secure *a happy life without jeopardizing*

49

salvation in the next world (Daftary and Meri 2003).

Having originated in the aristocratic courtly circles of the elite and at first an oral tradition that relied on figures like the sage, the wise men, the bards and poets who from memory relayed the wisdom and virtues of the old (what the ancient Greeks called *gnome*) to the younger generations, adab later transitioned into the literary realm as literacy became indispensable for the act of ruling and administration (Allan 2012). A natural result was an extension of its capabilities as well as a significant enlargement of its audience. As literacy became an essential part of government and administration, expectedly, it was the scribal class of civil servants (the men of letters), who first adopted adab as part of their 'culture of office' –to such an extent that it became almost synonymous with the scribal profession and it referred to the professionalism, expertise, and know-how it required from the office-holders. The first vocational handbooks, technical compendia of encyclopedic and didactic nature belonged to the scribal profession.

The earliest adab classics were born out of the necessities of the court, e.g., treatises of advice on rule and government written for the kings, princes, and viziers; books on courtly manners and etiquette written for the same group as the first one but also later including the courtiers.[27] The second wave of adab books was written by and for the scribal class. The task was to retain a certain degree, an optimal standard of professionalism by providing the novice scribes with technical and moral literature such as 'how-to' manuals, encyclopedic and didactic compendiums to transmit the necessary technical knowledge as well as the manners, behavioral and moral requirements that the rising army of scribal bureaucrats needed. It was at this point that adab became closely associated with 'expertise' and 'professionalism'.

In the 12th century, almost every venerable vocation in the Islamic lands had adab books, manuals, and treatises devoted to particular professions. First, the

---

[27] In the west, this literature is commonly referred to as 'the mirrors for princes' (from Latin *specula principum*) or *Fürstenspiegel* genre of political literature.

scribes had their canonical works, such as Ibn Qutaybah's *Kitāb adab al-kātib* ("Secretary's Guide"), a compendium of Arabic usage and vocabulary. Later the religious professionals started publishing similar works, such as *adab al-qādī,* for the medical profession *adab al-tabīb* ("Proper Conduct for Physicians") and *adab al-muʿallim* for the teachers (Fyzee 1964, Levey 1967, Giladi 1988, Surty 2003, Padela 2007).

Chapter Objectives

The main objective of this chapter is to demonstrate a historical case in support of the claim that traditions are not static entities. To the contrary, traditions consisted of dynamic strategies and techniques that deal with historical change. The chapter presents the Islamic *adab* tradition an example. For centuries adab had been an integral part of the Muslim civilization and provided successive Muslim states with the ways and means to deal with fragilities typically associated with patrimonial regimes. As a didactic pedagogical tradition as well as a tradition that purports propriety, humility, and urbaneness, adab countered the negative systemic effects of nepotism by demanding strict sets of standards from office holders -from the rulers down to mere civil servants, it strove for professionalism. At the same time, adab set the ground rules for gentlemanly conduct in an otherwise ferociously cutthroat environment of patrimonial politics.

Second, the chapter argues that adab was a specifically patrimonial tradition. Adab originated within the domains that characterize the patrimonial rule: it extended outwards from the patriarchal court to the realm of the experts and professionals, where features other than loyalty and obedience, connections other than those of family ties, kinship, and clientelism were required. A certain degree of meritocracy had to be sustained within the elite vocational groups otherwise the integrity of the entire profession would be in danger. In many ways adab provided relief especially for the systemic problems typically encountered in patrimonial regimes.

The chapter presents three central features of the adab tradition: its courtly origins, later its venture into the professional circles as vocational ethics and didactics, and lastly, its historical development from *urbanitas* to *humanitas*, that is, from a narrower 'polite culture' to a sort of humane cosmopolitanism of the cultivated classes. The emphasis is on the moral and pedagogical character that it never lost. Adab, the chapter argues, was a part of the Muslim patrimonial state and its moral setting. It connected the office and the person in numerous ways. As technical compendiums adab literature targeted certain professional groups such as scribes, copyists, judges, teachers, and doctors among others. It provided them with an extremely diverse array of books: encyclopedic compilations, compendiums that brought together technical and practical knowledge, 'how-to' guides, dictionaries, etc. To the novices of many professions who could not afford the high cost needed for private tutors and institutions for specialist education, thus confined to self-teaching, these books not only provided a means to acquire the knowledge required to practice the craft, at the same time, the didactic material was imbued with a specific code of conduct, a certain behavioral and normative set of standards were expected from the trainees. **Adab, in short, connected the public office with the private lives of its occupants.**

Historical Background

After the capture of Baghdad, the flourishing Abbasid state started attracting specialists of all sorts from the larger region (Rosenthal 1970, Hodgson 2009). The Barmakid court became a center of patronage for the Ulema, poets, and scholars alike and the family was renowned for their tolerant attitude toward various religious and philosophical issues. Consequently, they provided patronage especially for those literary figures that composed works of *adab*, treatises on the art and knowledge of scribes, and in the case of Yahyā ibn Khālid (d. 806), books with pedagogical intent for while he was the vizier of al-Mahdi he also served as a tutor for his son, the future 'great' caliph Hārūn al-Rashid (ruled 786–809). With

their influence adab started becoming popular amongst the court and the state elite. Especially with one particular set of experts the ancient Perso-Iranian adab tradition made its way effectively into the expanding Islamic state and its civilizational complexion. As émigré scribes, bureaucrats, and administrators poured into the city, as they found employment and audience through elite patronage they also endorsed a high cultural place for the adab tradition as a necessary aspect of all the (state, social, cultural, religious) elite's identity.

In the pre-Islamic period **adab meant** 'knowledge of the traditions of the Ancients' and as a body of knowledge it contained mostly verbal prescriptions of how to comply with them behaviorally. The term originally conveyed the sense of 'the right way.' It indicated to the sets of accepted 'proper and correct ways' of conducting oneself in terms of one's manners, habits, and behavior. The normative-ethical element had been strong from the beginning. After the founding of Islam, however, the concept of *sunnah* (habitual practice) came to indicate 'the right path' and adab referred mainly to a 'secular' aspect of the Muslim cultural domain. Although the lines of demarcation between the two terms were never complete and total, *sunnah* came to refer mainly to Islamic practices whereas adab retained its secular context and continued to draw upon a much diverse heritage: rules of behavior going back to 'virtuous and able ancestors' –whether Arabs, Persians, Indians, or Greeks (Starkey 2006: 8-10). As sets of rules inherited from the ancestors and separated from all Islamic teaching *adab* indicated the sum of educational elements needed by a man who wanted to behave appropriately in all circumstances of life (Meri 2005). Adab was central to any kind of *decent* moral life, which the Islamic authorities also confirmed and powerfully asserted. A well-known aphorism frequently occurs in the Ḥadīth: *kāda'l-adab an yakūn thulthayi'l-dīn* ("adab equals two thirds of religion").

Adab was a *pedagogical tradition* that originated within the court circles. After its expansion outside the court and starting with the inclusion of an emerging class of civil servants later followed by all the prominent vocational

elite, it became *a social-cultural capital* shared by the upper strata. A palace educated courtier, a scribal civil servant from the state bureaus, a finance officer, and a member of the state's juridical-educational institution all had access to adab. More importantly, they had to practice it and they had to be seen by others – both by their peers and by those down below, practicing it. As a boundary setter it not only enabled a certain group but also restricted and modified their behavior while subjecting them to in-group and social level policing.

To adorn oneself with adab was believed to be an inherent good, that is, a virtue –both for the individual and for the status group he belonged to (Loewen 2003). The defamation of an individual member affected the status group that esteemed social honor greatly. When, for instance, a clearly 'undeserving' person who lacked the expertise and the decorum required by the status group happened to acquire an office through personal connections the community could react. Some of the members could even choose to reflect the group's protests by composing literature, such as the political-ethical treatises known as the 'the mirrors for princes' literature. The mirror (speculum) literature was a genre within the larger adab literary field. Adab therefore was not only a traditional element attached to certain elite social positions by following custom, it was also a channel for in-group policing that checked both the standards of the communal-institutional practices associated with the status and the standards of the individual that would occupy one of the offices.

Adab was first and foremost a *literary* tradition. It was founded on literary expression, which in turn propagated what passed as 'proper' among the elite circles. Reliance on literary composition meant that adab as it came to indicate vocational-professional competence and etiquette it served only the literate circles. Thus, adab became also *a boundary creating social mechanism* that only a narrow group had access. It delineated certain spheres of life into value hierarchies.

The Muslim men of letters had a vested interest in the production of adab books for the literary market. Normative and behavioral traits such as the elegance of speech and refined manners the authors of adab works themselves were careful to practice and more importantly to *display* (Al-Musawi 2007). To an extent, *adab* was **a patrimonial strategy.** The courtly aristocratic elite and the administrative elite met on the same cultural grounds through adab. It was a traditional element they all recognized as valuable, outwardly displayed through enactments thus affirming it as a group. The aim was to pass in the eyes of one's superiors and colleagues as a self-cultivated person –intellectually and morally. Someone who puts in the extra hours for self-improvement, for instance, polishing one's Persian by reading and composing high Persian poetry, will have more chances of getting the position he has his eyes on.

In this regard *adab* was a central element of the **High Islamic habitus** – the behavior and norms of the people that live on the 'cultivated' side of the social and cultural intersection between the courtly culture and the *volkskultur*.

Among the topics that attracted the interest of the learned audience at the Caliphal court, stands out the encyclopedic literature best exemplified by *the mirrors for princes*.[28] Sa'lim Abu'l-'Ala, secretary to the Caliph, patronized the translation of a collection of pseudo-Aristotelian letters on government that forms the core of the famous *Kitāb Sirr al-asrār* (The Secret of Secrets), or as it came to be known in the West, *Secretum secretorum* (Gutas 2006). Allegedly a letter from Aristotle to Alexander the Great, this adab work became foundational for all medieval literature of counsel. A truly encyclopedic compendium the book combined medical material (a chapter on 'the nature of certain herbs and stones') with advice on leadership and rule.

---

[28] Cosmology and ethics, two of the topics touched upon in *the mirrors for princes* seem to have attracted the interest of the Umayyad court: the earliest Arabic translation of two pseudo-Aristotelian writings on these matters, *De mundo* (On the Universe) and De virtutibus et vitiis (On Virtues and Vices) can be traced back to this period.

The earliest Islamic adab works can be collectively considered as under ancient Iranian influence (Pellat 1982: 439-444). These works mainly discussed ethical rules, the art of government, public administration, protocol, etiquette, and practical living. For instance, a sub-genre of adab was a kind of "criticism of the society's great." Similar to the European advice literature the emphasis was not solely on the affairs of the polity but the equivalent ethical and behavioral necessities the government of that polity required. Adab literature in this regard acted as an ethical-political critique, thus it opened up a way for the intellectuals and the men of letters of any rank of that society to vocalize and made it known:

- Their concerns with the current affairs and more often than not present also one's suggestions of possible cures and reforms, so to speak, for the contemporary ills.

- Their concerns with the ethical behavior of the social elite, *al-Khāṣṣa*.[29] Ethics were a prime concern in government. The country's happiness and prosperity depended on their moral conduct –such was the philosophy (Rooke 2000).

Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 757) for example composed a work called *Kitab Adab al-Kabir* (The Comprehensive Book of Rules of Conduct), which is a guide to proper conduct intended for princes, ministers and high officials, a guide for how to deal correctly with colleagues and associates. Al-Jāḥiẓ (776-868), the Arab adab writer *par excellence*, wrote to a vizier, who had been angered by a poem and thereafter forbidden people to mention him in their verse, telling him that he made a serious mistake. Instead of becoming angry he should regard critical writings as an opportunity to improve his personality (*islah al-nafs*). People had a right to say what they wanted (Latham 1990: 57-64).

Although the repertoire of works that can be classified as belonging to the adab tradition is significantly large and diverse, three major categories are

---

[29] In the seventeenth century the Ottomans used this Arabic word to denote "a person close to the ruler" and "something personal to the ruler". In the Great Seljuk state it was used in regard to the Sultan's personal estates. See for instance, Nizam al-Mulk, Siyāsat-nāmah,

discernible. The first category, parenetic adab, consisted of ethical writings. The second, cultural adab, included works compiled for the benefit of the upper classes and contained prose or poetry fragments, witticisms, and anecdotes, all suitable for circulation among 'refined people.' The third category, vocational and occupational adab, consisted of handbooks such as encyclopedic compendiums, technical dictionaries, and didactic 'how-to' guides intended for members of the ruling, intellectual, and professional classes. Therefore the concept of adab must be considered on three distinct but not clearly bounded levels—moral, social, and intellectual.

Being a person of 'cultivation' implied displaying consummate erudition and exemplary moral character. Similar to Tocqueville's observation about the practice of religion among the American people, in the Arabic courtly elite too religiosity implied trust-worthiness. Yet the display of religiosity ought to be humble and in the proper way acceptable among the elite; it needed having etiquette, or adab. The tradition, in short, included behavioral codes as much as it did literary ones, yet all possessed an aspect related to "communication" in varying degrees that are all secular.

Adab was a tradition of *secular humanism* that represented a *civic* philosophical, scientific, and ethical outlook. Its key element was worldly *communication* rather than religious. Literary communication, among other forms, played a central and a dual role: speaking and writing were not only products of social intercourse they were also the means of recording norms of behavior for future generations. What the adab propagated however was not any type of communication. It was the eloquent and embellished person who possessed (knew and practiced) certain traits available only to a small group of elite –and in turn, recognized by them as 'proper' traits. The elite was very sensitive about the correct and polite use of language for instance, which also was its hallmark: a boundary separating the commoner from the *zarif* (lit. the

elegant).[30] *Adab* education started with the recognition of this fact: language improperly used is no language at all (Holmberg 2006). Mastery over language had to be achieved.[31]

As one of the most renowned contributors to adab Al-Jāḥiẓ (776-868) summarizes, "Discourse, just like people, can be subcategorized. It may be serious or trivial, elegant and fine, or else crude and nasty, either amusing or the opposite. As far as I am concerned, no speech on earth is as enjoyable and useful, as elegant and sweet to the ear, as closely linked to sound intellect, as liberating for the tongue, and as beneficial for the improvement of diction as a lengthy process of listening to the way that eloquent, learned, and intelligent Bedouin talk."[32]

Although adab and its relation with language, history, societal norms, rules of conduct, and secular ethics are clearly designated; its function in keeping with the tradition in word and deed, in teaching etiquette and polite conduct are all accepted as common denominators, scholars nonetheless had difficulties in classifying the notion. Gustave von Grunebaum (1946: 255) refers to adab as a literary form, an approach or style in writing. A. Bonebakker (1990) suggests a more restricted definition: adab is the "literary scholarship of a cultivated man presented in a systematic form." Hilary Kilpatrick (1982, 1998) on the other hand argues that adab was primarily a *genre* of literature and the works of adab constituted a category of mainly artistic composition characterized by similarities in form, style, or subject matter.

Adab however cannot be taken only in its literary capacity. **The two aspects of adab, the literary and the ethical, were not separate but complementary.** According to Marshall Hodgson adab was "education as

---

[30] From this perspective adab tradition's emphasis on acquired language as elite distinction is similar to Basil Bernstein's (1964) 'elaborated code' (vs. restricted code).
[31] *'ilm al 'adab* signifies the science (of philology) by which one guards against error in the language of the Arabs, with respect to words and with respect to writing.
[32] Kitab al-Bayan wa al-Tabyin (The Book of eloquence and demonstration), excerpt taken from (van Gelder 1981: 81).

conservation," the goal of which was both to transmit the cultural heritage of the past and to guide the educated man in the ideals of the good life, both worldly and spiritual (Hodgson 2009). This 'heritage' could be cultural, moralistic, professional, or technical in its contents; the adab literature contains encyclopedias and compendiums as much as collections of poems, excerpts from books, saloon conversation diaries. The sheer quantity of the so-called 'adab sub-genres' and the diversity between them suggests that adab was a tradition that at one point in time transitioned from oral to literary transmission (Yamamoto 2003: 55). After its extension into literature and its spread amongst the literate elite, the literary form became one of its primary features, which acted as a powerful gatekeeping mechanism, considering especially that the commoners were almost exclusively illiterate up until the modern period. Adab, in this regard, was a channel, a carrier of values, ethical and normative standards, sets of behavior and protocol –and its literary character assured the courtly as well as the professional (expert) elite's monopoly over it. Describing adab as 'genre' therefore does not fully correspond to the reality of adab. Adab was an approach to life and more importantly to living. It was a significant part of a medieval Muslim elite's identity that provided him with tools and techniques for self-formation and self-evaluation (Eickelman and Salvatore 2002).

As Charles Pellat stressed the functional purpose of adab was *a repertoire of moral, social and intellectual curriculum* that kept updating as the nature of the Islamic state and its administrative and cultural elite transformed in reaction to the social and political changes (Pellat 1964). As the Islamic society expanded and came into contact with –later absorbed, different cultures and ethnic groups with diverse beliefs and practices, it expanded also culturally. From a desert dwelling tribal social unit, the Islamic culture evolved into a civilizational entity. It developed a certain kind of toleration, which resulted from the elasticity and flexibility required in the government of imperial enterprises. Adab tradition

provided the Islamic civilization with an instrument of historical adaptation. Adab, in this regard, was a key component of the Islamic 'civilizing process.'

An Elite *Pedagogical* Ethos

Although there have been various attempts to translate the term adab to English, the one that approximates the historical notion came from Tarif Khalidi, who used the ancient Greek term, *paideia*. A powerful pedagogical and disciplinary principle was established as part of the adab literature, which pertained essentially upon *behavior* within a given social group that it both reflected and defined. Even though today it only indicates "literature," it used to refer to a set of *techniques* and *practices* that were used for self-transformation –a cultural ethical formation of one's self according to a set of standards. These technical and normative standards were expected from and imposed powerfully especially on the elite.

Adab literature was the chief vehicle of *paideia* in the Muslim world. Around the 9th century, educational thought in Islam started to find its literary expression in Arabic texts devoted to teaching and learning. At this time, educational writing appears to have developed a distinct genre of its own, i.e. the *adab al-'alim wa-l-muta'allim* (rules of conduct for teachers and students") literature (Günther 2005). These texts explain and analyze teaching methods, the ways in which learning takes place, or should take place, the aims of education, as well as the means by which such goals may be achieved. This includes the manner in which teachers and students act and behave, their (moral) characteristics, their relationship with one another in the process of education, the contents of learning, and the means and methods of imparting and absorbing knowledge. Thus, in the activity and display of learning 'knowledge' and 'proper behavior and etiquette' were fused together: "Knowledge without adab is like, fire without firewood. Adab without knowledge is like a spirit without a body" (Rosenthal 1970: 89).

Ira Lapidus summarizes the function of personal discipline in the practice of adab in the following manner: "all behavior has to be channeled into revealed and correct forms that eliminate idiosyncratic irrational expressions of feeling." The ideal result is "an alert, conscious, voluntary, anti-instinctual control of emotion and impulse and the disciplining of natural drives into a patterned way of life" (Lapidus 1984:57). Through such discipline, it was believed that the devotee could reach a state of inner being that approaches the ultimate.

Characteristic of adab works is the tendency to change tone so as not to bore the reader. Funny stories and other entertaining material were introduced with this justification, or an author sometimes used it to explain his embarking on a new subject. The famous motto to remind the adab compilers of pedagogical work was "to educate without tears" (Pellat 1982).

The literary and behavioral movement was at first initiated by the translation of classical Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic in the 8th and 9th centuries (Kraemer 1984, 1992). As S. Günther (2005) says, the creative adoption of the Hellenistic heritage also left its mark on the Islamic theory of education. This is particularly noticeable in the writings of Muslim authors who deal, from a philosophical-ethical point of view, with the developmental stages in the formation of human character and personality, the early education of the child, and with higher learning (Rosenthal and ʻAlmawī, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Mūsá 1947).

One of the historically most prominent pedagogical strains in the Islamic adab tradition had Sasanian roots, or more precisely, the Sasanian court. The Sasanian categories of adab became fundamental in how the Muslim courtly and state elite conducted themselves. Under the Sasanian setting adab referred to *the things that a well-bred young man ought to know after completing a full education*. In this regard the Islamic adab was similar to the ancient Greek pedagogical narrative. Xenophon's famous work *Cyropaedia* (The Education of Cyrus) became a model for medieval writers of the genre known as *mirrors for*

princes not only in Europe but also for the Muslim men of letters and intellectuals.

A Vocational Tradition

In the 8th and 9th centuries the Muslim elite consisted of a diverse yet limited and narrow set of status groups: alongside the ruling elite there were the courtiers, the Palace elite, the functionaries of the Islamic court, bureaucrats and chancery officials. Adab understood as *belles-lettres* conveys the close connection between the act of writing and the manners and norms of this community. With the elaboration of court life at the Caliphate the *adīb* (the litterateur, the practitioner of adab) joined forces with the *nadīm* (boon companion) and the *ẓarīf* (arbiter of elite taste and fashion) in providing advice, wisdom, and entertainment for the ruler. In the particular case of adab, the initial priorities involved the preparation of codes of conduct and didactic-technical education for the increasingly large secretariat. The scribal elite was growing in conjunction with the administrative needs of the ever-expanding Islamic dominions. The historical development of the Islamic adab tradition is closely linked to the bureaucratic class and its quest for professional identity –hence its focus on the *belles-lettres*. In the case of Arabic literature, that process finds its beginnings in the Umayyad court during the 8th century. The scribes (*kuttāb*) employed in the administration of the Islamic caliphate, especially non-Arab secretaries, became the true founders of the Arabic prose, since they had at their disposal a time-honored Middle Persian (Pahlavi) tradition.[33] Referring to the person who knows and practices the norms and rules of the past, the adīb came to mean the "educated" man.

For the increasingly important class of bureaucrats as well as the literary elite whose patronage this class ultimately relied on Ibn Qutayba (829-889) organized several compilations of excerpts from works that were already in

---

[33] In the literature two historical figures are identified as the founders of Islamic *adab:* Rūzbeh b. Dādūya, better known as Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (724-756), and ʿAbd-al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib (q.v., d. 132/750), who is considered as the pioneer of Arabic epistolography.

circulation alongside a few treatises he authored. The range of works cross-cutting genres demonstrate also the extent to which adab was relevant –and involved with: *Kitāb adab al-kātib* ("Secretary's Guide"), a compendium of Arabic usage and vocabulary; *Kitāb al-ʿArab* ("Book of the Arabs"), a defense of Arab rather than Iranian cultural preeminence; *Kitāb al-maʿārif* ("Book of Knowledge"), a handbook of history; *Kitāb al-shiʿr wa al-shuʿarāʾ* ("Book of Poetry and Poets"), a chronological anthology of early Arabic poetry, with an introduction that presented Ibn Qutayba's canons of literary criticism; and *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-akhbar* ("Book of Choice Narratives"), a collection of adab studies dealing with the authority of the sovereign, the conduct of war, nobility, character, eloquence, and friendship, valued for its wealth of examples from history, poetry, and proverbs.

Some, like *Adab al-Katib* (The Secretarial Culture), were specialized treatises for the rising class of secretaries, while others, like the *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (Book of Choice Narratives), were intended to instruct and advise the general literary elite. He followed the early example of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in preparing manuals on scribal practice and etiquette. In the introduction to ʿUyūn he says that he "undertook to compose a book on knowledge and the strengthening of tongue and hand for secretaries," upon seeing that the Abbasid administrators and scribes were deficient in *ta'addub* (the practice of adab). His book is not simply a *how-to* guide for the scribes. In the adab works written for the scribal class –and later, for other vocational groups, there was a regularly exhibited moralistic component (Van Gelder 1992). Ibn Qutayba says that his work also provides "guidance to high morals, restraint from lowliness, prescription of evil, and incitement to proper conduct" (Ibn Qutayba 1996).

His book was intended to make available to its readers information and anecdote on a wide variety of topics (eloquence, for example, as well as friendship, and asceticism). This large anthology is one of the earliest examples of compilations of the curious yet engaging variety of materials that was

characteristic of the literary salons (*majālis*) gracing the life of the court. It is an apt reflection of the enormous demand for enlightening and entertaining information that was a feature of the lifestyle of the educated elite within the urban communities of the Muslim world.

Typical of adab works the books were full of historical and fictional anecdotes, wisdom sayings, lines from literature or the Qur'an whose function were –among other things, such as not to bore the student to death while educating, to make the chapter's or the section's message, its gist memorable and conveyable more easily.[34] Historically important figures (mostly from Islamic history, but there are many exceptions to this) were used to relay the message behind the act, that is, in the explanation of why one needed to possess adab for that particular action, profession, or conduct.

Written for the refinement of the scribal class included diverse categories of books that involved technical and didactic works (dictionaries, compendiums in the encyclopedia style), pedagogical and cultural works (how to be a *proper* office holder, how to conduct oneself in official duty, etc.,) and books on proper behavioral and ethical conduct for the office holder. The goals of the need for technical adab books was explained well in an anecdote given by Ibn Qutayba in his classical work entitled *Adab-al Katib* (The Protocol for the Secretaries): a young and inexperienced katib was given the office of the port registrar with the duty of registering the imported items daily entering into the city's markets [so that upon inspection how much tax will be demanded from each merchant could be calculated.] After a few well-known daily items like fruits and vegetables, a merchant reported for entry. He travelled with twenty-five white goats and wanted

---

[34] In this regard the adab style or approach to writing is *gnomic*: The term gnome designates a brief piece of discourse through which truth may appear with all its force and encrusts itself in the soul of the people, knowledge. In the earliest form of Greek philosophy, poets and divine men told the truth to the common folk through this kind of gnome. Gnomai were very short, very imperative, and so deeply illuminated by the poetical light that it was impossible to forget them and to avoid their power. Thus aside from a piece of discourse gnome also designates the unity of will and knowledge.

to sell them at the city's main market for animals. The scribe made the calculation per animal and charged the merchant with five *dirham* per goat. His ineptitude cost the state hundreds of silver coins for the goats that the merchant brought to the port were not regular goats, usually sold for their meat or milk. They were to be considered under the category of luxury items for the rarity and beauty of their fur. If he knew the technical nomenclature properly, that is, if he was aware of the difference between them and knew how to spell the different species of the animals commonly traded in the port, he wouldn't have cost the state a small fortune (Bonebakker 1960).

It was a well-known aphorism that a scribe can make you rich or cost you your entire wealth with a single touch of his quill or with the absence of it (in Arabic numerals, zero is a single dot). The importance given to their education and upbringing, therefore, is understandable. Yet, it is only by looking at the contents of the monumental volumes written for the 'proper' education of a katib (scribe) that one can understand the extent of it. In Ibn Qutayba's book, there are thousands of meticulously organized entries that for another profession would be nothing more than mere nuances –the proper spelling of a type of valuable cloth produced in a certain region, all the different ranks at a certain court and ways to address them properly, and so on. A properly educated scribe could find a job anywhere. He could start by simple registry duties and rise up to be the privy secretary to the sultan.

Before the scribal class had developed into an army of expert civil servants, their numbers were fewer and their job description involved basic log keeping as shown above. Later, their tasks became more complex such as penning diplomatic exchanges between sovereigns (a task that required impeccable penmanship and eloquence), complex annual tax calculations (a task that required financial knowledge) (Bonebakker 1990). For this special class, technical and didactic adab was a fundamental requirement for career advancement. For the Ottomans because of the complexity of official penmanship styles, the opinion

was generally held in official circles that a young man with literary ability did not need additional training to be given an important administrative or military position, while a junior clerk with no special literary skills could not look forward to a particularly bright future (Mardin 1961).

The scribal class was not the only vocational status group that enjoyed the means provided by the adab tradition. As the guardians and pedagogues of the Islamic law and culture the 'ulema regularly practiced adab in several forms. For instance there were books like *kitab adab'u-l usul* (how to debate properly). Debates on contentious issues in Islam had an important place in the higher madrasa curricula. The students as well as the professors had to know not only the classical positions in these contentious issues they also had to know the gentlemanly rules of conducting the debates so that without creating a brawl, or in any case an attritions environment where intellectual positions turn into personal fights and grudges, the intended aim of the debate could be achieved: facilitate intellectual discussion without creating enmities between the participants. The students aspiring to become Ulema was warned about such practices and told to avoid e.g., *ad hominem* argumentation. Books on proper discussion and debate were only a small portion in all the adab books and manuscripts written for the vocational needs of the Ulema hierarchy. There were books on 'how to give a proper sermon' (kitab adab'u-l vaiz), on 'how to respond properly to judicial issues' (kitab adab'u-l kadi), and so on.

Although there were innumerous books concerning legal and judicial procedure, all entitled 'Adab al-Qāḍī', two works in particular gained tremendous popularity: those of al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 874) and al-Qudūrī (d. 1037). Centuries after their composition, both works remained at the center of scholarly and intellectual attention, used either in full or in parts in madrasa curricula, and received renewed attention in the form of reinterpretation, that is, the Islamic 'commentary' (*sharḥ*). Vocational, or professional adab kept extending into other domains of expertise. For instance, there were adab books for teachers and doctors. Even though there

66

were books and treatises that included parts on the author's thoughts on proper pedagogy and instruction in general, especially after the activity of teaching extended outside the madrasa, e.g., private tutors, field specific education, works of adab focusing solely on educational pedagogy took the scene. A good example of the developing *ādāb al-'ālim wa-l-muta'allim* literature was Ibn Saḥnūn's (817-870) *Adab al-mu'allimin* (Rules of Conduct for Teachers). Like other manuals of this type—compiled for secretaries, clerks, copyists, physicians, or judges—Ibn Saḥnūn's work addresses a specific community of people: the teachers at elementary schools, whom he provides with professional and juridical advice. First, elements of ancient Arab and Persian culture and, very importantly, the Greco-Hellenistic heritage were creatively adapted and incorporated into Islamic educational theory. His adab book shows the integration of ancient medical principles into the moral framework of a vibrant Islamic culture.

The book is quite extensive in terms of its contents: explains and analyzes teaching methods, the ways in which learning takes place, or should take place, the aims of education, as well as the means by which such goals may be achieved. This includes the manner in which teachers and students act and behave, their (moral) characteristics, their relationship with one another in the process of education, the contents of learning, and the means and methods of imparting and absorbing knowledge. In short, this particular type of text can aptly be called pedagogical.

Ibn Saḥnūn's targeted audience is the elementary-school teachers and he provides them with a number of specific instructions and rules that range from aspects of the curriculum and examinations to practical legal advice in such matters as the appointment and payment of the teacher, the organization of teaching and the teacher's work with the pupils at school, the supervision of pupils at school and the teacher's responsibilities when the pupils are on their way home, the just treatment of pupils (including, e.g., how to handle trouble between

pupils), classroom and teaching equipment, and the pupils' graduation (Günther 2005).

In the book, instruction is expressly conceived of as an interactive process that involves both the teacher and the student. Saḥnūn says when it comes to managing a classroom, there are multiple relationships that the teacher should carefully consider: between the instructor and the student, and between the students themselves. Although there are opponents to this view, fair competition between the pupils is expressly favored, as the author tells us, since it contributes to the formation of the pupils' character and to their general intellectual development (Günther 2006).

In contrast to Ibn Saḥnūn's work Al-Jahiz's (ca. 776-868) *Kitab al-Mu'allimin* (The Book of Teachers) deals more with the theoretical and philosophical aspect of teaching and learning, whereas the contents of the latter's book is more practical. For instance, al-Jahiz presents the arguments of the two sides of the debate on the contentious issue of whether deductive reasoning or memorization is the better technique of learning. He says, although the nature of both techniques is different and thus they should be employed selectively depending on the intended aim of education, proper instruction requires both, first, to free the student's mind and second to make him desire learning as an end in itself, that is, for the curricular activity to instill virtue, both techniques are necessary and since by nature deductive reasoning and memorization are different techniques it is futile to argue which is best, the obvious answer for him that both should be utilized –as a typical *adīb*, the practitioner of adab, al-Jahiz displays a stern rejection of any type of argumentation that ends up with an either/or question.[35] Adab, always pragmatic and clear-headed, was the tradition of 'the middle-way.'

---

[35] "The nature of memorization is other than that of deductive reasoning. [However,] what both [memorization and deductive reasoning] are concerned with and support is something agreed upon: it is to free the mind and to [make the student] desire only one thing [that is, learning]. By

Adab as Professionalism

Medical adab literature represents a synthesis of Islamic morals and standards infused into older healing traditions, the most significant being Greek and Persian. One of the adab classics written for the doctors was the *Adab al-Tabīb* (Practical Ethics of the Physician) by Ishaq ibn Ali al-Ruhāwī –a ninth-century physician residing under the Islamic caliphate in modern-day Iraq (Levey 1989). Al-Ruhāwī was a Christian and he never converted to Islam but his writings do show the influence of the Islamic environment he was in. His intellectual tolerance and reference to Abrahamic tradition are illustrative of classical Islamic ethical discourse (Padela 2007). For him medicine was a Divine Art and he considered belief in the Abrahamic tradition to be a necessary virtue. Interestingly, however, he quotes Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo*, Galen's *On Ethics*, and multiple works of Hippocrates to support this ideal, which he expressed as 'to elevate the practice of medicine in order to aid the ill and to enlist the aid of God in His support vocationally and otherwise' (Levey 1967). Al-Ruhāwī's work attests to the ability of Islamic thinkers to incorporate seemingly disparate traditions and philosophies into an Islamic discourse. They should demonstrate what their acquisition has attained; in fact, they must exert themselves to publish it in order to strengthen the souls of people about the truths.

Equally importantly, however, al-Ruhāwī explains why a certain ethical and practical standard, a vocational etiquette needed to be established. He says as the demand for the medical profession increased (following the increase of wealth and prosperity within the Islamic realm) and considering that it remains a lucrative business, a significant amount of charlatans and frauds started roaming the country passing themselves as doctors. These people, al-Ruhāwī says, are dangerous for: their ignorance hurt the people, that is, their patients, and more

means of these two (i.e., freeing the mind and desiring only to learn), perfection comes to be and virtue appears." (Quoted in Günther 2006: 372).

often than not their inadequacy goes unnoticed for especially in the rural areas there is hardly any expertise and authority that can identify the phony doctor's malfeasance and held him accountable for it. What this state of affairs leads to, al-Ruhāwī adds is dangerous for the entire profession. The people, unable to differentiate the real doctors from the pretenders, lose faith and no longer trust the professionals. Adab, in this regard, is not only necessary as a set of standards to differentiate the expert from the fraudulent; it is also vital for the vocation to sustain a critical degree of constancy.

Encyclopedism

Eclectic compilations with diverse intent were at the heart of adab – especially encyclopedias and compendiums. These can roughly be grouped into two classes: those designed for people who wished to be well informed and to make full use of their cultural heritage, and those for the rapidly growing number of official administrators.

The first true encyclopedia was the work of Ibn Qutaybah (828–889), a teacher and philologist, who dealt with his topics by quoting traditional aphorisms, historical examples, and old Arabic poems. The arrangement and contents of his *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* ("The Book of Choice Narratives") set the pattern for many later encyclopedias. In ten volumes, Ibn Qutaybah brought together a veritable literary treasure and collected literature under ten individual headings: power, war, nobility, character, learning and eloquence, asceticism, friendship, prayers, food, women (Cooperson and Toorawa 2005). The chapter themes follow a hierarchical order. From power and war to food and women, Qutaybah organizes his compendium in several ways: the voluminous collection starts heavy, with what really matters. As it progresses, the mood of the book also becomes lighter –the final two chapters contain entertaining stories and humorous anecdotes about food and women.

It is not that the last chapters are not important for a quality life. In fact, Ibn Qutaybah almost indicates that the purpose of mastering the first issues

(power, war, etc.) is to achieve the best quality in the last, e.g., friendship, food, and women. Also, while it is possible to touch upon the latter with a lighter pen and a humorous tone, the former requires a serious attitude. Finally, since the aim in most adab compendiums such as this one is to "educate without tears", the compiler allows the reader to relax towards the end and finishes with a light yet memorable aftertaste.

Another famous Muslim encyclopedist Al-Nuwayrī (1279-1333) was an Egyptian historian and civil servant of the Bahriyya Mamlūks. His encyclopedic compendium entitled *Nihayat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (*The Ultimate Aim of the Intelligent in the Arts of Erudition*) was a literary behemoth of over 9,000 pages (Muhanna 2016). It contains entries from medieval moon-worshipping cults, sexual aphrodisiacs, and the substance of clouds, to how to get the smell of alcohol off one's breath, the deliciousness of cheese made from buffalo milk, the nesting habits of flamingos, and a whole range of Bedouin words for the night sky, *Nihayat* is a typical work of adab; lively, meticulously arranged and delightfully eclectic (Armstrong 2006).

Centuries of diverse scholarly activity and textual exchange buttressed the encyclopedia. Al-Nuwayrī quotes earlier thinkers extensively, including figures who may be familiar to Western readers, like Aristotle, Avicenna and the ancient Greek physician Dioscorides. In a self-effacing note in the preface, he insists the compendium is the achievement of other writers. His own words "merely interpret the book's contents and frame them like eyebrows over the eyes" (Muhanna 2016: 2).

Typically an adab book, *Nihayat* moves between learned tradition, jaw-dropping anecdote, and elegant poetry. It is filled with pages of wry proverbs, and euphemisms, and excerpts from arresting poetry all smoothed over by easy lyricism –aside from quotations, poems and parables, Nuwayrī's compendium is a celebration of knowledge for its own sake (NPR.org).

The Nihayat has a casually global worldview. The most renowned fruit in Basra? Oranges. For the best decorative glass one should visit China. Red squirrels make their home in Russia. The author talks about the endless rain in England and the skillfulness of artists in China. How to attract your dream woman by burying a crow's head? It is not that the author believed such practices could actually work; rather he included such material because they attest to the marvelous variety in human experience. To show his readers that there is a place in the world that we all share where certain people can rationalize such a bizarre practice and somehow make a connection in their minds between a dead crow's head and the person they would like to be with. An important yet frequently understated aspect of the Islamic adab was its fascination with the human condition in all the peculiar forms it takes. It is for this reason that it was similar to the humanitas movement. These Muslim men of letters were not atheists or deists, in any case, 'secular' authors whose faith was at most skin deep. They were quite the true believers.

There was a time when the Islamic civilization could produce a kind of *cīvīlitās*, a culture of civility, a cosmopolitan receptive *ethos* and an understanding of both life and religion such that the universalism of the human experience and the diverseness of other cultures did not pose an existential threat for one's belief, but in fact reaffirmed it. Al-Nuwayrī's unique accomplishment in the encyclopedic tradition is not to suggest that wonder is to be found in the many oddities, rarities, and exceptions of the given world, but to show how, beneath these features, there is a deeper and more marvelous order.

Adab and the Islamic *Civilizing Process*

In the last decades an increasing number of scholars underscored the similarities between the Islamic adab tradition and the European *humanitas* tradition of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and later the Renaissance humanities movement that started in the fifteenth century (Makdisi 1990). A heightened interest on linguistic sciences such as oratory, rhetoric, and grammar that

accompanied a general enlargement of the literary scope in the thematic interests of the men of letters seems to be common to both movements. More importantly however was the deep interest in the *human condition* from a 'secular' point of view. When, for instance, al-Jahiz composed an entire book on the strategies of frugality practiced by certain people in the Arab society, *Kitab al-Bukhala* (The Book of Misers) neither his approach nor his aim were guided in any way by Islamic theology. The behavioral and moral practice of not sharing one's possessions with others was not condemned even though Islam strongly encourages benevolence especially on the part of the rich and the powerful. To the contrary, rather than employing a language of condemnation, al-Jahiz presents his quasi-fictional characters, the misers, and their strategies of frugality in a neutral, objective way –almost in an anthropological fashion. Frugality is not a societal stigma, but a character trait, only one of the ways of *being a human* among many others. His book is playful and rich, entertaining as well as didactic but never condemning, thus, in a way, a humanist work that understands virtue in an altogether different perspective than those of religious ethics.

Adab also played a significant role in the structural transformation of the Islamic public sphere (Salvatore 2011). Similar to the historical process of cultural and structural gentrification of the European society analyzed by Elias (1969), one can trace a similar process within the civilization history of the Islamic states and empires especially within the cultural domains created by the adab tradition and its popularity among the courtly and vocational elite.

A vibrant humanistic, literary tradition emerged in the ʿAbbasid period under the rubric of adab. This humanistic tradition owes its impetus to the translation activities of the eighth and ninth centuries -much encouraged by the ʿAbbasīd Caliphs, which made the literary heritage of the ancient civilization of Greece, Persia, India, and the ancient Near East, accessible to an Arab audience. Caliph Al-Ma'mun is said to have sent emissaries as far as Constantinople, to the Byzantine Emperor Leo the Armenian himself, in search of Greek manuscripts. In

response to his request, the Byzantine emperor sent him a number of books, including those of Euclid (Hitti 2002). In three-quarters of a century after the establishment of Baghdad the Arabic- reading world was in possession of the chief philosophical works of Aristotle, the leading neo-Platonic commentators, and most of the medical writings of Galen, as well as of Persian and Indian scientific works all collected in the great Baghdad library *Bayt al-Ḥikmah* ("The House of Wisdom").[36]

Despite heavy Persian influence, the primacy of the Islamic culture in adab was retained. Many scholars had begun to collect what may be called *Arab humanities* and to classify the materials, so that the common denominator of the adab literature of that time became summarized in the motto: "to take from everything a piece" in order to educate without tiring and to instruct while entertaining (Khalidi 1994: 108). Ibn Qutayba emphasizes the eclectic nature of adab and says, "he who wishes to be a scholar of religion, let him settle on a single field of knowledge; and he who wishes to be an adīb, let him be many-sided" (Khalidi 1994: 100).

The zenith of adab came at the time when, as the borders of the Caliphal state expanded, the Islamic culture became more and more exposed to ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity. After the initial set of conquests the Muslims found themselves in a position of governing a vast multiplicity of people with diverse backgrounds who were neither Arab nor Muslim. The arising need to peacefully rule and administer an increasing number of diverse populations as they came under Arab rule poses more than administrative and organizational difficulties. To *govern* the diverse populations the Arabic governmental elite needed to know more about them, inquire into their cultures and lives in an

---

[36] A very significant development in 751 aided in the proliferation and dissemination of knowledge in the Islamic world. In this year, paper-making technology learned from Chinese prisoners of war was introduced, causing all other writing materials to be supplanted by it in the early decades of the 'Abbasid period. The 'Abbasid elite actively promoted the use of paper and different kinds of paper were developed, often named after some of the key translators of this period.

inclusive way so that the transition of rule will be nonviolent. Adab therefore became a channel in developing a cosmopolitan and urbane attitude tolerant towards diversity.

What is more important however this toleration was not simply a bare acceptance of the other's existence, a kind of toleration that is more a pronouncement of not being able to defeat and eliminate the other, a self declaration of acceptance due to inability to get rid of it. By providing a human face to ethnicities that came under their rule, Muslim men of letters created a literary and cultural milieu that had an influence in the creation of an Islamic type of cosmopolitanism (Al-Musawi 2015). The historical development of a rather *capacious* world-view contributed to the rise of a distinctive Islamic humanism.

George Makdisi argued that the adab tradition was a kind of Islamic *humanities* tradition that was later to be seen in the western European artistic and scholarly movement of the *humanitas* (Makdisi 1990). Starting with the early onset of the Italian renaissance, the European tradition became a school of thought in the whole of European countries. Similarly, the Islamic adab, starting with the 9th century, had been a fundamental part of the Islamic renaissance. Just like its western counterpart thrived under the influence of patrimonial patronage, in the Catholic institutions of education and newly emerging universities, the Islamic adab thrived under a similar patronage system and a patrimonial state culture, and moved from the basic madrasa (higher education) environment to the curricula of the universities (Makdisi 1990: 99-105). At the beginning of the Renaissance the humanistic sciences were spawned by the study of literature (poetry, *belles-lettres*, prosody) and the linguistic sciences (grammar, syntax, philology). Islamic adab contained almost entirely the same content material: oratory was important, the *mirror for princes* genre became prominent, history writing became popular. Equally importantly adab and humanities traditions both had a very visible *secular* core.

A primary motif of interest was the human condition, the aesthetics of language especially in literary forms, a deep knowledge of history that precedes the 'cultural', present-bound self-identifications of the laymen: an *adîb*, that is, the adab practitioner was a cosmopolitan man, a *civil* man who was above the differences regarding ethnic or religious identity.

In what might be termed an early form of humanism, the characteristic that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ valued most highly in an *adīb* (a person who has acquired the qualities of adab) was refinement (*Al-Adab al-kabīr*, 114). The *adīb* should not be a slave to his appetites, should not desire what he cannot obtain, and should not seek excess. His desire should not distort his intellect; rather, his intellect should prevail over all his desires and guide the soul to lead an upright life of ethical propriety. The purpose of the adab tradition was the training of Muslims in the field of ethics, culture, and crafts. Due to its reliance on literary composition, adab served the cultural elite.[37] Adab, in this regard, was also *a boundary creating mechanism* that only a narrow group of elite had access. It delineated certain spheres of life into value hierarchies while effectively giving certain groups more power over others. Adab was especially a status related quality that the masses looked for in the community's *khāṣṣa* (elite) and it was also a cultural commodity that the status elite expected from each other. It was not only a set of practices and ethical self-fashioning to please the overwhelming majority, the ruled; adab also played an important role in the vocational or status groups' internal-policing in terms of the practical and ethical quality that the profession claimed to upheld. Once the public image gets hurt due to the harms caused by inept practitioners, pretenders, those who attained the position because of their personal connections to important people but otherwise unqualified, etc., the entire group of professionals suffer. Adab kept the house in order.

---

[37] For a list of scholars who emphasized the genre's autonomy from the Islamic canon, see Leder and Kilpatrick (1992: 2-26).

Eclectic compilations with diverse intent were at the heart of adab –
especially encyclopedias and compendiums. Al-Nuwayrī (1279-1333), an
Egyptian Muslim historian and civil servant of the Bahriyya Mamlūks, famous for
his timeless encyclopedic compendium entitled *Nihayat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*
(*The Ultimate Aim of the Intelligent in the Arts of Erudition*). Over 9,000 pages,
Nihayat brought together material from cosmology, zoology, and botany to
philosophy, poetry, ethics, statecraft, and history. Composed in Cairo during the
golden age of Islamic encyclopedic activity, the *Ultimate Ambition* was one of
hundreds of large-scale compendia, literary anthologies, dictionaries, and
chronicles produced at this time—an effort that was instrumental in organizing
the archive of medieval Islamic thought.

Nuwayrī's *Nihayat* contains entries on everything from medieval moon-
worshipping cults, sexual aphrodisiacs, and the substance of clouds, to how to get
the smell of alcohol off one's breath, the deliciousness of cheese made from
buffalo milk, the nesting habits of flamingos, and a whole range of Bedouin
words for the night sky, Nihayat is a typical work of adab; lively, meticulously
arranged and delightfully eclectic. These compendiums authored by Muslim men
of letters illustrate the heterodox reality of the early centuries of Islam (in stark
contrast from the crude puritanical myths purveyed by the jihadis of our present).

Adab in the Ottoman Empire

There are valuable historical studies that take as their subject, the Ottoman
scribal class of civil servants (*küttâb*) and the tradition of *adab* attached to this
type of expertise. Kātibs were mainly *secretaries* at first, the scribal class, but
later they gained prominence as experts and acceptance of their skills and
expertise, and turned into *bureaucrats* with a corporate office.[38] In these studies,
various aspects of the complex Ottoman *adab* literature are considered as

---

[38] i.e., the office of the *hacegan*, particularly the *gedikli* (corporate reserved spot) *hacegan*. In
many contexts the term *gedik* connotes a special privilege, which in some way relates to inherited
position and social status (Itzkowitz 1962, Aksan 1995).

important parts of the life and practice, experience and expertise of an Ottoman katib (Woodhead 1982, 1983; Fleischer 1986, 1994a, 1994b; Findley 1972, 1980, 1986, 1989; Aksan 1993, 1995).

According to Woodhead, describing Talikizade Mehmed (d. 1599) an important Ottoman *katib* (scribe) notes that a typical Ottoman scribe would be "well-educated in the traditional branches of Islamic knowledge, conscientious and hard-working, a loyal Ottoman subject, a pious Muslim, and a man of letters." Later, in a study of Ahmed Resmi Efendi, an Ottoman bureaucrat and statesman, Aksan preferred the same definition while carefully noting that for Ahmed Resmi, just as for any Ottoman *katib* and state-servant, *adab* was a central tenant of knowledge and behavior. One cannot oppose Aksan's decision of using Woodhead's definition, and not providing a new one for her own purposes because the latter's definition is successful in achieving two important aspects of the Ottoman *adab*: its literary component as well as its *behavioral* and *psychological* component. Adab was not only *descriptive* as those adab manuals of encyclopedic nature would have us believe. It was also prescriptive. (See next section.) Aksan says *adab* and *intisab* (household patronage) were the two primary mechanisms behind the employment of a katib. These two mechanisms worked together and balanced each other.

Cornell Fleischer, in his study on the life and works of the Ottoman historian and man of letters Mustafa 'Ali, also mentions *adab* as one of those areas that 'Ali was a master of (Fleischer 1986). In one of his compositions, the *Kava'id ul-mecālis* (The Etiquette of Saloons) that he composed upon the request of Sultan Murad III (1546-1595), 'Ali presented a treatise on polite manners and social mores (*mecālis ve adab*). A semi-satirical examination of the types of social gatherings, sexual mores, and other matters, Kava'id contains strategies that a host can use to avert an embarrassing situation, such as when the arrival of young boys in search of wine and amusement aroused desires that might threaten to lower the tone of the party.

'Ali also used his work as a vehicle to express his growing sense of social degeneration. Although the literary gatherings of twenty years before had been serious affairs devoted to the cultivation of learning and friendship, 'Ali says, they have become, among those wealthy enough to invite people to their homes, a pretext for drink and ostentation. Therefore there is a need for a manual explaining the rules of social propriety and the true character of the lost art of social intercourse.

Carter V. Findley (1980, 1989) is the first scholar who studied fully the evolution of the Ottoman scribal service, which transformed from an obscure office with barely seventy-three people in the sixteenth century into a reformist bureaucratic elite and, ultimately, into an army of civil bureaucrats numbering fifty thousand to one hundred thousand people from 1876 to 1909. The transformation of the imperial patrimonial office into a 'modern' bureaucracy is striking: while at first, literary traditions (*adab*) that blended with the influence of the dervish orders and, especially, of the guilds determined the organizational and behavioral patterns of the scribes, later, especially starting with the reforms of Selim III, a definitive rational-legal setting started to take shape.

Findley considers *adab* as one of the main pillars of the office of the scribe. He translates *adab* as 'worldly literary culture.' Although, considering the historical depth of the concept, his translation may seem unfair, Findley's utilization of the word and the way he approaches to the concept specifically from an Ottoman point of view, does justice to it. For instance, he beautifully demonstrates with an amusing anecdote the tension between the Ottoman intellectual man of letters (mostly a *katib*) and a man of religion (*ulema*) over a discussion of *adab:* "...while the religious scholars' studies required mastery of Arabic, Ottoman scribal intellectuals needed to study Persian, as well. Some of the pious would say of this: "Whoever studies Persian loses half his faith" (*Kim ki okur farisi/Gider dinin yarisi*). The literary-minded would retort: "Whoever studies Persian pays half his debt" (*Kim ki okur farisi/Gider deynin yarisi*)."

79

Finally, in her work on the Ottoman statesman Ahmed Resmi Efendi, V. Aksan (1995) skillfully shows a form of rationalization and secularization in the office and conduct of the Ottoman bureaucrat. The bureaucrats achieved a way of re-interpreting some of the most pivotal concepts and symbols of the Ottoman state: the concepts and ideology of the 'holy war' and 'peace as preparation to battle' were re-interpreted. These concepts were an integral part of the Ottoman *way of life* and they were also deeply imbued with religious meanings. A Sultan was expected to wage the holy war and continue in the steps of his ancestors, so the glory of Islam continues. When however the number and costs of the defeats started to exceed the gains, the ideal-typical concepts needed readjustment following real-life necessities, such as the devastating defeats that came one after the other.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, after defeats sealed by the treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718), the foreign policy of the Ottoman Empire toward European powers came to be based on the principles that peace should be preserved and war, if unavoidable, should be fought against only one adversary at a time; a grand alliance, as during the war of 1683-99, should be avoided at all cost. In the service of these aims the state came to give much more weight to diplomacy than to threat of arms, to make a greater effort to understand European diplomatic relations, and even to participate in the balance of powers. A second, longer-term development was the rise of bureaucrats, especially of financial officials, as a feature of the increasing monetization of Ottoman society. The policy of peace through diplomacy and the ascendancy of bureaucrats over military officers, though originally independent developments, obviously reinforced each other in the new political culture of the empire. Ahmed Resmi Efendi, the subject of Virginia Aksan's valuable study, represents these eighteenth-century Ottoman realities both in his career as a bureaucrat-diplomat and in his political writings arguing for a policy of peace.

Aksan, describing Ahmed Resmi's *adab,* quotes a certain Muradi:

"Muradi's portrait of Ahmed Resmi is a typical, even an archetypal portrait of a scribe (*katib*), heir to a highly respected literary tradition (*adab*), which could trace its roots to earliest Islamic times. The acquisition of an *adab* education was the first of two prerequisites for entrance into the scribal elite, which had become more conspicuous by its non-observance than its observance in the late eighteenth century, when sons of the bureaucracy often entered the upper ranks of the *hacegan*, without formal training. The second prerequisite was kinship or household patronage (intisab)" (1995: 2-3). Aksan plays *adab* and *intisab* as the two main competing mechanisms that determined the entry into the upper ranks of the bureaucratic group. Although she is careful to note that as opposed to mechanisms of patronage and clientelism (*intisab*) the tradition (or observance of) *adab* was visibly declining (1995: 12-23).

As we have seen, almost all authors agree on, principally, two historical events: first, there was a noticeable increase in the numbers but also of authority of the Ottoman bureaucrats; and second, in the Ottoman bureaucrat's life and conduct (e.g., his scribal craft) *adab* played a significant role, although, as we have just mentioned it might very well on its way out as the Ottoman bureaucracy modernized, its language simplified, and so on.

The Ottoman patrimonial governing mentality required a kind of statesmen who shared a common understanding of "what is proper?" and "what is generally accepted as legitimate?" The latter question did not have many options but two, Islam and the dynastic state legitimately claimed the main legitimate sources of the Ottoman elite's identity. The former, however, was open to speculation. Adab served as a major channel in providing the conjecture for the proper mode of conduct. All apparatuses of the Ottoman state followed adab collectively. This identity was the gentleman, a member of the state elite. Aspects and practices of this Ottoman identity regulated the balance of powers between the elite.

The Ottomans formed the last great Mediterranean Muslim empire and civilization. A relationship arguably existed between the Abbasids and the

Ottomans comparable to that between ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, wherein the former contributed in theoretical sciences and the latter emerged as a pragmatic civilization. The Ottomans took over the scientific and cultural achievements of the Abbasids, and making themselves mainly pragmatic contributors. Thus, Ottoman creativity appears mostly in areas closely connected with the organization and administration of the empire (Somel 2003). This secular core had a central role in the Ottoman elite's identity formation. When for instance the Kadizadeli movement (a rather dogmatic and fanatical, or in any case, a popularized form of Islamic religious fundamentalism), was on the rise in the 17th century the Ottoman men of letters and intellectual reacted in a way that was still in conformity with Islam, but of a kind of high, courtly Islam; a cosmopolitan creed rather than domestic and local.

They openly refused the Kadizadeli and their conduct –sometimes violent, committed by the Kadizadelis. For instance, Evliya Celebi wrote about an event he witnessed during his travels in Anatolia: a Kadizadeli follower asked permission from the local kadi and borrowed a rare book to read it at night with the promise of returning it the next day (Dankoff 2004: 245-255). The book was already sold at an auction and the kadi was safekeeping it for the highest bidder to arrive. The next day when the man returned the book and the kadi opened it up, it turned out that the Kadizadeli had carved out the eyes of each and every human figure in the book. When confronted he said the depiction of persons in picture form is forbidden in Islam and that was why he damaged the book. Although his fanaticism was not a criminal act that can be punished, the kadi sentenced the man for inflicting injury on an item that wasn't his. Evliya Celebi, although his general style of writing was never harsh and in all the long volumes of his works he tries to convey events, places, and people without including his personal judgment – even when he was faced with the most bizarre cultural practices, in the narration of this particular incident his disapproval is rather obvious and straightforward.

Adab was not confined to the domain of men either. Ottoman women, like the Muslim cosmopolitan women under the flourishing Islamic civilization before them, also practiced adab. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), unlike her predecessors did not shy away from immerging herself to the Istanbul's women elite. In her letters, her descriptions and analysis of the kind of world she was witnessing at times reads like an anthropological study. In a letter to a close friend she wrote: "You can pick any of these fine ladies, dress her up in the Occidental fashion and put her in any European court, she would put the finest of them to shame with her knowledge and erudition. Perhaps their classics are not our classics, these women do read and write, discuss during their gatherings social and political topics, even philosophy. There is always a degree of grace in their behavior and a courtly aura in their manners" (1965: 359).

Conclusion: 'The Pastoral Game' and 'the City Game'

Civilizational encounters allow for intellectual loans and cross-fertilization of ideas. Coupled with an increasing –almost competitive patronage for the translation of an incredibly extensive array of foreign works paved the way for a realm of humanist scribes, poetry-spouting polymaths, an entire class of erudite men with taxonomic ambitions. These men came from all walks of life but mostly hailed from the emerging class of civil servants. How much of their 'civility' the civil attitude to life and to work was connected to their vocational expertise and why this particular humanist approach was necessary for this particular status group, these are difficult but necessary questions that need answering. Nonetheless, it was not simply the state nor the elite sponsors and patrons that they needed for their livelihood that these men considered themselves to be servants of. A higher ideal connected those who contributed to the adab tradition. At first, the common ground was purely pedagogical and didactic for the scribal class, the *kuttāb*, but later, the authors had in mind a much larger audience, a literary audience to be sure, but a group of readers that shared one significant common ground: ascription to cosmopolitanism, an acknowledgement of

'cultural' diversity, an interest in the human condition, in the bare life itself without any need for religious pretext nor the need for incorporating the virtues and ideals of the Muslim creed.

Various genres of literary material generally brought under the rubric of adab, constituted the bedrock of a tradition that became a significant cultural element of the Islamic state, which was in the process of tremendous enlargement not only in terms of its territorial reach but also as a civilization that now faced a tremendously large array of people, cultures, beliefs, social settings entirely alien to the Arab culture. Adab with its cultural contents, larger than life and larger than Islam, became a crucial tool for the courtly, administrative, and vocational Islamic elite.

Adab, in this sense, was the Islamic equivalent of 'the City game' –as opposed to 'the pastoral game' that Foucault proposed as the two major theories of government that since the Ancient Greeks and Romans constituted the grand themes behind the entire history of the Western thought. [39]

The pastoral game, or the shepherd-flock game, relied upon the principles of governing and taking good care of 'the flock'. The telos of the pastoral game is to achieve salvation for the entire community as a whole through spiritual discipline. The belief in communal salvation prioritizes the community over the individual, whose mishaps could cost the entire group. **The city game is the opposite**.[40] The priority is the individual and its empowerment. The citizen status requires great care to be shown in individual development. Autonomy in taught

---

[39] In a sweeping statement, Foucault declared, "all Western forms of governments involved the dual operation of these two forms of power, one individualizing, and other totalizing." His interest in modern governmental rationalities consists in the realization of what he calls the 'daemonic' coupling of 'city-game' and 'shepherd-game': the invention of a secular pastorate which couples 'individualization' and 'totalization.' This became possible with the emergence of *autonomous rationalities*, such as 'the reason of state' (Foucault 1991: 87-104).

[40] In Plato's dialogue, *The Statesman*, concerning the nature of the art of government, an aspect of the ruler's art was described as that of the shepherd who cares of each individual sheep in his flock. Plato dismisses the reliability of this form of government: it is impracticable for there is no ruler whose attentiveness can reach each and every of his subjects. Greek politics therefore prefers the game of citizen and laws, rather than the pastoral game. The pastoral model is adopted and vastly elaborated by Christianity, as 'the care of souls.'

can be achieved only when it is allowed to be practiced freely. Free, open, and honest speech (*parrhēsia*) became a central defining element, perhaps, the citizen's most valued privilege. The city game aims for more individual freedoms, whereas the pastoral game downplays individual rights and liberties for the sake of the society in general.

Following a similar differentiation in ethics, Weber suggested two sets of ethical virtues that a proper political education should cultivate — **the ethic of conviction** (*Gesinnungsethik*) and **the ethic of responsibility** (*Verantwortungsethik*). According to the ethic of responsibility, on the one hand, an action is given meaning only as a cause of an effect, that is, only in terms of its causal relationship to the empirical world. The virtue lies in an objective understanding of the possible causal effect of an action and the calculated reorientation of the elements of an action in such a way as to achieve a desired consequence. An ethical question is thereby reduced to a question of technically correct procedure, and free action consists of choosing the correct means as they have already been defined and ascribed by the authorities, the experts, etc. By emphasizing the causality to which a free agent subscribes, in short, Weber prescribes an ethical integrity between action and consequences, instead of a Kantian emphasis on that between action and intention.

According to the ethic of conviction, on the other hand, a free agent should be able to choose autonomously not only the means, but also the end; "this concept of personality finds its 'essence' in the constancy of its inner relation to certain ultimate 'values' and 'meanings' of life" (Weber 1903–06/1975: 192). In this respect, Weber's problem hinges on the recognition that the kind of rationality applied in choosing a means cannot be used in choosing an end. These two kinds of reasoning represent categorically distinct modes of rationality, a boundary further reinforced by modern value fragmentation. With no objectively ascertainable ground of choice provided, then, a free agent has to create a purpose *ex nihilo*: "ultimately life as a whole, if it is not to be permitted to run on as an

event in nature but is instead to be consciously guided, is a series of ultimate decisions through which the soul — as in Plato — chooses its own fate" (Weber 1917/1949: 18). This ultimate decision and the Kantian integrity between intention and action constitute the essence of what Weber calls an 'ethic of conviction.'[41]

On matters concerning 'the government of people', Weber's differentiation of two basic types of ethics is in some ways similar to Foucault's two games. The pastoral game relies upon an ethic of conviction, that without securing the salvation of the entire flock there is no guarantee of deliverance for the individual soul; the two are inseparably bound together to such an extent that spiritual redemption lies beyond the individual's capacity and capability as a moral agent, it is always a communal matter. Either the entire flock is saved or every individual sheep risks eternal damnation. This was among the basic moral principles that the early Protestant communities intensely subscribed to and as an inter-communal policing mechanism it acted as the primary social dynamic for what Philip Gorski (2003: 55-58) called 'the disciplinary revolution from below'. The city game, on the other hand, requires an ethic of responsibility: the citizen acts, in every aspect of his life, in accordance with his duties towards the City without which he would not and could not be free. The individual's exercises of freedom is constrained by an internalized ethic (of responsibility), which is formalized as a duty towards the City that makes him free and allows him to exercise his freedoms. The status of 'citizenship' is a status of privilege as well as one of dutiful guardianship. The status of the pastoral game, however, is a status of individual hindrance and restriction –for the sake of the welfare of the flock. In the pastoral game, individuality indicates moral incongruity and ethical discrepancy, which could cost the entire community its salvation.

---

[41] In a typically Weberian move, although at first the two sets of ethical virtues seem to be mutually exclusive, Weber later in the lecture emphasizes that they are in fact not. He says, "the ethic of conviction and the ethic of responsibility are not absolute opposites. They are complementary to one another, and only in combination do they produce the true human being who is capable of having a 'vocation for politics'" (Weber 1919/1994: 368).

The Islamic adab, in this regard, possessed the elements that relate to both Weber's and Foucault's 'ethical virtues'. Adab comprised of a powerful ethic of responsibility: first, the civil servant's, or the office holder's responsibility towards his abstract office, that is, his profession understood as a vocation, responsibility to his clients, to the status group that he was a part of. Second, adab signified a kind of ethical responsibility that had clear cosmopolitan, humanistic elements. He was to be a man open to cultural diversity, he was expected to cultivate a certain intellectual and moral standing so that he would not only 'tolerate' variety of the ethnic and religious sort for the sake of 'live and let live' kind of pragmatism –not being able to defeat one another after centuries of devastation that significantly injured both parties, the two Christian denominations finally admit that they have to find a way to live together because they have run out of ways to eliminate each other- the kind of toleration propagated by the Islamic adab was not of this sort. It openly encouraged people, especially the elite, to travel, to read about foreign cultures and their practices in order to understand the reasons behind their different customs and behavior, and even appreciates their virtue –all of which required the relinquishing of one's own 'cultural' superiority and abandonment of any sort of 'holier than thou' ideology. The chapter closes with an example of this type of adab as it was practiced by the Ottoman cosmopolitan, 'civic' elite.

After concluding his studies in a wide variety of arts and sciences at the palace school, the Enderun, Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) was assigned as a cavalryman (*sipahi*) and given lands (timar). When he was stationed briefly near the borders at the Ottoman imperial territories deep into North Africa Evliya witnessed several social practices that at first made him physically sick: one evening after a savory meat dish he was served some honey in a specially made leather pouch and even though the honey was not properly cleaned –there was still dirt and dry leaves that one needed to spit out of his mouth into a napkin quite regularly but the honey itself was exceedingly delicious. He asked the source of

this rather bristly honey, what kinds of bees, where do they keep them, and the odd fact that in this part of the territory, which was extremely barren, where do the bees find the flora necessary to produce honey? The answer made him rush outside the tent in a hurry for he became sick. While he was hurling he also bemoaned about why the host kept this important fact after he had already eaten a good deal of it?

In that tribe it was tradition that when an elder dies –especially those who believed to possess *mana* (supernatural powers, prestige), like the chieftain himself, his son would consume a part of his father's body and this in that particular tribe they did by embalming the deceased's body with a very special scent that attracted the bees in hordes, a dried out tree or sturdy logs for the hive so the body is placed in such a place and quickly the bees start to produce the honey directly from the flesh.

Later on retrospect, when Evliya was narrating these events in his famous *Seyâhatnâme* (Book of Travels) his handling of these immensely different customs and practices was always cool-headed. After a similarly surprising event, for instance, he says "well, even though these people have practices that we would consider heretical God knows they would see the same practices in us when they look at me and observe my Ottoman (Muslim) way of doing things. These are their way, traditions, just like we have ours thus who can judge or blame whom? Who would have the right?" (Dankoff 2004: 73). After talking about the strange customs and bad habits of the Albanians, Evliya tells his readers how in weddings and religious festival days "they put on their finery and drink various alcoholic beverages. Lovers go hand in hand with their pretty boys and embrace them and dance about in the manner of Christians. This is quite shameful behavior, characteristic of infidels; but it is their custom, so we cannot censure it."[42]

---

[42] "bu dahi bir bed-sünnetdir kim ayin-i ke[fe]redir, amma böyle göre gelmisler, buni dahi 'ayblamaziz."

Evliya, perhaps the most famous of Ottoman travelogues, was an Ottoman administrator (a *sipahi*) educated at the imperial academy of arts and sciences – but more importantly, he was an Ottoman gentleman, urbane and civic minded.

CHAPTER III

THE OTTOMAN 'CLASS OF GUARDIANS'

"First, they banish everyone over the age of ten into the countryside. Then they take charge of the community's children and make sure that they are beyond the reach of existing conventions, which their parents adhere to, and bring them up under their own customs and laws."

<div align="right">

Plato, *Republic*, 540e-541a.

</div>

Chapter III: The Ottoman *Class of Guardians*

In Plato's *Republic*, when asked about the ideal recruitment conditions for the future 'Class of Guardians', Socrates says the best scenario would be to take the youngsters of the vanquished enemy back to the City along with the rest of the spoils (540e-541a). The orphaned youngsters will have no family or kinship connections; they will have no allegiance other than to the City. For this highly idealized system to succeed –that is, not only establishing a just and luxurious state but also to sustain it as long as possible, the guardians should be impeccably produced. For their upbringing, a unique habitus had to be created.

The upbringing of these youngsters was considered both an art and a craft. Plato devotes nearly two full chapters detailing the 'proper' education of the guardian class. First, the raw material (the fundamental foundations) was to be given: proper form and strength; the body will work, exercise, and fight; the mind will learn the basics, and the soul will learn self-soothing and peace –through orchestrated uses of music and poetry. The latter, Plato is not entirely certain: he proposes that those 'poets' who lie or exaggerate reality out of proportion in their music to be banned from the campus grounds. Especially in the earlier phases of their education, the future elite should be protected from material that champions exaggeration, denial of realistic proportions –and for Plato, being a geometrical philosopher, such an error could cause the entire crop to fail. Future education would be futile and pointless since the foundation is fatally crooked. For this reason, Socrates is firm and not shy about spending his time in detailing the crucial pedagogical matters. After the physical and musical training, the cohort goes through exams and those who prove to be worthy continue on the 'guardian career track'. The rest are put into a second specialized group, 'the Auxiliaries' – the warriors responsible for defending the city from invaders, for keeping the peace at home, and for ensuring the obedience of the producers. The Auxiliaries are the enforcers of the guardians' convictions.

In the history of great civilizations, it was perhaps the Ottoman Empire that followed Plato's blueprint most consistently and to maximum effect.[43] The Ottoman equivalent of the guardian class came from the graduates of the palace academy, the *Enderun-i Hümâyûn*. The Enderun, especially from the early fifteenth to seventeenth century, recruited its student body exclusively from the *devşirme*. Devşirme was the Ottoman child levy imposed on the empire's non-Muslim subject populations. Literally it meant *collecting*, or *gathering*; originally a pastoral concept in the sense that linguistically the Turkish verbal form *devşirmek* is used specifically in statements like 'gathering a bunch of flowers from one's garden,' or 'gathering a flock of sheep in one place.'

In every five to eight years, the palace commissioned the intake of a new cohort and Janissary officers left the capital for designated sites to start the gathering process.[44] The recruiters collected mostly Christian young boys between the ages of eight to eighteen to provide a large pool of candidates for an extremely diverse array of positions.[45] The average age was between fifteen and sixteen. The recruits were rigorously tested and examined. The best among them were kept at the palace academy to receive specialist training. After long years of instruction, a few dozen made it to the top levels and received the highest administrative and

---

[43] There is no historical proof that the Ottomans were in any way inspired directly by Plato in their designs to collect and educate the devşirme children for various palace and state services. Inalcik, for instance, refuses the claim that a copy of Plato's *Republic* found in Mehmed II's (1432-1481) personal library necessarily indicates such a connection. In any case, the Ottomans did not need to consult Plato about their devşirme policy nor for the elaborate schooling system that they designed for them. The Middle Eastern Muslim civilizations before them, from the Abbasids to the Seljuks of Rum, already provided the recipe in this matter. The Ottomans, however, perfected it.

[44] At the heyday of the devşirme policy the recruiters gathered around six to seven hundred boys. In his book, published in 1670, Paul Rycaut reports "The yearly number of those thus collected, amount most commonly, as I am given to understand, to about 2000 […]" Between the fifteenth until the seventeenth century, roughly 200,000 to 300,000 boys were taken out to devşirme.

[45] Ménage (1966: 64-78) describes the devşirme practice as: "the forcible removal of the children of the Christian subjects from their ethnic, religious, and cultural environment and their transplantation into Turkish-Islamic environment with the aim of employing them in the service of the Palace, the army, and the state, whereby they were to serve the Sultan as slaves or freemen and to form a part of the ruling class of the State."

military positions upon graduation. These men constituted the Ottoman guardian class.

Not every promising recruit who received admission into the Enderun could make it to the top, however. The initiation process was ruthless. In the preparatory schools they were kept under the watchful eyes of the specialized corps, the Enderun's *Ak Ağalar* (the corps of white eunuchs), who were responsible for their training and education as well as to make sure that they learned the rules and regulations, codes of behavior and proper conduct required in the campus. They were continuously inspected, their wits, abilities, moral and behavioral integrity assessed and meticulously tested in various ways. Over eighty percent of the students from the Enderun's preparatory chambers could not proceed to the specialist corps of higher education. They left the palace to await assignment for the cavalry regiments of the central (salaried) army. Alongside the Janissary army, which also recruited from the devşirme, this second group constituted the Ottoman auxiliary class.

Chapter Objectives

The chapter has two primary objectives: first, it introduces what the research calls 'the Ottoman patrimonial agent', namely, the *devşirme kullar*, that is, the collection of slave-servants, or bondsmen; second, it focuses on the historical and cultural elements peculiar to this status. The *kul* status is crucial for the sociological analysis of the Ottoman Empire as a patrimonial state for it was with the expansion of this particular status group that the Ottoman state successfully transitioned from a patriarchal frontier principality to a patrimonial empire. As Weber (1978: 1011) says, patrimonial government begins with the decentralization of domestic authority "through assignment of land and sometimes equipment to sons of the house or other dependents." The devşirme kullar constituted the patrimonial sons of the Ottoman sultan; they were the class of slave-servants that surrounded the patriarch like a protective echelon and whose loyalty, services, and expertise were rewarded with allocation of taxable

93

land or regular salary.

The chapter unfolds the kul status in various ways: first, it focuses on the pastoral element that dominates it's bearing from start to finish; second, the chapter looks at the specific kind of 'contract' that defined the devşirme status – not only the kul's relations *vis-à-vis* the sultan, but also the nature of the relationships between the kul. The term 'pastoral' refers to Foucault's 'shepherd-flock game' mentioned in the previous chapter. Pastoralism was not only the dominant symbolic element in the constitution of the Ottoman *devşirme kullar*. It was also the primary contractual element. The pastoral linguistic origin of the term *devşirme* (to gather) is already mentioned. The groups of boys thus 'gathered' were called *sürü* (lit. flock) and the Janissary officer in charge of the journey to the capital was called *sürübaşı* (lit. flock master, or shepherd). The inherent pastoralism of the devşirme kul status was not confined to the official terminology, however; it also constituted the primary background in which the relationship between the devşirme and the sovereign was formulated. The Ottoman patrimonial agent *par excellence*, that is, the *devşirme kullar* owed everything to the dynasty's patriarch. He could replace one with another easily if he so choses and more importantly, he could do so without creating any hostility, crisis, or resentment geared toward vengeance, which would be the case if these men came from aristocratic families. These men, therefore, were the perfect pawns: sometimes by necessity pawns were sacrificed for the sake of expediency, if they made it to the final level a pawn could be converted to a vizier, pawns are the most numerous of all the pieces in charge of both defense and offense, slow to advance and seemingly inconsequential yet absolutely essential for the endgame.

The way in which the dynastic authority was parceled out and the kind of flexible relations it produced could be portrayed like a modified chessboard that has multiple tiers: a pawn in one board becomes a vizier in another; the rules of the game can change from one board to the next; restrictions on movement of the individual pieces can be modified, even removed depending on their proximity to

the king, or to each other. It is not, however, the multi-tiered structure of the chessboard that enables and sustains this curious form of *Ottoman* patrimonialism; it is the historically peculiar nature of the kul status. The grand vizier and a foot soldier in the salaried army were equals in terms of their *de jure* kul standing; the sultan could take everything from them both in an instant and without much of a resistance from others, and equally, he could present them with everything just as easily. At this barest level of existence, the two devşirme were equals. In all else, they could not be more different: the high level kul could have kuls of his own, thousands of them, in fact. He could use these men in various functions, most importantly however he could have them educated and trained by private tutors, and appoint them to important posts in the services of the state. These men never ceased to be the kuls of the sultan nor their loyalty to their status groups, ethnic origins, or patrons other than the sultan in any way posed a threat to the Ottoman ruler. The sultan's servants were immersed in multiple chess games at once that extended over numerous boards (structures), their function, value, capability, etc., could change –except their position *vis-à-vis* the sultan, which was never negotiable under any circumstance.

The Ottoman *Devşirme*: A Patrimonial Elite

In the mid-15th century, the Ottoman state was about to reach the peak of its centralization process whereby the central state lost its earlier peripheral and decentralizing dependencies and replaced them with ones that were directly connected to the center (İnalcık 1994). Once a frontier state organized around somewhat loosely bound warrior clans, the Ottoman state was about to complete its transformation from a small patriarchal state into a patrimonial empire whose borders extended over three continents. Territorial expansion quickly diversified the empire's subject populations and created a multicultural subject population with the integration of new cultures that blended into Ottoman life. Accompanying the rising complexity in the management of the state's affairs the selection and education of statesmen, governors and administrators became

95

critical. The central institutions of the state began transforming into apparatuses that were structurally and bureaucratically more complex. Recruitment of administrators, bureaucrats, men of faith and military men from within the original household or from the few satellite households could no longer meet the demands of the state on its way to becoming a fully-fledged empire.

The Ottoman state made an important transition: not only in terms of the institutional complexity of the state's apparatuses, nor simply in terms of the level of training required for the education of its personnel, but also the overarching *mentality of government* that guided the state during the initial phase had to change. In response to the emerging empire's needs, certain existing apparatuses went through significant institutional transformation whereas several others, although they played fundamental roles during the Ottoman state's stellar rise to power, were nonetheless abandoned.

Two such groups, especially, lost tremendous power and influence. First, the clans of *ghazi* raiders, known as the *akıncı*, lost the state's support, which started investing heavily on the central (regular) army, the Janissary infantry divisions and the cavalry divisions both on palace payroll (İnalcık 1973:121). The earlier policy was based on a primitive distribution of spoils: the state would ask for its share from the raiders, e.g., the choicest of the newly conquered lands in the fashion of *primus inter pares* and the *akıncı* would keep a significant sum as their rightful share, e.g., lands, taxation rights for designated periods of time. Starting with the mid-fifteenth century, the dynastic patrimony was shared only with the devşirme kullar, the sultan's slave-servants and the akıncı, despite much protest and resentment, lost out and slowly disappeared.

The second group was the Islamic 'ulema. Although compared to the ghazi raiders, the 'ulema did not completely lose out to the point of annihilation but continued as one of the traditional state apparatuses until the end of the empire, the men of 'the ilmiye' also lost their privileges to the devşirme. In the first century and a half, the ulema provided the primary pool of candidates for the

highest administrative positions –most significantly, the vizieral posts. With the exception of Bayezid Paşa (d. 1421), up until 1453, all grand viziers were ilmiye members –the most significant among them was the prominent Çandarlı family, which provided the empire with five grand viziers.[46] Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1432-1481) not only put an end to the Çandarlı supremacy by ordering the execution of Çandarlı Halil Paşa but he also gave the much coveted position of the grand vizier to a devşirme, Zağanos Mehmed Paşa, started a state tradition that for two hundred years effectively secured the most important administrative and military posts for the sultan's devşirme kullar. As Halil Inalcik states, it became a principle in the Ottoman state "[that] the sultan's executive power, *the örf-i sultanî*, should be delegated only to his own slaves" (İnalcık 1965: 1085-91). In the 16th century, the term *ehl-i örf* meant the slave-servants (kullar) who were given the authority to carry out the Sultan's orders.

With Mehmed II, the process of state centralization had passed a critical threshold: the central state's strategic dependencies were significantly reduced if not completely eliminated. The dynastic center almost completely eradicated the probability of a rival aristocracy arising and acquiring lasting power that could limit or threaten its absolute authority. The Ottomans inherited the devşirme practice from the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and implemented it immediately (Köprülü 1986, Uzunçarşılı 1988). By the mid-fifteenth century devşirme was already a well-established Ottoman institution. Yet, its uses were limited. The Janissary corps recruited from the devşirme and the palace kept a few dozen of the boys to train for various palace services –the most skilled and well behaved among them earned the privilege of serving the sultan personally.

Starting with Murad II (1404-1451) and achieving unprecedented new heights under his son, Mehmed II, the devşirme became a truly imperial enterprise. The number of boys gathered each term increased tremendously but

---

[46] These were: Çandarlı Kara Halil Hayreddin Paşa (in office, 1364–1387), Çandarlı Ali Paşa (1387–1406), Çandarlı İbrahim Paşa, the Elder (1421–1429), Çandarlı Halil Paşa (1439–1453), Çandarlı İbrahim Paşa, the Younger (1498–1499).

more importantly a few hundred boys from every new cohort were selected for a special purpose: they were to receive a unique education and training only available in the imperial palace schools. The elite graduates would receive the most important positions in the empire and practically ran the empire in the name of the sultan –as men loyal to him and him alone.

In this regard, the Ottoman devşirme was specifically *a patrimonial elite*. Their empowerment came at the moment of the empire's transition from a patriarchal to a patrimonial setting. Patrimonial states arise, according to Weber, when patriarchal rulers extend their sway over extra-household subjects in areas beyond the patriarchal domain (Weber 1978). This extension involves a change of authority: from patriarchal authority, which is domestic and personal, to purely political, which is military and judicial. Extra-household officials administer the latter domain. Following Weber's typology, the Ottoman devşirme constituted the 'extra-household' subjects that the patriarchal sovereign delegated significant amount of his powers.

Patrimonial domination, Adams points out, has two inherent and related tendencies: parcelization of authority and flexibility (Adams 2005: 237-266). The whole point of patrimonialism is for the paramount ruler to extend his authority beyond what he could control on the basis of his own resources by endowing others with the right to exercise a portion of his sovereignty. But by vesting this right in formally subordinate family heads, he also enables them to develop autonomous resources and networks of patronage, together with their own lower-level dynastic claims (hence the parcelization). This relative autonomy of the formal subordinates also endows them with a level of initiative (hence the flexibility) that would be absent under a more rational-legal or bureaucratic structure of governance.

These two tendencies, however, could be a blessing and a curse –the patriarchal center cannot withdraw from the political field and have it run its course, certain systemic installments needs to be made otherwise the system

spirals out of control very rapidly. As Weber (1978: 1055) noted repeatedly, patrimonial regimes are susceptible to decentralization. [47] The patrimonial establishment begins with the creation of centrifugal powers, 'the extra-household officials', a move away from the simplicity of the patriarchal arrangement, it comes at a price: As Guenther Roth points out "[the] inherent instability of political patrimonialism, on account of its decentralization, is part of [Weber's] model" (Roth 1975:150).

What made the Ottoman patrimonial transformation successful –and a key element that greatly contributed to the empire's institutional and organizational longevity was the nature of the patrimonial elite that the dynastic state produced consistently for several hundred years. Parcelization of authority and flexibility, the two inherent decentralizing tendencies did not turn into menacing centrifugal forces that plagued the Ottoman political authority with constant instability and high volatility. British diplomat and historian Paul Rycaut (1629-1700) observes the distinctiveness of the Ottoman patrimonial agent:

"[for these men, (the devşirme)] are but strangers and foreigners in the countries they rule, have no relations there or kindred to second or revenge their quarrel, have no ancient blood or possessions which might entitle their heirs to the succession, or out of affection or pity move their subjects to interest themselves on their behalf; but being cut off themselves, *all falls with them*, which affords the strangest spectacle, and example of Fortune's inconstancy in the world; for *a Turk is never reverenced but for his Office, that is made the sole measure and rule of his greatness and honor, without other considerations of virtue or nobility.* And this is the reason why Turks value not their great men when taken by the enemy for not otherwise looking on them than on ordinary soldiers, they exchange them not with commanders and persons of quality on the Christians; *for the favor of the sultan makes the paşa and not the noble blood or virtues* so that the paşa

---

[47] "[In patrimonialism there is] typically a continuous struggle of the central power with various centrifugal powers."

imprisoned losing the influence of his sovereign's protection and greatness, loses that also which rendered him noble and considerable above other persons" (1670: 70).

Kul. Not slave.

Translating historical terminology is generally difficult, especially when the term refers to types of social relations that no longer exist and so much of its constitutive parts have disappeared, it becomes even more challenging to even imagine it *as it was* in the past. Without a point of reference to compare so as to have a sufficient receptivity to express the historical concept not only *what it was* back in the day, but also *how* and *why it was*. The Ottoman term, *kul*, has been one of those historically nuanced terms. Yet, the problem of the term's proper English translation has taken too much attention whereas the historical analysis of the status itself has not received much attention. Thus far, the scholars of the Ottoman Empire has been obsessing over the problem of sensibly translating kul to English and it caused a considerable degree of stagnation regarding the historical and sociological value of the concept. This chapter aims to move beyond the matter of the term's proper English translation and scrutinize, instead, the sociological significance of the kul status.

For decades, arguments were raised against translating the term, kul, with the English term 'slave'. By now this position is well established and even when the term 'slave' is used a caution always follows: the Ottoman kul was not a slave in the sense of a galley slave. That some of these boys were bought directly off the slave market, that the sultan had the right to call for their execution, that they couldn't leave their wealth, possessions, rank and status as inheritance but that all these were subject to total confiscation after their death, were all the evidence shown by those who consider, at the end, these men principally as slaves. Others focused more on the fact that the lives of these men could not possibly be compared with that of a slave, as in the conditions of a slave working the cotton fields along the Mississippi river. The devşirme were slave-servants, but also they

were future office holders, army men including naval officers, members of the most prominent guilds such as the guild of the architects, the miniature artists, and so on. Although the sultan could in theory order for his subject's execution on the spot there were serious limits to this practice. Only in theory such executions could be exercised whimsically and without any legitimate reasoning other than the sovereign's pure discretion.

In a general sense, the term, kul, was used for all the subjects of the Sultan. Every person living under the rule of the Ottoman state was in theory the sultan's kul. In a narrow sense, kul referred to the servant-officers and soldiers of the sultan. More specifically, as a third layer, this group was used for the servants of the sultan coming from slave origins, that is Christian boys reduced to slavery, converted to Islam, received education either at the palace schools or at the army corps and involved in patronage networks and socialized into various levels of society. The fundamental problem is to describe all the different usages of the term so as to produce a more accurate interpretation of the Ottoman political structure, that is, one that would presumably defy binary categories built mainly around the themes of 'freedom' and 'servitude.'

Ehud Toledano describes devşirme status as "a continuum of various degrees of bondage rather than a dichotomy between slave and free" (Toledano 2000, 2007). Metin Kunt (1983) chose to refer to these men, the kullar, as 'the Sultan's Servants', whereas İnalcık (1994) and Barkey (1994, 2008) preferred to use 'slave-servants' pointing at the service element in the relations between the sultan and his select body of men as well as the continuation of the 'slave' status that nonetheless, never went away –no matter how empowered some of these men could have become. İnalcık (1994:78) points out, "[Above all,] they were slaves of the Ottoman sultan, forming around him an imperial group and completely dependent on him for all things."

The Ottoman kul status represented more a patron-client relationship rather than a relationship between a master and slave, principally due to its

reciprocal nature. Being a kul of the dynasty was a privileged status. Even though the primary function of the relationship between the sultan and his *kullar* was based on servitude, a significant number of these men were expected to establish their own satellite households upon graduation either from the palace schools or the barracks. For centuries the Ottoman patrimonial regime replicated itself by expanding and replenishing privilege, adding kuls to kuls, without causing any status inflation or redirections of loyalty to a direction other than the dynasty and its patriarchal ruler. The macrocosm continuously fashioned itself after the image of the microcosm, the dynastic household, without creating mutations or producing dangerous permutations, such as powerful aristocracies that could fatally challenge the patriarchal center. Obedience and loyalty to the sultan were non-negotiable features but for the Ottoman patrimonial system to successfully reproduce itself without leaving any room for serious mutations, the patriarchy at the core, its symbolism and mentality had to be branded to the kul's mind and spirit in such a way that when a few among them worthy of the highest positions left the palace to assume command they would only have one model to emulate – others, completely unimaginable.

Docility, humbleness, and a certain degree of selflessness on the part of the bondsmen were certainly crucial in the Ottoman system as it was with any other patrimonial regime but these were never total and never to the extent that the system produces only automatons or sycophants. The best kul was the kind of a man whom the sultan could trust with absolutely everything: his life, his domains and his subjects –which, the Ottoman political theory dictated, that God personally entrusted only to him. Thus, the Ottoman kul status brought two opposite personality traits together: a docile, selfless servant who would act with relative autonomy and rule like a master when given the station. With a slave one would only have the former and none of the latter.

In the discussions concerning the Ottoman term, *kul*, the fact that it designated a *status* has been overlooked. Rather, it has generally been described

rather plainly from a contractual point of view, i.e., referring to the relationship between a master and his slave. The devşirme kul referred to a status and we should not forget that status is a long-term *affair* –it is not merely a marker of identity, it is an affair that gets to be practiced, it frames and forms experience, it affects most aspects of life. It is procured following specific processes of subjectification –the more adorned the privilege, the more intricately woven is the processes. The Ottoman kul was subjected to strict regulations of conduct regardless of his hierarchical position. There were severe restrictions on his behavior, and powerful ethical/normative requirements were imposed on all them –and all these were *for life*, a kul once selected never ceased to be one. This was the transformative power of the devşirme policy: once a devşirme, always a devşirme. Only death removed them from this bondage. Even after retirement there were limits to their life choices. The Ottoman kul status was *a constant* of life rather than a categorical marker of social position.

The Early Stages: A Story of Path-Dependence, Bureaucratization, and Identity Formation

Early in the history of the Ottoman Empire there had been a clear preference of gathering and recruiting Christian boys from the Balkans. Whether this was due to the close proximity of the Balkans to the center, or a result of earlier cohorts preferring their ethnic/regional kinsmen to others that lead to the institutionalization of a 'selection bias' is not clear. The policy of reserving the best recruits and educating them especially for palace service also began early. The focus of the practice in the earlier years was on the sons born into local grandee families with aristocratic backgrounds. In the absence of state institutions of education, when it came to staffing specific palace positions, the Ottomans selected boys from local aristocratic families, who already received some primary

education at home, or at least, were familiar with the rules of household decorum and disciplined in manners and etiquette due to their aristocratic status.[48]

Westward expansion had several unintentional consequences: for instance, since in the earlier practices of the devşirme predominantly Serbs, Greeks, and Albanians were recruited. Later on members of these groups preferred their own nationals and recruited from their own villages and kinsmen. Earlier preferences created a certain path that ended up partially defining the Ottoman identity. Ethnic (*cins*) solidarity played a significant role in the privileging of Bosnian, Albanian, Croatian, and later Greek and Armenian regions. These boys received a clear preferential treatment whereas Jews, Gypsies, Kurds, Persians, and Turks were strictly avoided (Kunt 1974).

Relations between the kul based on ethnic origins were never used in a manner as to threaten the dynasty but ethnic belonging was not completely forgotten either. One of the most powerful Ottoman statesmen of the mid-fifteenth century, Sokollu Mehmet Paşa (1506-1579) gave special patronage to the region of his birth, while Koçi Bey, an Enderun graduate and later privy companion (*khāṣṣ nedīm*) at the court who served several sultans, was buried in his birthplace of Gümülcine (in the Thrace region of modern Greece) in accordance with his will.

Slowly, a sort of *devşirme* culture emerged and it dictated the institutional preference in the selection of recruits: the Serbs make the most loyal servants; the Bosnians are resilient and beautiful; the Albanians make the best warriors, etc. The earlier choices made in one direction created a sort of *path-dependency*

---

[48] One of the earliest and most intriguing stories of the Ottomans recruiting/taking as captives to receive Enderun education for later Palace and state service was the Albanian George Castriot (1405-1468), commonly known as Skanderbeg (from Turkish, İskender Bey). The eldest son of the noble Kastrioti family he was taken as hostage by Murad II and brought to the Edirne Palace as a devşirme. In a short time he made a name and fame for himself as a skilled warrior and an intelligent statesman. Upon graduating the Enderun after twenty years of education and Palace service he was appointed as the Governor General (sancak beyi) of the Ottoman province of Dibra. Three years later, he deserted the Ottomans and became commander of the short-lived League of Lezhë, which proclaimed him Chief of the League of the Albanian people. He was admired for defending the region of Albania against the Ottoman Empire for 25 years.
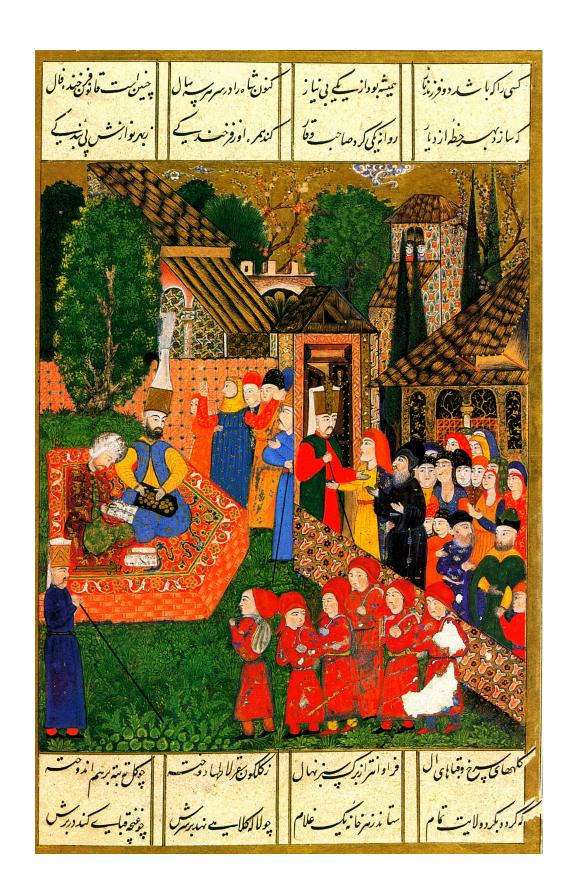
(Pierson 2000; Schreyögg and Sydow eds. 2009) and the institutionalization of these preferences and constraints on the recruits' ethnic background are perhaps indicative of whom the Ottoman state elite defined as "us"—the Ottomans—and whom it rejected as the other. Here the concept of *the other* was fueled by ethnic stereotyping—for example, considering Jews as unsuitable for warfare, Gypsies as unreliable, and Turks as uncouth. The early practices of the devşirme policy, therefore, by way of *increasing returns* ended up influencing the process of Ottoman identity formation and devşirme became a tool both made and reflected the Ottoman elite's self-identity.

Ethnic solidarity slowly became an important item during the bureaucratization of the devşirme process. When the policy started to get solidified through itemization of its rules and regulations, ethnic preferences as well as stereotypes became a part of the laws and procedures that governed the collection process. In one of the most important treatises written on the subject written in 1606, the *Kavânîn-i yeniçeriyân-ı dergâh-ı âlî* ("*The Laws of the Imperial Janissary Corps*") indicates a clear Ottoman 'preference' in the selection of youth. Supporting this fact Koçi Bey in his *Risale* (1634) says the devşirme was confined to certain nationalities: Albanians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, and Greeks (later, Armenians, after the institution was extended to Anatolia).

The Ottoman cultural and institutional preferences in the selection of the recruits came about as a result of path dependence, that is, earlier choices affected what followed. It was not therefore 'by design' that the Ottoman state came to recruit especially from certain areas and preferred recruiting from certain ethnic-religious groups but several critical turns in one direction did affect the ways in which the devşirme based institutions acquired their mature form later on. Although, at first, the state used the prisoners of war, the sons of the local grandees of the Balkans area as the source of human capital, later the practices of the early state became institutionalized, became parts of the official recruitment policies and protocol.

106

The Collection Process: A Pastoral Approach to Recruitment

> "Then it will be our duty to select, if we can,
> natures which are fitted for the task of guarding the city?
> It will."
> Plato, *Republic,* 374e6–9.

There were numerous ways in which the Ottoman state acquired *ghilman* (slaves and servants). The sultans received some of them as gifts: boys, who possessed rare skills and talents, had exceptional physical strength (or beauty), young prodigies, and polyglots, even those with 'exotic' disfigurements. Bayezid II (1481-1512), for example, received the Genoese youngster, Menavino, who served as a student and a *page* at the Enderun from 1505 until his escape in 1514, from a pirate (Imber 2009: 148). Some others, he purchased. Murad IV bought a Pole, Bobovi, who served as a palace musician and a translator until his dismissal in 1657, from the Tatars who had captured him in a raid. Others came as prisoners-of-war.

Under the employment of the Topkapı Palace there had always been a specialized group of *connoisseur* slave buyers who had close connections with the slave traders. When the merchants knew that the Imperial Palace was on the market for a particular kind of slave, e.g., for a service position that needed a specific set of skills, they kept the slave off the market for a while after informing the Palace officials about it.[49] These were individual purchases however and were rather exceptions to the Ottoman ghulam system. The bulk of the *ghilman* came through the *devşirme*. Between mid-fifteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, the Enderun schools recruited almost exclusively from this pool.

The actual road that a recruit might follow would depend, in a large

---

[49] If the slave was male and the purchase was intended for Enderun recruitment, the Kapı Ağası (Chief White Eunuch) would go and examine the boy, -e.g., testing his proficiency in language, his wits and physique. If there was a more specific demand, for instance, if the Palace needed a new music instructor, the Ağa went with experts in music to test the slave's proficiency. For the females, it was the duty of the Harem Ağası (Chief Black Eunuch) to do the examination.

degree, on his possession or lack of high intellectual and physical qualities. Of the recruits the best endowed went to the palace schools to be instructed in the Muslim faith and in the arts of war, statecraft and administration. After long years of training, and in the prime of their young manhood, the most gifted among them would be sent out as governors (sancak beyi) of provinces. Some of them might rise in the course of time to the rank of governor-general (beyler beyi) and then, if fortune also favored them, to the status of vizier, with a seat in the Divan, that is, the Council of State which controlled the affairs of the empire. The most exalted office-the grand vizierate- would now be within their reach. Few, however, amongst the recruits chosen for education in the palace schools, attained high eminence. Service in the subordinate offices of the court and of the central administration or in the mounted regiments of the [sultan's] household was the lot that awaited most of them (Parry 1976: 103-4).

"Gathering from the good stock"

There were specific rules on the selection of recruits, and the whole process was under the control of the janissary officers. The *Kavânîn-i yeniçeriyân-ı dergâh-ı âlî* ("*The Laws of the Imperial Janissary Corps*") is a rich source as it provides a detailed description of the recruitment procedure. The candidates had to be between the ages of ten and eighteen or thereabouts, able bodied, good looking, clever, unmarried, and uncircumcised. It was forbidden to take the only son of a family or more than one boy from the same family, because the family would need at least one son to continue cultivating the land. Moreover, only one boy could be taken from every forty households. Trouble families (e.g., ill-reputed, party to ongoing feuds, or simply stricken with extreme poverty) were to be avoided.[50]

---

[50] The non-selection of the Jewish populations for devşirme had been common to all four Muslim civilizations even it was for different reasons.

108

The *devşirme* was practiced since the beginning of the empire and although at first the boys were mostly recruited for the central army and only a few were kept for palace services, during the reign of Murad II and his son Mehmed II the palace schooling turned into a conglomerate. The overall process, the gathering and education of the recruits, turned into a bureaucratic affair. The palace's recruitment protocol regulated even the minute details of the conduct and officials were employed to oversee the entire event. By the mid-fifteenth century the devşirme had become a conglomerate. Although not a fully formalized bureaucracy in the modern sense, nonetheless, it was run through a protocol that had become more or less strict. First, the practice of collection came to be regulated by officially recognized rules. Second, the central state's institutions that employed the convert boys developed a sort of institutional identity and culture, a sort of institutional history and memory that started to act as proto-bureaucratic criteria.

In the Ottoman use of the term, devşirme, was a pastoral phrase in the sense that linguistically it is more at home in statements like 'gathering a bunch of flowers from one's garden,' or 'gathering a flock of sheep in one place.' It effectively meant a total separation of the kid from his family and surroundings, and the start of a process that could end in a wide range of ways depending among other things the boy's intelligence, proclivities, abilities, skills, and hard-work as well as his *adab* (manners, etiquette, learnedness). The promising bud separated from its soil hoping that it will flourish even better and grow higher now that it is know taken care of in the palace gardens of the Ottoman sultan. In the courtly discourse, for instance, in the Ottoman elite's 'court poetry' the dominant phraseology with regards to the Enderunî ghilman was a terminology of flowers and gardening (Gibb 1902). These depictions were artistic as well as technical as they included knowledge and descriptions of a richly differentiated flora, that is, the flowers and their names, what they looked like, what kind of treatment each flower needed to achieve its best form. This artistic floral discourse also included

109

detailed depictions of individual flowers, how it should look like depending on the harmonious and balanced organization of one's garden as well as anthropomorphic descriptions such as invented 'relations' between the flowers for instance the competition in one's garden between the rose and the tulip for aesthetic supremacy. Another theme frequently found in the Ottoman court poetry was the love between the rose and the nightingale, where the former represented a beautiful young Enderun student and the latter, the poet himself.

The Birth of the *Devşirme* Protocol

The collection process was meticulously designed. Rules and regulations informed every step of the process. Uzunçarşılı provided several samples of the Ottoman *ferman* (imperial edict) that detailed how the process unfolded (Uzunçarşılı 1945). Two major structural criteria informed the devşirme outlook: a., the specific needs of the imperial state and the palace, b., rules and regulations that have developed as part of the central state's institutionalization process. There were specific rules on the selection of recruits, and the whole process was under the control of the janissary officers accompanied by civil servants (scribes) and a group of experts who specialized on the 'sciences' ('ilm) of selecting the most promising candidate.

The conscription process began with an official request for a new levy of children. If the salaried army corps –such as the Janissary troops, needed men for their ranks the Yeniçeri Ağası (the chief officer of the janissaries) made the request. If the Enderun schools needed new cohorts it was the Chief White Eunuch. After the Sultan's approval, the decree was made and a group of experts left the palace to conduct the gathering. Such a decree was issued every three to four years and indicated the number of boys needed as well as the venues of recruitment. The Ottoman state carefully avoided building up of local grievances. The palace's registrar and scribal bureaus vigilantly kept detailed records of all

the previous towns and villages subjected to the levy. The officers had to follow the protocol that commanded them to avoid recruiting from the same villages and towns twice in a row. It was the scribal class of bureaucrats and civil servants who decided the next devşirme venue. The need to avoid local unrest turned into a cautiously regularized and bureaucratized instrument.

Once the decree for a new levy was drafted, fermans (executive orders) were sent to the villages and informed the inhabitants about the forthcoming 'collection' that was to take place at the given date. Absences demanded serious explanation from the official correspondents in the area when the designated team of recruitment officers arrived. These official correspondents were the local priest and the resident *sipahi* (the prebendal military/administrative personnel). With the initial ferman these two were informed and were asked to start preparing their documents (baptism records from the priests and tax registers from the Sipahi) as well as monitoring the local folk to prevent large scale 'disappearances' until the recruiters arrived.

Upon receiving the official decree for recruitment palace experts accompanied by janissary officers and soldiers were sent to Christian villages. They first asked the priests to present the village's baptism records. The local Ottoman administrator (sipahi) provided the recruiters with the tax registers that showed the number of *hane* (households) and the names of the heads of the households. The boys' fathers had to accompany them when the boys were gathered in the town square. Among others, there were two reasons for this practice: first, to make sure that the boy presented had at least some degree of likeness to the men who claimed to be his father. Many times, families that can afford the price paid off poor parents and presented their child as their own. Second, among the physical requirements that the Ottoman officers looked for in the candidates was a strong and comely physique. The fathers gave some idea as to what the boy would look like when he matured.

The boys had to be between the ages of ten and eighteen or thereabouts, able bodied, good looking, clever, unmarried, and uncircumcised.[51] It was forbidden to take the only son of a family or more than one boy from the same family. Moreover, the recruiters were advised to take one son from a family and skip the next forty houses to avoid peasant unrest. They were also reminded to never accept bribes from the families and ignore the parents' pleas to spare their son from the process. The reverse was also implied; sometimes parents wanted their sons to be selected. They should be in guard during the journey back against parents who tried to smuggle their sons out of the flock, thus they were advised to never stay in the same village twice (i.e., both on the way, and back) nor stay in the same village two nights in a row.[52] These instructions were not only repeated to the officers, they were also written down in various forms. Thus these regulations effectively turned into protocols as part of the Enderun's institutional constitution.

An instance of bureaucratization was the regulatory rule that every gathering official had to travel with an appointed *katib* (scribe). By interfering at this level the patrimonial state is preventing the system's turning into an entirely person dependent system. The scribe and the recruiting officer are to be 'strangers' to one another, separated from each other under a controlled environment. Their control requires a set of rules whose compliance the state supervised in various degrees of control and discipline so that the two parties, the scribe and the gathering officer can be checked against one another. The policy translated into practice in a curious way. It became customary practice to make at least two copies of every record and document *on the spot*.

---

[51] As with their cultural-civilizational predecessors the Ottomans also believed that 'God gives with both hands,' that is, physical beauty was taken to be a sign also of spiritual purity, intellectual promise, and moral virtue.
[52] The last item is striking because it reminds us the size of the returning party. They numbered at times between a few hundred up to a thousand. Burdening a village with a large body of men could easily cripple the inhabitants, plus there were security concerns for the boys' parents tried to take their sons back while the flock journeyed to Istanbul.

The expenses of the gathering party were carefully kept in records. The amount of money spent from the royal purse had always been a subject of tedious log keeping and the more important fact was that the devşirme was a privy affair and thus the whole operation was closely recorded since the royal purse as opposed to the state's coffers, was limited in scope thus had to be carefully cared for. These notes also included the summaries of the documents signed with local parties, agreements reached and bargains conducted with the locals while invoking the sultan's authority and decree. In all these practices the Ottoman scribes that accompanied the party produced at least two copies.

Most importantly the final list, that is, the completed *recruit list* had to be copied several times and given to the parties involved for official record keeping. Parents sometimes tried to take their sons during the journey to Istanbul or bribe the Janissary officers in charge and replace their kid with somebody else's whom they purchased. These mostly went through by bribing the lower level guards, the Janissary soldiers whom a great deal of the children he was then in charge of would one day become. In more serious 'swaps' for instance when the number of kids to be replaced was significantly high or the kid involved was so gifted that his fame was already known and he was expected to arrive with this cohort, etc., were all concerns that increased the amount of the bribe also the persons that now needed bribing had become more important and their numbers increased. At any rate the main gate to 'corruption' was with bribing. To eliminate this possibility or at least to a degree contain it, the original copy of the finalized recruit list was sent with a carrier to the imperial center *immediately after* the gathering was made. Its copy arrived with the recruiting personnel accompanying their 'flock'.

Each recruit was checked against the original list. The Ottomans considered the whole flock *bozuk* (stale) if there was even one discrepancy between the lists –surely, the exception was the rule perhaps but such was the original idea. One bad apple that got caught could mean a lot more and the Ottomans chose not to take the risk. This particular custom, made possible by

bureaucratic means, indicates how seriously the Ottoman state center regarded the devşirme and how carefully it was handled through carefully drawn out regulations and protocol.

The protocol was followed closely and there were checks on numerous occasions with heavy penalties for transgressors. The fact that the Ottomans turned the practice of gathering into a heavily bureaucratized affair shows the marked care and importance the dynastic state had afforded to the devşirme practice. The techniques and tools, e.g., careful record keeping, a clearly written down protocol, standardized rules and norms of conduct enabled the state to exercise control over the process. The famous Ottoman *defter* (book-keeping) craze, that is, the Ottoman state's systematic uses of scribes to log key processes into detailed registers eventually contributed to an emergence of an Ottoman tradition of devşirme –not only unique to the civilization but at the same time typically patrimonial in nature. By combining the personalism of relations and their legal-rational government by regular uses of the bureaucratic apparatuses (e.g., chancery, scribal log-entry, copying of orders and decrees) the Ottoman state engendered a patrimonial mentality of government that combines the two pure types of authority by its exercises of a bureaucratic (legal-rational) apparatus that checked and regulated a patriarchal practice.

كسى راكه باشد ز فرزند ، ناى | هميشه بود ازيكى بى نياز | كنون شاه را در سرسر سپال | چنين است قانون خندق فال
كه سازد بهر خط ز ارزياى | روان نيكى كرد صاحب وفاى | كند مهر او فرخنده يكى | زبد خواهش پى پسنديكى

Image

كلهاى پسخ وقباهاى ال | فراوان تر ازبرگ سبزنهال | زكلگون ته قرلا ط ها دوخته | چوكل ته بنه برسم اندوخته
گر كردو بكردو لايت تام | ستاند زمر خانه نيك غلام | چولالكلاه نهد برسرش | پشقه قبايى كند دربرش

116

www.manaraa.com

The Pastoral Gaze

> "Will he not also require natural aptitude for his calling?
> Certainly."
> Plato, *Republic*, 374e.
> "Is not the noble youth very like a well-bred dog in respect of guarding and watching? Quick to see, and swift to overtake the enemy when they see him; and strong too if, when they have caught him, they have to fight with him."
> Plato, *Republic,* 375a.

The traits looked for in the boys were "bodily perfection, muscular strength, and intellectual ability, insofar as these traits could be judged without long testing" (Miller 1973). The choicest "all handsome boys, physically perfect, and of marked intellectual promise" were taken to the palaces as *iç oğlanı* (the boys of the inner Palace) (Miller 1973).

The criteria used in the selection process was considered *'ilm* (science). These sciences provided readable, recognizable signs to be deciphered in the assessment of a youngster's character and moral traits, and predicting as accurately as possible his potential, his strengths that could be improved and weaknesses to look out for. The Ottoman saray ağaları were experts on two 'sciences' known as *ilm-i kıyafet* (Ar., *ilm-i firase*) and *ilm-i simâ*. These constituted the arts of selecting the best recruits by carefully assessing the candidate's physical outlook (physiognomy). There were literary sources known as *Kıyafet-nâme* and *Firâset-nâme* that contained the secrets of these 'arts' and 'sciences' (Çakır 2007, Türkdoğan 2014). The instructions included detailed lists of physical and behavioral qualities to seek or avoid, tests to be conducted, bodily and character features to be mindful of especially when one is looking for a youngster for a purpose, to fill a specific spot, to educate and groom into a particular service position –state, army, or palace offices.

İlm-i Sîmâ, or *İlm-i Kıyâfet* took as its subject the external features as the object of analysis such as the colors of the eyes, the posture of the body, the position of the spine, a detailed measuring of certain body parts such as the skull, the jaw, and the teeth, the fingers, ears, even the sexual organs**.** Aside from

117

physical qualities, there were also strict standards in assessing the boys' mental capacity and moral disposition. Idleness, for instance, was not tolerated in the schools. In fact it was considered among the worst traits of character. Being lively and spirited was a necessary mental condition.[53] Even a single instance of thievery, debauchery, and so on was enough to keep a name permanently off the list.

İlm-i Firâset on the other hand measured *metaphysical* qualities that cannot be captured by the eye. The science of *firaset* depended on the accurate analysis of the youngster's spirit, a science therefore associated with the esoteric and the occult. There were various types of experts among the Janissary officers, mystic Sufi figures, for instance, who could 'see into the kid's *heart of hearts* and evaluate its worth. Was it made of gold, silver, or bronze?' (Mengi 2002: 514).

The selection process was an art –and a craft of an ingenious design: it rested on 'scientific' and esoteric arts such as the sciences of predicting, calculating a youngster's potential and his future services for the state depending on his physiognomy and manners; the finding of a large group of gifted kids following this method, and educating them in an extremely carefully overseen and disciplined process under seminary-army like settings, rules and protocol. This governmental system was therefore an art in itself. There was an immense collection of material traditionally known as kıyâfet-nâme and Firâset-nâme literature. Among the books related with the larger devshirme body, the Janissary, the Sipahi, and the Enderunî there were many books, book chapters, individual treatises on the sciences and arts of selection; the craft of plucking the perfect flower in your entire garden, the selection of the best sheep from your flock.

These sciences had their roots in Ancient Greece and Persia. Following Plato's 'Myth of Metals' that separates the social body into four ranks; gold,

---

[53] Socrates says it is not enough that our guardians quickly see and recognize the enemy and swift to strike, they need to be brave enough to make the decision to fight and resist the urge to flight. "A guardian must be brave if he is to fight well and to be brave he needs to be sufficiently spirited" (Plato, *Republic*, 375b).

118

silver, bronze, and iron, Aristotle also insisted on the imperative sustenance of an elite aristocratic class for the sake of overall good and happiness and especially in the absence of a singular individual, the contemplative philosopher who also happened to be the most capable ruler.[54] Aside from Plato and Aristotle, Greek physicians like Galen also wrote treatises on predicting human potential by following certain measurable, recognizable physical traits.

There were other sources that provided guidelines for the proper selection of youth. For instance, in the Keykâvus' *Ḳābūsnāme* written in 1082, a popular adab book among the Enderun students composed in the form of advices and wisdom from a royal father to his son, chapter twenty-three entitled "On the Proper and Improper Ways of Selecting Slaves for Service" begins with explaining the reasons why a noble man should know very well the science of slave selection. Picking the wrong person for e.g., household service would not only hurt the owner's household but even more so it will damage his reputation outside of it.[55]

Keykavus provides a long and detailed list of physical and other features depending on the type of slave one is looking to purchase. The features depend on the type of service one will use the slave for. For instance, if one is looking for a courtier type of slave, i.e., for companionship "[the slave's] height should be tall, not short; hair should be soft, not stiff; the palms should be roundish and soft, etc.," If the slave is intended for technical service after receiving some education, e.g., scribes, "[the slave's] palms should be flat and the fingers should have some space between them, and it is better if the eye color is hazel. A slave with these features acquires knowledge and sciences better and easier. They make especially good kethüdas (chief steward) or treasurers."

The boys were called forth along with their fathers so that the recruiting officers will have a clue as to what the young boy would look like when he grew

---

[54] Yuhanna b. Bıtrîk's "Kitâbü's-Siyâse fî Tedbîri'r-Riyâse" a translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*.
[55] In Turkish, "Zira ki dışındaki aybından içindeki aybı çok olur."

119

up. Physical beauty was important for the Ottomans mainly for two reasons: first, it was considered that beauty and intelligence were connected and that God generally gave with both hands. Physical beauty was therefore considered as a proof of divine grace, a mark of the divine gift. Secondly, these boys will be spending their times around the Sultan, the imperial family and the state elite, plus the most promising among them could become a member of the dynastic family as grooms. They needed at least to be 'comely.'[56] After basic traits of both physique and character, the boys were briefly quizzed to assess their wits and smarts, but also their ability to use language.

The village priests were asked about each individual lad's social history. The recruiters were not interested in the ecumenical aspect of the priest's logbook. Baptism records were used as a census and to estimate the boy's age, whether the boy's both parents were alive, their livelihood, and especially whether the boy had committed any crimes or misdemeanor –that is, those crimes that were also recognized so by the established religious canon. Certain types of 'misdemeanors' were not welcome. If for instance the boy was ever got caught stealing, this meant a definite strike on the list. One day these lads could be assigned for the guardianship of the Palace chambers that contained the most valuable Islamic relics, the *Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi*, that housed the Prophet's mantle, his battle standard, among many others.[57]

Those who tried to hide their children from the officers were strictly punished. Villagers sometimes attempted to prevent the village boys from being conscripted by falsifying baptism registers, circumcising them, or declaring them married. However, in some cases parents asked the sultan to consider their

---

[56] İlber Ortaylı recounts an entertaining anecdote: one day a dervish (spiritual men of the esoteric branches mostly vowed to asceticism) came upon a progression where the servants were marching in full order and with their adorned garments. When the choicest Enderunî ghilman were passing by him the dervish could not resist anymore and loudly sighed: "My dear Lord, take a look at them and then look at me! Can you honestly say that you created us equally with equal care and measure? Look how beautiful these guys are!"

[57] The chamber was named after the most valuable relic of all, the Prophet's Mantle (*Hırka-i Şerif*).

children eligible for recruitment, in order to be exempted from certain taxes. For example, during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, Bosnians asked to be conscripted. However, it has generally been considered that these recruitments were resented. A significantly earlier local 'resentment' was recorded in a song from Epirus:

"Be damned, Emperor, thrice be damned
For the evil you have done and the evil you do.
You catch and shackle the old and the archpriests,
In order to take the children as janissaries.
Their parents weep, their sisters and brothers, too
And I cry until it pains me
As long as I live I shall cry,
For last year it was my son and this year my brother" (Vakalopoulos 1976: 36-37).

Despite the parents' resentment, the boys were scrupulously gathered in the village center. By scrutinizing the lists that the village priest provided, well-brought-up boys of good birth were selected and separated from the rest. Orphans, for instance, were not accepted because they were believed to lack proper upbringing and susceptible greed and gluttony.

When the desired number of boys had been chosen, they were organized into groups before their transportation to the capital. Each of these groups leaving the countryside for Istanbul was called *sürü* (herd, flock) –another linguistic item that indicates the *pastoral* nature of the Ottoman mentality that governed the entire process. The boys were dressed entirely in crimson clothing whose purpose was similar to present-day bright orange outfit of the American inmates. Dressed with a *kızıl aba* (crimson gabardine) and a *kızıl külah* (crimson hat) a devşirme boy would be highly visible from afar or he would have to risk complete nudity if he attempted a getaway (*firar*).

The major rallying point for all the devshirme flocks was Edirne –if the gathering was made from the Balkans area. From there the individual flocks were united and as one large group the journey to Istanbul began.

The end of the journey to the capital was marked with a stupendous ceremony: circumcision. Imperial circumcision ceremonies were always grand, but only when the young boy who was about to become an adult was a young prince of the Ottoman dynasty; devşirme received treatment as any of the princes would, gifts, pocket money, expectations of loyalty, fealty, and good behavior rewarded, bad behavior punished just as severely.

After the circumcision ceremony at the Palace a further selection process began: if serious problems were detected e.g., behavioral defects such as tendency for slacking, this bunch was directly sent to certain designated places in Anatolia to live a few years with Turkish peasants, where they will learn the basic language (Chagatai Turkish) and the foundations of the Islamic faith. The adornment of both will come later during their education at the Palace.

Conscripted boys were filtered for an extremely wide range of positions. There were devşirme who ended up performing no more than manual labor whereas some others reached high-ranking administrative and military positions. The two major state institutions that recruited from the devşirme were the salaried military corps (the Janissaries and the elite cavalry divisions, the sipahi) and the administrative expert personnel. Some were sent to the imperial docks first as interns doing manual labor later they could become chief dock masters, some were sent to specialized army units such as the Humbaracı Ocağı (the artillery corps) and some were destined to spend an entire life doing nothing but conventional manual labor (Uzunçarşılı 1948).

After the circumcision ceremony at the Palace began the second selection, another round of examination this one conducted at the center. These examinations were important 'Palace events' that the Ottoman elite took great interest. It was common practice for the sultans to attend these events.

The brightest youths who fit into the general guidelines and had a strong primary education were then given to selected Muslim families across Anatolia to complete the enculturation process. They would later attend schools across

Anatolia to complete their training for six to seven years in order to qualify as ordinary military officers. The best among them would be reserved to receive a palace education and were distributed to the hierarchy of palaces connected to the Imperial Palace in Istanbul. By the mid-sixteenth century there were six imperial palace schools: one in the former Ottoman capital Edirne, and five in Istanbul: Galata Sarayi, Ibrahim Pasha Sarayi, İskender Çelebi Sarayi and Eski Saray.[58] All these schools were connected to the one inside the Topkapı, the *Enderun-u Hümâyûn*, which acted as the primary institution that the other palaces prepared their students for.

Devşirme was a life-changing event, but it was also a rule changing one: gone was the Christian pastoral life of the family household under the paternal father taking care of the boy and the life with the priest taking care of the soul. In the next years a select group would receive an Enderun education, spend their lives at the Imperial Palaces cut off from the outside world, they would learn arts and crafts, and receive a cultural, pedagogical training that aimed to turn them all into an Ottoman gentlemen. Most importantly they would do all these and more while living right next to the Sultan's *Harem-i Hümâyûn* (Private Quarters) where he spent most of his days.

It was him who would replace the two aspects of the Christian patriarchal establishment; the father at home and the father at the church both were to be unified under the persona of the Ottoman sultan. The Ottoman patriarch claiming the two central Christian local patriarchs was perhaps the reason why the local resentment to the devşirme practice frequently vocalized by the priests for the community effectively lost a son and a Christian soul from the flock entrusted on them by God.

Apparently geographical distance to the person of the sultan mattered, for instance, Bobovi says the pedagogues of the Enderun were a lot more forgiving in the severity of their physical punishments for they feared sometimes the cries of

---

[58] Eski Saray (Old Palace): the imperial palace before Mehmed II founded the Topkapı Palace.

the student would be heard by the sultan and his august person would be disturbed. Cases such as these ended mostly the sultan –not being able to sleep or concentrate, sending his personal *ulak* (courier) to the school and stopping the activity at once, an instance of a chance sultanic benevolence. Knowing this possibility the Enderuni students might have increased the loudness of their cries purposefully further yet Bobovi says there was no mercy available for the ones in Edirne palace, which he claims to have seen, and mercy he says only comes to them after death since there is no figure like the sultan who can put limits to the discretionary and extreme punishments supposedly inflicted by the Edirne palace school's teachers and administrative personnel.

Many among them could not make the cut –around eighty percent, and were sent to the salaried army corps –mostly to the cavalry divisions, to continue training to become military officers. The best among them were kept to continue receiving education at the Enderun campus.

Ethnic Solidarity as Regulation and Integration

The preservation of the convert recruits' cins (ethno-religious and local-regional identity) had strategic purposes as part of the Ottoman patrimonial governmentality. Cins solidarity was a venue to form vocational, political factions and cliques thus an important factor in the formation of loyalty networks but also enabled the creation of a multiplicity of groups that could be pitted against one another by the center (Mardin 1973:169).

Solidarity groups, factions, and cliques based on shared ethnicity were among the main elements the Enderun's graduates participated in the larger game of patrimonial politics (Kunt 1974, Ze'evi 1996). This did not take place, however, in a manner that posed a danger for the dynastic household. The devşirme ethnic cliques took positions in relation with each other, and with the state's other status groups, such as the Imperial Cavalry (Kapıkulu Sipahi), even the Ulema. Similarly they formed alliances for the same purposes, among

themselves, with the cliques inside the ruling family and the Palace, and so on. Their friendships solidified -as well as the enmities between them, during their education inside the Palace walls and lasted well after graduation when official careers began, oftentimes to the effect of making or breaking them.

There were several kinds of 'faction formation' alongside the ones based on *cins*. There was the more specialized status membership for instance membership to artisan and craftsmen *guilds,* other factions based on expertise and the knowledge of sciences, uses and access of certain guarded technologies – today's taken for granted status of 'literacy' had long been jealously guarded by particular sets of status groups. Although there were various forms of practicing loyalty to persons and abstract units (army corps, vocational units and guilds, etc.,) one of the most important rallying point for factions and cliques had been the servant's (the kul's) ethnic background.

The devşirme, having been conscripted between the ages of ten and eighteen, remembered their birthplaces and maintained ties with them.[59] Although the boys forgot their fathers' names, even their own names due to disuse they mostly remembered where they came from, which means that cins was a piece of the individual's background info that continued to matter after the devşirme – while many aspects of his identity completely ceased after that point. Their cultural background they continued to use as part of their identity because it was already a tacit rule in the Enderûn that they better do so and start using the ethnic factions and alliances wisely to their favor –learning how to maneuver in competitive status environments was key to success for all careerists.

Metin Kunt gives examples of the devşirme who spoke their native languages or dressed in the traditional clothing of their region such as Mere Hüseyin Paşa (d. 1624) and İbşir Mustafa Paşa (1607-1655) (Kunt 1975). These cultural attachments also led to stronger links among devşirme with the same

---

[59] Even if they forgot the state registers did not. In one of the classic pieces of the Ottoman practice of keeping *sidjil defteri* the multi-volume log registers of the Ottoman elite the state kept careful records of where the kul was recruited.

family background. Kunt explains that in accordance with the family solidarity of the newly appointed grand vizier, there was a great chance that the new administration would be formed along kinship lines. This solidarity, as well as other loyalties, such as belonging to the same regiment, is important for our understanding of how the devşirme were involved in the power dynamics of Ottoman society. Kunt (1975), for example, mentions a *paşa* who helped a janissary because they had both been taught by the same tutor in the same regiment.

Sokollu Mehmet Paşa gave special patronage to the region of his birth, while Koçi Bey (d. 1650), an Enderun graduate and a privy companion (*khāṣṣ nedīm*) of two Ottoman sultans, was buried in his birthplace of Gümülcine (Thrace, Greece) in accordance with his will.

A devşirme was absorbed into his master's social group. In this connection he engaged in with the political, economic, and cultural life of the Ottoman society depending on the power of his patron and the status group that he belonged to. Importantly, the chances of him getting a high position could depend on the ethnicities of those at the higher levels, all the way to the top of the government. Whether the next Grand Vizier was going to be an Albanian, a Serbian, or a Bosnian had always created speculation among several circles and not only the highest levels. The merchants and dealers at the bazaars had to keep a steady ear on such speculations because of the plate-tectonic effects created by the changes in government.

This does not mean of course once the highest position went vacant there was complete makeovers, frequent large scale purges, a constant political and social volatility that took a serious cost from all its participants. The Ottoman patrimonial competition was not self-destructive, that is, there had always been a certain minimum, a constant of Ottoman politics, when kullar acquired high positions secured their domains there were complex webs of rules, regulations, and norms that needed compliance no matter the status that came with high office,

for some actions, decisions there were limits, and there were no negotiating these –there were several Topkapı palace & court customs that every individual patriarch of the Ottoman dynasty had to show respect and abide by.

The devşirme policy provided the empire with elite networks based on trust, solidarity, and loyalty alongside an elite hierarchy based on expertise and a system of meritocracy where a minimum amount of skill, knowledge, and proficiency was required of the client as well as a minimum level of personal connection. Under patrimonial regimes, a simple *dislike* of the potential client could legitimately pass as good of an excuse as any other – especially if there is no cost or if the patron can easily afford the potential cost. Thus, it was in the interest of the future players of the Ottoman patrimonial game to establish not only good standing relations with the strategic gatekeepers of the career track they were about to commit but they also needed to acquire and display a level of social and cultural comeliness at least to avoid elimination at the earlier stages. Surely, one needed to diversify his portfolio of connections both as bosses and as clients. The Ottoman state culture had multiple venues that allowed the agents to establish diverse relations; one could be a member of a Serbian, or Albanian clique, a member of a spiritual order (*tekke, zaviye*), and a member to a status group and he could exercise all these types of connectivity to establish diverse forms of relations –all at the same time, thus be able to diversify his patrimonial networking portfolio. At the highest levels, one might have to commit to certain groups and factions, or to individuals at which point 'playing on the wrong horse' could effectively ruin one's career aspirations. Yet, such absolute levels of commitment that required a clear career and personal positioning that took particular groups and people as 'political enemies' was a feature of the high-stakes game and at the lower levels, diversification of personal and status group connectivity allowed a breathing space for what could be a high political-vocational volatility.

Practices of Loyalty

In processes of rapid change the social construction of *trust* and *solidarity* becomes more crucial. It is those groups that evince a high level of internal solidarity and trust which are best able to adjust or adapt themselves in situations of change (Shils 1957). In these processes the elites play important roles in building such cohesiveness and solidarity –especially with their role in connecting the solidarity of small groups with that of broader organizational, institutional, macro-societal frameworks (Padgett and Ansell 1993). In this connection in constructing the reference orientations and reference groups of members of different social sectors the quantity and quality of the elite's influences are crucial for the overall resilience and longevity of the state and its institutions (Merton 1946, 1950, 1967; Lazarsfeld 1952, 1982).

This was most certainly the case during the Ottoman state transformation during the 16th and 17th centuries. During the state's transition from a mainly patriarchal organization into a patrimonial enterprise, a kind of *power elite* slowly emerged.[60] Notably, the Ottoman *power elite* consisted of three status groups: the 'ulema, the bureaucratic/scribal class of civil servants, and the devşirme. Among the three, the latter dominated the political landscape. The Ottoman devşirme, however, had one significant difference compared to Mills' (1956) American *power elite*. It consisted of successive cohorts of men who hardly remembered their paternal past. They had no prior family or kinship connections; thus, they became a part of the Ottoman patrimonial landscape with a clean slate.

---

[60] C. W. Mills' inquiry into the organization of power in the United States demonstrated that three firmly interlocked prongs of power had dominated the political and administrative landscape almost *in full*: military, corporate, and political elite. Heirs to a handful of families received almost all the positions in the country's most important *decision-making* centers. This relatively small group of elite not only dominated the society but they did so while preserving their hold over strategic positions within their patrimony especially within the confines of the state.

Additionally, they could not bequeath any wealth, land, or title to their progeny, which prevented the creation of an aristocratic class outside the dynastic family.

The devşirme connected with each other and with other groups through networks based on ethnic background, through business partnerships, and the typical relationships of the 'tit for tat' nature.

The proto-bureaucratic apparatus that had been a part of the central state from the beginning had developed around a series of interconnected households ('patriarchal networks') organized within a patrimonial setting. A single individual was at the center of all relationships that mattered, the Ottoman sultan. He was the embodiment of the state, which was perceived as his patrimony –the legitimate grounds of his dominion. His clients, many of them patriarchs in their own satellites, were connected to the original patriarch through innumerable ways, there were as many different contracts as the ruler wished, and his concessions, whatever he offered to the client was always presented as an august gift, given solely by virtue of the patriarch's magnanimity. The return service was not always made clear, as it had become under modern bureaucracies. In return, fealty was owed –which, in the medieval-feudal sense originally indicated a kind of alliance, [if the ruler is attacked the bondsman is bound to come to its aid].

The satellite households had a certain body of clientele attached to them, whose bids to various offices, deals, concessions that the households, acting like 'firms' supported and bargained for (Salzmann 1993). A patrimonial type of 'political representation.' In return, important strategic connections were made, the households acting like firms both represented their clients, mostly, demanded a share of the income attached to the office, but also they acted also in a way like legal firms of today, they were the first qualitative and quantitative threshold that weeded out the truly unworthy from more representable candidates. No one wants to sponsor a truly reprehensible candidate. The Ottoman bureaucratic apparatus benefited from these networks of households in other important ways. These firms

took on clients but also they educated a significant number of future protégés – similar to the system that the dynastic household used.

Rather than sharing its powers with a strong group of potential power contenders arising out of a well-established and well-entrenched blood aristocracy, the Ottoman center moved towards their elimination. Both the peripheral and the central 'families' that provided the earlier state with its elite personnel, were slowly removed from the game –the most famous of which was Mehmed II's elimination of the Çandarlı ulema family that produced three grand viziers and numerous statesmen and army commanders. With the removal of these patriarchs that the central state used to collaborate with, the Ottoman center replaced them with an elite servant class whose livelihood, education, and careers were entirely provided for by the sultan.

In patrimonial regimes, some clients become patrons (sub-patriarchs) in the domains granted to them, a systemic and risky feature of this type of regimes in general. The state center has to manage these men carefully, never allowing them to attain too much power, nor leaving them without the necessary means to remain functional. By producing a special kind of servant elite, the Ottoman center got rid of the risk of inherited (aristocratic) statuses from slowly building power in their individual domains one generation at a time. More importantly however this strategic move had another consequence. Although mutual interests and reciprocity are among the main elements required to maintain and strengthen patrimonial relationships, at the foundation are affection-oriented relations based on personal loyalties, friendships, and kinships. As, Scott (1972) argues, the closer the person is to the Boss, the higher the level of affection or trust at the base of the relationship. The lower the person in the system, the more instrumental the relationship becomes. Although patron-client relationships are instrumental and exchange-oriented in nature, they are also social and flexible. Interpersonal obligations and affection are at the base of patrimonial relationships. By producing the future peripheral or functionary elite within the imperial palace

right next to where the sultan lives, the Ottoman state begins by raising its future elite personnel in extremely close proximity to the power center, thus increasing the personal, affection-based relationship before sending him away for duty.

As it is under patriarchal regimes, loyalty is a systemic currency in patrimonial systems (Roth 1968). It represents a social capital that substitutes a large and diverse realm of *things*. Hence its increased purchase capacity especially under social groups that already possess a capacity to exercise some degree of control in large and diverse social realms, that is, *the social elite.* For the elite, loyalty is a key component as long as the majority of the members wanted to participate in the patrimonial game, which is played out both in the center and the periphery in various forms and degrees. This game includes:

a. The political tactics and strategies designed to work where the person and the office are understood in terms of each other, which creates

b. A volatile political landscape resulting from the fluidity between personal and official relations, which necessitates

c. Loyalty and solidarity practiced at the personal and institutional levels.

Conclusion

The Ottoman *devşirme* arose within a mentality of constant warfare at the borders, which were a lot more religiously/spiritually defined at the earlier phases of the empire than the later phases. At the very least, the Ottoman state's religious institution, the *'ulema* worked closely with the central dynastic state's practices of warfare and legitimizing an unorthodox practice –in Sunni orthodox Islamic terms, although was not difficult –since the Abbasid caliphate employed a similar policy, nonetheless it was a concession that needed to be based on a sort of canonical parlance, a reading of the orthodox Islamic authoritative past and discourse to legitimate the Ottoman practice of gathering young boys by removing them from their families –mostly by uses of force and threat. Although

131

early on the deal was made between the Islamic state institution and the dynastic state concerning only the fates of the able prisoners of war and the legal question was on the amount rightfully claimed by the warlord, the Ottoman sultan –even for various reasons he could not partake in the war. The amount was forty prisoners of war and by the nature of those wars the prisoners mostly happened to be the Christian people of the Balkans area. Since the early Ottoman war making efforts took place in the region, earlier practices of the devşirme and the kind (cins, indicating ethnic, religious, regional identity) of those who were selected ended up affecting the institutions the devşirme was connected with.

The devşirme provided a large pool of manpower. At the zenith of the practice, in every eight or nine years a large intake of a new cohort became necessary as the empire's certain state institutions, the army corps, the navy docks (among dozens more) needed more man-power. The reasons for the regular intakes were typical to large-scale enterprises; men advance in the hierarchical ladder, men are dismissed either removed completely from the enterprise or from a position/rank, and men perish –under an enterprise that almost constantly had an active war front somewhere in the east or the west, the foundation of such an institution is easily conceivable.

The *devşirme* mechanism was managed, overseen, regulated through a protocol –perhaps not as strict as the 'modern' rational-legal bureaucracy would have it, but one that was developed by –and in turn shaped, an Ottoman patrimonial bureaucracy. What made this kind of bureaucracy unique was that it ran through the channels of diversity rather than imposing bans and restrictions on multiplicity. One such 'multiplicity' was the ethnic, religious, and regional (*cins*) backgrounds of the boys gathered by the devşirme machinery (Kunt 1974). The Ottomans found different ways to not only 'manage' diversity, the state was able to create positive sum scenarios and 'win-win' strategies between the diverse groups, factions, and cliques. The Ottoman patrimonial art of government –like many of its imperial counterparts, chose to play groups off of each other. This was

not only a simple 'divide and rule' however. The Ottoman institutional core, the culture of the state's elite itself was transformed through the process, whereas a British 'imperial divide and rule' contained a stable unchanging colonialist core driven by capitalist entrepreneurship. The difference between the two types of empires, the early modern Ottoman Empire and the modern British Commonwealth was that the Ottoman strategies (arts) of government were fundamentally more flexible and open towards diversity.

The *devşirme* practice and the Enderun institution survived in almost uncontested forms near two and a half centuries. This means that the patrimonial Ottoman protocol of creating an able and 'worthy' pool of ghilman as the primary man power for the state worked well at least to a certain degree; an institutional, official, and systemic *standard* certain status groups had to meet so that the Ottoman central state kept its relative control and authority –in short, the conditions behind the empire's historical-temporal longevity. The Ottoman protocol and norms of gathering, therefore, had a significant impact on the empire's central resilience and longevity.

Among the larger group of the devşirme one particular unit became especially powerful and remained influential for almost half the history of the Ottoman Empire: the graduates of the Enderun Schooling complex, the Enderunî. They became the power agents whose personal networks of clients, connections, internal cohort and hierarchy solidarities served the empire at a time of rapid state transformation and contributed greatly to the dynastic state's centralization efforts. Starting with the mid-fifteenth century the Enderunî elite began to steadily dominate the state's affairs.

They occupied a power position in the Ottoman state and high-society at large not only due to their specialist education and upbringing, nor simply for their rank, status and positions in the state but in the sense similar to the Mills' American power elite that established powerful lasting networks and connections via inter-marriage, business partnerships, nepotism, and clientelism. The Enderuni

elite formed lasting relations and networks among one another. Even though they were recruited at a young age and immured within the palace walls for the entire period of their study, most students were never completely detached from their ethnic background. This was, perhaps, not a chink in an otherwise impenetrable armor or an error, a mistake in an otherwise perfectly functioning machine. The sultan's servants connecting and organizing around ethnicity was not a mistake or something that the larger system just could not manage to get rid of. It was an element that made it possible for groups of men, for factions and cliques to form. These solidarity groups that were bound to get 'political' did not necessarily pose a threat for the patriarchal (dynastic) center. In fact, following Weber, it is a typical policy of the patrimonial regimes to play groups and parties off of each other, changing loyalties as if one is changing lanes on the road to get to a point.

The early years at the palace schools followed a strict protocol that emphasized physical training as well as the basics of the Ottoman, Islamic, and courtly high culture that they were about to be incorporated. They spent decades between the palace posts and when they were around thirty years of age, they either made it into the very top, the sultan's privy elite whose numbers were traditionally restricted to forty. The Ottoman '40 under 40.'[61] When, in their mid-thirties, they received the highest administrative and army positions available, they left the palace to rule the lands and people in service of the dynastic head. Since they had lived a monastic life until then, which imposed celibacy, they were bachelors. The Ottoman patrimonial machinery had the perfect solution for them: not every girl at the Harem quarters had the fortune to share the sultan's bed and even better, bore him a child. These girls were married off to the fresh Enderun graduates –especially those up and coming were selected and matched with their equal from the Harem. The couple, who lived right next to one another but had never seen each other –the Harem quarters were strictly off limits to anyone other

---

[61] The allusion here it to Forbes magazine's annual list of '30 under 30' (thirty young stars under the age of thirty to watch).

134

than the dynastic family and their personal servants and guards, let alone the Enderunî, the grand vizier had to ask for permission before setting foot inside. Separated by a wall, the couple both received perhaps the best education possible and more importantly they were both instructed for years in the etiquette and protocol of the House of Osman.

In short, the Ottoman power elite was a symbolically extended family network and the devshirme elite –both as female and male, played an integral role as part of the politics and administration of the empire. Under the Ottomans a traditional patriarchal court strategy (elite intermarriage) had taken a new twist. The Ottoman dynasty left nothing to chance and produced both the bride and the groom for its satellite households. These were *fashioned exactly after the original dynastic household, a microcosmic replica whose DNA contains several key elements of the former.* These are patriarchal and patrimonial bonds. In the Ottoman case these were an Islamic imprint, devshirme origin, Palace education, rank as the askeri. Yet, alongside 'official' titles, the Ottoman dynastic center, the high court, expected from its 'subject' a whole set of other demands arising purely from the special bond the servant has with his master. He should not disappoint. This Ottoman patriarchal contract contains an important historical insight for an accurate description of a pivotal Ottoman social and political concept, *kul* (the slave-servant.) The dynasty marries off the Harem graduates as it does its own female line, i.e., the imperial daughters. Tradition considered both as kul on equal grounds. This was the same with the *Gılmânân-i Enderûn*, the devşirme students of the Enderun. They had a symbolic –not in any way weak or superficial, bond with the Ottoman sultan arranged in a fashion like the familial bond between father and son and at the same time a bond fashioned after the master and his servant –whose life still hangs in the former's lips but also whose quality of life he owed *entirely* to him.[62] As Inalcik says "Above all, they were slaves of the

---

[62] G. Goodwin (2013), correcting the mistranslations and misappropriations/misevaluations regarding the use of the term slave for the Ottoman concept of *kul* (ghulam, pl., ghilman) "the

Ottoman sultan, forming around him an imperial group and completely dependent on him for all things" (İnalcık 2003: 78).

---

correct term is *kul*. This is not a slave in the sense of a galley slave. The entire household, the janissaries, pages at the Palace School, and girls in the Harem were kuls: that is, the members of the Sultan's extended and abstract family; but also properties/parts of his patrimony.
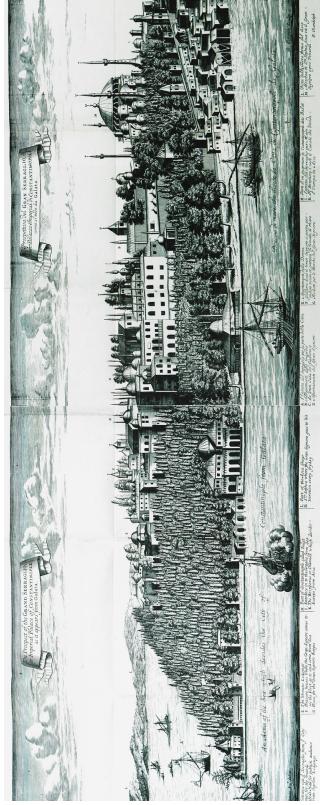
CHAPTER IV

THE ENDERÛN CAMPUS

The View From Afar

      A few decades after the conquest of Constantinople, if a person looked at the Topkapı Palace from the two hills on the other side of the straits, powerfully gleaming under the light of the sun during the day and the moon at night, one would see dozens of massive army tents erected as if never to leave the area right next to the Holy Church, the Hagia Sophia. It was as if the Turkish sultan permanently invaded the area right next to the ancient Byzantine acropolis with his army. These were, of course, not army tents made of canvas: the Turkish sultan's *New Palace* had several large kiosks with large silvery domes made of lead alloy.[63] Although in time oxidization took away their shimmering glare, the imperial palace back then had a powerful visual message to the city's native inhabitants and visitors alike: there was a new Caesar in town and he wasn't going anywhere. The Ottoman sultan's message was clear and unavoidable. The Turkish sultan's *otağ* (army tent) was visibly imposing over the Hagia Sophia and the Christian and Muslim populations alike were made to know under the shining sun and the glimmering moon, day in and day out, that the Turks were there to stay.

---

[63] Although the portico inside the *Bâbü's-saâde*, the great gate opening to the Enderun, was renovated in 1774, in a miniature from a 16th century *Hünername* shows the old original portico with a massive glossy dome covered with lead alloy.

Image

138

Chapter IV: The Enderun Campus

This chapter introduces the Enderun as a disciplinary apparatus. Following Foucault's definition (1977: 195-228), the term discipline indicates 'regulation by way of organizing' (space, time, movements, etc.). Discipline, therefore, is a specific set of standards that are strategically put together to produce a certain type of subject. As Foucault notes, objectification, that is, turning the subject into an object (of power, of knowledge) is a corollary of every disciplinary activity – by knowing we control, by controlling we know. Thus, in the act of discipline, subjectification and objectification go together hand in hand.

Disciplines mobilize 'tactics of power', which have three characteristics: maximum impact for lowest cost; increase the intensity and extent of power without failure; increase both the docility and the utility of all the elements of the system (Foucault 1977: 218). Disciplines are rationalized government of groups that among other things render their behavior predictable. As Foucault (1977: 219) explains, "[…discipline] fixes; it arrests or regulates movements; it clears up confusion; it dissipates compact groupings of individuals wandering around the country in unpredictable ways; it establishes calculated distributions."

In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault uses the architectural blueprints of several modern apparatuses as gateways into the essence of what they are –as structural designs and strategically sequestered spaces not only to contain certain groups of people, but also to observe, discipline, and control them and all the while turning them into objects of knowledge/power. After studying the asylums, hospitals, and prisons, Foucault finds 'panopticism' as one of the defining and formative features of our modern society.

Once caught as an operational entity in the institution of prisons, the notion of apparatus conceptually suggests the researcher to be on the look out for the panoptic mentality everywhere associated with the criminal practice. Thus, panopticism is found in the modern notions of crime, criminality, and the criminal

and it is not confined to the prison. Bentham's design displays the spirit of the age perfectly for panopticism is found in apparatuses other than prisons that share the immediate concern of surveillance, of order, and of 'reform' such as schools, hospitals, army barracks and asylums.

As Goffman (1968) would have it, the Enderun was a *total institution*.[64] This chapter focuses on the imperial palace as a physical structure, as an architectural design whose blueprints could offer insights into the governing dynamics of the apparatus and reveal its *raison d'être*. Before moving inside the campus and look at the lives of the students in detail, approaching the Enderun as a specifically sequestered place provides several advantages: discipline and surveillance are integral to the kind of pedagogical design that total institutions such as the Enderun followed. Second, from the ways in which the campus life was physically imposed on those who lived inside, one can speculate and propose hypotheses to be tested in later chapters. More importantly, there seems to be a kind of *honesty* about the ways in which institutions manage space that their many intricacies make it more difficult to get at. The architectural designs of such apparatuses –or 'total institutions' are simpler and not always entirely sui generis. These places share certain commonalities by virtue of their functions to separate a formally administered life from the regular one outside.

The architectural design of the Topkapı Palace was a combination of functional, aesthetic, and ideological elements that made up the Ottoman civilization. In a way, the palace blueprint can be read like reading an Ottoman treatise of advice (Fisher and Fisher 1985). While the latter, the Ottoman mirrors for princes, presents the reader with historical reflections on the politics and affairs of the empire, the former's blueprint provides the reader with reflections into the Ottoman patrimonial mind and its court culture. The organization of the

---

[64] For Goffman a 'total institution' is a social hybrid, part residential community, part formal organization "[where] a large number of like-minded individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life" (1968: 11).

140

palace served to fulfill the functional requirements of the political leadership and at the same time present the society with select images of authority and tradition that the Ottoman rulers wished to impress on the public mind –and perhaps more importantly, on the army of slave-servants undergoing intense training while performing services inside the walls at the Third Court (Enderun).

The architectural design of the Enderun reveals several insights into the governing dynamics of the Ottoman mentality of government. The first is the architectural design that inspired the original blueprint. Generally referred to as *the Castle-Palace* design, it was popular especially among the Italian city-states and one that which Machiavelli dedicated considerable attention in his famous book *The Prince* (chapters 5-7). The principal idea behind the design was militaristic: first, the structural layers (e.g., the courtyards, walled off sections) were organized in a concentric defensive position –after all, similar to the scenarios described by Machiavelli, Mehmed II too was moving into a city he had just conquered, thus, safety was a concern. The medieval design 'a castle within a castle' remained as the core structural element but the Renaissance architectural movement towards size and grandeur was included to the medieval focus on defense and security. Second, the castle-palace design was minimalistic. No excess, only the most essential people the prince needed to govern, his slave-servants in attendance serving his person and his protective bodyguard, who would also be the protective echelon in battle, surrounding him as an elite fighting force. The minimalist design had a simple purpose: the prince should be able to respond any kind of crisis, to a hostile enemy who has just crossed the borders, an uprising that needed to be contained as quickly as possible. The idea was for the prince to deploy the core of his army, that is, his most trusted generals and his own elite fighting force within the day of receiving the news. Battle ready in less than a day. This was the formative idea behind the castle-palace design.

The second feature of the palace's structural design was the Enderun campus' positioning *vis-à-vis* the rest of the palace structure. The Enderun, as the

141

term implied, was located at 'the innermost' section of the palace. Separated by a colossal gate, this area was the Ottoman sultan's private (mahrem) domain. Whereas the outer court, the Bîrûn, was open to public access, the passage to the Enderun was subject to a strict schedule. Even the grand viziers, technically the men of the government, were to ask for permission and schedule an appointment with the *Hasodabaşı* (Privy Secretary to the Sultan) (*Kānunnâme*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Esad Efendi, nr. 587, vr. 165a-b).

Third and last is the strategic design of the campus, that is, its organizational segmentation and hierarchization of space in alignment with its pedagogical purposes. The campus was organized following primarily an army encampment model. The students attended their classes, worked as interns right next to where they ate and slept. Their movements were heavily constricted to their living space. The buildings were organized in a hierarchical fashion in the sense that visibility of and proximity to the sultan was a privilege, thus as the students rose higher in the ranks from one corps to another, they also came closer to the sultan and his harem. The *Khāṣṣ Oda* was the highest possible grade and their members were considered as the Enderun elite –hence their title of 'Ağa'. These men worked and lived right next to the passageway to the Harem and served the sultan personally. The lowest tiers, however, such as the initiating cohorts of the Small and Large Chambers were lodged at the far end corner, physically farthest removed, and instructed to scatter and disappear when the sultan happened to visit the campus. A corporal was to yell out a signal and they were to disperse and hide immediately. Failure to do so constituted a punishable crime. The mere sight of the sultan was an honor that the students had to work hard to earn.

The Topkapı Palace was more than the Ottoman sultan's private grounds and the seat of his government. It was administered following rules and regulations delineated by carefully articulated protocol. These were not however ordinary regulatory principles to keep order and discipline, they constituted the

very essence of what it meant to be a member of the sultan's servant elite. Thus, the palace tradition, its protocol and etiquette were attended to and cared for by a small army of men who were literally *handpicked,* brought in, acculturated, educated and groomed to serve the sultan and as an extension, the state –no one and nothing else.

Mehmet II: A Renaissance Prince

After glorious sons, their fathers –perhaps equally great, tend to be overlooked. In that regard Murad II (r. 1421-1451) shared the same fate with King Philip II, Alexander the Great's father. Both sons benefited greatly from the foundational investments made by their fathers: in the case of Alexander it was Philip's carefully built alliances through long and arduous wars and strategic alliances through marriages that brought together the military might of the Greeks and Macedonians that prepared the ground for Alexander's conquests of the East –originally his father's dream (Lewis 1994: 374). With Mehmed II, it was his father Murad's institutional foundations such as the palace boarding school for the specially selected devşirme and the graduates' employment in the high administrative and military positions, among other similar policies that already put the Ottoman state on an imperial path. A dream fully consolidated under his son. It is for this reason that Karen Barkey identifies Mehmed II as the true founder of the empire, who ushered in a new period in the empire's history, not only in terms of organizational and institutional renovation of the old system among which especially the rules and laws of the dynastic state that he codified thus started its canonization, but also a leap in terms of mentality of government (Barkey 2008).

Mehmed II was more than a great military leader and an able statesman. It is well known that he considered himself as the rightful heir to the long line of Caesars of Rome, which after his conquest of the Eastern Roman Empire's

capital, became more than a mere declaration (Kafadar 2007). He received a classical education of both worlds –the East and the West, he was fluent in several languages, an influential poet, and he enjoyed participating in scholarly discussions on science, religion and the arts (Gibbon 1903; Runciman 1965).[65] Following the Ottoman dynastic tradition of every sultan learning and practicing a craft, Mehmed was a talented gardener.

The infrastructural developments initiated by Murad II proved to be crucial for the empire's consolidation under the rule of his son. It was Murad who founded the courtly schooling system for the devşirme at the Edirne palace and it was him who established the palace school's overall system of organization, e.g., the constitution of the palace corps of *white eunuchs* (Ak Ağalar) who were charged with the education, discipline and management, overall inculcation and acculturation of the students receiving training. Murad II also ordered and sponsored the translation of what later became the Enderun academy's standard reading material for the younger cohorts.[66] As Inalcik shows, the imperial school built in the New Palace (Topkapı Palace) by Mehmed II was modeled after the palace school in Edirne (the empire's former capital) built by his father Murad II.[67]

The Topkapı Palace, which was known as the Yeni Saray (New Palace) until the 19th century is the second palace built after the conquest of Istanbul. The first one was located closer to the city's inhabitants. Mehmed II however demanded seclusion, a larger place that could serve the many needs of his new empire, all in line with his personal agenda of taking the state his ancestors built to the next step: a new palace for the new empire. Mehmed II's decision to

---

[65] As İnalcık shows, the suggestion that upon reading Plato's *Republic* Mehmed II wanted to emulate a military caste modeled after the 'Class of Guardians' is only a presumption.

[66] Enderun library's popular classics such as *Hümâyûnnâme* (Kalīla and Dimna translation), *Danişmendname*, among others were translated for the first time or receieved re-translations under the patronage and supervision of Sultan Murad I.

[67] Although the Edirne palace no longer exists for it was destroyed completely during the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78), there are depictions of its plan and historical record on its internal organization, structure, and functional units.

construct the New Palace is also explained by a new desire for elaborate ceremonial and imperial seclusion revealed in the kanunname (the dynastic law code) that he promulgated between 1477 and 1481 to regulate Ottoman court ceremonial, state protocol, and the laws of the dynasty.[68] He was personally involved in its design. Mehmed's *New Palace* functioned as a veritable stage within which the kanunname could be given concrete expression. Its architecture was designed in such a way so as to achieve a well-kept silence throughout the Palace with codes of decorum and manners applied to all of its inhabitants. As Gülru Necipoğlu (1991) says,

"Whereas the palace functioned in the fifteenth century as the sultan's rest station between military campaigns, in the sixteenth century it increasingly became a theater for the silent presentation of an immobile sultan to a carefully selected audience and a paradise on earth for his pleasure. As a result, the architectural, institutional, and ceremonial organization of the Topkapı Palace perfectly reflected the system of Ottoman absolute monarchy in which the existence of an elite servant class, the Ulema, and salaried employees of the centralized state freed the ruler from a dependency on the loyalty of nomadic tribes and landowning local chieftains –as was the case in the Timurid, Safavid, and Mughal states."

In the Ottoman system, the sultan, living in royal seclusion, "transformed into a mute and immobile idol almost too sacred to be seen," was held to be beyond any relations of reciprocity" (Necipoğlu 1991). The buildings in which he lived served only as a "stage," and it was the aloof behavior of the sultan himself attended by his personal slaves with codified, silent rituals that provided the true index of his own majesty. As Gülru Necipoğlu (1993) indicates,

"In contrast to the practice of Timurid, Safavid and Mughal rulers, who appeared regularly in public audiences and festivities, surrounded by their noble

---

[68] Inalcik (1960) says the famous law code of Mehmed was mainly an agglomeration of the dynasty's customary laws and their codification.

courtiers, the Ottoman sultans remained virtually invisible, communicating with that chosen few who had access to their persons in a language of signs intended to enhance their royal dignity. In both its physical and ceremonial aspects, the Ottoman palace was thus intended to make emphatic the unbridgeable gap between sultan and subject, master and slave."

The Original Blueprint

In the first few years following the conquest of the city, Mehmed II stayed and held court at the Edirne palace –the former capital of the empire. After a while, a former Byzantine palace was restored and he moved in yet from the beginning he must have thought of this place as a temporary measure for in between battles and skirmishes, he was already devising the plans of a new palace.[69] The first task was to find a suitable place, large and secluded enough for the grandiose structure he had in mind. One of the reasons, later chroniclers remarked, as to why the Conqueror decided to move from the Old Palace –as it was later called, and began constructing a new one was that the former was too close to the living quarters of the commoners. One day when Mehmed II was holding court, a commoner marches in and starts bellowing to see the sovereign – calling him out by name. The Ottoman historians point out to this particular instance when the sultan finally made his mind to move –the scene described is highly caricaturistic and even if it was true and such an event did happen, it probably was not the primary reason why Mehmed II wanted to move out. A glorious son of the Ottoman dynasty who had just brought an end to the Eastern Roman Empire –and who fashioned himself as the heir to its lineage as the new

---

[69] The first Palace, known as the Old Palace, was located closer to the living quarters of the re'aya (the subject populations) and was abandoned precisely for that reason. It is rumored that Mehmed II became physically disgusted after a commoner marched into the quarters where the Divan-i Hümâyûn convened, disturbed the session, and repeatedly shouted out the sultan's name asking where he was and how he can find him. After the event, Mehmed II who naturally was angered and gravely offended, immediately ordered the building of a new Palace far removed from the *re'aya*.

146

Caesar, could not be expected to dwell in a former and rather small Byzantine palace forever.

Mehmed II was personally involved in every step of the way; in fact, the original architectural blueprint bears his mark. The construction began in 1458 and ended in 1467. The sultan closely oversaw the building process, he asked for regular reports and updates about the problems encountered. In fact, he formed something like a modern-day search committee: a group of advisors from the Edirne palace were brought in for consultation and the sovereign tasked this group specifically to find ways to implement the plan he had in mind.[70] Famous architects from far and wide were commissioned full-time or part-time –the latter, to deal specifically with the certain problems encountered along the way.

Entire generations of heirs left their own marks by adding buildings, gardens, service areas, and kiosks yet the outer design had been preserved. Almost all the later additions were made inwards. Thus, the palace achieved a definitive form already in the second half of the sixteenth century under the reigns of Sülaymān the Magnificent and his immediate successors. The original blueprint was always kept and the Palace never received changes, rebuilding projects, additions that compromised neither its outlook nor its interior architectural fundamentals. The 'castle-palace' design remained as the principal backbone of the palace blueprint.

Built-in Militarism

"There is a curious detail about the way in which Turks pray at the [Enderun] mosques five times a day. They take formation around the sultan inside the prayer hall in exactly the same way they take battle formations, [the men] who pray on the Sultan's right and left hold the same ranks in battle formations, […] they

---

[70] The view that the Palace school's training system and the organization of the Halls (Odalar) were influenced by the Byzantine models is incorrect (e.g., Miller 1941: 10). The New Palace was modeled after the imperial palace in Edirne, the Ottoman capital before the conquest of Istanbul (Tosyalı 1957).

surround the Sultan in exactly the same fashion during prayers and during wars" (Fisher and Fisher 1985: 64).

To get at the heart of the overarching Enderun pedagogy, we first need to understand an elementary Turkish state tradition, the *askeri* mentality –the Turkish militaristic attitude to life that orders it principally around either as actual war or a constant preparation for one. Through long years, in terms of its organization as well as its culture Enderun continued the kind of militarism implanted by Mehmed II. A seventeenth century English observer, Paul Rycaut (1670: 3) reports "[The] whole condition of this People was but a continued state of War; wherefore it is not strange, if their Laws are severe, and in most things arbitrary."

The Enderun was a product of a military mentality, a kind of life where the ruler was surrounded by his personal administrative and army officers. Even when he slept it was palace protocol that two members of the Khāṣṣ Oda (Privy Hall, the highest Enderun class) to hold candles until dawn while the third, his sword bearer, also from the Khāṣṣ Oda stood ground at a whisper's distance.

As mentioned before, the castle-palace, although a combination of the medieval castles and the Renaissance palaces, was still an architectural design that prioritized militaristic needs. The entire structure and all its inhabitants were thought of as a fully functioning army and service unit and the goal was for the prince to leave his personal living and working quarters within the day the decision to move out was made. Within twenty-four hours, the prince and his entourage –fully provisioned, were to be on their way to their objective. The fact that the New Palace did not, originally, contain the Harem quarters significantly explains the militaristic focus behind its design (Anhegger-Eyüpoğlu 1979). The Harem was moved from the Old Palace to the New Palace during the reign of Mehmed II's grandson, Süleymān I after the request of his beloved wife, Hürrem Sultan. Originally the two palaces were deliberately kept physically and mentally

148

separate, while the New Palace served as the sultan's offices, the Harem at the Old Palace was where he spent time with his family.

European visitors to the palace were often struck by the discrepancy between the building's imposing appearance from a distance and the modest scale of its structures when viewed from within the palace courtyards. Necipoğlu explains the first feature as an expression of Mehmet II's will to symbolize his imperial domination of two continents (Europe and Asia) and two seas (the Black Sea and the Mediterranean), and links the second with the military pedigree of its basic plan, that is, the organization of Ottoman army camps.[71] The domes of the first kiosks built by Mehmed II (the Treasury and the Pantry wards) were fashioned after the outlook of war tents. From a distance these kiosks looked like a massive army tents erected on the battlefront.

The military heritage is also evident in the organization of the palace service personnel who occupied a series of distinct, self-sufficient units, which were both functional and residential. Thus the carpenters, stable-hands, cooks and gardeners slept, ate and worshiped adjacent to their place of work (Tarım-Ertuğ 2004). The palace pages' dormitories were placed next to where they worked, ate, read, studied, and so on; in a way the guilds' workshops were organized where the apprentices were kept under surveillance in dorms next to the workshop or more significantly similar to the battle-ready formation the Ottoman army took –each corps know where to operate and they were organized around the Sultan in the same hierarchical formation as they surrounded him in battle.

The Palace School was organized in six divisions, each known as an *oda*, or chambers. Aside from the quarters of the two initiating cohorts there were four Oda with specific functional (service) as well as educational duties. The hierarchal organization of each individual *oda* was different. At first the hierarchical system was primarily militaristic. Later, as the institution matured, a

---

[71] In this regard Ayverdi (1973: 236-267, 1974: 678-755) and Eldem and Akozan (1982) noted striking resemblances between the Topkapı Palace and a slightly earlier complex erected by Mehmet II in Edirne.

kind of medieval guild hierarchy also became a part of the hierarchical arrangement since each *oda* served as the grounds for 'hands on' training, a kind of internship. Attached to the halls were the students' residential dormitory units, classrooms, bathrooms, and so on.

For instance, the Hazine Odası (the Treasury Ward) was where the internal treasury was kept and the students under the supervision of their masters had various responsibilities such as cleaning the stored relics and items, helping with keeping the treasury logs. When an item was borrowed, like valuable and rare books or new items added it was their responsibility to write it down with as much detail as possible. Similarly the Kilerli Oda served as the pantry ward and its students had similar responsibilities. In the Enderun the students –as they were first and foremost cadets, were housed and kept right next to their 'stations' as in war. The placement of the four quarters mirrored the Ottoman army's battle formation. Each cohort's compartments were spatially arranged and ordered in the same army encampment model on the battlefield. Both on and off the battleground the Enderunî surrounded the sultan in the same formation.

The Palace

The Topkapı Palace consisted of four courtyards separated from each other with monumental gates.[72] The massive gates did not only separate the living and working quarters of the palace units, each courtyard had its own organizing principles, code of conduct even its own dress code and jargon. Each court had its own protocol and hierarchy that even the sultans had to abide by and respect. The palace gates separated entire worlds from each other. Only the *Bîrûn* (lit. the outer court), that is, the first and second courtyards were open to public access. The Enderun (the innermost), the third and fourth courtyards were closed off to all outsiders. Through the monumental gate of the Enderun, *Bâbü's-saâde*, one

---

[72] The fourth courtyard, also known as the Imperial Terrace (*Sofa-i Hümâyûn*) was more of a private sanctuary available only to the sultan and his family. Only recently, scholars started to consider this area as a separate section. Previously it was considered a part of the third courtyard.

entered the sultan's personal/private domain. Even the Grand Vizier had to ask for permission to come inside if he was visiting outside the designated (traditionally scheduled) time periods –stated in detail in Mehmed II's *kanunname* (the codex of dynastic laws).

The first court consisted of a large area with a pathway leading to the palace's main entrance. It was designed and decorated in a way to increase the impact of the palace's outlook. As Gülru Necipoğlu (1991) notes the visual impact of the first court was to serve as a ceremonial space for theatrical display by the imperial court. The first court was the path to the divine grounds where the sultan resided. It was the largest area yet its only function was to open up and clear a way and its surroundings to enhance the feeling of approach to grandeur. The setting was dramatized such that it set the perspective from the point of view of the subjects, a large open area with the road to the first gate decorated with trees, fountains, and exotic animals. The symbolic reference was to the Islamic imagery, namely, the Qur'anic depictions of paradise. The Islamic paradise is 'other-worldly' in the sense that the believer will see, experience, and taste the things he did not have access down below. In paradise the believer will live among trees tall and evergreen while all kinds of animals surround him; a place where tiger and gazelle are friends, living side by side in peace. The first court was arranged as small-scale woodland where gazelles, peacocks and ostriches were allowed to roam free (Koçu 2004). The Ottoman sultan's palace was not an ordinary place, it was not simply a piece of encircled and walled off land; it was the grounds of extraordinary things, filled with exotic animals that the ordinary people only heard of but haven't seen before.

The Second Courtyard was the administrative center of the Ottoman Empire. At the Council Hall (*Dîvanhane*), the Imperial Council *(Dîvan-i Hümâyûn) met to discuss the* state affairs four times a week. The sultan could observe and follow the Council meetings from a grilled window atop the Tower

of Justice.[73] Highly ceremonial, the second courtyard was the venue where the accession ceremonies (*Cülûs*) took place.[74] The Imperial Council (*Dîvan-i Hümâyûn*) consisted of three departments. The state affairs were discussed at the Council Chamber. The decisions taken by the council were put into writing at the clerk offices. Copies were then sent to the registry (Defterhâne) for record keeping.

While the Bîrûn was open to all the empire's subjects, there was another layer that was never in public display. This was the Enderun (lit. 'the innermost') area formally known as "*Harem-i Hümâyûn*" (Imperial Seraglio) where the Sultan lived with his family. The campus was located here. The school therefore was a part of the Ottoman sultan's *Harem*, which is usually understood in a much narrower sense, as in 'the women's quarters'. The term, harem, however, indicates to 'private/personal grounds', the rooms and floors in a Muslim household where only the family members (*mahrem*) are allowed.[75] The boys of the palace school and the girls in the women's quarters were all 'family' in a way, they belonged to the family, and both were kept out of sight.

The sultan's Arz Odasi (the Chamber of Petitions), where he regularly accepted the grand vizier to receive reports and petitions as well as outsiders, such as foreign ambassadors, was positioned in such a way that upon entrance from the

---

[73] The tallest construction in the entire palace and can be seen from far outside the palace, the five story tower conveyed the image of the ruler always observing the city and the palace from above, ever present, ceaselessly inspecting, always aware of the situation of his subjects, so that when it comes to distribution of justice –his primary duty conferred on him by God, he will not need assistance, so it was believed. At least, this was the reasoning behind the name of the tower.

[74] The second court hosted many official as well as religious ceremonies: the ceremony while the sultans entrusted the Sacred Banner *(Sancak-ı Şerif)* to the army commanders going on a military campaign; the Eve Reception *(Arife Divanı)* held the day before the religious holidays; and most importantly, in every three months, the salary (*ulûfe*) distribution ceremony, called the Victory Gathering *(Galebe Divanı) referring to the days when the triumphant sultans shared the spoils of the battle with the soldiers and celebrated the victory together with a banquet.* The reception of foreign dignitaries and ambassadors was normally arranged on the same day, so that they could witness firsthand the wealth and might of the Ottoman Empire.

[75] Ḥ-R-M (ح ر م) is the triconsonantal root of many Semitic words. The basic meaning expressed by the root translates as "forbidden".

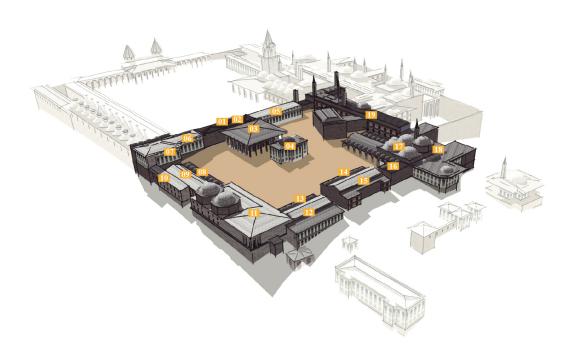*Bâbü's-saâdet*, the outsider couldn't even get a glimpse of the Enderun.[76] The Arz Odasi was only a few feet away from the gate and even though the visitor could not possibly see anything anyway, the White Eunuchs made sure that he kept his head down all the way inside the chamber. Two of them walked closely alongside the guest with hands on his shoulders firmly pressing him down.

---

[76] *See Figure 1, #03*

LEGEND

01 The Gate of Felicity/The Gate of the White Eunuchs
Bâbü's-saâde/Ak Ağalar Kapısı

02 Quarters of the Chief White Eunuch
Bâbü's-saâde Ağası Dairesi

03 Audience Hall/Chamber of Petitions
Arz Odası/Arz Dîvanhanesi

04 Enderûn Library, est. 1719
Enderûn Kütüphanesi

05 Chambers of the Small Hall
Küçük Oda

06 Chambers of the Great Hall
Büyük Oda

07 Office of the Palace Steward
Saray Kethüdası Dairesi

08 Enderûn School of Music
Enderûn Meskhanesi

09 Chambers of the Expeditionary Force, est. 1635
Seferli Koğuşu

10 Enderûn Bath House
Enderûn Hamamı

11 The Conqueror's Pavilion/Enderûn Treasury Hall
Fatih Köşkü/Enderûn Hazinesi

12 Dormitories of the Treasury Hall
Hazine Koğuşu, cap. 90-100 students

13 Treasury Hall Chamberlain's Offices
Hazine Kethüdası Dairesi

14 Offices of the Commissariat Hall's Chamberlain
Kiler Kethüdası Dairesi

15 Dormitories of the Commissariat Hall
Kilerli Koğuşu, cap. 70-80 students

16 Imperial Privy Commissariat
Kilâr-ı Hümayûn

17 The Privy Chambers
Has Oda

18 Chambers of the Sacred Relics
Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi

19 The Mosque of the Enderûn Elite
Ağalar Camii

The Enderun Campus

The Gate of Felicity (*Bab-üs Saâdet*) is the entrance into the third court, the *Enderûn*. The *Bab-üs Saâdet* represents the presence of the Sultan in the palace. No one could pass this gate without the authority of the Sultan. As the main door to the private quarters of the Sultan, it was kept closed at all times. Any unauthorized crossing was considered as a serious violation of the law and a direct challenge to the Sultan's absolute power. Even by the Istanbul-folk, Bab-üs Saâdet was considered sacrosanct. In times of revolt and unrest the protestors would not dare cross this threshold and expect for the sultan or his representative to appear outside the gate (Koçu 1960: 55-68). The gate was under the control of the Chief White Eunuch, the *Bâbü's-saâde Ağası* and the staff under him, the White Eunuchs *(Ak ağalar)* who were responsible for the *Enderûn*. The quarters of the Chief and his staff were located on either side of the gate.

The third court was subjected to restrictions of access, strict protocol and regulations. In Mehmed II's *kanunname* (codex of the dynastic laws) the Palace protocol clearly states the ranks and titles of the persons who were permitted visitation, the validating circumstances, and a schedule of days and times the visitations can take place. Even the grand viziers were not allowed free pass and they needed to present valid reasons for an appointment. Each layer inside the Topkapı had its own unique sets of rules and norms that all the rank and file of the state hierarchy including the sultans had to follow.

The two introductory schools, the Küçük Oda (Small Hall) and Büyük Oda (Great Hall), occupied the entire south side of the Third Court, to left and right, respectively, of the *Bab-üs Saadet*.[77] Here also were the quarters of the white eunuchs and their chief officer (*ağa*), who looked after the students in the school.[78] The placement of the youngsters' dorms and quarters indicates several things: first, they were put right under the nose of the Enderun officials; thus, they

---

[77] Figure 1, #05 and #06.
[78] Figure 1, #02 and #07.

were always under constant surveillance. Second, the south wall was furthest to any other chamber, consequently, the movement of the youngest students were controlled easily, considering that most of the campus area was closed to them and certain areas were open only during designated times.

The white eunuchs (Ak Ağalar) were responsible for the discipline and order among the cohorts, followed them everywhere they went, and did not leave their side even when the students slept. The Halls were divided by low partitions into cubicles each accommodating up to ten students; between each cubicle was a smaller one raised on a platform for two eunuch surveillants. The palace's architectural design made it easier to impose discipline and the palace protocol enforced restrictions of access to certain grounds, especially for the initiating cohorts who was completely forbidden any contact with the sultan, his family, or the high state elite. When any one of these figures were to approach, one of the eunuchs or hall leader (*odabaşı*) would yell out a signal, upon which every student had to disperse and find a place to hide.

If the boy were talented in some particular field, he would pass from the introductory division and admitted to one of the service chambers of specialized education. After the Small and the Great halls, hierarchically, the Enderun's higher chambers were arranged thus:

1.   The Seferli Koğusu (The Chambers of the Expeditionary Force).[79]
2.   The Kiler Koğusu (The Chambers of the Commissariat).[80]
3.   The Hazine Koğusu (The Chambers of the Enderun Treasury).[81]
4.   The Khāṣṣ Oda (The Privy Chamber).[82]

All the six Halls appear to have had much the same general plan: a large room at least twice as long as it was wide surrounded by a narrow gallery

---

[79] Figure 1, #9.
[80] Figure 1, #15.
[81] Figure 1, #11.
[82] Figure 1, # 17.

supported either on wooden pillars or stone columns. The Baths of Selim II, the principal hamam of the school, surrounded the area at the sides and at the back.[83] The Library of Ahmed III, known as the Enderun Library, was at the center of the campus.[84]

Another chief characteristic of the Enderun's pedagogical design as it was reflected in the campus' architectural plan was the way in which the chambers were arranged. As the student advanced from one hall to the next he became physically closer to the holy grounds: the Ağalar Camii, the largest of the Enderun mosques, but most importantly, the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle, or the Privy Chamber (*Khāṣṣ Oda*)[85] that housed the most important relics of Islam.[86] Even the Sultan and his family were permitted entrance only once a year, on the 15th day of Ramadan.

The youngsters of the Küçük Oda and Büyük Oda were placed at the farthest northeast corner. As the students moved up within the Enderun hierarchy graduating from one chamber to the next, they were also relocated counter-clockwise –getting closer to the sacred relics and at the same time, to the sultan, whose private residence was located next to the Privy Chamber. The two most consecrated areas were as far away as possible for the youngest and yet uninitiated. As they proved worthy, earned their keep, and were awarded with promotions in return, they also earned the right to get closer to the two spiritually most important places in the entire empire: the chambers that guarded the sacred trust and the personal chambers of the sultan. At the very top of the Enderun hierarchy, that is, at the Chambers of the Royal Pages, they were to become the caretakers and the guardians of these relics. It would be their task to keep the

---

[83] Figure 1, #10
[84] Figure 1, #04
[85] #18, #19
[86] After Selim I's conquest of Egypt 'the Sacred Trust' was brought to the palace from Cairo in 1517. The relics included the cloak of Muhammed, two swords, a bow, one tooth, a hair of his beard, his battle sabres, an autographed letter and other relics. Several other sacred objects were also kept in this chamber, such as the swords of the first four Caliphs, The Staff of Moses, the turban of Joseph, and a carpet of the daughter of Muhammed.

Privy Chamber impeccably clean at all times using perfumed rose-scented oil and water; make sure that there is at least one among them recited the Qur'an in the chamber –the recitation must never stop.

The *Khāṣṣ Oda* was the most exclusive branch of the Palace School. Although the number of students in every other hall had changed in time and increased from several dozen to several hundreds, the cap at the Chambers of the Royal Pages was kept at thirty-nine –every sultan was traditionally a member of this oda, they were the fortieth member. The novices of the remaining thirty-nine began by taking care of the relics and the chambers, and as they moved up within the cohort hierarchy they started to serve the sultan himself personally in immediate attendance as his sword bearer, cup bearer, attendants of his hair and beard, his nails, his wardrobe, the caretaker of his bedchamber –one out of the top thirty nine assigned for every part of the sultan's body, clothing, and personal items. The Ottoman spiritual hierarchy, as it was taught in the Enderun therefore put the body and person of the sultan at the very top, or at least at an equal level as with the highest Islamic duty imaginable. Taking care of the sultan was as important and divine as taking care of the relics. At this moment, their education was complete and those who graduated from the Privy Chamber received the highest administrative and military posts possible. They left the palace, now in their mid-thirties, with assignments as governors or governor-generals, as admirals and generals. At the highest point, the Enderun education placed the duty to religion and to the sultan right next to each other. They attended to the sultan as they attended to the prophet's mantle –with the utmost care and sensitivity, with full spiritual solemnity and with sincere gracefulness for the opportunity.

Institutional Organization

As mentioned above, prior to the establishment of the palace academy at the New Palace, there was already a school at the Edirne palace although in terms

of its size and the quantity of its student body it was smaller compared to its successor. When the New Palace's academy of education started recruiting its first students, the school at the empire's former capital did not close down. Instead it served as a preparatory school for the Enderun academy. By the end of the sixteenth century, there were four such palace schools: Edirne Sarayı, Galata Sarayı, İbrahim Paşa Sarayı, and İskender Çelebi Sarayı. They served as prefatory colleges that prepared their students ideally for admission to the Enderun at the Topkapı Palace. All prefatory schools including the one in the Enderun had the same two-hall model that divided the student body into two units, or cohorts. These were called Küçük Oda (the Small Hall) and Büyük Oda (the Great Hall).

The Initiating Cohorts: Küçük Oda (The Small Chamber) and Büyük Oda (The Great Chamber)

"When one these Christian children is first admitted for the service of the Seraglio, he is put under the direction of the Chief White Eunuch, who places him either in the great of in the little school or chamber. In the great chamber there are commonly 600, and in the little 300. They are brought up under a very severe discipline, and instructed in politeness and modesty. Their first study is the Mahometan religion, and the Arabian and Persian languages, in order to teach them to speak Turkish more properly, as it is spoken in the Seraglio. They clothe them very neatly with good cloth, and diet them very temperately. They live in the large chambers, and have separate beds, placed in rows; between every third or fourth bed there lies a white Eunuch for their guard; these Eunuchs watch them very diligently, to preserve them from unnatural vices, which nevertheless reign in the Seraglio. When these youths arrive at an age sufficient to enable them to bear the fatigues of strong bodily exercise, they spare no pains to render them robust, active, and valiant. They exercise them likewise in the mechanic and liberal arts."

Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire.*

The entrance cohorts, the Small and the Great Chambers lay immediately to the left and right to the Babü's-saade respectively. The placement of the

Chambers was indicative of their overall position in the larger Enderun third court hierarchy. The entry cohort was placed around the Offices of the Chief White Eunuch, which meant the primary pedagogues of the Chambers, the palace corps of White Eunuchs, were already swarming the area during most of the day. This should have made the entire south campus area a hotspot where surveillance on the youngsters of the two chambers never ceased. The Chief White Eunuch was an Ağa, that is, he belonged to the palace high class of administrative and educational elite. It is one thing to misbehave or ignore an Enderun protocol in front of the white eunuchs; it was a whole another thing if the same act was committed under the gaze of their chief.

Another authority figure that resided in the entry halls was the *mescitçi başı*, the chief caretaker of the large room for worship (masjid) reserved for the entry cohorts. His presence, in addition to the two mentioned above, should have provided a whole different layer of discipline, authority, and demanded a different set of practices, rules and norms to be followed. The mosque leader was also the prayer leader. Every student of the Enderun had to observe –strictly, the Islamic prayers five times a day.

The presence of figures like these created an ordered environment. Consequently, these younger students had a vested interest in not only making a career for themselves by obeying the rules ad studying hard, they also had to keep their fellow cohort members quite, hassle free, in short disciplined and well ordered.

So far in the literature these two chambers are believed to be 'exactly the same' save for their capacities. Yet the full original titles of the chambers in Ottoman Turkish suggest a difference in terms of the students' age: Küçük Oda was called *hane-i ṣaghīr* and Büyük Oda was called *hane-i kabīr*. The terminological pairing, that is, *ṣaghīr* and *kabīr* do indicate a difference in size, as in the comparison between places, such as two rooms and one is larger, bigger than the others. Many scholars assumed these terms referring to the chambers'

size and rightly so, for the *hane-i ṣaghīr* was smaller in size compared to the *hane-i kabīr*. But originally these terms indicated also a difference in terms of age; *ṣaghīr* meaning 'preadolescent' and *kabīr* denoted 'adolescent'.

It could be that the schooling system began originally by separating the two chambers based on age –perhaps to keep the younger (*ṣaghīr*, ages 8-12) from the older (*kabīr*, ages 12-16) to prevent bullying. After the establishment of the four prefatory colleges, probably the younger cohorts started their initial educations in these schools and when the select few among them made it to the Enderun, they were already adolescents –thus, there was no longer a need to impose a division based on the students' age.

Later observers provide different accounts. Busbecq (1968) notes no serious age difference between the chambers. Bobovi (1985: 64) says the Büyük Oda (the Great Hall) had priority when a position became available whereas another account notes the exact opposite. Even if the original blueprint for the dual cohort system implied a division in terms of age groups and in terms of an imposed hierarchy of succession, it seems that later the division between the chambers had disappeared. This means that at least the Enderun's Küçük and Büyük Odalar stopped following the strategy of governing a large cohort better by establishing a clear division based around the changes surrounding 'puberty', that is, by dividing a line between age groups. Instead the Enderun chose to keep the two Halls relatively homogenous even by leaving the decision of which cohort/hall gets the rights to be 'the first-pick' to fill an opening for an advanced position, up to the cohorts themselves, thus facilitating a competitive atmosphere. If the institution can manage the effects of this competitiveness and keep the damages to a minimum, competition pays off more than the alternative. The risks, the disadvantages associated with not protecting the weak and the younger from the stronger and the older involve the kinds of possibilities stated above. Yet the policing and guardianship of these rules do not have to belong solely to the educators, the pedagogues, and the disciplinarians. By empowering in-group

161

policing by motivating and rewarding it the cohorts will learn to govern themselves –perhaps even more powerfully and effectively than the institution itself ever could. The Enderun chose to implement, therefore, an artificial boundary. It did not have another purpose than what it did, to separate, to divide.

If a student failed to show diligence, or potential, nor any talent he couldn't advance from these chambers. A majority of the candidates was sent to the Imperial Cavalry regiments to continue their training as army officers. In the sixteenth century, the combined number of students in the Small and Great Chambers was around a few hundreds; a century later, around 1750s their number had risen to a thousand (Akkutay 1984). These two schools provided the cultural, behavioral, and discursive foundation of a great majority of the Ottoman administrative and military servant elite.

The students of the two Chambers, Bobovi (1985) says, "spent all their time at lessons and physical training." There was no rest to their day and only in their sleep –and occasionally during palace holidays and celebrations, the Enderun's students were allowed to 'let go, a bit.'

Their teachers were the Palace *muʿallim* (educators). For the younger cohorts these were mostly the Enderun's *Lala* –pedagogues first, teachers second. For advanced cohorts the muʿallim came mostly from the 'ulamā (jurists and scholars of Islam) and danişmends (adjunct professors at the highest level Islamic Madrasa, *Sahn-i Semân* complex) who visited the Palace at set times to give lessons. Twelve students, chosen from the cohort's older and well informed, were appointed as *halife*, 'tutor' by the Hall's majordomo. These students were allowed to exercise a low level of punitive discretion, but they were also made responsible for the troubles such as mass brawls he failed to contain.

In the Great and Small Halls, all students had to begin by learning how to read and write, the fundamental principles of the Muslim faith, and the Kur'an; after that each could specialize according to his own capabilities and inclinations ('Ata, Vol. I: 155). Career patterns started to become more visible as the students

realized their potential and worked on their proclivities. All kinds of skills were taught in the Chambers: calligraphy, prose styles, literary composition (*inşa*), arithmetic and siyakat,[87] music; those who excelled at these skills could become *kuttab* (scribes/civil servants). As they advanced, they learned the Muslim sciences, grammar (*sarf*) and syntax (*nahiv*) and the classical literature of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. Those who made great progress in the religious sciences were allowed to pursue the Ilmiyye career ('Ata, Vol. I: 75, Miller 1973: 109).

Cohort Hierarchy

Every cohort had distinct rules, norms, and protocol (*teşrifât*) that governed them. Even the sultans had to obey. Each hall had an internal hierarchy, aside from the Palace personnel responsible for them; there were also *oda halifeleri*, that is, a select group of students at the top of their classes. They were given permission to attend the lectures and training given by specialists on various subjects, usually reserved for higher grades. In turn they were responsible in teaching what they had learned to their fellow *içoğlanı*. Each halife was given responsibility of taking such care of ten to fifteen students. The teaching of the government of people, of men, started here and became more complex in the four superior halls of which these halifes were destined to.

Hierarchy was embedded into every possible layer that concerned their lives. The dress codes could change even between the ranks of students from the same Hall, let alone between the Halls. For instance, every student of the initiating cohort (Büyük ve Küçük Odalar, The Great and The Small Chambers) had the title of *dolamalılar*. Their title came from the principle of Palace protocol, which stated that they had to tuck in their shirts. Their shirts could only be neutral colors and under no circumstance could be a color reserved for the higher ranks. In the four schools of vocational training and inner-palace internship the students

---

[87] A cryptic numerical style of writing used most often at the finance department. True mastery in *siyakat* required years of intensive training.

could wear *kaftan* (a robe of honor). Hence, their title would rise to *Kaftanlılar* (robe-wearers). This title meant that the student (*ghulam*) made it into the graduation list after having passed the voting done by the majordomos (*odabaşılar*) of the Great and Small Halls. This list was presented to the Sultan and only after his approval the young cadets/pages were allowed entrance to the Four Great Halls.

In these Halls, the nature and purpose of their training changed. Although the pedagogical reiteration of the student's continuous obedience to courtly manners and etiquette continued, they also started to receive a specialist education that could lead to a type of expertise –e.g., skills in calligraphy and mastery of the Ottoman tongue leading to a scribal position in the *Dîvân-ı hümâyûn kalemi* (The Scribal Offices of the Imperial Council). Also, for instance, with the permission of their *kethüda* (the Chief Majordomo of the Hall) they could attend to the lessons and lectures given by the experts. There were rare occasions when for instance a famous scholar of Islam was invited by request of the Sultan. Attendance to these events were generally reserved for the dynastic family, the Palace elite including the older students of the Khass Oda. In short, Kaftanlılar were more privileged in comparison to the dolamalılar both in terms of receiving a more specialist training but also in terms of their "visibility" and exposure to important people including the members of the dynastic family and the high state and palace elite. Their exposure to the social area where the games of patrimonial power politics were played was as important as the expert education they received.

All entry level cohort had to begin by learning reading and writing, the principles of the Muslim faith, and the Qur'an; after that each could 'specialize' according to his own capabilities and inclinations. The focus of attention, however, was a kind of foundational (fundamental) education that rested upon three curricular areas: the education of the Ottoman language (a flowery/courtly mix of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian), the pedagogy of the adab (manners,

etiquette, and protocol), and the training and development of the body (archery, horseback riding, *jirit* (spearmanship), etc.)

While the technical education taught the Enderuni students skills and knowledge necessary for replacement into the state's expert offices like ilmiyye and kalemiyye (the scribal bureaucratic elite) the pedagogically guided education bent on behavior formation taught them how to behave like a member of the Ottoman elite. Technical education provided expertise of profession and behavioral transformation provided a point of entry into this privileged class of 'courtly men.'

Third, after vocational and behavioral education, the aim of the Palace training was to inculcate absolute loyalty and obedience in the service of the Sultan. The boys were subjected to a very strict discipline, having no contact with the outside world or with their families and, so long as they remained in the palace, leading a monastic life completely cut off from women. Eunuchs watched over all their actions by day and night and slept among them in the dormitories. Giovanantonio Menavino, a devşirme who was captured by the Ottomans c.1501 and escaped after battle of Çaldıran 1514, describes the aim of this training to produce "'gentlemen', thoroughly Islamized, who knew how to speak and behave politely, were conversant with literature, and were chaste and self-controlled" (Miller 1973).

Each hall had an internal hierarchy. Aside from the Palace personnel responsible for the students, there were also oda halifeleri, that is, a select group of students at the top of their classes armed with punitive powers. Each halife was given responsibility of taking care of ten to fifteen students. Although the nature of their care was regulated by explicit and implicit Palace norms and rules, there was room for exercising personal discretion. They were given permission to attend lectures and training by specialists on various subjects, although these courses were usually reserved for higher grades. In turn the halifes were made responsible in passing on what they learned to their groups as long as there was

demand. The halife groups of every hall naturally had responsibilities other than the intellectual kind. Since they assumed responsibility of a group inside the cohort, they were directly responsible from their fellows' behavior.

In the entry cohorts of the Büyük and Küçük Odalar, the age gap between the students required careful management. The youngest were around eight to ten years of age and those nearing the end of their initiation were around sixteen to eighteen. For a late teen the responsibility of a dozen or so youngsters did become a liability. If they failed to confine a major problem that blew out of proportion they could be held accountable, even receive punishment from the majordomo (Oda Halifesi). Thus, they were expected to use power and authority, for instance, in breaking fights, preventing feuds and ongoing hostilities between parties, and keeping regular checks on the group members. The education of 'governing men' started here and became more complex in the four superior halls of which these halifes were destined to.

In short, every Enderun cohort was always under strict surveillance of the Palace school wardens, their instructors, and the higher cohorts. Camaraderie was at an arm's length to backstabbing; the highest level of education the empire could provide went with the highest level of intrigue and sabotaging of careers. The Enderun was the perfect place to learn the patrimonial game.

The hierarchy between the Halls rested mainly on two grounds: first, they were differentiated in accordance with their functional service, thus the first ground is their place as part of Enderun structure and second the quantity of, what the Ottomans called *itibar* (fame, repute). The distribution of the latter had to follow the hierarchy between the Halls and this was an Enderun protocol that the Ottoman sultans would find it very difficult to refuse to follow. The sultan himself was embedded into the Enderun's pedagogical system. Each individual Ottoman sultan was also a member of the Khāṣṣ Oda whose quota was traditionally set at forty following the Middle Eastern belief on the sacredness and blessedness of this number and its capacity to attract positive approval from God.

In short, the fact that every Ottoman sultan was a member of the Khāṣṣ Oda both increases the significance of the Oda itself and brings it –figuratively and literally closer to the Sultan. The Khāṣṣ Oda is located at the Enderun's most strategically important wall guarding the entrance to the Harem: the other side of the Harem was protected by the sea while the Royal Pages of the Khāṣṣ Oda guarded the wall on the other side, the one between the second court –where state business was made and the third court, the Enderun School. The Khāṣṣ Oda, therefore, was the final point of defense and it guarded the central point of entry to the Harem not only if the second court was breached but also when the third court itself boiled with trouble.

The Four Halls

In the four halls education and pedagogy acquired a different form. While technical and specialist training continued, every Oda was functionally differentiated. The differentiation was based on the type of household and personal service each Oda conducted. Under the leadership and direction of their majordomo, Kiler Kethüdası, the içoğlanı of the Kilerci Oda for instance were responsible for preparing the Sultan's meals and arranging his dining table, safekeeping and cleaning the tableware he uses, making the special pastes (*macun*) for him to snack, and preparing sweet drinks (*şerbet*) (Akkutay 1984). The Hall of the Commissariat also made the candles for the entire palace's use and concocted healing potions and alms for the sick at the palace infirmary (Miller 1973). During the April showers they collected and concealed the water directly from the raindrops, as it was believed the water of these showers had healing and rejuvenating powers. In all their services specifically for the Sultan, before preparing his meal for instance, they had to be physically and spiritually pure, in preparation they performed the religious ritual of ablution and uttered prayers.

The students learned the gist of the patrimonial politics: household management, which included the important skill of learning how to take care of the house and its people. What the ancient Greeks called, the art of *oikos*, the household economy. Learning how to manage things as well as people that are part of the household, these students learned also how to build one, when the time comes, as well as how to govern it properly as its patriarch.

The *gaze* at the Enderûn: The two faces of surveillance

The dorms of the entry cohorts were designed in a way so that between every five to ten youngster there was an elevated spot on the ground for the white eunuchs, the chief pedagogues of the entry cohorts, so that he could see without raising his head what was going on around him (Baykal 1953). At night it is difficult to say whether the eunuch's eyes are closed or open; the physical sign of 'sight and notice,' the sign of surveillance would be one's raising one's head up and look, but from an elevated sleeping position you don't need to do anything extra to gain sight of your surroundings –the army principle of obtaining the higher ground, or in terms of 'surveillance' a kind of panoptic technology, a device the Ottomans used in the Enderun dormitories. Even when the students were to walk to the mosque for prayer they were instructed to always go in pairs, always 'two by two.'

The Palace personnel called *ak ağalar* (the corps of white eunuchs) had almost no power neither jurisdiction outside the palace grounds, and they were hardly sent to the periphery for official business. Upon high individual achievement several Ottoman *ak ağalar* did achieve titles of governorships etc., but this was extremely rare and depended more on the ağa's connections –most importantly with the sultan and/or the queen mother rather than their actual ability or experience as state administrators. They constituted a palace corps, that is, functional and powerful only inside the palace –mostly the third court, yet as part of the Ottoman court tradition they played a very integral role: they were the

principal educators, pedagogues, guardians, surveyors of the Enderun's first two entry level cohorts.

A requirement in every oda was that every page had to take a full bath at least once a week. The chambers had two or three baths inside their quarters and which groups were to use them and when, the days and hours of the week, were all subject to schedule. The *hamam başı* (the chief of the bathhouses) was responsible to make sure every student obeyed the protocol. This was not his only duty, in fact, as the chief he hardly had contact with the students. One of his primary duties was to inspect the students' garments and underwear. Poor hygiene was to be punished and there was no escaping it yet more importantly the hamam chief was expected to report signs of certain diseases, especially those that are contagious. He and his subordinates always had to be on the lookout for flea and lice to prevent large-scale infestation. If they found such a piece of clothing they were to isolate the student and send him to the Palace infirmary.

Conclusion

The imperial palace school network, the *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*, was one of the most fundamental state apparatuses of the Ottoman Empire. Between the late fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, the Enderun elite dominated the imperial state –with its administrative higher ups as well as its graduates. Their dominance lasted well until the mid-seventeenth until the Köprülü family of viziers with their political reforms brought them 'back in line' (Abou-El-Haj 1984).

The palace schools had been an integral element of the Ottoman state's centralization efforts and directly contributed to the empire's longevity and resilience –especially during the infamous 17th century, 'the time of troubles' that affected every agricultural empire around the globe (Goldstone 1991). The devastation in the agricultural production caused by the Little Ice Age, the influx of cheap silver from the New World from Spain to the rest of the world

instigating terrible currency fluctuations and inflation among other problems brought many formidable 'medieval' states to their knees. In the Ottoman Empire, the countryside was in ruins. The delicate political economy that the pre-modern polities sustained their golden geese, that is, surplus producing and tax-paying farmers was seriously distraught. Rather than starving and still having to answer to the local tax collector, many took up arms and took on banditry. The entire Anatolia literally burned nearly for a hundred years during the infamous Celali Revolts that scourged the people and the land between late sixteenth to late seventeenth centuries (Akdağ 1963).

Nonetheless, the Ottoman Empire prevailed. The sultan's slave-servants (*kullar*) took charge in the periphery and managed the environmental and financial turmoil in the countryside. While the technical education provided the *Enderunî* with the skills and knowledge necessary for a placement in one of the state's offices, the pedagogically guided education bend on behavior formation taught them how to behave like a member of the Ottoman elite, that is, when given the opportunity and provided with the necessary resources, how to become a patriarch in their own domain and in their own right.

The production of such men is not an easy task. Without eliminating the master and servant relationship and the mentality and ideology it requires, the Enderun's pedagogical system must produce men who could take incentive, act autonomously, lead with surety and accept accountability after success as well as failure. With a slave or a servant, one only has bondage, subordination, and servitude and none of the latter. How did the Ottomans manage to produce such a peculiar creature, a patrimonial subject (agent) *par excellence*?

This chapter analyzed only the outer bounds of the structural, ideological, and epistemological whole that the later chapters will continue to unfold. The *Enderûn* campus' architectural blueprint, starting with its placement in the third court as a separate domain from the *Bîrûn* (outer/public courtyard), provides a world of information about the school, about its importance for the dynasty and its

state, and also, it offers crucial insights on the life at the campus. There were, for instance, several layers to the physical arrangement and ordering of the halls where a multitude of student cohorts resided. First, there was a hierarchical component: the youngest students awaiting full initiation were placed right next to the school's principal administrators and disciplinarians. Their lodgings, Küçük Oda and Büyük Oda (the Small and the Great Chambers), were the farthest away from the sultan's living quarters. That area was the preserve of the Enderûn's top cohort, the members of the *Khāṣṣ Oda*. In between the two, the other units of the school were placed depending on the function they served and the internship style education they received.

Second, as it was with the architectural designs of the Christian monasteries, the campus was formed around the cloister and portico model –most importantly, for reasons of creating an open space thus increasing visibility. The students, especially the younger ones, were always under some sort of surveillance. Either their superiors, educators, pedagogues or their peers were always present in whatever they do and even when they slept two white eunuchs (*ak ağalar*) continued to keep a close eye on them. The Enderûn's task was not simply to provide technical education to the select group of students for their future services to the state and to the sultan himself personally, and it was not even a larger pedagogical task of bringing about a 'well-rounded' individual with a balanced and varied educational background. The students were watched for the quality of their morals and behavior, the way they carried and presented themselves, the way they dedicated themselves to study, to service, to their cohort and its members and officers, and most importantly, to the sultan. After their graduation, he would trust them with his empire. The gaze at the Enderun had to be impeccable in identifying the unworthy, undependable, lazy, disloyal and weed them out. What was left, by design, had to be a mere dozens out of thousands and it was them, the famous 'forty under forty' that the sultan entrusted with practically everything.

CHAPTER V

DORMS AND NORMS

"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 Muslim faith; in a word, in all the virtues of mind and body".

<div align="right">

Ottaviano Bon, Venetian Diplomat
(1608: 89)

</div>

Chapter V: Dorms and Norms

Ripping off the pockets

When a student received dishonorable discharge and kicked out of the Enderûn, it was customary to rip the pockets off of his garments.[88] There was no walk of shame. As the student got kicked out, his disgrace was not made public while his peers and colleagues watched. On the contrary, he was silently smuggled out through one of the smaller gates. The Palace School never made an example out of the discharges. The next day, it was as if the student had never existed. But why rip the pockets of their garments? The symbolism reveals the Enderûn student's bare destitution, how life without the benevolence of the sultan is an indigent one and how he owes everything to the sultan. The sultan fills the student's pockets and since the latter had just lost access to such gifts of grace, he didn't need any pockets on his outfit.

This was one of the major psychological and pedagogical codes operative at the schools. Every item from stipends to clothes and garments is a gift extended to 'the poor one' (*fakir,* as the Enderûnî referred to themselves frequently) completely out of the beneficence of the sultan. Without his magnanimity the student has nothing. He should be grateful that he was allowed to keep the clothes on, which were bestowed on him by the sultan as a gift. After leaving the school in such a fashion, he will no longer be receiving anything, like the gold coins spread every once in a while on important occasions; he is completely cut off from the sultan's benevolence and the royal purse. He starts a life completely unknown and wildly unpredictable. In his brilliant work on adab, *Mevâidü'n-nefâis fi-kavâidi'l-mecâlis* (Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings) written around 1599-1600, the Ottoman historian and litterateur Mustafa 'Ali talks about the Enderûn kick-outs who, having spent the money after

---

[88] "[Some of the pages] have been expelled the Seraglio, with the Tippets of their Vests cut off, banished into the Islands, and beaten almost to death" (Rycaut 1670: 60).

selling their precious Enderûn garments at the bazaar, ended up as sex-workers.[89] Those who can make enough money for a travel ticket back home takes his chances while there are those others, for various reasons, that stay and never go back home. Either they accept their new life-style and decidedly lower their expectations from life, or they are afraid to go back since the crime they committed for a ticket home could mean banishment from the familial grounds once the news was out.

Army Discipline

The previous chapter identified the structural elements of the Topkapi Palace architecture as they relate to the Castle-Palace model in the original blueprint. The palace grounds were constructed following a military/army style of architectural settlement. The organization of the palace's functional units followed the Ottoman army's wartime encampment model. The school's halls and their units were positioned and organized in the same way they physically surrounded the sultan in battle.

The militarism inherent in the Palace's original architectural plans was not, however, confined to the blueprint. The castle-palace was more than an architectural design; it reflected the military mentality that came up with it in the first place. Mehmed II's *New Palace* was ruled and governed, primarily, through a militaristic mentality.

The palace institution that sustained the most the kind of militarism –both in terms of its organization and culture, implanted by Mehmed II at the beginning was the Enderûn Palace Schools. These were the two entry-level cohorts, Büyük ve Küçük Odalar (the Grand Chamber and the Small Chamber) and four schools with functional service as well as educational duties.

The Cadets of the Small and the Great Halls

---

[89] Gelibolulu Ali Mustafa Efendi. *Mevâidü'n-nefâis fî-kavâidi'l-mecâlis*, Chapter 1: Matters in the Palace of the Sultans, and the Slaves in the Harem.

Even though the devşirme already selected those physically fit and well built separated them from the measly and the weak, the Enderûn's entry cohorts also had to show developments in various physical areas such as fitness and strength. A cadet needed to show that he could endure the physical exercises, perform at a certain standard, and show signs of progress. The boys who failed the physical tests and fitness trainings were generally sent out for recruitment into the service labor such as the kitchens and the stables.

Some of these physical exercises were very simple yet essential to the system: hold your ground under a blistering sun for several hours in full combat gear and hold your ground withstanding a blizzard again for several hours in full combat gear. If a young cadet frequently failed in these duties he could not continue with the Enderûn academy The Enderûnî was to surround and protect the sultan in the time of war. The academy was not interested in the student who consistently failed to stand his ground when the air got a bit chilly. No weak undisciplined men around the sultan –neither in war nor in peace.

The two salaried armies of the dynasty, the Janissary and the cavalry (*sipahi*) divisions would not receive him either. As part of the army corps there was a minimum fitness principle: the physical condition of the cadet to carry two things at the same time, armed with a weapon while carrying a wounded comrade on the 'off shoulder.' The Janissary and the Enderûn cadets both used the exercises of forcing the trainees on a challenging terrain and weather conditions, ordered them to endure and 'keep moving', and carry his 'buddy' to the finishing line. This was practiced with heavy wooden logs carried on one shoulder. The cadet was allowed to drop the log; at least dropping the log was not punished. The chances are that the comrade that he is figuratively carrying is already wounded and dropping him once or twice will not kill him. The challenge was to pick him back up. What the exercise expected from the cadet was delivering the incapacitated soldier across the finish line while armed. An armed soldier carrying

a wounded brother in arms means two soldiers still in the battle, but an unarmed soldier carrying a wounded means two men are effectively out of the war.

The cadets received additional training in archery, horsemanship, wrestling, and javelin throwing (Miller 1973). Various sports related records broken by the students were kept in Palace records and it was a Palace public display when a new record was going to be put to a test once a commendable candidate among the students announced his challenge. With the record keeping of militaristic feats including the sultans themselves as participants there was therefore an internal Enderûn memory that among other things bolstered the sustenance of an Enderûnî *esprit de corps*.

Punishment

In the Enderûn halls in general but especially for the great and the small halls, starvation was regularly used as a punitive measure. Those who consistently failed in their duties (such as keeping hygiene or poor performance), in their physical performances, and failed to perform and show progress in their classes were excluded from one or more daily meals. The Ottoman Turkish saying, 'hunger will keep you from sleep even if you lie under a thousand blankets' pointed at how effective starvation was as a punitive measure.

Depending on the severity and size of the fault oftentimes the entire cohort received punishment even when the fault lied with one person or a few. Some of the punishments that the cohorts received were brutal indeed. Sometimes the sultans or the majordomos imposed much more severe punishments than the ones dictated in the protocol. The aim was to terrorize to the extent that the tale of the event would become a part of the institutional memory and prolong its effect throughout the years. In one such event, the reminder and caution for the cohorts to come was literal, that is, the story of the event, as much as it was material.

During the reign of Murad IV (1612-1640) a student from the Grand Hall murdered another and caught red-handed (Tayyâr-Zâde Atâ and Arslan 2010: 192). A serious crime indeed and the protocol called for the harshest punishment: execution. It was Enderûn protocol to report such events to the sultan whose signature was required for severe punishments. Murad IV, already renowned as one of the most brutal of the Ottoman sultans, came up with a 'creative' idea for a punishment. The entire student body was taken out to the campus' large patio and after the execution, one in every ten students received bastinado punishment. This was actually a light penalty but the students realized the severity of it when they turned back to their living quarters. The bastinado was only a smoke screen to conceal the real punishment and to give the white eunuchs enough time to prepare it. During their absence the entire ground of their chamber was covered with small pieces of glass shards. The living quarters were never treaded with shoes on, as per protocol no shoes were allowed inside, which meant they had to clean it all up barefoot.

Could they clean it up completely? Or, how long would it take for the entire chamber to be finally free of even a single shard of glass? Even decades after the incident, pieces of glass that somehow escaped thousands of broom strokes could get lodged into some fellow cohort member's hands, feet, or worse.

Although penalties such as this one was not in any way the norm, mass punishments were common. The students were expected to act, think, and obey as a group –anything less than that was not acceptable. With punishments alone, however, one can only create an environment of anxiety where the students look out for each other out of fear. This is not, strictly speaking, an ideal setting to build the kind of *esprit de corps* that the Enderûn as an institution aimed to produce. Fear and anxiety needed balancing out by another, equally powerful, set of bonds.

Patriarchal and Pastoral Proxies: Honor thy father, love thy brother

In the Enderûn, father and son proxies were practiced in various forms. In fact, these two patriarchal symbols, that is, the bond between a father and his son(s) as well as the bond between brothers, were the primary building blocks of solidarity that was produced *en masse* throughout the Enderûn organization. Following Durkheim's model (2005: 166-179; 210-216), the solidarity produced via the patriarchal proxies had two primary functions: *regulation* and *integration*.

All the youngsters of the initiating cohorts had 'buddies' assigned to them. None could venture outside the confines of the chambers without his buddy or escorted by a teacher or a pedagogue (*lala*). Perhaps unaware of this practice being a rule, Ottaviano Bon (1996) observes, "[it is] an admirable sight to see the modesty by which they walk two by two." Whilst Bon compliments the reticence of the Enderûnî, he also reveals a pedagogical system used in the schools: friendship as a mechanism of control, discipline, and surveillance.

Brotherly bonds of friendship were also integral to the ways in which the young students became integrated into the larger student body. Especially bonds of ethnicity (*cins*) were crucial in the earlier stages of socialization and later, network, or clique formation.

The Lala

The *lala* was a kind of chaperone, what the ancient Greeks called the *paidagōgos* –the pedagogue. In the ancient Greek society the paidagōgos was a slave –mostly an elderly respected household slave who no longer could do manual labor. His job was to take the children to and from school, and at the same time to supervise certain aspects of their moral education. His main responsibility was to make sure that the child fully received the education provided for him by his teachers –e.g., that he did not skip his classes to play and frolic with his friends; that he had with him the material necessary for his classes; that he had

178

done his homework; respected his teachers, got along with his friends at the school, etc.

His main job was not teaching. Rather, he was there to make sure that the education provided by the institution (the gymnasium) did not go to waste, the parents' investment was not in vain, and that the child was behaviorally and morally 'led' to receive what the school and the teachers provided to its fullest extent –hence the title *paidos* (child) and *ágō* (to lead), literally translated "to lead the child." In short, he was there to make sure that the youngster would take his education seriously.

The Enderûn *lala*s had a similar mission statement. They were to act as father figures for the youth, care for their troubles, and closely attend to their development. In numerous cases, the bond between a student and his *lala* was so powerful that decades after their relationship officially ended they continued to correspond and in some cases when the young boy achieved rank, repute, and wealth that he lobbied for his *lala* and secured higher position and income for him.

I am my brother's keeper

Bobovi says that the students of the Enderûn had a kind of gentlemanly brotherhood that they contained even during the most intense arguments or quarrels and fights (Fisher and Fisher 1985). They would address each other as "kardeşim" ('brother mine') and even if the dispute got more heated they never called each other by any slur, insult, or derogatory titles but only with 'kardeşim' with a higher tone almost trying to enunciate the word more clearly.

Surely, considering the kind of life that went on at the Enderûn campus, the ties of brotherhood were the primary symbolic as well as ontological bond. Behind the camaraderie within the chambers and an institution wide *esprit de*

179

corps there had to be a kind of primitive, or in better terms, primordial bond that could enable later more complex and detailed constructs.

Snitches end up in ditches

Inscribed on the fountain near the area where the Küçük and Büyük Odalar (the Small and the Grand Halls) were located, a placard dated from the early eighteenth century was placed next to another from a century before. The first inscription gives us in rhymed verse that the fountain was build thanks to the benevolent sultan Ahmed I (1590-1617). It is the second placard, however that makes the scene more interesting. First, it tells us that because the trust fund established by Ahmed I ran out and there was no money left to keep a few candles lit around the fountain area all night long every day. Second, the fund was replenished thanks to a large-sum donation made by the chief Ak Aga (white eunuch).

Why a significant sum of money was needed to keep an area lit by candlelight? It was not sufficient to provide a budget only to cover the cost of the candles to keep the light going at night all year long. One also needed to provide for the annual salaries of those whose duty it was to keep the light going. The job included the purchase of the candles and a yearlong shift of nighttime visits to the fountain area to see to it that the candles were still lit. The amount of candles needed to cover a substantial area well lit was high enough and even though the fire was protected against an average breeze there were always stronger ones on windy days. Yet, more importantly, there could also be students who blew them out to use the fountain area for 'illegal' purposes. Thus, the student employed by the fund was also a lookout specifically tasked for the area frequented by the younger students.

The second placard says thanks to the Chief Ak Ağa's donation the fountain area used by the Küçük and Büyük Oda students was made secure again.

In the previous months the instances of inner-cohort violence had increased and for fear of getting a beating, being bullied, or even being a victim to a crime of sexual nature, the students almost stopped using the fountain altogether at night time.

Why did the fountain area need to be kept well lit? In the initiating cohorts, the Küçük and the Büyük Odalar, 'domestic' in-group violence was common. There were cases that a student was found severely beaten at night under the dark. Although sleep was an order in the 'sleeping hours' designated and controlled by Palace protocol, that is, 'time for bed' in a way was imposed with force students were naturally allowed to use the restroom and go to the water fountain during the 'sleep-hours'. These places, the restroom and the water fountain, were naturally the nighttime grounds where certain students were 'jumped', ambushed and beaten by one or several of his cohorts. If caught the punishment of peer to peer violence was severe, thus for any student or students to even take the risk and carry out 'justice' required a good, valid cause – snitching on people, for instance.

So in the Enderûn snitches did sometimes end up in ditches. Why would that matter for the overall education of the kind of student, the expert loyal cadet that the imperial schools wanted to graduate?

One of the practices of the Ottoman patrimonial art of government was the dynastic state's allowance of specific types of factions and cliques. That is, not every kind of factions were 'tolerated' by the dynastic center but the kinds based on solidarities of (former) ethnic, religious, regional identities; vocational factions (i.e., the guilds), which also included the *ocaks* (corps). So long as the clique or faction did not directly pose a threat to the dynastic center, the state in fact benefited from these by maintaining a degree of equilibrium between groups by playing them off of each other.

The Enderûnî were organized in the form of *Ocak*. Its principal mentality was a corps mentality. There was therefore an Enderûn *esprit de corps* just like

there was at the Janissary Corps (*Yeniçeri Ocağı*) and other army groups. By allowing therefore the practices of in-cohort factional solidarity, by allowing behavior that the students can <u>practice</u> loyalty to a narrow group of people –even risking punishment by the mere act of choosing to go against another cohort member.

Under patriarchal and patrimonial regimes loyalty is the fundamental currency. Like other currencies, before it goes into circulation, it needs to be produced at the micro level and its production is predicated on its frequent, to a degree controlled, practices. In the Enderûn campus, practices of loyalty started at the earliest levels. Cliques were formed, although at that stage such networks were nearly redundant –favoritism requires access to sources and without resources there can be no favors other than 'I have your back, you have mine.' Nonetheless, the youngsters did practice acts and tests of loyalty –just like they practiced reading and writing. The intricacies of the patrimonial game was introduced to them early on and although at that stage the consequences were not severe, in the advanced stages the political economy of loyalty could make careers, or end them.

The First Lessons of the Enderûnî

Being an *Ottoman* 101- The Basics

An Enderûn student's training was multifaceted: aside from technical and formal training, there was a heavy emphasis on manners and etiquette, piety and strict adherence to Islamic rules and norms, and the physical development of the body. All these activities were overseen by super-intendants. When an event was important or intriguing, like sports competitions or displays of tremendous skill or strength, the events were attended by the sultan himself. Several Ottoman sultans participated in these events personally and some even held the Palace records in certain competitions.

While the Small and Great Halls offered basic training on language and

religion, the focus of attention was on behavioral and moral discipline: courtly manners and etiquette, rules, norms and protocol of the Palace, the laws of the state, respect for their fellow cohort members and their superiors in the higher ranking halls. All these, however, were not separate entities rather each item empowered the other.

Most importantly the pedagogical aim in the entry cohort's inculcation was the internalization of the sultan's authority. The latter was achieved, among other ways, by making the sultan invisible for the youngsters; even an accidental sighting of the parties was prohibited and avoided through strict rules of hiding on the spot the moment one of the supervisors sounded a distinct alarm indicating the sultan's presence. At which point, the young boys were instructed and drilled to make themselves invisible.

"They almost never come into contact with the sultan. The exceptions are when the sultan travels with the rowboat they row and when he goes on a hunt they are used like hunting dogs. These exceptional circumstances aside, whenever the sultan is close the Chief of the Harem yells out [halvet!] and they are instructed to disappear following the exit paths drilled on them in their first year at the palace" (Miller 1973).

"Manners Maketh Man"

"Honor and diligence guide you upwards but it is your manners and ethical brilliance that keep you in the ranks" (Abdüllâtif and Koç 2013).

The Enderûn student's attitude greatly determined his latitude. His behavior had to be restrained and comely, he had to demonstrate patience, endurance, and reliability. Assigned with the lowliest or the loftiest of chores, humility and modesty were key character traits that the cadet needed to show the hall's elders. Equally importantly, he had to demonstrate *virtue*. Attitude was central because there were two things needed to be shown at once: the display of moral perfection and its conferral to others as 'sincere' –that it has no other end

than its own cultivation. The personal devotion to the moral codes and normative requirements therefore was not the only requirement. The art of showing them, displaying your virtue, in an acceptable manner was required.

This expectation took different forms in different historical societies. Avoidance of ostentatious material and mannerisms when displaying one's virtue and status has been a common theme throughout human social history.

To make a career, the students, individually, had to obey the rules and study hard, but they also had to actively participate in the wellbeing of their cohorts as a whole. A certain harmony and peace must be kept in the cohorts because there were several types of offenses where the entire class would receive punishment even though the crime was committed by one person. All cohort members therefore had a vested interest in keeping the cohort hassle free, disciplined, and in well order.

"Silence is Golden": Observe, understand, do

"Discipline your tongue. In an instant it can raise you up or it can bring you down from the highest into the lowest of the low" (Irving 2005).

One of the oft-repeated themes in the foreigner accounts was the silence and discipline displayed by all Ottomans as soon as they were inside the palace walls. After the passing of the Middle Gate (*Bab-üs Saadet*) Regulated by palace protocols an aura of sacredness and an order of ritualistic silence were imposed by the Palace's architectural design, which became progressively more strict as one proceeded further into the palace interior, until in the Third Court silence was absolute to such an extend its inhabitants other than the members of the Dynasty frequently used sign language taught to them by the Palace's mutes (Fisher and Fisher 1985).

Silence dominated their lives at the beginner levels and lasted four to six years depending on their progression. Silence however was neither confined to the entering two cohorts nor was it something that restraints speech and had no other

function. Silence was conducted to better enable learning through observation, while remaining under the radar at least up to a point where the student demonstrates that he had learned all the required material, the jargon, the habits, the chamber protocol, and move to a higher position.

At the Enderûn campus, the imposition of silence has a functional, a pragmatic function: admittedly, work offices where hundreds of people are busily working within the working hours require at least a degree of silence at least to avoid a disruptive cacophony. If you did not need to speak, you shouldn't speak. At the same time, silence allowed the novice to observe, to see the details of the work done by the experts whom they served, and to understand the intricacies, the decorum, and the how-to of the work.

After several years of internship the silent novice had a decision to make: whether or not to continue in the Enderûn or 'exit/out' (*çıkma*, or graduation) once the internship is over.

The Enderûnî student, from high to low, rose to higher offices and ranks through successive cohorts where he always started as an initiating member, that is, from the lowest rank and position. Consequently, he needed to prove all over that he was a worthy applicant, a good choice for the Palace and the Sultan (thus the state) and that he deserved the investment offered to him. Thus, he started the next and higher levels ('class') always from the bottom. This meant significant differences in status; thus, it affected one's income, strategic executive position, and discretionary allowances and regulated increases of personal freedoms. It also affected the range of his dress code, the variety of his official wardrobe, the colors and the quality of his overall clothing and accessories and whether he was allowed to carry a small hand-weapon (Ortaylı 2014). The *bıçaklı* or the *hançerli* ('dagger wielding') were always the superiors in their halls and the *soyunuk* (lit. nude, bare) were at the bottom.

The status of 'initiating member' also affected the range of tasks the student would be appointed with. For the newcomer these tasks mostly included

185

manual –labor, 'chores' or at any rate, not the specific labor the particular corps specialized in. Not until he learned his new chamber's protocol, regulations, in short, its conduct of conduct –both as a working unit and as an ethical agent, he was not allowed to do much but stay in closed quarters, constantly clean the floors of the workspace and in the meanwhile, listen and observe.

Silence, imposed especially on the recurring processes of internship had the function of initiation, therefore. The student had to be silent so that he can listen, so that he can observe as a third party while he is restrained from becoming a party to any chamber dialogue himself. Only after learning while keeping his head down and get his behavior and morals in perfect order, he was allowed access to the expert community, the higher offices, the taskmasters' positions, and so son.

The differentiation between the Small and the Great Halls therefore was repeated throughout the higher cohorts. In the vocational halls, the student already knows the rule that divides any group into two cutting it like a knife: the initiated and those whore were being initiated. These roles were interchangeably acted out through the cohorts and the hierarchy of grades up to the very top. At the highest grade, the *Khāṣṣ Oda* of the Forty Palace Elite who –now around the ages of late twenties to mid-thirties, the new comer had to start from the bottom; cleaning the rooms, making sure their superiors had no orders waiting, serving in silence in every capacity. At the *Khāṣṣ Oda*'s forty select top palace elite, the twelve were always the chamber interns awaiting further inner-chamber assignment and promotion.

Conclusion

As an apparatus of the Ottoman state, the Enderûn served multifarious functions: as an institution and with its graduates it connected the first court with the third, not only from an architectural point of view, but also from a functional

186

point of view. The Sultan and his extended household connected with the Divan and its functionaries by way of the specially educated body of men whose undoubted loyalties laid with the sultan, thus tipping the balances of powers between these spheres of state to the benefit of the dynastic household. Enderûn connected the patriarchal house with the bureaucratic body, thus, it was literally and figuratively *the* patrimonial body of the Ottoman state.

At the Enderûn, winning –i.e., making to the top, attaining the prestigious-high earning ranks, had to be a conscious decision. The path to the top was not only harsh and difficult. The monastic life, the barracks discipline, continuous education, constant surveillance and supervision were to continue until the students were in their mid-thirties; the childhood and the youthful years were to be sacrificed entirely so that past the middle of one's life, he could hope to receive a good position with a generous pension. The problem, however, was not the continuance of all these hardships for at least two decades after first setting foot at the campus. As many adab classics informing their readers about the intricacies of life around the high court –in the fables, as one gets closer to the lion, the risks multiplied exponentially, the intrigue hastened, and as the probability of material gain increased the potential losses could be quite detrimental –if not fatal. The decision to stay and continue to play the Enderûn's (patrimonial) game thus had to be a conscious choice.

Loyalty and solidarity need practicing. As it is under patriarchal regimes Loyalty is a systemic currency in patrimonial systems. It represents a social capital that substitutes a diverse realm of *things*. Hence its increased purchase capacity especially under social groups that already possess a capacity to exercise some degree of control in large and diverse social realms, that is, *the social elite.* For the elite loyalty is a key component as long as the majority of the members wanted to participate in the patrimonial game, which is played out both in the center and the periphery in various forms and degrees. This game includes the political tactics and strategies designed to work where the person and the office

are understood in terms of each other, which creates a volatile political economy due to fluidity between the personal and official relations, which necessitates loyalty and solidarity practiced at the personal and the institutional levels. In the Enderûn schools the students **practiced** 'loyalty' and 'solidarity' through a succession of transforming identities, varying degrees of 'freedom', as well as varying types of belongings that which loyalty can be practiced upon.

CHAPTER VI

DISCIPLINING THE SOUL

"Then do you think that our future guardian, besides being spirited, must also be by nature philosophical?"

Plato, *Republic*, 375e.

Chapter VI: Disciplining the Soul

The previous chapter focused on the structural features of the Enderun, namely, its architectural design. This chapter focuses on the student as an ethical agent and addresses the conditions of its creation. The chapter builds specifically on Michel Foucault's definition of ethics as 'the conduct required of an individual so as to render its own actions consistent with a moral code and standards of moral approval' (2000: 282-3). Especially in the multivolume *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault understands ethics as *a relation of self to itself in terms of its moral agency* (1982: 238). Ethical conduct consists of the actions performed and capacities exercised *intentionally* by a subject for the purpose of engaging in morally approved conduct. More specifically, ethics denotes the intentional work of an individual on itself in order to subject itself to a set of moral recommendations for conduct and, as a result of this self-forming activity or "subjectivation," constitute its own moral being. Foucault refers to these self-forming activities as 'technologies of the self'.

In brief, this chapter analyzes the strategies and self-technologies that the Enderunî students traditionally followed and practiced in line with an elaborate institutional moral code. In the schools detailed techniques were elaborated, in essence similar to those practiced in the seminaries and monasteries of the medieval religious orders. These included but were not limited to techniques of discursive rendition of daily life, self-examination, direction of conscience with strict regulation of the relationship between the director and the directed.

For Foucault, ethics is *relational*; it is rooted in and an aspect of various types of relationships the individual person establishes a., with one's self and with other people, b., with the world, and c., with authority and truth. Unlike the Marxist school of thought, Foucault does not presume a hierarchical, or a cause and effect type of ordering between these relations, e.g., base and superstructure. To the contrary, it is the fact that power moves through a matrix or relations

equally effectively, that it brings them together in such a way that as part of the social body, power acts both as the origin and the outcome of relations.

Ethical relations are constituted by four formal elements: ethical substance, mode of subjection, ethical work, and *telos* (Foucault 2000: 262-9). The *ethical substance* is the aspect of the self that is morally problematic (or, problematized), taken as the object of one's ethical reflection, and transformed in one's ethical work. It is "that which enables one to get free from oneself" (Foucault 1985: 9). The *mode of subjection* is the normative component of ethics. It is the way in which the individual establishes its relation to the moral code, recognizes itself as bound to act according to it, and is entitled to view its acts as worthy of moral valorization. The *ethical work* consists of the self-forming activities meant to ensure one's own subjection to a moral authority and transform oneself into an autonomous ethical agent. *Telos* entails the purpose of ethics, the kind of being to which one aspires by behaving in a moral way (Foucault 2000: 282-3, 1983: 249).[90]

The chapter organization follows Foucault's fourfold division. It starts by identifying the particular aspects of the self that the Enderun problematized, that is, the moral qualities the imperial school aimed to cultivate and the ones that it targeted either to advance or eliminate –these two processes were not separate but entwined. For instance, in the History of the Enderun (*Târîh-i Enderûn*), Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAṭāʾ Bey (1810-c. 1880) repeatedly mentions that amongst the most undesirable attributes of character, the palace school admonishes idleness the most (folios. 138, 141, 143). He says, a diligent and ethically upright student should not have 'free time' to spare anyway since there is always some work to attend to, opportunities to add to one's learning and experience, books to read, and the least a student who finds some time to spare could do is to read the Qur'an, pray, and contemplate –meaning that the idle student, who wouldn't pick

---

[90] 'A moral action tends toward its own accomplishment; but it also aims beyond the latter to the establishing of a moral conduct that commits an individual ...to a certain mode of being characteristic of the ethical subject' (Foucault 1988: 28).

up the Qur'an, attend to his soul, the moment he finds the time, is not the kind of individual that the school cares for. Thus, as part of the Enderun's moral setting Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAṭāʾ Bey practically likens sluggishness to near blasphemy –the least the student with time to spare can do is to silently read the Qur'an, pray for the wellbeing of the sultan, the state and the faith.

Life at the campus was decidedly and purposefully made busy, but actual work and busy-work were not there to merely keep the students occupied, drain their youthful energy so that stepping out of line is not only difficult due to restrictions, constant surveillance, but there is simply neither time nor energy for delinquency. After all, the majority of the students at the campus were teenagers. They were there to instill a certain mindset and a *telos* to guide the direction of the students' ethical work: an active mind, body, and soul that yearn for activity, a person who will not shy away from work, a person who craves for action and brought up in such a way that inactivity would bother him –physically, psychologically, and spiritually.

First, therefore, the chapter identifies the aspects of the self that the imperial academy imposed on its students in a way that they voluntarily and intentionally constituted the parts and aspects of themselves in accordance with the school's ethical obligations. What part of the self that the Enderun targeted and aimed to transform? Second, the analysis proceeds to the techniques and strategies in which the students were brought within the school's moral code through diverse modes of subjectification. It explores the ways the students were made to recognize consciously and feel responsible for these moral obligations by establishing a personal relation with these rules and obligations and recognize that the moral code needs to be put into practice. Third, the chapter looks at the 'forms of elaboration' of self; that is, the techniques which are used in the work of constituting oneself as an ethical subject - techniques such as memorization of precepts and exemplars, practices unique to the Enderun, which institute a powerful spiritual aura around the sultan that for the students even the thought of

betraying him, disobeying his wishes and commands equate to sacrilege. Finally, the analysis moves towards the particular *telos* that guides and makes meaningful this entire process.

In short, this chapter asks 'out of what, for what reason, in what way and to what purpose' the Enderunî 'ethical' subject was constructed.

The Ethical Substance of the Enderunî

At the Enderun campus, there were three major elements to the substance that was going to be worked over by the imperial academy's ethical program. A student of the school, Mehmed Halife (d. ca. 1697), wrote in his *Târih-i Gılmânî* (History of the Enderun and its Students) that every student should strive to master three qualities: "*ehliyet*, *liyakat*, *sadakat*" (1986). Ehliyet meant *capability*, *credential*, and *competency*; liyakat meant *merit*, *proficiency*, and *qualification*; and sadakat meant *loyalty* and *devotion*. There was, however, a connotation that all three qualities had in common: *worthiness*. This quality encompassed all three qualities and it was not expected exclusively from the sultan's servants (*kullar*) but from the members of the empire's other prominent status groups. The devşirme kullar were specifically under constant scrutiny due to their privileged position above others, coupled with the fact that they were not Muslim-born, which made the sincerity and originality of their conversion put into question every once in a while most often by the members of the 'ulema –their rivals for shares from the sultan's patrimony. Thus, the sultan's servants especially had to display their worthiness for whichever post and position they acquired.

The men of the ilmiye, that is, the members of the 'ulema were not free from judgment either. In fact, as one of the earlier status groups that managed to keep group membership and resource allocation to a handful of 'ulema families, that is, as a status group that secured a degree of patriarchal (household based) hold over their domain relatively free from direct outside interference, they also became a target of criticism that specifically questioned the worthiness of its

members who received offices and promotions solely by virtue of familial connections and not by the quality of their expertise.

Becoming a worthy servant to the sultan and to the *din ü devlet* (religion and state) was the primary purpose of the Enderunî ethics. In fact, in all the *mirror for princes* type of works, the Ottoman men of letters lamented the passing of an age when the state's offices, high and low, were given to the worthy (*ehl*), that is, to those who had the proper technical and moral education and training required for the competence and capability necessary to run the office without committing injustices, those who possessed the moral and behavioral decorum expected from every men (servant, *kul*) of the Sultan, and finally, the devotion to do right by the people, avoid injustice, personal gain, and show absolute loyalty to the sultan and the dynasty.

The main ethical substance for the Enderunî, therefore, consisted of acts linked to a common ('cultural') understanding of 'the worthy individual', which indicated a sound education and attainment of expertise, an exemplary Muslim, a person who knows the rules and norms of self-comportment (e.g., etiquette), and finally, a person loyal and devoted to the sultan –who was the embodiment of the Ottoman *din ü devlet*, that is, religion and state. It was in the latter that all the previous qualities acquired their unity and their meaning.

The creation of the worthy servant, that is, the person who was capable and competent, loyal and devoted, and through these acquired his credentials –as opposed to pure nepotism and clientelism, took place in a complex environment. The target of the Enderun's pedagogical principles was not simply the cultivation of knowledge or the proper comportment of the body. It was the soul that mattered the most. The will and motivation, the kind of dutiful compassion all had their roots in the suitably disposed spirit.

At the very beginning of the process, several experts looked into the boys' souls after the Janissary officers were done examining their physique and checking the boys' records. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, with the help of

several 'sciences', for instance, *ilm-i firâset,* the science of estimating a person's 'true self', which other qualities (e.g., physical beauty, strength) could disguise, these experts of the soul determined whether the candidate had the proper metaphysical qualities to guide him in the rough and difficult journey to come. Among the ethnic groups that the collectors were banned to recruit from, the Romani ('the Gypsies') were considered dishonest and disloyal –not only they did not recognize any master and refused to bow down to rulers, or that they were nomads, thus unreliable and unpredictable. It was also because in their heart of hearts, as part of their metaphysical makeup, they could never be taught 'loyalty and devotion'.

The Enderun had several structural layers that framed the students' ethical constitution. First, the palace itself and especially the inner grounds (*enderûn*) that accommodated the palace school and the harem, had a distinctive aura of sanctity. As the student rose in the ranks, he also came physically closer to the sultan and to the Khāṣṣ Oda, where the Islamic relics were located. The spatial management and organization of spirituality paralleled the institutional hierarchy, which increased the expected degree of 'worthiness' as the student advanced in the ranks. Thus, 'worthiness' had a dual implication: vocational expertise needed to be matched by an equal degree of spiritual expertise, e.g., the knowledge of Islam, being an exemplary practitioner of the faith's required practices –if not more, since the Christian-born devşirme kullar had every reason to overcompensate.

In short, 'worthiness' as the Enderunî's ethical substance had two layers, the religious and the profane. This substance –expectedly, followed the most essential aspect of the Ottoman state's political ideology that regarded the state and religion on equal footing as twins (*din ü devlet*).[91] The previous chapter focused on one of the secular aspects that went into the molding of the students

---

[91] Supposedly the two realms were on equal footing, although the dynastic rule, that is, the secular state, could easily circumvent, to a degree, control, and chose to ignore the Islamic institution, the ilmiye, which, like other status groups, depended on allocations from the sultan's patrimony and had no other reliable source of income.

195

and the next chapter will focus on another 'profane' aspect of the apparatus' pedagogical design, namely, the discursive constitution of the Enderunî. In this chapter, the focus of analysis is the spiritual (i.e., metaphysical) 'self-constitution', which, as mentioned above, had an equally important role in the production of the Ottoman patrimonial subject.

A Heavenly City: Topkapi Palace as the Paradise of 'Adn

To begin identifying the ethical substance of the Enderunî, we need to first establish the key features of the campus' metaphysical setting. The Ottoman sultan's palace was a sacred place. Especially the innermost quarters where the Enderun campus and the Harem were located, that is, the area where the sultan resided and the most precious of the Islamic relics were kept had a distinctively sacrosanct aura. For the students, this highly sanctified setting implied several things. Impositions on behavior, such as keeping silent, restrictions on behavior, clothing, and the students' movements were to be observed not only to keep with the palace's rules and regulations but also out of sincere reverence to the site itself.

As part of the palace's structural setting there were intentionally constructed details that referenced to the Islamic conceptualization of Eden. In the Qur'an, the paradise is described as a place where the predator and the prey live right next to one another peacefully, almost like friends; there is no violence, no bloodshed. In the palace coppices, Evliya Çelebi reports, predator and its prey roamed the fields peacefully together (Çelebi 2012). The first courtyard, the elongated path leading to the massive entrance gate, was once arranged as a miniature grove where gazelles, peacocks and ostriches roamed freely. The Ottoman sultan's palace was not an ordinary place. It was more than a piece of encircled and walled off land; it was the grounds of extraordinary things, filled with exotic animals that the ordinary people only heard of but haven't seen before. A spiritual place where tigers and gazelles wandered freely and in peace –

even the laws of nature were different here, as if they were lifted, or changed for the God's representative, or as the Ottomans referred to him, for the shadow of God lived here.

The symbolism is simple but powerful. In paradise, God prohibits violence and the animals, despite their most inherent instincts, obey. At the Ottoman palace, it is the presence of the sultan that imposes such a peaceful order –even between the wildest of animals. The palace folk, being superior to the beasts by virtue of their mental capacities, had no excuse but follow a peaceful coexistence.

In several places, the Topkapi Palace and specifically the Enderun campus were depicted as "paradise," or parts of the Islamic paradise, Janna –and its most beautiful garden being the 'Adn ('Eden'). Evliya Çelebi, for instance, refers to a verse from the Qur'an, the Surah of Sad:

[and those are named] the paradises of 'Adn
And their gates are open to everyone.[92]

When the paradise allegory was used in the portrayal of the Enderun, its inhabitants were likened to the *ghilman*, the ethereal male servants that awaited the believer in the afterlife, bound to serve him for eternity. The same Arabic term, *ghilman*, was also used for the young men who served the sultan while continuing their education at the Enderûn (*Gılmânân-i Enderûn*). Evliya Çelebi, after describing the palace school and its Halls, says there were around three thousand students in all the Halls. For the privy hall, the Khass Oda, that is, the highest and most prestigious chamber, he says the sultan "filled the Khass Oda with the servants of paradise in such a glorious fashion, from afar they looked as

---

[92] Cennati Adnin mufetteheten lehumu'l-ebvab. Sad Suresi, Ayat 50 [Orasi Adn Cennetleridir ki kapilari onlara aciktir.] Evliya Çelebi, *The Book of Travels*, v. 1, p. 67.

if they were all dipped in gold with gold embroidered coronas on their heads, dressed in shirts made of roses, the privy servants all handsome as Joseph."[93]

The use of the biblical figure of Joseph was not only a literary device to portray the Enderunî students. It was a requirement for the *içoğlanı* to have their hair with two tresses (mostly with postiches attached under their caps). These were called, after Joseph, *Yusufî*. The *Yusufî* symbolizes that the *içoğlanı* are eternal slaves to the sultan. Joseph however was not only handsome nor the Enderun symbolism stops with him being the most beloved of Jacob's sons. As the Book of Genesis tells that Joseph came to be sold into slavery by his jealous brothers. The eleventh of Jacob's twelve sons and Rachel's firstborn, first reduced to slavery and to a position of servility to the Pharaoh, Joseph rose to become the vizier –the second most powerful man in Egypt next to Pharaoh.

Another Ottoman men of letters, Idris Bitlisi (1450-1520) an Ottoman Kurdish religious scholar and administrator, wrote a major Ottoman literary work in Persian, titled *Hasht Bihisht*. The work began in 1502 and covered the reign of the first eight Ottoman rulers. In the book Bitlisi says, "[and these] Enderunî ghilman are like the servants of Paradise, may they flourish and prosper till the Day of Judgment."[94] In exactly the same manner, the Ottoman historian, bureaucrat, and litterateur Mustafa Âlî commences his book, a purely adab work, *Mevâidü'n-nefâis Fi-kavâidi'l-mecâlis* (Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings) with the sultan's palace, especially the state of affairs at the Enderun. He refers to the inner cloister of the imperial palace, that is, the Enderun, as a garden in the Paradise –but he is highly critical of the quality of the students-slave/servants. They are, supposedly, he says, the ghilman, that is, the angelic, otherworldly servants of the sultan but the school had lost much of its grandeur: the students are admitted not through strict examinations and careful tests; the recruiters no longer look for merit, ability, and talent but they take

---

[93] "Zer u zivere mustagrak zerduz tacli, gul pirehenli, Yusuf cehreli gilmanan-i has ile malâmal edüb …"

[94] "Bu enderun kullari ise cennet hurileri gibidir kiyamete kadar mamur olsun."

bribes, and admit into this holy place the sons, relatives, and acquaintances of the city's elite –the city boys, he calls them, at the time a highly derogatory term that implied the young boys who made their living as sex workers. Just like them, he says, the so-called beatific servants of the God almighty's chosen representative, that is, the Ottoman sultan, the Enderunî bargain for benefits sometimes offering up their bodies. He had personally witnessed, he adds, that the students do not even perform the ritual ablution required after the intercourse –bathing the entire body with water, and they strut around the school impure, they even serve the sultan in such an abominable state.

In the *Târîh-i Enderûn* (The History of the Enderun) Tayyâr-zâde Atâ Bey says, "Under the beneficence and blessing of the Sultan [the Enderunî] are like Keykûbâd and Feridûn" (Tayyâr-zâde Atâ and Arslan 2010). Atâ Bey uses popular cultural symbolic figures to describe the ideal ghilman, the kind of person that the Enderunî student should aspire one day to become. The latter figure, Shāh Fereydūn was the Iranian mythical king and hero from the kingdom of Varena. In the Persian literature he was known as an emblem of victory, justice, and generosity. The former is an Islamic-Turkish hero, Alâeddin Keykûbad, (r. 1220–1237) was the founder and the legendary king of the Seljuk Sultan of Rûm, the Ottomans' regional and cultural predecessors, the Keykûbâd line of monarchs were a vibrant part of the Ottoman cultural background and social imagery. During his reign and after his death Alâeddin Keykûbad was himself likened to the legendary Iranian-Persian monarch Fereydūn when the former's qualities of divine leadership and just government were praised.

In short, around the symbolism of 'paradise' ('*adn*), details of the Enderun architectural design and the inhabitants came together. The royal palace was a supernatural 'heavenly' place because the Ottoman sultan resided there. His personal servants were angelic: beautiful, immaculately well dressed, polite, and loyal to their master as if God himself commanded it.

199

Seminary Style Monasticism

There was a decisive monasticism in the way in which life in the Enderun was formulated and practiced. Similar to the medieval Middle Eastern and European monastic establishments, especially to those organized outside the secular realm (*secula*) as retreats founded on mountain tops, the Topkapi Palace's Enderun campus had definitive monastic elements: seclusion from the outside world, discipline and surveillance of not only behavior but of the mind and the soul, a hierarchical structure that imposed not only division across the ranks but also demanded complete obedience out of genuine reverence and devotion.

It was not just the near complete seclusion from the outside world that the Islamic medrese and the Christian monastery had in common but also the kind of mentality that these institutions nurtured within their walls was similar: constant external observation was coupled by the imposed spiritual necessity to be mindful of one's own thoughts and behavior.

In terms of architectural design both the monastic seminary and the madrasa incorporated a large cloister at the center while the other structures were distributed around this empty space following functional and hierarchical arrangements. In both designs, there was a procession of holiness and spirituality especially when there were relics, holy items, or personas present. The Enderun's dorms, classrooms, and working quarters were architecturally organized following a 'seminary style,' an elongated rectangle surrounded a vast garden area. The communal space, therefore, had no secrets. Almost every corner was visible for anyone, which consequently created a panoptic environment and made surveillance not only easier but turned it something of a constant, a given –thus, given time, something deeply internalized.

The uninitiated ('the green') were housed at the very far corner and the space between the other cohorts' living quarters would be divided into hierarchical and ceremonial divisions. The novices are placed at one end as far

away from the ultimate consecrated space –even if there were no holy relics, from the area where the shrine is located. Generally, the novices had to spend at least a year solely dedicated to prayer, study, and do menial work before they took their vows before they were allowed to leave the area designated for them, the 'novitiate' in the monastic convents. There were, therefore, restrictions on movement, visibility, and reach, which did not only apply only to the novices but to other members as well. For instance, if the monastery's library possessed rare collection of books and manuscripts, only a handful of 'superiors' had the keys that granted them access to the restricted sections. Possessing these special keys – considering that there were other such areas where only a designated few had access, indicated superior status, which became symbolized in emblems embroidered into clothing, e.g., the golden key opens all doors, the silver opens the most, and the iron opens only particular doors.

Similarly, in the Enderun, the *khāṣṣ oda* was among the holiest places not only in the campus or the larger palace structure but also for the entire community of Muslims since it contained the most important Islamic relics. The privy chamber was generally called the Chamber of the Mantle of Felicity (*Hırka-i Saâdet Dairesi*) for it contained perhaps the most important relic for the Muslim community, the prophet's mantle. A veritable list of relics were kept in this chamber: Muhammad's battle standard (*Sancak-ı Şerif*), the Sacred Seal (*Mühr-ü Şerif*), two pieces of Muhammad's tooth, hairs from his beard, his swords, a letter composed by the prophet, his footprint among others.

Disciplining 'Man's Hollow Core'

The Enderun followed an old and simple, nonetheless, effective strategy to discipline the students' dispositions through a series of restraints and regulations over their bodies. As it was with the madrasa and the monastery, the bodily targets were the mouth and the pudenda. In Islam, these two were referred to as

"the two hollow ones" –for if they are not controlled, there would be no limit to their pull, and the desires would overtake the thinking mind rendering it powerless and reducing it to nothing more than a slave to their wants (Sperl 2007). These two, like wild animals, had to be tamed to achieve spiritual mastery. The body, with its limitations, desires, and ailments stand already in the way for pure contemplation -all the worse, if the body gets spoiled by the two 'usual suspects' and becomes addicted to their bottomless wants and needs. A regulated, disciplined, and organized asceticism was essential to tame the body so that the soul becomes available as something to be worked on, to be improved, and to be mastered. In this regard, the kind of asceticism employed in the Enderun was similar to that of the Christian monasticism both in terms of its purpose and its goals.

In several places, the Islamic canon establishes the mouth and the pudenda as the easiest paths for the Satan to infiltrate and lead the believer astray. A hadith (record of Muhammad's practices and sayings) narrates that:

"[The Prophet said] "When God created Adam in Paradise he left him as he wished to leave him and Satan began to walk around him to see what he was. When he realized that he was hollow he knew that he had been created unable to control himself" (Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Hadith nr. 2611).

The hadith implies that Satan immediately notices the shortcomings of the God's new creation and finds him wanting. The term 'hollow' has a very specific meaning: in response to the question, what is most likely to lead man to hell, the Prophet is said to have replied *al-ajwafan al-fam wa'l-farj* ("the two hollow ones: the mouth and the pudenda"). The Islamic self-control focuses primarily on 'the two hollow ones'. The mouth and the pudendum are depicted as bottomless pits that unless they are tamed they will most certainly lead to eternal damnation. For instance, every year in the ninth month of the Islamic lunar calendar, that is, the month of Ramadan, Muslims commemorate the first revelation of the Qur'an to Muhammad. Observing the Ramadan is among the Five Pillars of Islam and it is

mandatory for every adult. While fasting everyday from dawn until sunset Muslims refrain from consuming food, drinking liquids, and engaging in sexual relations. Muslims are also instructed to refrain from sinful behavior that may negate the reward of fasting, such as false speech. Ramadan, therefore, targets 'the two hollow ones'. The goal is to tame these two since the devil inside uses them as channels to corrupt the soul (*nafs*, the inner self), which, unsupervised, could easily fall prey to the endless fulfillment of their satisfaction. The interdictions concerning one's mouth are not only about eating; it is not excess, such as gluttony that is singularly targeted –as it is with Christianity and the seven deadly sins. Smoking, cursing, lying, insulting, backbiting, etc. should be avoided.

Practical as well as spiritual discipline at the imperial schools also targeted 'the two hollow ones': the students' diet was minimal and they only ate twice a day, at 9am and 3pm. Tobacco and alcohol were strictly prohibited. As Rycaut observed, there was a fine ascetic balance at work at the palace schools, "there is nothing of superfluity, as there is nothing of want […] Their Clothing is good *English* Cloth and Linen, neither fine nor course; their Diet is chiefly Meat and Rice, sufficient, though not luxurious" (1670: 13).

One of the most commonly used mechanisms of punishment was to deny the student(s) one or several meals of the day. As for sexual activity, although foreigners like Bobovi, Knolles, and Rycaut talk somewhat excessively about 'the Platonic love' between the boys, the pedagogues and the white eunuchs were always on high alert regarding such behavior. The boys were never left alone to themselves. In the dormitories between every five students there was a eunuch sleeping right next to them on a raised platform so that he could see the surroundings without raising his head, which would give away the act of surveillance and in the dark it would be impossible to see if his eyes were open or closed, whether he is pretending to be asleep or has he really drifted off? In the bathhouses, the Chief of the Baths and his men took over the surveillance task. The campus area was so closed off to amorous activity, Mustafa 'Ali wrote that

203

the only venue available for two lovers to meet was the palace infirmary, where apparently, the security was laxer, or the custodians could be bribed whereas the eunuchs never could. Mustafa 'Ali, although admonishes the behavior, jokingly says, "the Enderunî ghilman must have achieved immortality somehow; for many of them are carried off to the palace infirmary everyday, yet they are all perfectly healthy the next day."

Discipline by Scheduling: The Weekly Schedule of the Enderun's Bathhouse

Considering that the sum total of men working and studying at the campus numbered in a few thousands, the Hamam (bathhouses) required a precise weekly schedule. The halls had their individual libraries, prayer halls, places to eat and sleep but baths were limited. Below is the Enderun's weekly hamam schedule:

Friday: Arz Ağaları (the khāṣṣ oda elite)
Saturday: The Khāṣṣ Oda
Sunday: The Treasury Ward (Hazine Koğuşu)
Monday: The Corps of the White Eunuchs (Ak Ağalar)
Tuesday: The Chambers of the Expeditionary Forces (Seferli Oda)
Wednesday: The Pantry Ward (Kilerli Koğuşu)
Thursday: The Great Hall (before noon) and the Small Hall (afternoon) (Büyük ve Küçük Odalar).

The Enderun's bath schedule seems to mirror the academy's hierarchical order between the halls. Arz Ağaları (the Masters of Petition-Privy Chamber) at the top and the Small Hall at the bottom. The point of origin, that is, the line of demarcation that starts off the order is Friday, more specifically, the Friday prayer at noon (ṣalāt al-jum'ah). A congregational prayer (ṣalāt) that Islam imposes

especially on men as a communal obligation; all other daily prayers can be performed individually at home; there is no imposition to leave the house for the mosque. Every Friday (the Day of Assembly, *yawm al-jumu'ah*) at noon, the Qur'an mandates the believers to come together in prayer, leave the concerns of one's business behind, and attend the mosque together.[95] In smaller congregations, not showing up to the *ṣalāt al-jum'ah* is considered as a red flag and after the prayer, the community visits the absentee's house to check up on him, assuming he might be sick, etc. The Qur'an and the Hadith are very clear on the importance of the Friday *salāt*.[96]

What is the significance of this schedule? To figure it out, we need one more information about Islamic rituals, specifically, the interdictions on different types of 'cleanliness', or 'purity'. The *Wuḍūʾ* is a partial ablution; only certain parts of the body are cleansed, which should be enough to rid a person from the dirt and odor of the day. If, however, a Muslim person has engaged in sexual activity –with or without a partner, then a full ablution is necessary. The entire body needs to be cleansed, which means, in campus areas like the Enderun where individual showers is not an option, going to the bathhouse. The Enderun's hamam schedule, therefore, suddenly becomes a control over the pudenda –a timetable that regulates self-romance in an all male environment. The novices of the Privy Chamber (khāṣṣ oda), men between the ages of 30 to 35 were scheduled the farthest (on Saturdays), while the teenagers of the Great and Small halls get to shower on Thursdays.

---

[95] O ye who believe! When the call is proclaimed to prayer on Friday (the Day of Assembly, *yawm al-jumu'ah*), hasten earnestly to the Remembrance of Allah, and leave off business (and traffic): That is best for you if ye but knew! And when the Prayer is finished, then may ye disperse through the land, and seek of the Bounty of Allah: and celebrate the Praises of Allah often (and without stint): that ye may prosper. — Qur'an, sura 62 (Al-Jumua), āyāt 9-10.
[96] Narrated by Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "On every Friday the angels take their stand at every gate of the mosques to write the names of the people chronologically (i.e. according to the time of their arrival for the Friday prayer) and when the Imam sits (on the pulpit) they fold up their scrolls and get ready to listen to the sermon." Transmitted by Muhammad al-Bukhari, in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

205

Perhaps, all this was merely coincidence. Yet, the Enderun was one of the longest lasting apparatuses of the dynastic center and by the mid-17th century the palace academy was over two hundred years old. Managing youthful hormones and libidinal energy, by then, must have already been institutionalized and subjected to formal regulations –otherwise, keeping a massive body of youngsters, teenagers, and adults completely cut off from the outside world would be a task extremely difficult to manage.

Rituals of the Imperial Palace

As part of their pedagogical training the students were indoctrinated into the court ideology of the Ottoman elite by way of rituals. These could be Islamic, secular, or esoteric in origin either way the goal of such ritualized practices were, more often than not, neither religious nor simply spiritual. Since the primary pedagogical goal of the palace academy was to inculcate absolute loyalty and obedience to the sultan, many seemingly religious rituals in fact served to divinize the sultan.

"Which none shall touch but those who are clean" (Qur'an 56: 79).

Before preparing the sultan's meals and drinks, the pages of the Pantry Ward should first perform the Islamic ritual ablution (*Wuḍūʾ*). Similarly, when the *Baş Kullukçu*, a high-ranking officer of the Seferli Oda, was washing the sultan's clothes twice a week, all the pages of the ward were to be stand in attendance (Mehmed Halîfe and Su 1986). Following the chamber's protocol, they were to stand and observe reverently, while the chamber elders prayed, and together the entire hall recited passages from the Qur'an in unison. These practices are highly significant because Islamic rituals are performed here without any religious obligation but purely for secular reasons. Islam demands *Wuḍūʾ* prior to very specific rituals: before every prayer, before picking up the Qur'an –even to move it from one place to another, before *tawāf* (the ritual circling of the Kaaba during pilgrimage). The Enderun, however, makes it a requirement for any service that

involves the sultan –not even in person, but while preparing the material he will consume, wear, or use. Only the clean are allowed to interact with his food and drinks, and his clothes were cleaned as if they were being blessed by his servants' prayers. The person of the Sultan and every piece of item he used or even touched had a *relic* status and they were treated and cleaned not only with due diligence and care in terms of their physical cleanliness (e.g., hygiene), but also their spiritual purity and sacrosanct status had to be recognized through performances and practices.

The symbolic value of the dynastic patriarch was not only an important element in the larger Ottoman mentality of government; it was the critical formative element, or in strictly technical terms, the fundamental component that served as 'the condition of possibility' for all the rest to make sense, to function with order and value. This value, however, was not acquired through knowledge or through discourse but it was produced and reproduced by practices, ritualized performances, by mannerisms and behavior.

Enderuni Self-Techniques

What Foucault called 'techniques of the self,' that is, practices by which an individual with complete volitional capacity could pick up with an intention to transform oneself voluntarily, as opposed to more deterministic influences and transformations of the structural kind. Techniques and strategies could render individuals and groups *governable* at the same time they could allow individuals to work on themselves by regulating their bodies, their thoughts and their conduct for purposes they consider as valuable ends in themselves. While the former sets up mechanisms of restriction and limitation, the latter opens up possibilities for conforming or resisting them. In the Enderun schools there were several types of 'self-techniques:' ritual self-cleansing, fasting, meditation, breathing exercises, ascetic and esoteric practices influenced by Sufism were among the techniques

practiced frequently.

On the individual level spirituality in the Enderun was among the chief conditions of having access to truth. That the truth cannot be attained without certain practices, or a set of fully specified practices, which transforms the subject's mode of being, change its given mode of being, and modify it by transfiguring it, was a pre-philosophical theme which gave rise to many more or less ritualized practices.

First, rites of purification: You cannot have access to the God and the spiritual realm, you cannot recite and perform the daily prayers, read the holy book, make sacrifices, attend to your soul without first being purified. The Islamic rites of purification were also involved in certain esoteric practices for instance dream interpretation, star-gazing, or other kinds of practices allowed at the court and palace. For instance, even though Mustafa Naima Efendi is well-known today as a historian of the empire, his rise to the position of the official state chronicler was due to his skills in the interpretation of stellar activity which he presented as daily, weekly, and annual reports first to his patron and later to higher up even those in the dynastic family. The Queen Mother was known to have asked a few times his opinion and Naima produced a few reports, interpretations at her bequest.

The practice of purification as a necessary preliminary rite, not only before Islamic practices, but also with the truth they may vouchsafe us, is an extremely common theme, well known and attested for a long time both in the eastern and the western civilizations.

Another technique, another procedure falling under these technologies of the self, was the technique of withdrawal. Disengagement. Withdrawal is understood in these archaic techniques of the self as a particular way of detaching yourself and absenting yourself from the world in which you happen to be, but doing so "on the spot": somehow breaking contact with the external world, no longer feeling sensations, no longer being disturbed by everything taking place

208

around the self, acting as if you no longer see what is before your eyes; a technique of absence. Practices of absence were regularly coupled with the practice of endurance, which is linked to the concentration of the soul and to withdrawal into oneself, and which enables one either to bear painful and hard ordeals or to resist temptations one may be offered.

It was especially during the holy month of Ramadan that these techniques acquired higher meanings and were practiced school-wide. The kind of Islamic asceticism practiced in the campus during Ramadan was not, however, confined only fasting –the absence of food and water and the endurance required to withstand the lack of them. Fasting was only one aspect of a much general set of practices. Alongside fasting, the Enderunî also withdrew from other pleasures of the flesh: music, perfumes, and other indulgences of the senses.

On the other hand, as the soul was tamed via restrictions of the basic needs of the physical component, that is, the body and strict regulation of the pleasurable senses, it was also rewarded with the heightened appreciation of piety. The Ramadan, in this sense, was a scheduled arena where the students could display the sincerity of their faith. Considering that these were convert children, it was in a way an actual institutional necessity to give them an opportunity to showcase the sincerity of their conversion.

A regularly practiced *pneuma* technique (breathing practice) involved several elements of adab. For the Enderun students adab was a precept, an attitude, and a technique –a practical matrix guiding all aspects of their lives inside the Palace walls. When the students first began their lessons on calligraphy, their first assignment was an easy to write (it is short and only contains six Arabic letters), but a spiritually loaded precept, "edeb yâ hû."[97] As with all concise formulaic expressions of the spiritual kind, this precept is also not easy to

---

[97] This precept was considered as the foundation of the Sufi philosophy and most Mawlawi dervish lodges had this expression engraved at their entrances in calligraphy. In Sufism, it is believed this precept was written on the gates of Heaven for it is the fundamental pillar on which 'proper belief' stands.

translate. Hû is the Sufi's way of calling out (invoking) God's name and it represents 'the breath' (*pneuma* in Stoic thought, the vital spirit bestowed on mortals by the creator in the form of our breath), and *edeb* (Turkish way of pronouncing *adab*) refers in this particular expression to moderation, knowing one's limit, avoiding excess, and behaving decently. This precept was used in two different forms, first, when pleading to God and asking for having the diligence to attain adab; and second, when inviting fellow schoolmates to have 'manners,' by asking (mostly in the form of admonition) them 'to behave' for the sake of God.

Nevertheless, as a breathing technique it had another function. In preparation for meditation Hû poetry was practiced with recitations of poetry rhythmically vocalized out loud as a group (Tatçı and Kurnaz 2007). The members of the halls would align around their leader and recite repeatedly the term Hû with an exhale as soon as each verse ended. During the séances a kind of collective effervescence was reached, providing the group with a sense of exhilaration and elation. On the other hand, this was also an extreme form of other types of breathing exercises for instance the kinds practiced by the scribal class. An Ottoman scribe would sit on the ground while conducting his business of laboriously taking notes, making copies, or calculations. He would have the parchment on which he wrote securely on his lap in a certain angle that could be fixated without constantly pressuring the chest cavity and collapsing the lungs thus leaving the scribe completely out of air. Nonetheless, the scribe needed to be well-trained in pneumatic techniques as the control of breath allowed fixity of hand; a sought-after trait especially in calligraphic styles of courtly composition.

Spirituality, especially the Islamic rituals achieved their peak during the holy month of Ramadan. Perhaps the most important ritual was the Sultan's visit to the room where the most important Islamic relics ('the Sacred Trust') were held in the Chamber of the Holy Relics.

An aura of spirituality was embedded into the Enderun hierarchy, starting with the Halls –the majordomos acting as spiritual leaders as shown above, all the way to the top: the Ottoman patriarch was the supreme religious figure, the spiritual capstone of the Palace order. When 'classical' channels of the Ottoman sultans' symbolic image as conquering warriors of Islam, the titles of the 'Ghazi Sultan' and 'Kağan', were no longer applicable after the state's territorial expansion halted, the center had found other ways to maintain the sultan's position as religious leaders. In the eighteenth century, Mustafa III (1757-74) and his successors recast the image of the sultan as "scholar-master" of the Ottoman religious institution (*ilmiye*) with the invention of a new tradition, the *Hûzur-i Hümâyûn Dersleri* (Mardin 1900/1951, Zilfi 1993). These were classes on Koranic commentary (*tafsīr*) offered in the sultan's presence and at his command, during the month of Ramadan. In these sessions, Islamic scholars were invited to the Palace, each being experts on the themes selected for the occasion, and suggested by the Şeyh-ül-Islam. Per request of the Sultan, the scholars who were well versed in the adab (protocol and etiquette) of argumentation were selected while the quarrelsome scholars were avoided.[98] After the session was over, the participants were rewarded with coin if they were able to impress the sultan.[99] According to Zilfi, with the systematization of these sessions, the center managed to solve several problems with a single action: the symbolic position of the Ottoman sultan as 'spiritual leader' was bolstered with his patronage of the debates, and the richness of the rewards made up for the frustrations of the religious career, which had become so bloated that even its most successful members waited years for a bona fide post (Zilfi 1983).

---

[98] In a session conducted in 1763, Tatar Ali Efendi crossed the lines of etiquette and severely insulted his fellow scholar Abdülmü'min Efendi, thus deviating from the principles of adab for religious debates transgressing into *ad hominem* ending with directing insults to his opponent. With the order of the Sultan, he was relieved from his post and exiled to Bozcaada, an island near the Aegean shore (Mardin 1951: 84-7).

[99] After one of the sessions Sultan Mustafa III rewarded each six participant with a hundred gold coins.

The Khāṣṣ Oda: The Forty under Forty

"As if the prophet himself is in there."
Placard on top of the entrance to the Khass Oda

Under the early semi-independent dynasties that arose in Persia after the fragmentation of the caliphate, the terms *khāṣṣ* and *khāṣṣa* referred to the personal possessions of the ruler with special reference to the revenues paid into his personal treasury from land and other sources (Ullmann 1997: 1097-1098). *Khāṣṣa* referred to the provinces and districts under the direct administration of the central government in contradistinction to provinces (memalik) alienated from its direct control. In medieval Persia, the expenses of the royal household were met from the crown lands (*khāṣṣa*), which were administered directly by the shāh. Generally speaking, the Muslim societies of medieval Islam were classified into the *khāṣṣa* and the ʿ*āmma*: the *khāṣṣa* consisted of caliphs and their families and denoted in a general way the elite the notables the aristocracy as opposed to *al-'amma* (Beg 1978: 1098-100).

In the Enderun, the khāṣṣa (in Ottoman Turkish, *Has*) referred to the elite class of *ghilman* (the sultan's slave-servants) and the khāṣṣ oda was their living quarters. While all the capacity of every other corps fluctuated through time, the khāṣṣ oda was capped at forty. From the time of Selim I (1470-1520) until the imperial school's end, this number never changed. Looking at the Ottoman *sidjil* (personal record) registers we can see the average age of the students that made it to the final stage (Süreyya 1996). Usually in their late twenties and early thirties, the members of the khāṣṣ oda were no longer considered 'pages' but they attained the Ağa (palace elite) status.

The entrance hall to their quarters was called Şadırvanlı Sofa referring to the exquisitely designed water fountain in the middle of the anteroom. The first thing one notices upon setting foot inside the quarters of the Enderun elite is this small ornamented fountain: upon entry and exits everyone needed to wash their

hands, no dirt or dust from the outside should contaminate the most precious of the Islamic relics within, and no one should touch profane things after contact with the relics.

On the placard above the relics room it says "Greetings, the Messenger of God" as if one is about to go inside the room where the prophet himself was in residence.

Another placard on top of the door entering into the sultan's working-office quarters is a quatrain from Mevlana's *Mesnevi*. It reads:

All other doors are closed.
Only one remains open
And it is yours oh Messenger of God.
So the poor should enter into no other.

Another room at the Khass Oda quarters was known as the *Destimal Odası*, the handkerchief room. One of the most valuable gifts distributed from the palace was the handkerchief gently rubbed on the prophet's mantle, thus carrying the divine aura of it. In a ceremonial fashion and with a good deal of mental and spiritual preparation and purification the Khass Oda members prepared these handkerchiefs for distribution during the holy month of Ramadan. Palace protocol states that the destimal should only be given as gift to those individuals whose honor and virtue is intact.[100]

Bon (1996) talks about how these young patrimonial agents were groomed to become patrimonial leaders on their own upon leaving the Palace after graduation and official assignment: "he [the Sultan] bestows them upon his gentleman ağalar, when he employs them abroad in some principal government…they are his faithful assistants…and in time they themselves become men of worth…men of diligence and fidelity."

---

[100] "Destimal seref-i takbir ile mustaid olanlara verilecek."

Before they departed, the Enderun Agalari spent their final years right next to the Sultan and established personal connections with the state elite while at the same time, the sultans did everything in their power to make them potently capable, by for instance, granting them before graduation those symbolic or diplomatic tasks that require no spending and investment on their part but with highly lucrative income.

Conclusion: Over the Soul and body

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Koçi Bey, an Enderunî himself, identified the two culprits for the decline in the capacities and the grandeur of the state: it was the 'ulema and the kuls who failed to follow the duties assigned to them by the Sultan and the God. He says "It has been a long time since the …household of the lofty Sultanate …was served by solicitous, well-intentioned, worthy Ulema and by obedient, self-effacing, willing kuls" (2008). For Koçi, the principle characteristic of the Sultan's slave-servants, the kuls, was a form of selflessness, they were to never put themselves and their interests first but always the Sultan's. For Koçi Bey this included a wide range of behavior. For instance, when he explains the purpose of his writing at the beginning of his reports he says that he did not want to be one of those who were afraid to speak their minds out loud out of fear of the consequences. The duty of the kul is to provide the sultan with wisdom and advice without fear even if his utterances could cost him his head. Especially those kuls in the position of power, in close proximity to the sultan, those who are his confidants do not have the luxury to prefer silence concerning the affairs of the State. From this perspective, self-effacing kul means the palace and the state elite, for instance the Enderunî top officers should never prioritize their position and status, wealth and life in a manner that violates their duty towards the Sultan.

214

What seems to connect most of the materials covered thus far is a sort of dialectic: loyalty and obedience secured through the eradication of the kul's ego; not only in the servile docility of the servant/bondsmen but an ethical principle that severs direct connections of the ego to itself, instead self is achieved only through the median of the Sultan and the State. This 'ability,' which was surely produced and only then acquired by the Ottoman kul was the trait Serif Mardin identified in the character of the Young Ottomans in the 19th century: "None of the elements in the political *Weltanschauung* to which the Young Ottomans became heirs may be fully appreciated if they are not set into the general framework of deep, genuine and all-pervasive concern for the welfare of the Islamic community. This feeling was translated, following the Ottoman ascendance in the Islamic world, into a profound and sincere devotion to the Ottoman state. Such a willingness to sacrifice one's own interests to that of the state, expressed in the extremely common saying, "Allah din-ü devlete zeval vermesin" ("May God protect the religion and the state from harm and injury") was the obverse facet of the tradition of obeisance and the absence in Islam of a widely accepted theory of justified resistance. Among modern Western students of the Ottoman Empire for whom the high value of political and social dissent is axiomatic, this ability of the individual to identify his own aim with that of the state has not been given the impartial and objective treatment it deserves, but the evolution of Young Ottoman thought makes little sense if it is ignored" (Mardin 1962).

This chapter demonstrated how this was achieved inside the Palace school grounds mainly through various methods of inculcation and pedagogy. These involved readings and applications of a great number of works. In the libraries of the Enderun the research found clear traces of continuous and methodical teachings of several courses across time. Especially works, such as compilations of sections and excerpts for the purpose of bringing together a course-book for the student, contained almost exclusively books and manuals related to the adab

literature. Differences in the selection of book sections indicate a pedagogical preference. Similar for instance to a modern elite's privilege and distinction of receiving two full courses on Plato's *Republic*; the Ottoman *ghilman* received extended courses on select adab topics.

In the curricular and pedagogical design of the Enderun, literary cultivation indicated more than simple erudition. As part of the Enderun syllabus and curriculum, especially in the works of adab and Islamic books the students had access to a kind of patrimonial code –which could open doors for an agent if he was a diligent student who applied himself to his learning. In the form of formulas, wisdom sayings, exempla, the rules and risks of the patrimonial game were made available for them. Those who understood the wisdom contained in the select books were shown a preview of the patrimonial terrain in the form of history, fictional stories, and anecdotes; and among them, those who managed to apply these rules in action –precisely therefore 'by playing by the rules,' had more chances of hitting the mark when they applied for positions.

In the Ottoman system, among several ways of recognizing 'the deserving applicant' was the knowledge and displays of adab. The function of the Enderun in its role as an inculcator of adab, therefore, was molding its students into accepted forms of character that would possess at least a number of *recognizable* traits. To that end, the palace schools utilized various different strategies in the pedagogical designs and curricula of each individual cohort. For each type of 'exit' or graduation, there was a different end game but the cohorts were all brought together under a common curriculum of adab and Islam.

For the one who wanted to play the Enderun's 'end-game' it was the path up to the Khāṣṣa Oda, the Palace elite around thirty-five to forty years of age, awaiting graduation with the title of Pasha. These men, the Enderun Ağaları, were given lucrative offices with administrative and military capabilities, such as *sancak beyi* (governor) and *beyler beyi* (governor general) For the Khāṣṣa elite, the Enderun's end game was to arm them with a set of necessary knowledge,

216

skills, and self-techniques so that upon graduation they would no longer need advice. They could practice self-mastery and achieve improvement by themselves and with their own means without the strict Palace rules and the constant gaze of the school's white eunuchs. Thus the 'end-game' of the Enderun School was for the student to achieve autonomy both from his former tutors and advisors and to an extent from the sultan himself.

After graduating with the pasha title, the sultan expected from his kul to form a satellite household modeled after that of the sultan's. When the sultan asked his kul to present himself before battle, the pasha's official requirement was to bring all the forces conscripted under his regional jurisdiction. As part of his status requirement as a pasha and a sultan's kul, he was also expected to contribute to the war effort with a *mükemmel kapu*; a well ordered household governed with the help from expert scribes in charge of keeping the house's chancery logs and managing bureaucratic correspondence and an impeccably well-adorned and disciplined army of men, who did not lack a single item. A full house completely battle ready. The idea here was to indicate that the pasha's household was expected only to add to the powers of the dynastic center and not to cause any trouble for the treasury. One of the main founding ideas behind the pedagogical foundations of the Enderun schools was to produce a kind of elite who would be so immersed and entrenched with the dynastic household's (the Palace and the Court) values and mentality a graduate of the institution will not fail but reproduce the same image of the sultan's bountiful well-ordained household, this time himself as the patriarch. This reasoning is a clear demonstration of how in the life and career of the Ottoman elite officer, his sense of self became closely bound with the sultan and the state.

In short, the Ottoman state apparatus of the Enderun acted as the buffer and mediator, a mediating connector between the patriarchal dynastic center and the organizational expert administrative body, both highly volatile political places the two had to come together in such a fashion (hence the strategic urgency of the

217

apparatus) that these two realms could peacefully coexist. The Enderun in a way was the perfect patrimonial institution: it connected the personal with the realms of the official and the bureaucratic; it connected the traditional and the customary practices with the goal-oriented legal-rational ones. Enderun was also a patrimonial organization in that it produced predominantly two forms of knowledge (*savoir*) and behavior: loyalty and obedience on the one hand, expertise and knowledge on the other.

First, the lower forms of moral reasoning, such as obedience and self-interest were firmly established and rigorously tested during the earlier phases of the education and slowly the school advanced to the higher forms of moral reasoning and ultimately aimed to produce a principled conscience –that is, a graduate of the top Enderun cohorts would no longer require any assistance or reminders as checks to his moral compass.

The man who failed to master his pleasures and yet found himself in a position of authority over others was a candidate for tyranny, while the man who mastered his pleasures was considered the best candidate to govern. Roman ethicists conceived the activity of self-mastery as aiming at a conversion of the self to itself, which they conceived as freedom in fullest form. The end of self-mastery is achieving a perfect consistency between one's own desires and those that nature uses to promote its ends. For this reason the freedom achieved through self-mastery is ***autonomy***.

CHAPTER VII

ENDERUN'S CORE CURRICULUM

In a register on the Ottoman palace protocols written around the mid-eighteenth century, the welcoming ceremony for an incoming *devşirme* flock is described in detail. After weeks of walking on foot, the boys should first stop at the Edirne Palace (if the flock was coming from the Balkans), to feed, rest, and clean. Upon their arrival in Istanbul, they are to be greeted by the palace wardens outside the gates in the tents erected in preparation for their welcoming. They should be inspected thoroughly to make sure everything is in order and only then the procession into the Inner Palace Quarters should begin. With the Sultan, the members of the royal family, and the ruling elite present, the boys should look impeccable.

Their entrance from the Birûn to the Enderun was a spectacle to behold. With crimson clothing from top to bottom they enter the inner court while the wardens and *mufti*s said prayers.

Each and every one received gifts –especially the beautiful ones. But the most important gift was given to them neither by the Sultan nor by the other members of the dynasty. It came from the older cohorts: two handcrafted books that the second and third year students handcrafted at the school's workshops. First book, of course, was a copy of the Qur'an; the second was a much older Eastern classic, an *adab* book, *Kalīla wa Dimna*. It is understandable why they were presented with the Qur'an; the Islamic creed, its canon and morals would play a great part in the rest of their lives as Muslims. But why there was a second book? More importantly, why that book was *Kalīla wa Dimna,* a pre-Islamic *adab* book?

"Contrary to all other civilized nations, the Turks do not set much value upon the sciences: they always prefer valiant men to men of learning, on occasions of public promotion, yet notwithstanding their slight opinion of the sciences, they cultivate some branches of education in their schools. They teach the youth of the Seraglio to read and write: afterwards they make them apply to the study of Arabic tongue; for all the books of religion and all the laws of the Empire being written in that language, the knowledge of it is essential to the science of religion and civil government. It is not till after they have perfectly learnt the Arabic, that they are taught the Persian tongue, which being melodious and uprightly, corrects the harshness of the Turkish language. They make them learn arithmetic and by reading Persian histories and novels replete with gallantry, and with lively animated expressions, the youth acquire a gay, uprightly turn of mind. Besides these studies some apply themselves to learning the Alcoran by heart, others translate valuable books from Arabic and Persian into the Turkish tongue, on which translations each youth makes his remarks and annotations, for the instruction of the ignorant; many apply themselves to the Persian and Arabic poetry and succeed admirably well. The study of music occupies likewise a good part of the time allotted for the instruction of these young men."[101]

Paul Rycaut (1629-1700)

Chapter VII: Enderun Core Curriculum

"Universal laws are for lackeys, context is for kings."

Historically speaking, it was not the Ottomans who first practiced the policy of selecting and educating the youngsters of their subject populations for various kinds of service. Yet the Ottoman *devşirme* policy's style of recruitment is not the only likeness between the devşirme and the ideal recruitment strategy for the guardian class by Plato. The system of education and the pedagogical telos adopted by the Enderun in the earlier phases of its institutionalization was also uncannily similar to the education of Plato's class of guardians. In the *Republic*, Socrates seems to be highly concerned about the kind of education the guardians

---

[101] Paul Rycaut, 'On the method of instructing the Youth of the Seraglio in the Sciences' in *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 1665.

would receive. He suggests a thoroughly selective educational program: the guardians have to be protected from anything that could endanger the entire project, thus Socrates proposes heavy censorship when it comes to the selection of the guardian class' curricula. The poets are out because they could fill the minds of the guardians with the kind of material that could jeopardize the task at hand, which is to make sure that justice is achieved city-wide and it is made (ideally) infinitely perpetual.

Enderun had a similar curricular and pedagogical blueprint to one described by Plato. The first years of the cadet's education should focus on the education of three items: the body through physical exercises, the education of the mind through studies, and the caring for the soul through music. Plato says the soul of the guardian should be tamed although at heart he is still first and foremost a warrior and his primal instinct is 'spirited, energetic' before secondary thought. Yet this soul, if unleashed onto the public without the necessary taming was complete, would certainly cause serious trouble. His suggestion is to tame the spirit through music, but music with ideological, political content –not any kind of music. Thus, the spirited element and its energy are not 'put out' completely but it is redirected through uses of music.

At the Enderun academy, a similar pedagogical and curricular design was at play. In stark contrast to the medrese pedagogy and curricula, the Enderun was not at all interested in grand intellectual debates and deep religious-philosophical arguments. The imperial schools ran on an eclectic and pragmatically built system of education. Although Islamic elements did have an important role, they were only cogs in a larger mechanism that prioritized the construction of a specific context for life, a kind of mental as well as spiritual background so that for the students the interests and the well-being of the dynastic household, the ruling sultan in particular, would always come first. Disloyalty to the sultan was equal to betrayal to the faith.

The Enderun produced this special background through various ways. The previous chapters focused on structural and disciplinary elements that contributed to the creation of this background. This chapter focuses on the epistemic element that served as part of the background within which the Ottoman patrimonial mentality of government took its shape. Certain discursive formations –peculiar to patrimonial milieus, were central to the creation of the Enderunî as historical subjects. The data set includes a specific set of books that were central in the education of especially the younger cohorts. These were not books or manuals on the Islamic canon and law, nor their contents had anything to do with teaching, improving, or refining a certain art, craft, or sciences. There were technical compendiums on these matters, teaching the boys the intricacies of the Islamic theology, components of the sharīʿa law, or didactic books on penmanship, arithmetic, music, mastery of individual weapons. Aside from all these, which more often than not, read by the advanced cohorts, there were also a group of literary material whose didactic purpose was not the teaching of vocational or religious expertise but to introduce and instruct the readers about the rules of the patrimonial game. To a degree, these books told the youngsters about the nature of the beast: the highly volatile, incredibly precarious world around the alpha, that is, the patriarchal sovereign.

Some of these books preceded the founding of the Islamic faith and some only tangentially incorporated Islam. They provided moral doctrine combined with shrewd practical wisdom, the whole wrapped in entertaining material to make it palatable to the –yet unsophisticated, readers.

For the initiating cohorts, the focus of education was on two areas: mastery of the Ottoman language (which, aside from Turkish, included a certain degree of familiarity with the Arabic and Persian languages) and the fundamentals of the Islamic faith. Physical exercise and training constituted the third most important category. In addition, the youngsters were also drilled heavily in palace protocol. In the higher, more advanced cohorts (the vocational/service corps) the

222

student interns were trained and instructed under a different regime that combined a degree of militarism and a guild mentality. As the student moved upwards, therefore, the quantity and quality of relations that he became a part of both increased and intensified but also diversified.

In the didactic and technical education of the Enderun student there were primarily two written sources. These were books, most of which were historically important, rare and not accessible to many. Among them one can see a kind of a core curriculum similar to the ones in modern universities. Even though the Enderun graduated a great vocational diversity in terms of the employment its graduates received, it had an elaborate internal *code* that was unique to its institutional organization. It was a traditional code in the sense that it was immersed within a patrimonial discursive setting. Not surprisingly the books the Enderun's initiating cohorts read were almost entirely adab books while other genres were also used in the inculcation of knowledge and principles in line with *adab*.

Three major findings are presented in this chapter:

A. The Enderun had something similar to a 'core curriculum'. There was an institutionalized set of didactic steps and curricular requirements that every admitted student had to go through even though at the end the majority of these boys ended up continuing their training outside the Palace either in the Janissary corps or imperial cavalry divisions, having failed to impress and advance to the vocational schools.

B. The core curriculum included select books –almost all were cultural, or 'civilizational' classics with distinct subject matters. Each category of books served distinct ends. For instance, the books of adab provided the students with the mental and behavioral requirements expected of them –provided that they were willing to take part in the patrimonial game and the court politics awaited them.

C. Some of the popular and easy to read material was on the Turkish tradition and

223

culture of state and society. Written before Turks became fully Islamicized these books were fundamental for the future administrative elite. The elite Ottoman identity stood above the lines of demarcation between the religious (Islamic) and the secular. There was among the Ottoman statesmen a kind of pragmatic, perhaps 'imperial' secularism although it was implicitly manifest rather than explicitly vocalized. The sort of Ottoman secular mentality and behavior showed itself in practice. It was neither specified in literature nor had it been a matter of contemplation. As part of the elite's behavior, mentality, patterns of action and thought *it went without saying*. It was not intellectualized –as in the empire's western counterpart. An important aspect of this aspect of the Ottoman identity was a unique construct: the Ottoman askeri (military) mentality. War, conquest, and all things attached to them had an *a priori* valorized status and this was well imposed on the Enderun graduates.

The Enderun's (Core) Curriculum

Prior to the establishment of the Enderun Library in 1719 by Ahmed III the books were scattered among the Halls. Each Hall had its own library. A certain amount of money was reserved for each hall for the salaries of a staff of librarians. What Ahmed did was to bring together all the books previously dispersed the Halls and moved to a kiosk right in the middle of the Enderun's garden. He also made a formidable donation of books that carry his *tuğra* (imperial seal/signature). The books the Enderunî students read as part of their education and during their leisure times is the subject of this chapter. The goal is to identify the pedagogical code, as Basil Bernstein (2000, 2003, 2004) calls it, behind the Ottoman state's didactic inculcation of the empire's future power elite.

The Enderun curriculum was divided into seven major divisions (İpşirli 1995; Akkutay 1984; Miller 1973; Başgöz and Wilson 1989).

1) Language education (Turkish, Arabic, and Persian)

2) Islamic sciences

3) Positive sciences (mathematics, geography)

4) History, law, and administration

5) The customs of the Ottoman state, palace protocol, etc.,

6) Vocational studies (arts and crafts)

7) Physical training and specialization in weaponry.

It is not the aim of the chapter to cover all the categories of books or all available form of expertise offered by the schools as part of their pedagogical and institutional intent. The focus is on the Enderun's core curriculum, that is, the reading material the Ottoman state wanted every initiating cohort to read for as long as two centuries. The majority of the books are from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries; afterwards the Ottoman political milieu almost completely shifted first to the rising elite households, the research calls the vizieral firms; and later it shifted towards the bureaucratic expert statesmen, the Ottoman institution of the *Kalemiye* (Findley 1980, 1989). The temporal focus is, in short, the Ottoman classical age (İnalcık 2003).

There were several kinds of educators and instructors in the palace. The corps of the white eunuchs was responsible for the overall order, discipline, distribution of punishments and so on. There were also expert pedagogues known as the *lala*. These were chosen from the group of dorm elders (koğuş ağaları) and they were responsible for a more generalized form of pedagogy and education. There were also the ağas (majordomos) of each individual hall, the chiefs of each unit, and they were the main gatekeepers of the Enderun's internal system of promotion.

To an extent the Enderun education and pedagogy covered 'knowledge' in two ways, following the distinction put forth by Foucault: knowledge as *savoir* and as *connaissance*.[102] The students received specialized education in areas that

---

[102] Foucault (1972: 15) explains the distinction between the two terms in the following manner: "By connaissance I mean the relation of the subject to the object and the formal rules that govern

were legitimately 'autonomous areas reserved for the expert' and also –especially in the earlier years, the propaedeutic stage, they received the general background, the *connaissance*, the kind of knowledge that 'knows-why' (as opposed to 'knows-how'). The material covered in this chapter belongs to the latter sort.

The Enderun instructors held regular courses throughout the week. Also every week specialist instructors from outside the palace visited the schools frequently. These were mostly the men of the medrese, the members of the Ulema who had academic positions at one of the two great medrese complexes in Istanbul. Several times a week the scribes of the Bîrûn bureaus sent experts to teach calligraphy, different styles of writing required for different positions. All the instructors received a certain amount of extra money (not certain whether it was a regular salary) on top of their salary from the palace's coffers. It seems, however, that these groups of instructors did not leave behind a definitive set of books written down into a list, like a modern day course syllabus although there were *required* Enderun readings. It was Murad II (1404-1451), for instance, who commissioned a re-translation of the Eastern adab classic, *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* to Turkish. He found the existing translation monotonous and dry, unimaginative and largely confusing. The noble thoughts contained in the work were worthy to be clothed in better style and language. It was not that the sovereign disliked the existing translation and wanted to read a better one for his own personal reasons. The book was an important part of the Enderun's pedagogical program –it had always been so among the court circles since it appeared in written form around 300 BCE. In commissioning the book's re-translation, Murad II had in mind the Enderun's youngsters and that version remained an essential reading material especially for the preparatory schools ever since.

Achieving a concise list of books therefore is difficult. What we get from several internal and foreigner reports looks more like an incomplete patchwork.

---

it. Savoir refers to the conditions that are necessary in a particular period for this or that type of object to be given to connaissance and for this or that type of enunciation to be formulated."

Yet perhaps this itself is a clue; that the Enderun policy did not have a 'book focus,' rather an eclectic material was used alongside the teaching of 'the classics' similar to the present day liberal arts 'Great Books' tradition, a kind of a Core Curriculum.

Prior to the establishment of the Enderun Library in 1719 by Ahmed III the books were scattered among the Halls. Each Hall had its own library and assigned salaries for a staff of librarians and what Ahmed did was to bring together all the books previously dispersed the Halls and moved to a handsome kiosk right in the middle of the Enderun's garden.

An analysis of this library's catalogues reveals that there were roughly three categories of books taught in the Enderun (Fetvacı 2013).
1. Islamic books, mostly related to the study of the Qur'an, its commentaries, hadith compilations, and the Islamic formulations of logic and wisdom (*kelâm*).[103]
2. Islamic and Ottoman history, literature, composition, grammar, Arabic and Persian, calculus, geography, and formal logic. This category includes a large portion of works related to technical education –e.g., finances, bureaucracy and diplomacy. This category also includes types of *Tevarih-i 'Al'i Osman* (The History of the House of Osman) books that by the middle of the sixteenth century had produced more or less a coherent official court history of the Empire. The number of works carrying this title is immense, hundreds of copies containing dozens of originals or editions with significantly different accounts of history.[104]
3. The Palace and court tradition, state protocol, good manners and proper etiquette.

---

[103] These are the 'scientific' books whose aim was to undeniably prove both the 'unity of God' and 'the legitimacy of Islam' and its claims to being the only uncorrupted faith.
[104] Most books did not carry their maker's name or mark. The absence of authors' names or mahlas (pennames) in the copies indicate the historical production process of a large number of books. It might be that most of these books, such as Tevarih-i 'Al-i 'Osman type of histories, were widely read by the Enderun ghilman, perhaps a type of 'required reading' for several classes, hence the demand for its continuous production.

Enderunî Propaedeutics

In the medieval Islamic version of the Aristotelian gradation of sciences, the propaedeutics were generally called *al-adab*.[105] It refers to the preliminary education, the basic training and elementary knowledge necessary for learning an art, or science. It covers many disciplines but by itself it is not sufficient for developing expertise. As part of the Enderun's educational design, it was utilized most systematically at the initiating cohorts of the Small and Great Chambers. Aside from providing the critical *know-how* that will serve as the foundation for future proficiency, *al-adab* (propaedeutics) also prepared the students for the Enderun's behavioral and normative requirements (discipline and hard-work, hygiene, etiquette, protocol, etc.)

Qur'anic instruction was the principle element in the Enderun's propaedeutics. Without properly mastering the holy book, academic advancement was not possible. The Sunni Muslim identity was a fundamental aspect of the character of the Ottoman elite. It was not merely about its practices, e.g., daily prayers, fasting, and a basic literacy of the Arabic language to read and understand the Qur'an. The Ottoman elite was an exemplary Muslim in that they were expected to go beyond the layman's religious practices: early on, in their education they read numerous supplementary canonical books. Books that explained the principles of Islam (*ilmihal*, catechism), Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), authoritative accounts of the prophet's sayings, deeds, and habits (hadith), books teaching proper Qur'anic intonation (tecvid), the major principles of the Islamic doctrine (*akâid*), Islamic theology (*kelâm*) were part of the curriculum. Since the Qur'an was also the authoritative source of the sharī'a law, the students were also familiarized with the Islamic *'ilm* ('the sciences') on law and read *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *ferâ'iż* (laws of inheritance) among others. The Enderunî

---

[105] In the modern École normale (training school for teachers) of Cairo, the following subjects are included under the term *'ulum adabiya*: grammar (*sarf wa-nahw*), calligraphy, lexicology, poetics (*arud*, *kawafi*), rhetoric, theory of style, and logic.

propaedeutics was applied, therefore, not only to special introductions to particular branches of study, but also to auxiliary sciences, logic, philology, etc., and the encyclopedic views of particular branches of science that facilitate an insight into the relations of the parts.

In the prefatory schools, education focused mainly on three areas: the fundamentals of Islam, the Ottoman language (a veritable motley of Chagatay Turkish, Arabic, and Persian) and physical education. As the Enderun's institutional development continued over the years, the palace school steadily transformed into an academy of arts and sciences. In the earlier period, there were four full-time teachers in the Great Chamber (Büyük Oda) whose main duty was language instruction (Turkish, Arabic, Persian) and teaching the Qur'an (Miller 1973). Later, as the number of students receiving education at the Great Chamber had increased the number of instructors also increased. In the sixteenth century, there were between 100-200 students and seven teachers. In the seventeenth century, there were over two hundred students (Miller 1973).

Gradually, the number of lessons available for the students at the prefatory schools increased as well as diversified. With the preliminary education focusing on the Islamic sciences, courtly literacy, and physical education, the students were already presented with the basic skills and knowledge that could be sufficient for a variety of professions. A thorough knowledge of Islam could open the doors for an academic career, and at the same time, since the Islamic canon was also the foundation of jurisprudence, it could also serve as the basis for an administrative career. An Ottoman administrator had to know the *sharīʿa* law not only for governmental purposes but also to check on the administration of justice at the local level, which was the domain of the *kadi*. Training and exercises, such as horseback riding, archery, swordsmanship, javelin throwing (*cirit*) were essential if the student were to continue his education at the imperial cavalry divisions (*kapikulu sipahi*) –which was the case for a great majority of them.

As the Enderun developed as an institution of higher education, it acquired a more complex character –a modern day equivalent of a liberal arts college. Among the courses taught at the prefatory schools were: poetry, prose (*inşa*), calligraphy (*meşk*), geometry (*hendese*), geography, logic, aesthetics (*bedii*), literary exposition (*beyân*), 'philosophy' (*hikmet*), gilding (*tezhib*), and music (Pakalın1993: 534). The music hall was open everyday for lessons and practice. Usually in the afternoons, music teachers from the army teach the traditional war songs of the military whose themes were generally about past wars and victories, hardships of the battle, the hardships and deprivations of the march towards the enemy, the joy of war, praises of bravery, self-sacrifice, and most importantly, dying for the empire and the faith ('the twin pillars'), that is, martyrdom (*şehadet*). With the added lessons such as prose, calligraphy, and literary exposition, students leaving the prefatory schools could easily find employment at the scribal bureaus of the Bîrûn ('the outer' service, the empire's administrative hub). Less than a century after its establishment, the Enderun graduated a significantly diverse body of professionals: almost all the prominent intellectuals and men of letters, artists, artisans, and poets, as well as master craftsmen –from miniaturists to barbers and hamam başı.[106]

Mülemma: Fragments of an Enderun Syllabus?

Recreating a fully completed syllabus used by the Enderûn instructors is difficult. Although there were obviously required readings, definitive lists of books like a precise course syllabus was not an institutional priority. Instead the palace school focused more on the *ad hoc* collection of excerpts and collections

---

[106] The *hamam başı* was more than a person who served in the bathhouses: he knew several massage techniques, he was familiar with the human anatomy, he could diagnose physical ailments –and even, like a physical therapist, he could present informed prognosis and recommend exercises, whether an injury responds better to hot or cold, etc. A *hamam başı*, who found employment at the empire's prominent bathhouses, could earn a lucrative amount of money via gratuities (*bahşiş*).

from diverse series of works into collections in a similar manner as in the adab tradition. Especially in the four vocational schools 'on the job' training was prioritized rather than a strict imposition of a technical syllabus.

What we get from various historical reports in an effort to stitch together something like an Enderun syllabus looks more like an incomplete patchwork. Yet perhaps the patchwork itself is the clue. The Enderun policy did not have a 'book focus' rather it was more strategically organized like an *apparatus*; it followed diverse sets of themes and lessons.

Bobovi recollects around a dozen books the Enderuni ghilman read most frequently. These include the Qur'an, two books on Arabic grammar,[107] a textbook on syntax,[108] books dealing with Islamic faith and law in Ottoman Turkish, such as Surut-us-Salaty mukaddime kuduri,[109] two Persian classics. All these books can be found at the Topkapi Palace Archives today. It is not however a small list of books that makes Bobovi's accounts interesting. It is what he adds after the list. He says,

"[…] but they also read other books in mülemma form. Mülemma is written in an ornate way and is the combination of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian words. It is used as much in prose as in verse, and is very elegant and filled with beautiful and rich thoughts. It includes Kirk vezir-i hümayunname,[110] or the History of the Forty Viziers; Leyle ve Hikaye or Stories and Little Ditties; El fouleyali or A Thousand Nights; Seidbattal kahreman, and other sorts of novels" (Fisher and Fisher 1985: 64).

Bobovi tells us that there was a body of compilations called *mülemma*. These had a central place in the larger design of the Enderun curricula as well as a

---

[107] Kitab al-Maqsud and the Kitab-al-Izzi. Topkapi Sarayi Library has a copy of the two appended together, No: S. 2186

[108] Ajurrumiya of Ibn Ajurrimi. Topkapi Sarayi Library, E. H. 1941

[109] Here the author is referring to the titles of two separate treatises on theology and law: the Surat-al-salat and the Muqaddima of al-Quduri.

[110] The author refers again to two separate works: the history of the forty viziers, which was a compilation in prose of Turkish folk tales; and the *Hümâyûnnâme*, the Ottoman Turkish translation's title for the *Pañcatantra*.

significant part of its institutional pedagogy. These were collections of excerpts from various literary materials –not confined to excerpts from books but selected its material from a larger pool of sources, literary as well as the oral tradition. These were specific selections of reading material; perhaps a pseudo-syllabus used only inside the Enderun schools in the particular form palace education took under the Ottomans. The *mülemma* thus provide a glimpse into the Palace tutors' and pedagogues' syllabus designs.

The *Mülemma* were tri-lingual books. They were translated from Arabic or Persian into Ottoman Turkish, a combination of the two with the Turkic language and tongue known as *Chagatay* Turkish (Birnbaum 1976). In the mülemma the Arabic and Persian vocabulary were not the advanced vocabulary one would find in the more technical books such as those on the Islamic law neither the language was heavily embroidered with the flowery Persian excelled by the scribes (*küttâb*) and by the poets of the court (the *divanî*). In that sense *mülemma* was a curricular design, in a way, to introduce the students to the complex Ottoman script, language, expressions, etc., in short the discursive field where Ottoman life took its form and shapes.

These books were mostly adventures, short stories with intersecting or famous characters with twists and turns, surprise endings, super-natural characters and so on. Thus, they kept the student's attention all the way through the text, while at the same time they provided an easy to follow contextual and narrative background so when an unknown vocabulary, term, expression were to be introduced it was easier for the student to *guess* their meanings and since these were embed either as expressions or wisdom formulas into the stories it was easier to *remember* them. Hence the student's learning was complete and at the same time he was made discursively functional within the Ottoman system.

Bobovi sometimes makes the mistake of merging two separate titles into one and all these 'slips' happen when the two works were regularly parts of the same courses taught at the Enderun (Fisher and Fisher 1985: 64). For instance he

says *Kirk vezir-i Hümâyûnnâme* as if it was the title of a single work whereas "the History of the Forty Viziers (Kirk Vezir) and "The Royal Book" (Hümâyûn-nâme) are two separate books. Yet, these two books share several similarities that could be turned into a sort of pedagogically oriented medley of collections of excerpts and selections. Both are books of advice and wisdom, in varying degrees they are chiefly concerned with the proper conduct of one's life –a life, a career at the patriarch's court.

The two works are *adab* classics. While the *Hümâyûn-nâme* is the 15th century Ottoman translation and rendition of the timeless Indian classic, the Panchatantra; the stories of the Forty Viziers was a combination of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish short narratives and stories. The latter was a re-ordering of these narratives under an Islamic frame with the addition of a new meta-story that serves as a new frame and by making sure the selected chapters would not contradict the overall Islamic tone.

Although Bobovi seems to be fusing two titles into one in several occasions, these mix-ups give us an important clue: the titles of books that were generally paired together in the mülemma. Thus, not only there were individualized syllabi designed by the Palace educators for the courses they planned to teach, certain books were paired together in some of the syllabi indicating a thematic approach to teaching by way of selecting specific portions of the books.

In terms of pedagogical intent the adab books that the Enderunî read could be aligned along two main axes:

1. Books that taught aspects of the cultural life, which patriarchal and patrimonial elite continued to found themselves throughout history. These are categorized under Wisdom books, and they include books of advice, Mirrors for Princes, treatises on self-transformation, narratives of the court life. Among many other themes, one that receives several repetitions across books is the theme on 'language,' or 'the tongue' as its symbol. The students are reminded over and

233

over on the importance of skills and knowledge of language, the doors its proper use can open and equally all the scruples one could find oneself once it backfires. These adab books generally presented the two sides of every story they had to tell, all the while the stories themselves offered rich insights into the life as it traditionally existed under patriarchal and patrimonial regimes. The fickleness of the sultans when it comes to their 'friendship' is a constant concern in the books, and the reader is always reminded of the importance of friendship and establishing a common front against the enemy by establishing strong alliances.[111]

2. Warrior epics, which provided a rich imagery on the themes of war and warfare, heroism, chivalry, selfless acts, self-sacrifice, and the images of the ghazi and the martyr. This imagery was fundamental to a uniquely Ottoman central state mentality, the askeri. Askeri was more than a status; the status was rather a result of a very peculiar *habitus*. In the Enderun, the initiating cohorts extensively read books of marvelous heroism and adventure very similar to the modern day teenagers (sometimes adults) religiously following comic books. These books involved a specific code of conduct that among others supported the Ottoman askeri mentality, which valorized certain forms of behavior and debased if not prohibited certain others.

Teaching the Patrimonial Mentality of Government

Kalīlah wa Dimnah: An Introduction to the Secrets of Patrimonial Politics

Translation processes of significant works such as cultural classics usually involved a range of persons –mostly the upper elite. In several cases it was the group of Enderun teachers and pedagogues who beseeched the sultan for his patronage of certain books whose translations into Ottoman Turkish either did not yet exist or the existing translations were found to be inadequate. In his book on

---

[111] These are the story headings in the *Kalīlah and Dimnah*, Chapters 1-3; 6-8; and 11 respectively.

the history of the Galata Saray palace school Isfendiyaroglu provides an *arz dilekcesi* (petition) penned by one of the school's educators (Isfendiyaroglu 1952: 271). Galata Saray was an important school within the Enderun network of schooling. From its founding in 1481, it was the third palace school –after Edirne and Topkapi, established for the purposes of elite education of the devşirme. In the petition presented to the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754) the Galata Saray teachers requested a few items –new books, allowance for several books' repairs, etc. More importantly, the petition asks for the Sultan's patronage for the translation of specific books into Ottoman Turkish and re-translation of certain others. The students, they indicate, were finding the existing material very hard to read or follow as the language used had become archaic, incomprehensible, and sacrificed clarity for the purpose of artful, flowery rhetoric.

The translation of Kalīlah and Dimnah into Ottoman Turkish had a similar story. Between the years 1512-20 Alâeddin ʿAlī Čelebī, translated the book from its Persian version (*Anwār-i Suhaylī*) into Ottoman rhymed prose. The reason was, as he explained, "[the] earlier translations (*tercüme*) and adaptations (*te'lif*) were found to be inaccurate, confusing, difficult to read and teach."[112] He chose the title *Humāyūn-nāma* (The Book of Kings) and dedicated his work to Sülaymān I (1494-1566). In the dedication he summarized the contents of the book as the cultivation of ethical, social, and political adab.[113] Thanks to his prose skills and talent for artistic but faithful translation ʿAlī Čelebī received high praise for making an already rich text even richer.[114]

---

[112] The earliest translation of *Kalīlah and Dimnah* from Arabic into Anatolian Turkish was made by Masʿūd for ʿUmar Beg, the prince of Aydin (d. 1347). This prose text was put into verse by an unknown author who dedicated his work to Sulṭān Murād I (1359-1389). See, H. Éthé, "On some hitherto unknown Turkish versions of Kalīlahh and Dimnah," (6-14 April) 2nd session, i. 241 ff.

[113] In the text, reads "ahlâkî, içtimaî ve siyasî terbiye."

[114] Consequently, his version became the most popular; not only it was copied many times by hand but also printed several times in Ottoman printing presses, plus it was this copy that received translations into several European languages. In Europe the book was categorized as *Fürstenspiegel* (Mirror for Princes) and ʿAlī Čelebī's version received translation first in Spain (by Brattuti, 1654-1659 in two volumes); and later in France (by Galland, *Les contes et fables indiennes de Bidpai et de Loqman, traduites d'Ali Tchelebi-ben-Saleh, auteur turc,* Paris, 1724).

For a young student of the Enderun Kalīlah and Dimnah was in many ways similar to a contemporary college course *PAT 101*: An introduction to the mechanisms of patrimonial culture and politics. The teaching of the book was a course on its own while the introductory story served as the course syllabus - albeit heavily encrypted with metaphors and symbols. Once these are deciphered and the allegory explained, however, the requirements of the course as well as how it was to be taught became clearer.

In the introduction, Burzōē, a physician at the court of the Sasanian king Anushirvan (501-579), was sent to India in search of a *Sanjivani* herb when sprinkled over the dead, the rumor went, it revived them. After a long and arduous quest in the mountains he was led to an ascetic (a Brahman) who revealed the truth behind the rumors: The "plant" was literature, the "mountain" was learning, the "dead" were the ignorant, and "immortality" referred to the kind of perpetual life available only to the kings and the state elite –viz., the possibility of leaving behind an everlasting 'good name' after death.[115] The best book of this kind, the Brahman said, was kept in the King's private treasure chamber. Dedicated to the task assigned to him, the physician went on to spend years winning the trust of the book's guardians before he was given a 'read-only' access. He is prohibited from making a copy. Accepting the condition he memorized each day a chapter and upon returning to his room he wrote it down.

The introduction story-chapter accomplishes several things:

a. An open declaration of the limits of the book's contextual availability. It is not readily given. One has to give himself to the task arduously, when had the chance

---

[115] Although the Ottoman sultans, being Sunni and orthodox Muslims, would be expected to strive more for a good reputation as a pious Muslim for its benefits in the spiritual afterlife, secular – almost deistic, concerns of 'earthly legacy' always had been an equally important concern. In the Ottoman advice literature the authors reminded in many occasions the sultans of their legacy and warned them if they didn't start taking action for the betterment of the state and society, they would go down in history not satisfying the high standards set by their glorious ancestors. Perhaps it was an act of fortune and serendipity, or something about the Ottoman house and its succession, the first set of Ottoman sultans did contain a rather impressive number of capable and charismatic leaders, warriors, reformers, and statesmen (Imber 2009).

to study the book he was to treat it as a hidden and protected treasure. He should memorize its segments, inscribe them to memory, and before going to bed write them down so as to complete the learning process with a test. If one fails to remember certain parts it means that they are not properly understood.

Several times in the book it is stated that the wisdom contained in the book is only for those who deserve it –not only in terms of one's privilege (being literate, having access to the book, etc.,) but also on account of one's dedication. One such statement goes:

"The sweet nectar (wisdom) of the book is saved for those who deserve it (by self-cultivation), only they will be able to 'read between the lines' and go past behind the fable, and reach to the wisdom this book offers –all the while the uneducated continue to laugh at the funny stories from the mouths of animals, or even at the mere imagery of animals talking" (Mithat: 1887: 12). This is an open declaration stated firmly in the book that puts forth its purpose for having 'narrative layers.' The book will not only separate the cultivated from the uncouth for the latter will only hear animals talking and laugh at their adventures, ill fortune, their tricks and cunning; its content will also become clearer with experience gained as it says "there are always new wisdom to be discovered as the reader gets older" (Mithat: 1887: 14)

b. The introduction chapter/storyline ends by pointing to the book itself as the key to immortality, fame, and glory. In a circular fashion, the book of wisdom gets to be found only after the seeker of the treasure's realization that *wisdom* is the closest thing one has for access to undying fame and repute. [rep] the acquisition and practice of wisdom is the closest thing to earn glory and fame, a kind of *immortality* available only to the elite.

c. The journey of the physician and the manner in which he was directed to the book and acquired its wisdom symbolically represent a step-by-step description of

how a student should study it. The wisdom contained in the book is not readily available by the simple act of possessing the book, having it in reach, or casually reading it in a non-systematical fashion. It comes only after diligently studying its chapters by day, inscribing them to memory, and taking notes at night to repeat them, study them, and to test oneself on whether the messages and formulas really sunk in.

The decision of choosing animals to relay the necessary wisdom for life and government was a culturally conscious decision. Similar to the Stoic belief, the Indian civilization regarded animals as possessors of natural (instinctual) wisdom, whereas humans needed education and divine revelation to acquire it.

The selection of particular animals for each story was also culturally specific. Some animals have timeless characteristics attached to them. Sometimes the cultural significance of certain animals are similar, for instance in many cultures dogs are known to be loyal and friendly; at other times, there are crucial differences between the innate characteristics associated with certain animals in different cultures. In some cultures crows represent wisdom and sagacity, whereas in others a crow sighting is considered a bad omen. In the Indian culture at the time when Kalīlah and Dimnah was written the jackal had a fame closer to one a fox has today.

The Jackal in this regard is an animal of two virtues known to be at war with each other: wisdom and proclivity for taking risks. At present we consider the fox as an animal that can outwit its trappers and hunters yet other than its ability to 'outfox' its chasers this also shows that more so than other animals it is the fox that puts itself in situations where traps are involved. This makes the fox (the Indian jackal) the perfect model to teach lessons on patrimonial power: a patrimonial game is a game of wisdom that among other things teaches the risks involved in the game, which approaches and tactics work under what circumstances, and so on.

Rightfully therefore the book's meta-frame revolves around two jackal brothers Kalīlah and Dimnah whose names after which the Arabic translation of the book acquired its title. In classical Indian lore the jackal is famed for being an opportunist and its cunning in for instance escaping traps. Yet this trait is also the very reason why it has to avoid them is the animal's propensity to take risks. Combined with the character of the animal, the gist of their part of the narrative becomes clear: calculation and management of risks, which are indispensable traits under patriarchal and patrimonial regimes famous for the amount of discretion in these systems.

A central feature and a common element shared by the books under this category is their contextual ambiguity: what is presented as the virtuous behavior in one setting becomes a weakness in another. Although the books contain uncontestable moral maxims (the Five Principles) that retain their power throughout, most 'ethical standings' are subject to change depending on the character of the people involved, or the particular setting in which the events transpire.

The *Five Tantras* are:

1- One should always be wary if one friend accuses another of crime;

2- Cooperation among friends is vital to their survival;

3- Mental strength and deceit are stronger in warfare than brute force;

4- One must be careful not to betray friends, especially guarding against one's own tendencies towards foolishness; and

5- One should be wary of hasty judgments.

Even to this day, scholars are divided as to the nature of the book. Dr. Johannes Hertel (1912), a pioneer translator of the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* thought the book had a Machiavellian character. Similarly, Edgerton (1965: 13) noted that "The so-called 'morals' of the stories have no bearing on morality; they are unmoral, and often immoral. They glorify shrewdness and practical wisdom, in the affairs of life, and especially of politics, of government." Other scholars

dismiss this assessment as one-sided, and view the stories as teaching dharma, or proper moral conduct (Falk 1978: 173–188).

"On the surface, the Pañcatantra presents stories and sayings which favor the outwitting of roguery, and practical intelligence rather than virtue. However, [..] From this viewpoint the tales of the Pañcatantra are eminently ethical. [...] the prevailing mood promotes an earthy, moral, rational, and unsentimental ability to learn from repeated experience (Hindery 1978).

As Joseph Jacobs observed in 1888, "[...] if one thinks of it, the very raison d'être of the Fable is to imply its moral without mentioning it" (Doni and North 1888). "Indeed, the current scholarly debate regarding the intent and purpose of the 'Pañcatantra' — whether it supports unscrupulous Machiavellian politics or demands ethical conduct from those holding high office — underscores the rich ambiguity of the text" (Olivelle 2006: 18).

The ambiguity is purposeful and strategic. In a 19th century Ottoman translation Ahmed Midhat explains the intent. The book he says declares out-front how its wisdom can only be achieved by the cultivated, and the uneducated flock will merely be entertained by the lively dialogues between animals (Mithat 1887: 5). This functional distinction, however, also applies to the elite. Those who do not possess the necessary intelligence –which is not acquired, will also be sidelined.[116] In the process of weeding out those students from the cohorts and deciding who is worthy for promotion, it was as important for the student to show diligence and hard work as much as him possessing a natural gift, a distinction that others lacked.

In the book the two of its further layers are thus revealed in a 'necessary but not sufficient' fashion: mere repetition and a general knowledge of these mantras mean nothing unless they are put into action. Thus the pedagogical intent of the book by its very design requires a 'self-looking ethical person' who must be

---

[116] In the text: "[…] özel bir seçkinler grubu muhatap alınarak mesaj onlara yöneltilmektedir, kâfi derecede zekâya sahip olmayanların devre dışı bırakılması hedeflenmektedir" (Mithat and Çatıkkaş 1999: 17).

very aware of his actions as well as what these actions mean insofar as he is also a moral agent. Without self-reflection there is no yardstick one can use to measure the distance from where the targeted ideal resides.

In short, in Kalīlah and Dimnah the separation is clearly made between the two realms: the actual/physical and the epistemological. One needed to know oneself *for* something, to do or accomplish something and not as an end in itself. The Ottoman court culture required a very particular sort of being from its Enderunî subjects that depended on the latter's recognition of the division between technical and formative practices. If the student at the earlier cohorts fails to turn what he received in theory into action he shouldn't make it to the grand halls which will demand from them hands-on training, an internship process designed in a military style.

Kitab-i Kırk Vezir, or Kırk Vezir Hikâyeleri (The Tales of the Forty Viziers)

The fact that there had been numerous illustrated copies found with visual depictions of the individual stories implies that there had been a consistent market for its production and the market contained customers who could afford purchasing illustrated copies that had traditionally been more expensive than simpler forms. [117] For a book generally considered to be a book for the youngsters and not for adults, such a wide range of its production and circulation indicates the books continued pedagogical use.[118]

---

[117] Topkapi Sarayi Revan Kitapligi, no: 1081. 292 folios, each containing 19 lines of verse. 160.248 words total. There are two at least two known illustrated copies, one in İstanbul Üniversitesi (TY, nr. 7415) and the other in Uppsala University (nr. III).

[118] The only customer was not the imperial palace and the rich elite although Ottoman families did invest in expensive books. There were also foreigners such as royal envoys or international merchants. Galland for instance says in the afternoon he made a great bargain with a cunning and deceiving book-seller who tried to sell him a popular but also easy to find book. Although the book was adorned with considerably beautiful adornments and it was only for seventy-five aspers (silver coins) he already knew that this was the bazaar's 'tourist price' and he knew that with these people he was told that he always had to be steadfast and bargain even if it takes a full day.

Patriarchal (male centric) rhetoric was especially dominant in the Ottoman advice literature. Not only the Ottoman historians, but until recently Turkish official historiography of the empire blamed the Harem women and their 'meddling' with the state's affairs among the chief factors behind the empire's decline. The period referred to as 'the Sultanate of Women' (roughly between 1520-1656) received much of the blame for the empire's demise. Although under the light of recent scholarship, it is demonstrated that the opposite was true, and the Palace women's involvement to the affairs of the state was only a part of a larger movement when 'non-traditional' brokers and go-betweeners of all sorts came to the front; nonetheless, the Ottoman men of letters of the 17th and 18th centuries did not perceive it as such.

Surely, patriarchal approach to government in general did not generate from the books and it was a part of the Ottoman patrimonial culture as a whole. There were, however, several books that contributed to its legitimation. One such book, a favorite of the younger cohorts, was entitled *Kirk Vezir Hikayeleri* (The Tales of the Forty Viziers)[119] In the book, which follows a frame story setting similar to Kalīlah and Dimnah, the main frame is a story about an old King, whose wife the Queen dies at child birth while giving birth to their only son, the heir to the throne. Some years pass and the King marries the young daughter of a neighboring kingdom, who falls in love with the young Prince depicted as the epitome of beauty and heroism. After receiving the cold shoulder from him, the young queen conspires against the Prince to such a point that the King orders his execution. At this point, the King's viziers step up. It is at this point the frame narrative begins, with the King's forty viziers telling wisdom stories by day and the young queen countering them by night; while the former try to convince the

---

[119] The frame of the History of the Forty Vezirs — the story of the King who, misled by the false accusations of his baffled and revengeful wife, orders the execution of his innocent son, a crime from committing which he is diverted by the wise advice of his chief councilor, only to be urged to it again at night by the Queen, to be restrained again by the words of his second councilor, to be incited to it once more by the Queen, and so on, tossed to and fro, till each of his councilors has in turn done his duty and the guilt of the wicked Queen is at last made clear.

King of the Prince's innocence, the Queen advises for his execution (Šehzāde and Gibb 1886). The book, therefore, contains eighty short stories.

Even though the main frame portrays a misogynistic picture, the young queen's arguments are not irrational (Toska 1991). Her advices through exemplary tales make a convincing case matching those of the viziers'. In this regard, the book is similar to Kalīlah and Dimnah, in the sense that it makes the case, overall that for every line of argument there is an equally convincing counter-argument. Hence, the function of such books in the pedagogical make-up of those students aspiring to become administrators or advisors to the Sultan: to arm the reader with a diverse repertoire of acumen, compacted in wisdom narratives, short stories, anecdotes, and formulas so that one day he will be confident when defending his position or attack his adversary's. The fact that illustrated copies with miniatures visually depicting some of the storylines implies the book's elite pedagogical use.[120]

Misogynistic story telling was very popular everywhere during the Middle Ages (Şehzade and Gibb 1886). The frame of the *History of the Forty Vezirs* — the story of the King who, misled by the false accusations of his baffled and revengeful wife, orders the execution of his innocent son, a crime from committing which he is diverted by the wise advice of his chief councilor, only to be urged to it again at night by the Queen, to be restrained again by the words of his second councilor, to be incited to it once more by the Queen, and so on, tossed to and fro, till each of his councilors has in turn done his duty and the guilt of the wicked Queen is at last made clear (Şehzade and Gibb 1886).

The main frame comes from the Arabic story-telling tradition known as *Hikayet-i Erbain-i Subh u Mesa* (Stories of Forty Days and Nights) the original work –if there was ever one, was rooted in the Arabic story-telling –thus, in the oral tradition. A series of short stories were connected together following a frame

---

[120] There are two at least two known illustrated copies, one in İstanbul Üniversitesi (TY, nr. 7415) and the other in Uppsala University (nr. III).

243

that guides their moral contents. The general and most basic frames could be changed depending on the moralistic, pedagogical, political intentions of the storyteller or the compiler. If the author wanted to convey a particular message he needed to pick fitting stories both for the frame's contextual and analytical consistency and for the forcefulness of the overall message. Even when seemingly contradictory stories were compiled together, one could always find a nuance that affected the interpretation of the entire story if not the whole compilation. Taking into consideration that these authors were composing both within their own times, as subjects and parts of their present and they were also writing *for* their present, responding to current political crises, scandals, major misuses of the offices by certain people, etc.

In the case of the *Erbain* it was 'the viziers vs. the sultan's wife', or men vs. women for the frame narrative was built on was openly misogynistic. This literary tradition was by no means confined to the middle east, in all known parts of the world the middle-ages were times of trouble for women in general and the practice and ideology did find their anti-women expressions in literature – especially among the elite, in written form. This was in turn read out loud, acted out, or recited from memory in elite social events and gatherings.

As J. W. Gibb (1886: xx) says in his translation of the *Erbain*'s Ottoman version into English:

"The Romance of the Forty Vezirs is, like all the other members of the same family, Eastern and Western, Hindu, Muhammedan and Christian, a fierce satire on the fair sex. Stories that told against women were very popular everywhere during the Middle Ages, though, perhaps, they enjoyed a yet greater share of public favor in Europe than in Asia."

Patriarchal rhetoric (male dominant) was especially dominant in the Ottoman advice literature. Not only Ottoman historians, but until recently Turkish official historiography of the empire blamed the Harem women and their

244

'meddling' with the state's affairs among the chief factors behind the empire's decline. The period referred to as 'the Sultanate of Women' (roughly between 1520-1656) received much of the blame for the empire's demise. Although under the light of recent scholarship, it is demonstrated that the opposite was true, and the Palace women's involvement to the affairs of the state was only a part of a larger movement when 'non-traditional' brokers and go-betweeners of all sorts came to the front; nonetheless, the Ottoman men of letters of the 17th and 18th centuries did not perceive it as such.

The book is not merely a patriarchal treatise, however. The young queen is equally adept and her arguments –and the little stories she supports them, are sound and clear. The gist of the book is almost exactly the same as with the Kalīlah wa Dimnah: it is not about who is doing the arguing, nor even what one is arguing about; it is about being able to possess the memory, the imagination, and reasoning when one is arguing *any* position. If successfully argued, defended, explained, any argumentative position could be made convincing in this way the adab provides the courtier with a large literary resource area that contains historical knowledge, popular sayings, witticisms, poetry, the art of rhetoric, etc. Thus, the courtly culture of adab was both something expected, demanded from the one who could call himself legitimately as a member of the court/state elite and at the same time it referred to the literary and practical/behavioral area that contained the knowledge, the techniques, short cuts, and 'wisdom' of the very regime that holds the original expectation: official title had many signifiers, aside from 'official' duties there were for instance cultural duties, sets of expectations the historical person had to meet by virtue of his status group orientation, his cultural status.

The epistemic area keeps changing, and it continues to receive new additions, short stories get replaced by alternative versions with different characters, plot twists, and ends. For instance, three short stories among the 113 such stories I found under different Kirk Vezir editions had exact plotlines only

the witty heroes are replaced in the Anatolian oral tradition of *hiciv* (satire). Among these were the frame stories collected around the folk hero Nasreddin Hoca, a collection of oral tradition popularly known as the Funnies of Hoca Nasreddin.[121]

Central Themes and Discursive Forms

Proper Behavior and Agreeable Conduct

Kalīlah and Dimnah repeatedly brings anecdotes and stories around the benefits of knowing 'the rules of proper conduct' and especially the knowledge of 'the Court culture.' While the reader is told about their importance, the book also lays out the basics:

Humility is key to form a good impression. "These words of humility so ravished the king and his court that almost everyone immediately formed a good impression of the bull. A murmur of approval swept the crowd of onlookers" (Wood 1983: 84).

On the internal dynamics of patrimonial politics the book is particularly rich: on the likelihood of an unworthy/ignorant person rising to an important position at the court to such an extent that he can influence politics simply by virtue of his close proximity to the august ear:

> 'Kings seldom choose the best creatures to act as their ministers,' said Kalīlah. 'Often it is simply the one who happens to be nearby who becomes a favorite, much as a vine attaches itself to the nearest tree.' (Wood 1983: 42).

On the high volatility of the political environment under patriarchal and patrimonial politics, Kalīlah reminds the story of "how human beings, in general,

---

[121] The three short stories that are found to be the same in the kirk vezir editions and Nasreddin hoca funnies are: Bahcivan ile Oglu (the gardener and his son), Dervisin Sakasi (the Dervish's Joke), and Uc Ahmak (Three Idiots).

are not to be trusted" especially those powerful few who can afford not to be trusted. Kalīlah says,

"Kings are notoriously fickle; one moment they will be all smiles and make you imagine you are much loved, then suddenly seem not to know you, or, even worse, to hate you."

Overall, Kalīlah frequently advises on the inherent danger of engaging in political activity, especially with getting involved into the court elite's struggles for power.

> 'While I sympathize with your problem, brother, I'm afraid you have nobody to blame but yourself. You're upset now, but it was you that insisted on meddling in court affairs. What did you expect? *Stick your paw in the fire, and you risk burning it.* Your situation reminds me of the story of the dervish and the thief, and if you'll just **sit down and calm yourself**, I am going to tell it to you' (Wood 1983: 44).

> In short, among other great themes such as proper behavior and courtly

manners, the many uses of language, and so on, the fundamental pedagogical code behind the book is to reveal as close to reality as possible the many faces of patrimonial politics. In response, the book's suggestion is openly stated in the dialogue between the jackals:

Dimnah says,

> **"**If fortune sees fit to favor such dimwits, why should she not also favor me?
>
> There are many paths to greatness. Some achieve it through virtue, some through strength, some through service, and some through cleverness in seizing opportunity.'
>
> 'Be that as it may,' Kalīlah said, 'I think you will meet more trouble than you expect. You are *gambling* that the lion will take a liking to you, and help you achieve your ambitions. You are exposing yourself to a wind which can blow equally strongly in opposite directions" (Wood 1983: 48).

Thus, the gist of politics is a sort of 'risk calculation and management.' In the book risk can be managed through a combination of two kinds of 'knowledge.' First, the knowledge of one's strengths and weaknesses. One needs to know his 'mold' and this he must use to achieve the second knowledge: the quantity and quality of the risk one can afford relying on that worth. One's self-knowledge of his worth in the political arena is the first step in determining the amount of risk one can manage. In the stories, there are those who risk and lose or win big, and the reverse. It is in this sense, Kalīlah and Dimnah is objective and realist, and turns out this is a great way of producing future agents of patrimonial politics, by telling the truth about it without hiding any detail for ethical or moral purposes of any kind.

In short, the book arrives the end of its 'moralizing discourse' without revealing its own 'moral' position. In this regard, reading it is very much like reading a contemporary book on law, filled with cases that are very similar but their contexts and/or the skills of the attorneys made all the difference, thus similar cases received different verdicts. Stories, anecdotes, and formulas as they are used in Kalīlah and Dimnah as 'arguments' and 'defenses' are similar to a lawyer's statements during litigation. There is a story for every occasion, even to argue exact opposites, and can be used under very different settings. It is therefore not about one's position or arguments but rather the play, or the game played between a select group of those who *can* (are entitled to) argue many positions for various goals in mind and those who settle on the verdict.

The book's framing of stories is not simply to increase the effect of narrative storytelling in prose form, it is also a way of presenting the reader with the gist of political argumentation: a skillful player is he who knows the rules of patrimonial game very well, who knows the past verdicts, the most famous political positions and how to attack them so well that he can bend the outcome favorably to his position; a good agent of Ottoman patrimonial politics is someone who knows wisdom stories, anecdotes, surahs (chapters) from the Qur'an, etc., so

well that he can use one story to argue for something and its opposite the next day all the while remaining in the eyes of the sovereign still 'trustworthy.'

Know Thyself

Ahmed Mithat reminds us of yet another group, aside from the two (ignorant flock vs. cultivated elite), there is the third: among the elite who will get the most out of such books are only those who can translate the wisdom into action and practice by a sort of self-transformation, a bending of both will and behavior to the path directed by the wisdom contained in these books.[122]

Its core is a perfect summary of adab: to provide especially those destined for government with the knowledge and ability in finding the middle way, the course of action that will benefit the parties involved including the decision-maker no matter what the context and circumstances dictated at any given moment. In summarizing one of the frame stories on friendship in the form of a formula, the author reveals his intent openly: "Friendship should never be so great as not to leave room for hair; nor should enmity be of that description as not to bear a chance of reconciliation. He who is of an equable disposition will keep a middle course."

The time-honored value of the book and the respect it commanded across cultures, therefore, lay in its ability to combine wisdom in the form of epistemology and its translation into practice through techniques.[123] It is indeed a complex book that does not seek to reduce the complexities of human life,

---

[122] The second group, he says, is like a person who plans to catch the thief that has frequented one's house but fails because he falls asleep. In describing the third group he says wisdom is only wisdom when translated into action, and likens knowledge to a tree and wisdom to its fruits. The third group he says can actually reach (i.e., practice, action) and savor the sweet nectar of wisdom, while others fail (Mithat and Çatıkkaş 1999: 28).

[123] In the Indian tradition, The Panchatantra is a nītiśāstra. Nīti can be roughly translated as "the wise conduct of life" and a śāstra is a technical or scientific treatise; thus it is considered a treatise on political science and human conduct. Nīti is "the harmonious development of the powers of man, a life in which security, prosperity, resolute action, friendship, and good learning are so combined to produce joy." (Olivelle 2006: vii).

government policy, political strategies, and ethical dilemmas into simple solutions; it can and does speak to different readers at different levels.

Although the book, as mentioned above, is perhaps purposefully ambiguous, the messages of the five chapters (tantras) are straightforward and not open to contestation. As summary formulas, these are: One should always be wary of persons who through lies and deceit contrives to disunite friends and allies; Cooperation among friends is vital to their survival; Mental strength and deceit are stronger in warfare than brute force; One must be careful not to betray friends; One should be wary of hasty judgments; Truth will be revealed, sooner or later (the chapter added by al-Muqaffaʿ, it is not found in the original *Pañcatantra*.)[124]

The storyline following Dimnah also shows the importance of language and the multifarious ways of its use with a succession of didactic stories. The stories start as answers to clear and direct questions and end with memorable formulas summarizing the section's wisdom. In the case of Dimnah the storyline begins with his considerations of getting involved in court politics with the help of his skills in the polished speech of the court. It ends after all the potential benefits and dangers of involvement in the affairs of the elite, which are characterized by the asymmetrical nature of power relations between agents.

Dimnah's frame story begins with a demonstration of the ways and the range in which polished speech and manners could be used for one's own benefit. Dimnah's polite speech and powerful rhetoric were noted on various occasions: first, he recognizes it as one of his stronger suits and decides to rely on it while taking a risk;[125] second, its first demonstration during his self introduction to the

---

[124] Aside from the five tantras, other moral anecdotes include: How to avoid losing one's hard-earned gains; the dangers of haste in an affair with which we are but imperfectly acquainted; avoiding persons who are unworthy of trust; how to reconcile with the person whom one has ill treated; the futility and dangers of bestowing favors to an unworthy person; how to choose reliable and trustworthy friends, how to meet difficulties and solve problems through tact and wisdom, and how to live in peace and harmony in the face of hypocrisy, deceit and many pitfalls in life.

[125] 'How are you going to help the King? He barely speaks to you, let alone listens to your advice.'' My first step is to obtain an audience with the lion. Later I shall ask him indirectly what

King;[126] third, in courting the unknown wild-beast to convince him for an appearance before the King; and forth, in starting a war between best friends, the Lion and the Bull. In the fifth and final part on Dimnah's trial, he gets away from the accusations again by the use of his skills and master of the language. In short, Dimnah's story alone is a multifaceted lesson on how to manage the risks and stay safe from the pitfalls associated with the tug of war between the state's elite, all the while armed only with skills in language.

The wisdom of the storyline, however, is different and only reveals itself in the final act. What makes polite language a liability under a patrimonial milieu is its capability of blurring the lines between right and wrong, the ethical and the unethical.[127] A client armed with a commanding collection of wisdom formulas and stories, anecdotes, etc., could argue any position without being sincere or personally convinced of its virtues. The next moment he could argue the exact opposite position, just as powerfully. The repertoire of wisdom narratives and stories determined one's powers of argumentation and demonstration and not the proximity of his arguments to truth, ethically commendable behavior.

As much as these lines can be read as advices for the benefit of potential clients, it was also possible to read it from the perspective of the rulers by sequencing the parts involving the Lion and his storyline with other animals besides Dimnah. In several occasions the Lion is cautioned against the sweet-talker with demonstrations of the influence and hold they could achieve to the detriment of the ruler (Mithat and Çatıkkaş 1999: 67).

---

he thinks about that creature in the meadow. I am confident I can phrase this question in such a way as not to irritate him.

[126] The lion was as astonished as he was pleased at these unexpected words, and immediately formed a good opinion of Dimnah. 'Well spoken, jackal,' he said. 'You have stepped boldly yet respectfully forward, and deserve the trial which you request.

[127] From the Lion's perspective this trait was expressed in the lines "Dimna is so full of soothing words that he must have some hidden motive.

The *Middle* Course: The Wisdom of 'the Third Way'

The book's core is a perfect summary of adab: to provide especially those destined for government with the knowledge and ability in finding the middle way, the course of action that will benefit the parties involved including the decision-maker no matter what the context and circumstances dictated at any given moment. In summarizing one of the frame stories on friendship in the form of a formula, the author reveals his intent openly: "Friendship should never be so great as not to leave room for hair; nor should enmity be of that description as not to bear a chance of reconciliation. He who is of an equable disposition will keep a middle course."

Moral Perspectivism

Kalīlah wa Dimnah contains a perspectivist approach to morals, therefore, to politics (e.g., relations with authority). The story lines are crisscrossed in the form of 'arguments' and 'counter-arguments,' elaboration over the specificity of the situation in the story, what kind of an approach should be followed or avoided considering that this time the case to the matter was different than those previously considered. It is never a specific position that gets the praise and declared as 'the thing to do under such and such circumstances.'

'If I were you, brother,' said Kalīlah, 'I would contain my curiosity on such matters. We are the lion's servants, and our business is to wait upon him and obey his commands– not to pry into his affairs.' […] If you don't watch out, you'll get exactly what you deserve. Do I have to tell you how dangerous it is to meddle in the King's business? You remind me of the story of the monkey who tried his hand at something he didn't understand' (Wood 2008). Yet, in the same chapter, Dimna gets to defend his previous position, namely a rational proposition to 'get involved into politics.' He says "[but it is] also true that if you risk nothing

you achieve nothing, for fortune favors the bold."

One of the ways in which the frame narrative created a web of moral perspectives to a series of moral/political problems was to arrange the story line by focusing on different figures. The main frame, that is, the dialectical conversation between the two brothers aside, one can play with the ordering and linking of the supporting stories. Thus, different positions can be presented from various points of view.

His main purpose, to achieve political power and the power to influence government is tainted by jealousy. Dimnah's first entrance to audience was after convincing the Lion to meet his unwarranted fears, second, convincing the Bull to appear in front of the Lion by promising the guarantee of life, and third starting to benefit from this action by, first, proving himself a valuable confidant, and second, through the shares of the Bull, whom in gratitude, shared his newly gained wins with the Jackal. Yet, Dimnah realizes that his very success only prepared his doom, his fall from grace. Now the Lion had found a new friend and the Lions are known to get bored with companions and advisors and they change them quite often –even at whim. Dimnah's first executive initiative leads to a diminishing of powers. He despairs and comes up with a plan –one that was not approved of and sanctified in al-Muqaffaʿ's version.

Dimnah carefully builds series of suspect narratives concerning the bull and starts whispering them to the Lion's ears. He depicts the reality in such a way that the Lion now suspects the Bull's every behavior and misinterprets them thanks to the jackal's manipulations. An advisor can easily turn the monarch's life into one of constant schizophrenia. Falling victim to his temper and without thinking critically, the Lion attacks the Bull and kills him then and there.

In the end his scheming is revealed and Dimnah faces all the charges. Interestingly, he is given a chance for explaining his actions, which was denied to the Bull. In the original version he finds a way out by recourse to no other weapon than those he has been using all along: by telling stories, and by their

frames, through the wisdom confined in them legitimizing each and every of his actions and decisions that he now faces accusations.

As mentioned before the Islamic audience probably did not like the original ending in the Panchatantra and Ibn Muqaffa changed it by having Dimnah fail to defend himself. He gets murdered by the lion for the charges of high treason, that is, for manipulating the monarch through lies by way of misusing one's office.

What makes the Panchatantra a classic is that in the midst of strategic story telling, the book tells the truth as if it both predicts it and makes it. Every character is told exactly what awaited them if they chose to go this way rather than that way. The story is the unraveling of the events when the turn in the right direction is made, or the opposite. For instance, in *Kalīla wa Dimna*, more than once the Lion is cautioned against the sweet-talker with demonstrations of the influence and hold they could achieve to the detriment of the ruler (Wood 1982). And this is exactly where the calamity of the story hits: the leader, above all people, violates the terms of his word, one that he extended through his friendship, and one that promised security of life. Without 'objective' evidence and acting solely on hearsay, the patrimonial leader can turn on the client who is just one among many whereas the ruler is singularly unique. If the reader prefers the original Panchatantra, that is, the version where Dimnah skillfully escapes the consequences of his actions, one of the primary 'patrimonial' governing dynamics would be: take the risks you can safely shoulder and avoid those that can potentially crush you. The patrimonial game is brutal. There may come a point when one of those turns in the wrong direction end up claiming your life.

The Strategic Importance of Mastering the Language

The storyline following Dimnah also shows the importance of language and the multifarious ways of its use with a succession of didactic stories. The

stories start as answers to clear and direct questions and end with memorable formulas summarizing the section's wisdom. In the case of Dimnah the storyline begins with his considerations of getting involved in court politics with the help of his skills in the polished speech of the court. It ends after all the potential benefits and dangers of involvement in the affairs of the elite, which are characterized by the asymmetrical nature of power relations between agents.

Dimnah's frame story begins with a demonstration of the ways and the range in which polished speech and manners could be used for one's own benefit. Dimnah's polite speech and powerful rhetoric were noted on various occasions: first, he recognizes it as one of his stronger suits and decides to rely on it while taking a risk; [128] second, its first demonstration during his self introduction to the King;[129] third, in courting the unknown wild-beast to convince him for an appearance before the King; and forth, in starting a war between best friends, the Lion and the Bull. In the fifth and final part on Dimnah's trial, he gets away from the accusations again by the use of his skills and master of the language. In short, Dimnah's story alone is a multifaceted lesson on how to manage the risks and stay safe from the pitfalls associated with the tug of war between the state's elite, all the while armed only with skills in language.

An important 'wisdom' of the book gets revealed in the final act. What makes polite language a liability under a patrimonial milieu is its capability of blurring the lines between right and wrong, the ethical and the unethical.[130] A confidant armed with a commanding knowledge of certain moral/political formulas, precepts, anecdotes and stories –religious or secular could argue for or

---

[128] 'How are you going to help the King? He barely speaks to you, let alone listens to your advice.'' My first step is to obtain an audience with the lion. Later I shall ask him indirectly what he thinks about that creature in the meadow. I am confident I can phrase this question in such a way as not to irritate him.

[129] The lion was as astonished as he was pleased at these unexpected words, and immediately formed a good opinion of Dimna. 'Well spoken, jackal,' he said. 'You have stepped boldly yet respectfully forward, and deserve the trial which you request.

[130] From the Lion's perspective this trait was expressed in the lines "Dimna is so full of soothing words that he must have some hidden motive.

255

against *any position* irrespective of his 'real' or sincere personal feelings and opinions about the position. One moment he skillfully argues in favor of one position and in the next he could argue the exact opposite and just as powerfully.

As much as these lines can be read as advice for the benefit of potential clients, it is also possible to read it from the perspective of the rulers by sequencing the parts involving the Lion and his storyline with other animals besides Dimna. In several occasions the Lion is cautioned against the sweet-talker with demonstrations of the influence and hold they could achieve to the detriment of the ruler.

Thus, a significant aspect of the court and state level elite patrimonial game is to adopt a Machiavellian position but not through an ethical re-positioning that claims *a priori* superiority *vis-à-vis* the religious but through a literary political/moral position; one that relies on the memorization and recall on the spot of a large literary field, in this case, the field of literature generally considered to be the realm of the adab tradition in literature. The repertoire of wisdom narratives and stories determined one's powers of argumentation and demonstration and not the proximity of his arguments to a readily given *truth*.

The ultimate force of the client in a patrimonial regime therefore is to achieve the skills necessary to bend the truth towards his own interests and defend and improve upon the positions gained by continuing to do so in larger and larger scales. The gist of the patrimonial game of politics, famously known as the politics of the households, is perhaps a kind of risk-management, a conservative and defensive move on the part of the elite in preserving the rights of consumption and the displays of consumption of certain crucial and strategic fields of power.

Personal Transformation and Improvement Through Official Practices

Kalīlah and Dimnah talks about a third type of reader: among the elite those who will get *the most* out of such books are only those who can translate the

wisdom into action and practice by a sort of self-transformation, a bending of both will and behavior to the path directed by the wisdom contained in these books.[131] The third pedagogical element in the book therefore was power, that is, the capability and the capacity to actually turn the wisdom contained in the book into action. This requires not only the necessary knowledge of the book's contents but more importantly it requires at least a certain amount of power in the larger game of patrimonial politics so that one could turn personal will and agenda into accomplishment.

A Patrimonial Art of Government

The two books, Kalīlah and Dimnah and the Story of the Forty Viziers contain a *perspectivist* approach. Although the narrative frames and story lines are crisscrossed following statements in the forms of 'arguments' and 'counter-arguments,' it is never a specific position that gets declared as 'the thing to do under such and such circumstances.'

The wisdom of the book at this point is similar to Machiavelli's cautions – and his repeated emphasis on the advantages of studying history, past wars and strategies as well as the people involved, their decisions, and so on during peacetime so that the Prince will be ready to consider from a diverse array of options but more importantly being armed with the knowledge that no scenario is ever the same. Fortuna never presents the princes with exact circumstances, they need to figure it out themselves what to do, the virtuous action while fully informed about the fates of those went before and how even the best and most virtuous decisions did not end up well. Similar to Machiavelli's thinking adab books such as Kalīlah and Dimnah, or The Stories of the Forty Viziers, do not

---

[131] The second group, he says, is like a person who plans to catch the thief that has frequented one's house but fails because he falls asleep. In describing the third group he says wisdom is only wisdom when translated into action, and likens knowledge to a tree and wisdom to its fruits. The third group he says can actually reach (i.e., practice, action) and savor the sweet nectar of wisdom, while others fail.

preach set positions, fixed formulas instead they depict the human nature –at its barest, basest form full of intrigue, deceit, immorality, and selfishness; only argumentation matters, the ability of perfectly arguing one thing and vehemently opposing it the next day, or even better and as it so happens in the Kalīlah and Dimnah, to argue so powerfully and eloquently so that one gets away from the most serious accusations and walks free.

For instance, in the following scene both sides of an argument were demonstrated from different perspectives.
The scene opens with Dimnah cunningly framing a seemingly innocent and on the surface, inquisitive question –but by all means he means to follow up from the tone he set here:

'I wonder why the lion never leaves his den?' Dimnah asked his brother one morning, when they were lounging about in the sun. 'Don't you think it strange that he no longer goes out prowling and hunting?'

The subjective intention behind Dimnah's opening statement, which looks like an honest observation, gets picked out by his brother, Kalīlah.

'If I were you, brother,' said Kalīlah, 'I would contain my curiosity on such matters. We are the lion's servants, and our business is to wait upon him and obey his commands– not to pry into his affairs.' […] If you don't watch out, you'll get exactly what you deserve. Do I have to tell you how dangerous it is to meddle in the King's business? You remind me of the story of the monkey who tried his hand at something he didn't understand.'

Upon which Dimnah tells the story whose gist gets the best summarization possible if it's title read within the confines of its mother frame (in this case, Dimnah's 'proposition') Yet, in the same chapter, Dimnah gets to defend his previous position, namely a rational proposition to 'get involved into politics.' He says "[but it is] also true that if you risk nothing you achieve nothing, for fortune favors the bold."

258

Dimnah does provoke and manipulate the Lion with lies and has him murder the Bull who had been the lion's closest companion. Jealous, Dimnah organizes a series of narratives around the bull and depicts pictures, stories in such a way that the bull's every behavior becomes suspected by the lion, or misinterpreted thanks to the jackal's manipulations. In the end his scheming is revealed and Dimnah faces all the charges yet finds his way out by what he has been doing all along, by telling stories, and by their frames, through the wisdom confined in them legitimizing each and every of his actions and decisions that he now faces accusations. The Islamic audience probably did not like the original ending in the Panchatantra and Ibn Muqaffa changed it by having Dimnah fail to defend himself and being murdered by the lion with the charges amounting to high treason, that is, manipulating the monarch through lies.

Warrior Epics and Wonder-Tales
The Ottoman Askeri Mentality in the Making

In their spare times the Enderun students were encouraged to read books for leisure. Among the popular books especially favored by the youngsters were 'action-packed' stories, similar to present-day comic books on super-heroes and their fantastic abilities and deeds. In the palace schools' libraries the narrative genre of 'warrior epics' focused on the heroism and bravery of the Muslim Turkish warriors. These heroes defended the faith 'by risking head and limb' and many of them were crucial figures in the expansion of the Islamic domains – especially into Anatolia. To an extent by combining historiography and epic – what Bloch (1961) referred to as "the folk memory", this genre kept the frontier imagery alive in 'the imaginary institution' of the Ottoman elite.[132] The constant re-articulation of the frontier life, even though the Ottoman state had long abandoned the corresponding life style, contributed to a lingering romanticization of the selfless warrior, whose primary concern was serving the faith by defending

---

[132] When Heinrich L. Fleischer translated the Baṭṭālnāme in 1848 he described it as a Turkish *Volksroman*.

the Muslims and by constantly skirmishing with the infidels. Even after the classical system of land distribution and administration, that is, the prebendal system of timar was abandoned and the empire's lands were distributed to the highest bidder in exchange for taxation rights, the Ottoman elite continued to eulogize the warrior administrator, who 'risking head and limb' served the sultan, the state, and Islam –as opposed to the new entrepreneur class of individuals that did not even step foot in the domains under their authority. The epic narratives and wonder-tales of the Muslim warriors were read enthusiastically by the Enderunî. These books were part of the school's core curriculum. As part of the Ottoman elite's collective consciousness the contents of these books were fundamental and formative. As embedded significations, as criteria, as values, as purposes of life, and as a way of life, they continued to orient the values and the activity of the elite.

Additionally, these wonder tales were written in a specific style that followed a precisely calculated level of linguistic complexity: The richness of the Turkish vocabulary was thoroughly used and a special care was given for correct Turkish grammar formulation. As part of the larger Enderun curricula these books, popular, easy to follow to the point of being generic replicas of a single tale, served to establish a basic linguistic skill set in the students with Arabic and Persian vocabulary attached here and there.

One of the classical epics, Danişmendname was already in circulation by the time the early Ottoman state took off and dominated other principalities. The legends that comprise the epic were compiled for the first time from Turkish oral tradition by order of the Seljuk Sultan Keykûbâd I, a century after Danişmend's death. The most popular version that present-day publishers prefer, however, was compiled by the order and patronage of the Ottoman sultan Murad II (1404-1451), the founder of the first Enderun School at the Edirne Palace. Evidently, Murad found the language of the epic 'dull and dry'; it failed to captivate the reader even though its contents were marvelous. With his patronage, a much better translation

of the epic of Dânişmend gazi became available to the Enderun's students.

The Muslim 'Hero's Journey'

What these narrative epics had in common was an Enderun equivalent of Joseph Campbell's *hero's journey* (Campbell 1949). There was a common pattern, a kind of 'monomyth' shared by them all: an archetypical hero goes on an adventure following a spiritual-mystical calling, after a series of crisis that challenge his resolve he is aided by mystical figures and with their help the hero overcomes the obstacles. Once the threshold is passed, the perils of the path avail themselves. Challenges, temptations, trials follow one another, each testing the hero's resolve and his commitment to the call. The challenges, in a way, target directly the hero's ego even though some are tests of strength, or control of the passions. The point is to strip any kind of personal interest, or hope for personal gain out of the process. Trials, getting harder and more difficult, are also the channels of purification: the ego is forced out and it becomes clear for the hero that the journey must be completed as an end in itself. The calling needs to be honored without any promises of gifts, material benefits, or wealth. The passing of the threshold is also the moment when the hero's transformation begins –a point of no return; the hero truly becomes committed to the journey. His fate becomes one with the calling.

In Campbell's monomyth, the journey ends with the hero's return home only to realize that he is no longer the person who left and that he is fundamentally transformed by the journey. The call to adventure is followed by supernatural aid, which helps the hero in passing critical thresholds. In the epics of the Turkish gazi (warriors of the faith), there is no homecoming. Their journey ends with *shahadat* (martyrdom), which, in a way affirms the purity of their faith and the strength of their dedication and resolve.

Baṭṭālnāme, Danişmendnāme, and Saltuknāme

These three epics constitute a trilogy. Although there is a considerable gap between the first, namely Battalname, and the next, Danişmendnāme, the temporal discontinuation is rendered irrelevant through genealogical linkages, geographical origin, or simply, an equally sanctimonious hero taking up the mission (ghaza, the holy war) after his predecessor.

Baṭṭālnāme, or the epic of Seyyid Battal Gazi was one of the earliest prose works of the Islamic Turkish literature in Anatolia.[133] The book was an all-time Enderun favorite. It was an Anatolian Turkish appropriation of a glorious Muslim pedigree personified in Seyyid Battal (d. circa 740).[134]

The epithet, *seyyid*, indicates genealogical descent from the prophet Mohammad through his grandson Hasan. The hero of the Saltuknāme, Sari Saltuk, was also a *seyyid* as well as a *şerif*, a descendent of the prophet through his other grandson, Hüseyin; in fact, among the populace Saltuk was commonly referred to as Şerif Hızır.[135] Thus, the purity of the heroes' faith and calling is incontestable and their fortune is a part of divinity. At the same time, divine lineage is the primary guiding force behind their character: these heroes are ascetic, saint like warriors living the life of a monk –and they have supernatural powers. They possess extraordinary strength, tremendous skills in combat, exceptional intelligence and cunning, unwavering faith, profound scholarly knowledge, and extrasensory abilities (detecting ruses and ambushes). These

---

[133] The book has two different full titles, "Menâkıb-ı Gazavât-ı Seyyid Battal Gâzî," and "Hikâyet-i Seyyid Battal Gâzî." In the library collections and catalogues both titles were evenly used.

[134] The earliest known manuscript is dated AD 1436-7. It was established that it is itself a copy of an earlier prototype; therefore the work must have been recorded in writing sometime before AD 1436-7.The book has two different full titles, "Menâkıb-ı Gazavât-ı Seyyid Battal Gâzî," and "Hikâyet-i Seyyid Battal Gâzî." In the library collections and catalogues both titles were evenly used.

[135] Hızır, or *al-Khiḍr* refers to a figure in the Qur'an as a righteous servant of God possessing great knowledge and wisdom, although overtime the persona was heavily syncretized. Hızır figures prominently in the Islamic-Turkish warrior sagas either conveys crucial information, presents the hero with legendary items such as the prophet's sword, his saliva –a vessel to transfer supernatural powers, or saves the heroes from grave troubles.

warriors of the faith, in short, were forces of nature and divinity combined. They are exceptional as well as remarkable: for instance, the Anatolian Muslims long credited Battal Gazi for almost single-handedly conquering half the country.[136]

Life on the frontier provided the material for a rich heroic tradition of poetry and storytelling. The heroic action of the *Baṭṭālnāme* is set within the historical context of the Arab confrontation with Byzantium in Anatolia during the early Abbasid period. The narrative stops at the middle of the ninth century and well *before* the arrival of the Turks in the region, whereas the victorious adventures of the heroes of the *Danişmendname* and *Saltukname* are set within the context of the Turkish advance on Byzantium. These works inaugurated a cycle of religious-heroic prose narratives whose eponymous heroes, immortalized as *ghazis* who fight, oftentimes single-handedly, to achieve the conquest *(feth)* of Byzantium (*Rum* or *Rum* ili). These works in a way celebrate the local religious heroes of Islam in Anatolia.

The epic of Melik Dânişmend Gazi (1071-1104) begins with the statement that Battal Gazi and his friends have passed, that their age is over –signaling that Dânişmend Gazi's story takes over from there and that in essence, it is the continuation of the same movement. Dânişmend Gazi leaves his hometown Malatya in 1068 on a Friday (an auspicious start since Friday is considered holy). This is the only given date in the entire narrative; the rest of the story unfolds almost in a timeless setting –the holy war is never ending, it requires the same things from the believer, the heroes and their deeds are the same.

Structurally, these hero epics follow the general framework of Islamic popular romance, 'the Heroic Cycle': the rise of the hero, the love affair, heroic deed, and martyrdom. The epics read by the Enderunî youngsters excluded 'the

---

[136] Yorgos Dedes (1996: 28) writes, when Evliya Celebi, the author of the most famous Ottoman travelogue, "visited the lodge in 1648, the tekke was still a very popular and busy place. Evliya reports on two hundred Bektashi dervishes being there. At least until the seventeenth century the tekke of Seyyid Gazi was one of the more important sites in the practices of the wandering dervishes all over Anatolia and was recognized as a respected sanctuary by the Ottoman government."

263

Love Story' segment altogether. The love affairs are sporadic; they are more like 'flings': brief, mostly carnal affairs, and more often than not, although the female characters are truly 'head over hills' in love with the protagonist, the latter never considers the affair as the start of a long lasting relationship. He is thoroughly dedicated to the cause and everything else –even the most natural desires and needs, are hindrances on the path of valor and glory (not, of course, the hero's but the creed's.) Battalname, Saltukname, and Danişmendname are examples of the 'religious-heroic cycle'. The protagonist is at the exclusive service of a higher cause (in this case 'true religion'), as opposed to an 'amorous-heroic cycle,' where higher causes such as communal identity and valor in battle are subordinated to the Love Story, which dominates the plotline.

The hero of the Saltuk-name is Sari Saltuk –one of the famous 'warrior-saints' associated with the Islamicization as well as Turkification of Rumelia. When Sari Saltuk proved himself as a reliable chieftain –and a true believer around the 1260s, it was a time of vigorous expansion of the Seljuk sultanate of Rum in central Anatolia. The historical period between the early to late thirteenth century is popularly known as 'the age of the hero-saints' (alpler çağı) (Karamustafa 2015). The archetypical *alp eren* (jihadi dervish) was a fearless warrior as well as an influential and somewhat mystical saint. The extreme living conditions of the age, the gradual but assured departure of once a superpower, the Eastern Roman Empire, and a steady influx of loosely bound nations, for whom a heterodox form of Islam was the sole binding factor –coupled, of course, for their need to carve themselves secure settlements all throughout the Anatolia. These semi-nomadic groups were recent converts to Islam and their migratory routes towards permanent settlement were strategically handled by the Seljuk sultanate of Rum. The Seljuk Turks used them in various ways: as permanent thorns on the heels of the retreating Romans (Orthodox Christian populations) since pillage and plunder was part of the nomadic way of life, a life of almost constant warfare, the incoming tribes adapted to their role naturally. All the while, these groups fought

amongst themselves, thus, the Seljuks had the chance to play these groups off of each other and thwart any single party becoming too powerful to pose a threat. Sometimes, the Seljuk state moved around the smaller tribes and position them to act as cannon fodder. The archetypical Turkish Muslim hero-saint was the product of such a milieu.

In the epic, Sarı Saltuk appears as the ultimate religious hero who possesses superior physical strength and unmatched fighting skills, exceptional intelligence and cunning, unwavering faith and profound scholarly knowledge, as well as all the supernatural powers of sainthood.[137] A Christian opponent whom he defeats and converts to Islam bestows on him the name, Saltuk ('mighty-brave man').

Although in the epic there are references to real historical figures, for instance, several actual Seljuk rulers are cited by name, there are also numerous non-human actors, ranging from the immortal Muslim saints Hızır and Ilyās to jinns, demons, sorcerers, and mythical beasts, fairies, angels and the Devil himself.

He makes a name for himself after rescuing İzzeddin Keykâvus' son from a dungeon at a Byzantine palace (Yazıcıoğlu Ali Revan no.1391, 233a). His fame, however, acquires legendary status after slaying the dragon at Dobruca (Evliya Çelebi 1896: 659). Several Ottoman historians mention parts of Saltuk's adventures, which bestow even the most fantastical of his adventures, with an aura of historical accuracy. For instance, Kemâl Paşazâde in his *Tevârîh-i Al-i Osman* and Seyyid Lokman in his *Oğuz-nâme* describe Saltuk's journeys and heroic deeds like any other event –even though, in the case of Saltuk, the journey to Dobruca ends with Saltuk slaying a seven-headed dragon that terrorized the

---

[137] Sari Saltuk, the Bektaşi apostle *par excellence* of Rumeli, appears to have been originally the saint of a Tatar tribe in the Crimea, which emigrated to Baba Dag in Rumania, carrying its cult with it. Developed by the Bektaşi, Sari Saltuk loses every trace of his real origin and figures as one of the missionary saints sent by Ahmed Yasevi for the conversion of Europe (Hasluck 1930: 340).

city folk for ages. In fact, a quatrain from Lokman's *Oğuz-nâme* gives the year 662 (1263/4 AD) as the precise date of Saltuk's travel to Dobruca.

As a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, he is of distinguished lineage, and his Islamic credentials are established through his special contacts with saintly figures (Hızır, İlyās, Elijah) and other supernatural beings. He is a formidable warrior and, at the same time, a picaresque, trickster-like figure. He toils ceaselessly for the faith throughout Eurasia, West and South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, but he is especially attached to the western half of the Black Sea coastal regions from Rumelia in the south to Crimea in the north.

His sword is often, but by no means exclusively, directed towards Christians (Muslim heretics and pagans of all kinds also receive their fair share of Sarı Saltuk's salvific touch). He propagates Islam both by the sword on the battlefield and by a peculiar and highly colorful form of one-upmanship in religious expertise, even bravura: he often disguises himself as a Christian monk or a priest, displays stunning skills in scholarly debate and ritual performance in foreign languages, then reveals his true identity to his Christian audiences (typically clergy and aristocracy) and invites them to Islam (Ebü'l and İz 1974).

Saltuk had many followers and disciples but mere mortals aside, a whole army of jinn and angels were ready to rush to his aid when in need. In fact, with one such jinn and Saltuk became blood brothers sworn to live side by side in the afterlife (Ebü'l and İz 1974). Like the array of the company he kept, his enemies also included men as well as beasts, witches, giants, and lesser demons. He received the sainthood status from Hızır, who put a few drops of his saliva into a cup and had Saltuk drink from it. Afterwards, he said 'From now on have no fear, and march on!' Saltuk gained as much additional strength as he already had, and he entered into [the realm of] sainthood and charismata. The veils were lifted from his eyes and his heart [and] all secrets became apparent. Afterwards, the prophet İlyas taught Saltuk the prayer of spirits –which is the greatest name of God – and Hızır taught him the prayer of the angels. Then Hızır and İlyas

266

departed. Minuçihr the Jinn told him, 'O Saltuk, do not omit me from your prayers.' The seyyid replied, 'Be my sibling in this world and the next.' Minuçihr the Jinn too taught him a prayer and said, 'Whenever you say this prayer, I will come to your presence with my soldiers.' Minuçihr the Jinn too asked permission to leave and departed.

After these rituals, Saltuk received also the gift of divine foresight (*mükaşefe*). He could see into the mysteries of providence and pass beyond its secrets –an attribute that principally belongs only to God. He could hear the whispers of his plotting enemies from miles away, without leaving his lodging and with one swift strike of his sword he could kill an enemy living in another city, and he could travel vast distances in the blink of an eye. To his enemies, Saltuk was impossible to kill: he somehow knew their plans to ambush him, arrows ricochet off of him, swords did strike him but failed to cut him, trying to drown him did not work, he was somehow immune to fire as well, giant pits of fire refused to burn him. A master of disguise and learned in the art of espionage, one of Saltuk's favorite ruse was to don the garments of a monk or a friar –to escape from traps, to gather intelligence, or simply stir up the local Christian folk by inciting them against their overlords.

According to *Saltuk-nâme*, Sari Saltuk died at the age of ninety-nine. The manner of his death befits his status. His enemies poisoned Saltuk, which weakened him, and then stabbed him to death. The epic graces his death as a triumph; it was 'a good death'. Legendary warriors like Sari Saltuk -like Battal Gazi and Dânişmend Gazi before him, cannot die of old age, or of illness, or after an accident. Saltuk meets his end with a dagger at hand and only after killing all the perpetrators that he relinquishes his soul. The ideal end for a mystical warrior of his caliber: Not only because he died fighting, or that he killed his enemies before his breath gave out; it was the status of the martyr that properly completes his story cycle.

267

The Ottoman sultans recognized the importance of these heroes and honored them as publicly as possible. After hearing about the legend of Sari Saltuk, the Ottoman prince Cem Sultan (14591495) becomes fascinated with the epic and orders Ebü'l Ḫayr Rūmī to assemble the pieces of the legend into a compendium. Rūmī travels all around the Balkans and Anatolia to gather the pieces of Saltuk's story, compares different versions, and completes the work in 1480. During a military campaign in 1484/85 the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II visited his tomb and ordered a mosque, a madrasa (an institution of Islamic education), and a lodging to shelter travelers. According to Evliya Çelebi, a marble sarcophagus was found during the construction, with a Tatar inscription attesting it was the tomb of the saint. However this miraculous discovery is not mentioned in other sources talking about the sultan's passage through the town (Kiel 2005: 290-292).

Saltuk appears alongside great historical figures such as Osman Gazi, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman dynasty, his son and successor Orhan Gazi, folk figures like Nasreddin Hoca, Karaca Ahmet, and spiritual Sufi leaders such as Mevlana and in a way he connects them and blesses them with the sanctity of his lineage as a descendant of the prophet –even though, the chronological timeline does not make any sense at all. Some historians explain the chronological discrepancy favorably, keeping the narrative intact. Akalın, for instance, remarks that the first Ottoman compiler of the epic, Ebü'l Ḫayr Rūmī, made the mistake of confusing the grandson with the grandfather and that it was Sari Saltuk's grandson, Seyyid Halil Ece Saltuk, who bequeathed Osman Gazi with the items of extraordinarily celestial quality: the turban of the Prophet's grandson, the sword of the prophet, etc. (Akalın 2012).

Analysis

Variations on the same theme, these wonder-tales kept to a singularly consistent narrative. At the same time they introduced the richness of the Turkish tongue, its vocabulary and grammar very effectively. Both were well-attended by

268

the authors: in terms of semiotic depth and richness Turkish language provided the kind of discursive toolbox depicting vividly the mentality of a life constantly at war, that is, a kind of mental and psychic tension that does not and will not ease after a certain battle is won or a particular enemy is defeated. It is a life of an everlasting war; the social and political –as well as psychological ordering of the life-world in accordance with this fact. This idea constituted the very core of the Ottoman *askeri* mentality.

The epics not only depicted the frontier life vividly realistic but also kept the imagery –or, the background, associated with this life as an important component of the Ottoman elite's identity. Even though the times when the Turkish nomadic veneration of bravery and skills in battle met with the Islamic ideology of *ghaza* (constant war in the services of the faith) had long gone, in the epics the heroes were always alive, always fighting a battle somewhere, with cunning and trickery they were avoiding traps and deceiving their enemies.

These books were read more often by the earlier cohorts and as part of 'leisure time' readings. Popular amongst the students for their subject matter, easy to follow narration style, and overall 'production quality,' which was very similar to present day 'comic book super-hero'. These heroes were quasi-supernatural figures with extraordinary powers and equipment. Their arrival is always prophesized even before they were born and they arrive at the historical scene at the precise moment when the community of believers needed them. Adorned with superior skills and abilities in battle, natural instinctual knowledge of warfare tactics and stratagem, the physique of the hero is also flawless. Needless to say, all had a way with the ladies yet their charm was not confined to rather short episodes of love affairs, these heroes could also charm even befriend an enemy in an instant. Their equipment comprised of the most famous and battle-proven of the Islamic relics, they were bestowed with these artifacts either directly from the hands of angels or inherited them through patrilineal lineage. These were legendary items that had already achieved the status of relics. Although when it

comes to the times of *Baṭṭālnāme* the catalogue of weapons and armor gets diversified, for instance Battal's lance used to belong Keykâvus, the bundle he receives in a sack contained two locks of hair from Adam, the belt was David's, the shield belonged to Ishaq, and the armor was Hamza's. What doesn't change however was the horse, the legendary warhorse *'Askar*, the horse of Hamza (Muhammad's uncle, famed to be an extremely skilled warrior). This holy horse, which enjoys a miraculously long life, serves, after Hamza, both Seyyid Battal Gazi and Sari Saltuk.

The figure of the trickster has always attracted attention. In the literary genres associated with *adab* and the *maqama* (rhymed prose) as well as the hero epics share a fascination with the trickster. In the former we find a sort of "grammatical trickster, master of linguistic artifice, making use of metaphors, puns, parallelisms, alliterations and *hapax legomena* to talk himself out of scrapes" (Irwin 1994:80) whereas in Battal we find a warrior of the faith ready to put ruse and merciless stratagem into effect to rescue someone or himself from a crisis, a ploy, or a set-up.[138]

Among many of his supernatural qualities, Battal had the ability to speak and understand foreign languages. A trait that provided him with many advantages during his adventures. It is said in the book that it was the Prophet of Islam, Mohammad, who in one of his dreams saw Seyyid Battal and recognizing the important role he will have in the defense and spread of Islam into Byzantine Anatolia, entrusted to his companions with a few drops of his saliva to be given to this hero. In the Islamic lore it is believed that the saliva of the Prophet if consumed by another person would immediately provide the ability to speak all

---

[138] E.g., Battal's entry in a convent and his 'conquest' of the head nun; his entrance into a Byzantine convent, whereby Battal is given asylum after he has been taken ill with abdominal pains; there he is assisted by the abbess in avoiding the investigations of a patrician whom he eventually kills and returns to marry the abbess and capture all the nuns. Entrance into Amorium by a ruse, whereby Battal rejoins the Muslim troops he has been separated from only after presenting himself as an envoy of the emperor to the patrician of Amorium and forcing him to reveal the whereabouts of the Muslim army.

the languages known to mankind. It unlocks so to speak the natural barrier to one's tongue, adorns it with the divine element, and the imbiber gains the superhuman powers to speak all the languages.

This was not the only supernatural gift Seyyid Battal was adorned with. His unparalleled skills in combat, his cunning and intelligence that one wouldn't necessarily expect from a brute warrior, possessing almost a sixth sense that alerted him about dangers -such as traps and ambushes set against him, and being practically endowed with divine charisma and physical beauty, which made it impossible especially for the Byzantine beauties –even the princesses and queens, to resist him. In every story not only he displayed marvelous traits of heroism, cunning and wit; but he also had a way with women. This latter feature of Battal's life should have had an impact in the fantasies of the Enderun students who were kept immured behind walls and were not allowed any contact with the outside world, especially women.[139]

The epic of Seyyid Battal was similar to the heroic narratives of Achilles, considering the magnitude of his legendary status, his skills in combat, being favored by the divine by virtue of being a gift from the divine for its people. The major point of separation between the two was the ethical orientation behind their exploits: while the latter was motivated mainly for selfish reasons (eternal glory and fame) the former very explicitly states for every victory in battle and other heroic deeds his *selfless* intention only to exalt the glory of the divine.

In several major works of history penned by the Ottoman men of letters

---

[139] There were, of course, ways for the students to sneak in a courtesan or two but if they were to get caught expulsion awaited the former and severe punishment for the latter. The scandal that ended with the dismissal of Sultan Süleymân's grand vizier, Lütfi Pasha, started with such an event. After catching a woman sneaked in by the students, he sent the boys to appear before the Chief White Eunuch and wait for their punishment and for the courtesan, the punishment Lütfi saw fit was to cauterize her private parts. Perhaps the extremity of the punishment had to do with Lütfi's fierce devoutness, but when the word got out, it was his inability to contain the scandal that brought his end as the grand vizier. After he was reprimanded severely by his wife Shah Sultan, Lütfi fails to contain himself yet again and slaps her. Shah Sultan being Süleymân's sister an act of domestic physical abuse becomes Lütfi Pasha's final act in office before his dismissal and forced retirement.

Baṭṭālnāme was utilized directly as a primary source. Figures and events of the narrative were relayed as if the work was a historical work indicating both the centrality of the work in the Ottoman culture as well as the extent to which the Ottomans considered the hero figure, his deeds, and events as real rather than fictional.[140]

The overarching theme in all these narratives is the services rendered by particular protagonists and their entourages in expanding the abode of Islam and converting large populations to Islam. Even in these idealizing depictions, however, the arsenal of the gazis goes well beyond weapons and exclusionist zeal. The work of a gazi is not as simple as confronting the infidels with a choice between "Islam or the sword." The proposal to accept Islam as one's faith is also a proposition to adjoin forces.

The point is rather to show that the literature produced around the warriors of the faith to glorify their deeds did not find it contradictory to present their gazi protagonists in cooperation with Christians. As Cemal Kafadar says,

"Obviously, then, the people of the marches did not see a contradiction between striving to expand their faith and engaging in conciliatory (not necessarily insincere) gestures toward members of the other faith. It appears to have been a shared insight deriving from the cumulative experiences gained through the fusion of Islamic elements with pre-Islamic beliefs of the Turks on the one hand and Anatolian Christianity on the other" (Kafadar 1995:66).

These epics contained important clues especially on the nature of *ghaza*, the conduct of war for the spread or protection of Islam. In this regard, narratives like Seyyid Battal occupy an important position considering the spiritual/ideological centrality of *ghaza* for the Ottomans. Although in the seventeenth century it could no longer play the role it used to during the formative

---

[140] Historians such as Müneccim-başı, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali and Fındıklılı Süleymân Efendi and the famous Ottoman travelogue Evliya Çelebi included parts of the epic into their works.

classical age, the cultural remnants of *ghaza* remained as an important aspect of an Ottoman elite's identity. Perhaps it was for this reason, even long after the state ceased conducting the kind of continuous warfare ghaza required and started to engage more with diplomacy, there were still fragments of this ideology in numerous works written around the seventeenth century. The Ottoman men of letters, especially those who received an Enderun education seemed to have romanticized the ghaza and were not yet ready to part from it.[141]

Considering the young age the ghilman read these epics, it wouldn't be nonsensical to presume some did believe the miracles, the embodiment of the supernatural divinity acting with complete agency in the lives and deeds of these heroes were true and they did take place as narrated in the books, whereas some others discerned the fictional quality and read them with tongue-in-cheek.

What was the epistemic role assumed by these warrior epics? An important ideological strain in the make-up of an Ottoman 'servant of the Sultan' was the askeri mentality. Askeri, for the Ottomans, was more than a marker of status and an official title for the ruling elite. It indicated also a type of thinking, an outlook of the world in terms of militaristic pragmatism, a prioritization of the state's interests over personal –or any other, interest by way of establishing a uniquely personal (ontological) connection with the state. In the Ottoman case these connection points were Islam and the secular Turkic state tradition. Thus askeri contained a dual connection: the person identifies himself –his place in the world, the meanings he attributes to events and his own actions, his duties and responsibilities, with the state.

This dual connection was by no means the preserve of the *devşirme* elite. As Fleischer finds in the famous Ottoman litterateur, intellectual, and historian Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, there was a fundamentally secular (proto-bureaucratic) core to the Ottoman civil servant's thinking as well (Fleischer 2014). Although

---

[141] See, for instance, Mustafa 'Ali's *Council for Sultans*, and Kochi Bey's *Risale* written for Murad IV in 1632.

Fleischer identifies this mode of thought as 'kanun (dynastic state law) consciousness' there was an even larger mentality that the kanun consciousness was itself a part. This was the Ottoman askeri mentality. In the warrior epics that the Enderun students read, this militaristic outlook received a rich *background* not only discursively but perhaps more powerfully so through an ethical normativization of life in general for a specific aim. Valorization of war and the warrior, high appraisal of the figures of the *ghazi* (the warrior of faith) and the *shahid* (the martyr) all became parts of this mentality during the initial inculcation of the Ottoman elite. *A priori* valorization of warfare, heroism, self-sacrifice in the service of the faith and its protector, the state, and ultimately, martyrdom were the essence of the gazi spirit. Through this channel, that is, with the discursive formations embedded in the warrior-hero epics, it became embedded into the Ottoman psyche.

What is crucial in the symbolism and value-construction in the warrior epics was the portrayal of the ideal Muslim soldier who is charged with a duty. The soldier of the faith pursuing the holy war, ghaza, derives his power and resolve from his faith alone –and uses it in the service and protection of the faith alone. Only then the act is sincere, the selfless act affirms the person's true faith. In terms of their joint duty in the service of the faith, the sultan and his subjects meet on an equal ground and it was on this ground that the sultan was held accountable.

Becoming more visible in the seventeenth century, non-traditional social actors started to assume the duties and tasks that used to be the domain of the Ottoman traditional status elite. One of the first lines of attack towards the former came from the value sphere. Ottoman men of letters regularly blamed the *türedi* (upstart) group as both causes and symptoms behind the empire's decline. The reason, they argued, was their introduction of selfish acts that ended up not only disturbing severely what used to be a meritocratic system –by bribery and nepotism, but they also infected the system by doing so. Their example turned

into precedent, which got worse especially when the Sultan himself initiated the practice –hence, the oft-repeated Persian maxim **"the fish stinks from the head."**

Faith Reframed: It is mainly 'a political matter'

As Cemal Kafadar observes, the Turkish-Islamic epics provided a background for certain Turkish cultural practices such as feasts, wedding ceremonies of the court, and overall, the harsh and unforgiving life at the marshes. Most importantly, however, in all of the legends, there was a sense of aloofness to matters of race, religion, and ethnicity (Kafadar 1995). Alliance with the non-Muslims was permissible as long as it served the purposes of winning the war. Rather than sporadic practices or individual exceptions this was practiced at the systemic level during the earlier period in the Ottoman history. Karen Barkey, for instance, shows that the early Ottoman sultan's diverse networks, which included Muslim and non-Muslim warlords alike, benefited the state significantly in comparison to other frontier principalities that did not have such connections (Barkey 2008).

In the wonder-tales, a completely different view of religion emerges and it was not only about the Christian faith being reduced to an overly simplified caricature; as in 'Christianity, the false belief of the enemy.' It also concerns Islam. The way the true religion was depicted, presented, and understood in these narratives was not unlike the treatment afforded to the Christian faith. The focal problem had hardly anything to do with religion: the issue was political leadership; it was a problem of government and of military.

In all the epics, the focus is squarely on prominent political rulers and military figures: governors, lords and commanders, kings, emperors, and high-level clergy, such as bishops or archbishops and the pope. The heroes do have frequent encounters with the Christian common folk, but these tend to be very brief transitional elements in the unfolding plot line, with no substantive verbal exchange between the two parties (Karamustafa 2015). The narrative's

275

unwavering concentration on holders of political and military power as well as clergy is quite telling about the assumed goal of the heroes' intrepid labor. The Christian commoner is not the enemy and the Muslim hero's war is not directed to Christianity *per se*; his business is with the political and military figures. Since the guiding line of thought was predicated on the idea that 'true justice in the world and salvation in the afterlife was only possible through Islam', the heroes were fighting a war to save the Christian populace from tyrants who merely used religion to abuse their subjects, the goal of the ghaza was never to eradicate the non-Muslim population but save a suffering populace, many of whom were *in potentia* excellent Muslims.

According to this perspective, Christianity is less a web of religious belief and practice than it is a brand of communal political affiliation. The political supremacy of Islam, as rendered evident by the establishment of Muslim rule over particular areas, is the ultimate meaning of 'true religion', and Christianity simply happens to be a particularly persistent and widespread but nonetheless an utterly wrong form of political allegiance. This narrowly political understanding of religion is evinced equally clearly by the narrative's total lack of interest in matters of Christian belief and practice. To judge by the Saltuk-name, the quintessential Christian practices would appear to be recitation of the Gospels and consumption of wine in the church. Clearly, neither the narrator nor the audience of the wonder-tale had much interest in actual Christian belief or ritual.

This nakedly political perspective on religion is not particular to Christianity; it also extends to Islam itself. The narrative is remarkably devoid of explicit references to Muslim ritual practice. Sarı Saltuk prays only very rarely, and even though he does undertake the pilgrimage, his primary activity in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina is to cleanse them of their many heretics. And the Ramadan fast is nowhere in sight. Nor is there much evidence of theological and legal doctrine, or, even more strikingly, of Muslim religious scholars or religious professionals themselves; indeed, the only such religious specialist to appear

every now and then, and more often than not in a negative light, is the judge (*qādī*).

What was the strategic function of such books? Rather than explaining in detail, why Islam had to overcome the Christian creed, these legends underscored the porous nature of the perceived boundary between the two religious traditions. What was the point in reducing both religions to primarily a matter of polity?

We should keep in mind that the youngsters who read these wonder-tales in excitement were Christian converts. Although they were taken when they were young, it is not sensible to assume that they have thoroughly forgotten about their Christian past. The epics of the gazi heroes reduced religion to communal political allegiance. Individual human actors are not portrayed as inherently good or incorrigibly evil. Salvation is simply a matter of right belonging, and yesterday's 'cursed' Christians suddenly become today's 'righteous' believers simply by uttering the testimony of faith. The boundaries of the 'right religion' are infinitely porous, and numerous infidels cross over into Sunni Islam through these pores by the irresistible magnetic attraction generated by the charismatic warrior-saints. Conversion, then, is a relatively painless and cost-free undertaking, and the only habitual behaviors that a Christian has to shed in this process are wine drinking (which is always portrayed as a most unfortunate activity with dire consequences) and consumption of pork. Converting unbelievers to Islam, in other words, is an eminently feasible and realistic goal, and heroes like Seyyid Battal, Melik Dânişmend, and Sari Saltuk are not misguided idealists swimming against the tide but practical realists working towards an achievable goal.

What differentiates Christian from Muslim was, in the eyes of the audience of the wonder-tales, not, so to speak, a constitutional difference in human nature but, rather, a mere question of 'right' communal allegiance coupled with only a few distinctively Christian and distinctively Muslim social habits. The Christian goal was the mirror image of its Muslim counterpart: the establishment of political hegemony over the rival religious community.

277

In short, the strategic narrative style of these legends had several consequences: first, the relationship between the youngsters and their own conversion from Christianity to Islam. The tales strongly make the point that conversion is 'not a big deal'; it is not a practice that the convert loses an irreplaceable part of himself. Second, religious matters –either concerning Islam or Christianity, are essentially political matters. This was an extremely significant point of view that had far reaching consequences and perhaps it was an important part of the kind of imperial, pragmatic 'secularism' that the Ottoman elite subscribed to.[142]

Conclusion: Enderun, a discursive apparatus

The Enderun was a fundamental apparatus of the Ottoman patrimonial state. As an apparatus, that is, as "a set of strategies of the relations of forces supporting, and supported by, certain types of knowledge" the palace school followed various methods of instruction and pedagogy (Foucault 1980: 194). These involved close and attentive readings of a great number of books. In the libraries of the Enderun the research found clear traces of continuous and methodical teachings of several courses across time. Especially works, such as compilations of selections and excerpts for the purpose of bringing together a course-book for the student, contained almost exclusively books and manuals related to the adab literature. Contextual variety and eclecticism in the selection of excerpts suggest an institutional and pedagogical preference.

The two major components of the inculcation techniques employed at the Enderun were: the Islamic and the Turkish traditions, and as part of the former, the literary-pedagogical tradition of *adab*. In the initiating cohorts' education,

---

[142] 'Secularism' is an especially precarious term, when it is used outside the context of Christianity and the history of Christianity. Charles Taylor, in his *A Secular Age* convincingly argues that 'secularism' historically and conceptually makes sense within the framework of Christianity – especially as part of the history of the Latin Christendom. For Islam, and for other religions, the concepts 'secular', 'secularism', etc., should be used with caution.

several adab classics alongside a variety of other books, constituted a kind of a core curriculum. The Enderunî *ghilman* received extended courses on select *adab* topics. In these books a diligent student could learn the intricacies of the patrimonial politics, become mindful of the complexities inherent to the game, and get informed about the risks and benefits involved. Especially among the younger students of the prefatory cohorts another genre became also popular. The Turkish-Islamic classics with a significant emphasis on the Turkish (secular) state tradition –especially the mentality of 'perpetual war'. The epics of legendary heroes of the faith, whose bravery and resolve in defending and advancing the faith were presented as the ideal character features for the youngsters to emulate.

As part of the Enderun curriculum, especially in the works of adab, the students had access to a kind of patrimonial code –which could open doors for an agent if he was a diligent student who applied himself to his learning. In the form of formulas, wisdom sayings, exempla, the rules and risks of the patrimonial game were made available for them. Those who understood the wisdom contained in the select books were shown a preview of the patrimonial terrain in the form of history, fictional stories, and anecdotes; and among them, those who managed to apply these rules in action –precisely therefore 'by playing by the rules,' had more chances of hitting the mark when they applied for positions.

In the Ottoman system, among several ways of recognizing 'the deserving applicant' was the knowledge and displays of adab. The function of the Enderun in its role as an inculcator of adab, therefore, was molding its students into accepted forms of character that would possess at least a number of communally *recognizable* traits. To that end, the palace schools utilized various different strategies in the pedagogical designs and curricula of each individual cohort. For each type of 'exit' or graduation, there was a different end game but the cohorts were all brought together under a common curriculum of adab and Islam.

For the one who wanted to play the Enderun's 'end-game' it was the path up to the *Khass Oda*, the Palace elite around thirty-five to forty years of age,

awaiting graduation with the title of Pasha. These men, the Enderun Ağaları, were given lucrative offices with administrative and military capabilities, such as sancak beyi (governor) and beyler beyi (governor general) For the *Khāṣṣa* elite, the Enderun's pedagogical aim was to arm them with a set of necessary knowledge, skills, and self-techniques so that upon graduation they would no longer need advice. They could practice self-mastery and achieve improvement by themselves and with their own means without the strict Palace rules and the constant gaze of the school's white eunuchs. Thus the 'end-game' of the Enderun Academy was for the student to achieve autonomy both from his former tutors and advisors and to an extent from the sultan himself.

After graduating with the pasha title, the sultan expected from his kul to form a satellite household modeled after that of the sultan's. When the sultan asked his kul to present himself before battle, the pasha's official requirement was to bring all the forces conscripted under his regional jurisdiction. As part of his status requirement as a pasha and a sultan's kul, he was also expected to contribute to the war effort with a *mükemmel kapu*; a well ordered and perfectly ordained household that the patriarch as the head of the household governed with his loyal servants. These could be the expert scribes who were in charge of keeping the house's chancery logs and managing bureaucratic correspondence, an impeccably well-adorned and disciplined army of men, who did not lack a single item. A full house completely battle ready. The idea here was to indicate that the pasha's household was expected only to add to the powers of the dynastic center and not to cause any trouble for the treasury (Kunt 1983). One of the main founding ideas behind the pedagogical foundations of the Enderun schools was to produce a kind of elite who would be so immersed and entrenched with the dynastic household's (the Palace and the Court) values and mentality a graduate of the institution will not fail but reproduce the same image of the sultan's bountiful well-ordained household, this time himself as the patriarch. This reasoning is a clear demonstration of how in the life and career of the Ottoman

elite officer, his sense of self became closely bound with the sultan and the state.

In short, the Ottoman state apparatus of the Enderun acted as the buffer and mediator, a mediating connector between the patriarchal dynastic center and the organizational expert administrative body, both highly volatile political places the two had to come together in such a fashion (hence the strategic urgency of the apparatus) that these two realms could peacefully coexist. The Enderun in a way was the perfect patrimonial institution: it connected the personal with the official-bureaucratic; it connected the traditional and the customary practices with the goal-oriented legal-rational ones. Enderun was also a patrimonial organization in that it produced (and reproduced) predominantly two forms of knowledge and behavior: loyalty and obedience on the one hand, expertise and knowledge on the other.

Education in the campus was not confined to the courses and seminars delivered by the teachers and scholars who visited the campus on a regular basis. The Topkapi Palace was the center of administration, thus, from far and wide almost all men of renown came to the palace to report, to receive orders, or for business –which meant several things: first, the Enderunî learned about the most up-to-date information about the empire, especially news from the periphery. Second, they had a chance to establish connections with these high-ranking men and if they succeeded to impress them, they could receive a position from them and start their career with a powerful sponsor supporting them.

If, however, ethics and morality were the central building-blocks in the education of an Enderun student, the Ottomans would have encountered a significant problem when building a curricula for teaching politics and secular government: Islam, in essence, has a negative attitude to worldly politics (Rosenthal 1962: 69). The palace school, in fact, served specifically for the propagation of the adab tradition, the secular and state-oriented character of which often excited animosities of the religious. Thus while the state and religion were

ideally undifferentiated, the imperial culture and tradition did not produce a perfect union of the two (Findley 1980: 10).

Classical adab works, such as the Panchatantra –or, as it was popularly known with the title *Kalīlah wa Dimna* after its translation into Arabic by Ibn Qutayba, the Story of the Forty Viziers among others, introduced the future clients of the Ottoman patrimonial regime with the naked truth about the risks and dangers of the game –if they were willing to take part in it. In a way, a primary theme in these adab classics was "Don't hate the player, hate the game." This is how the system works. The blame game never produces results and bitterness almost certainly leads only to self-destruction. Instead, understand the game well –you don't have to like it. It is only a tool; there are no universal rules that govern it, the most powerful actors bend the rules all the time. The patrimonial game does not require firm intellectual dedication or unshakable spiritual attachment: the key is to realize that it is only an instrument –for and of power. The best approach is to arm yourself with the maxims and formulas readily available in the books; study history and politics well and imagine yourself in the situations that the historical figures found themselves in. In short, although the patrimonial game is high-risk and although it is plagued with constant volatility, it is possible to achieve the wisdom, the *gnome*, that could make playing the game significantly safer. All one needs to do is to listen intently and purposefully to the stories passed down from the ancestors –which, incidentally, happens to be the earliest meaning of the term 'adab.'

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Chapter VII: Conclusion

The dissertation began with the observation that the sociological concept of 'patrimonialism' exists mostly as a descriptive construct and that as part of social analysis it has been used mostly schematically. From mainly an organizational point of view and largely a taken for granted aspect of the Third World, patrimonialism indicated a two-dimensional entity and presented from a bird's eye point of view –from a top down perspective only. The view from the ground up, however, had never been a subject of analysis. The social ontology of patrimonial domination, that is, the kind of subjects and subjectivities it produces remains an enigma.

It is the particular ways in which patrimonial regimes produce their subjects that make this particular form of rule becomes transcendent –thus, attaining tenacity and endurance. Trying to explain a complex sociological set of relations that patrimonial systems produce without understanding properly the idiosyncratic constituents of its subject is like trying to enjoy a sports game by reading its rulebook.

After identifying 'patrimonial subject (and subjectivity)' as crucial focal points in the analysis of patrimonial resilience, the dissertation posed the question: **How had the Ottoman *patrimonial* subject been constituted during the empire's 'classical age'?**

The empire's 'patrimonial subjects' were not the *re'āyā* (literally, 'flock', 'subject'), that is, the tax-paying subject populations with very limited access to the state's patrimony (which included wealth and riches as well as status and position). These were the premium of a very special body of men –at least from the early fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. By the term 'the Ottoman patrimonial subject', therefore, the research means the *askeri* class –the tax-exempt ruling order of civil, religious, and military (also means 'administrative', for the two were closely linked) officials. Among the *askeri*, the dissertation

identified the elite *devşirme*, who were 'gifted' and fortunate enough to make it to the *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*. The royal academy was one of a kind and access was zealously guarded and meticulously controlled. Not only its prospective students, however, were unlike to those of the *medrese* –the Ottoman version of the public schools open to the Muslim populations, but also its curricula, its pedagogical design was entirely unique. Following the *medrese* path, one could become a kadi, a doctor of Islamic law, an educator, a juror, or, as it happened once in a while, one could change careers, invest in his knowledge and skills of basic literacy and become a *katib* (a scribe). At the highest academic level (e.g., the *Sahn-ı Semân Medrese*), one could specialize and earn degrees in theology, law, medicine, astronomy, physics and mathematics. But there was no degree, or skill, or personal connections of the highest quality that could turn all these career paths into one that started with an Enderun education.

The dissertation identified three major elements for patrimonial resilience: tradition (*adab*), status (*devşirme*, *kullar*), and apparatus (*Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*). In the Ottoman case, the particular kind of *habitus* that the combination of these three elements produced, the dissertation argued, had been one of the fundamental reasons as to how the Ottoman state center, that is, the patriarchal core of the empire, remained intact for over six centuries. It was the state's ability to protect its patriarchal core by surrounding it with center dependent extra-household subjects, a good majority of whom the state itself had produced in its apparatuses that provided the Ottoman patrimonial-bureaucratic system with long lasting life.

The dissertation agrees with Weber's insight that patriarchy, 'father-rule', is fundamental to patrimonial politics.[143] There is no patrimonialism without a patriarch. Patrimonial regimes could evolve from non-patriarchal settings; nonetheless, they are bound to produce their own versions of patriarchs as the capstones of the entire system. It is crucial to understand the point that patriarchy

---

[143] For Weber "patriarchalism is by far the most important type of domination the legitimacy of which rests upon tradition" (Gerth and Mills 1958:296).

never leaves the patrimonial arrangements and even if the regime hails from another direction entirely and somehow ends up with an overwhelmingly patrimonial sets of relations, there should be no doubt that the regime, if not already, would produce –by necessity and by design, a patriarch, a Boss whose authority, discretion, and the basis of his sovereignty would pose serious challenges to the rule of law since formality, under him, will dissolve into personalism. It is in the nature of the patriarchalism to dissolve law into 'administration', which, unlike legal formalism, can be practiced on an *ad hoc* basis.[144]

The Muslim civilization and the medieval state traditions that cultivated it and themselves were cultivated within it, developed a highly specialized tradition that produced powerful measures against such destructive discretion. This was the adab tradition. Surely, it was by no means the only safeguard against such systemic detriments typically encountered in patrimonial regimes, but it was definitely among the longest lasting ones. From the Abbasids onwards it retained its functional and cultural value as well as its relevance all the way to the Ottomans. Adab was internalized morality and displayed civility, ways of being and appearing, both the *paideia* and moral science of the Muslim civilization. It incorporated language, history, societal norms, rules of conduct, and (secular) ethics, at first, in teaching etiquette and proper conduct and later, imparting professionalism to expertise and indoctrinating the office-holder, the civil and public servant with an implicit but powerful code of honor –that he will be the man worthy of the office granted to him and the position bestowed on him.

The research presented the imperial palace academy, the *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*, as a patrimonial apparatus of the Ottoman state. The schools were directly connected to the patriarchal body and the kind of schooling and upbringing the students received made sure that although in Weberian terms they

---

[144] Weber defines *pure patriarchalism* as patriarchal domination without any legal limits. "[Patriarchal government] largely **dissolves law into administration.** As such, these practices inhibit the development of formal law" (Weber 1978: 1009).

were 'extra-household' functionaries, they were never far removed from the patriarchal household as the term 'extra', or 'outside' would suggest. The Enderun created an entire heritage of dynastic sons with the exception that they did not belong by virtue of 'blood' but better they belonged because they were weighed and measured many times over and for a long time –and found deserving, deemed worthy.

Expectedly, the research found that the *adab* tradition played an important part as part in the education and upbringing of the Enderunî. Especially for the initiating cohorts of youngsters, adab classics were regularly incorporated into the reading material. Although it would not be historically accurate to put forward that the palace schools had a set curricular design and developed something like a syllabus for different classes, it would not be altogether incorrect to suggest there was indeed a body of literature that the schools continued to make frequent use of –what this dissertation referred to earlier as the Enderun core curricula. Works of adab, especially one of its sub-genres, the advice literature (more popularly known as 'the mirrors for princes') were highly popular. The adab classic *par excellence,* Kalīla wa Dimna was not only an extremely popular book but the Ottomans even produced an Ottoman Turkish translation of the book adorned with miniatures that aesthetically and in terms of literary capacity surpassed the Persian translation, *Envâr-ı Süheylî* of Hüseyin Vâiz-i Kâşifî (d. 1505); the highest quality in existence at the time. Alâeddin Ali Çelebi (d. 1543), a *medrese* professor and a litterateur, presented his Ottoman version of the fables with the title of *Hümâyûnnâme* (The King's Book) to Süleymān I ('the Magnificent'), who, rumor has it, read the book and finished it over night and bestowed the author with a judgeship of Bursa –a prominent and lucrative position.

What was it about the adab books like *Kalīla and Dimna* that made them essential for an Enderun education? The dissertation found that in books of adab, the students were introduced to the fine points of the patrimonial system, made aware of its typical dangers, and warned about the common mistakes that those

287

who partake in this high-stakes game were prone to make. In a way, aside from their didactic and moralizing content, these works made up a course on their own 'Introduction to Patrimonialism', or, as the dissertation previously referred to it as, PAT 101.

Epilogue: A Game of Chess

In many ways the patrimonial game is similar to the game of chess. It was not a coincidence that in the Middle Eastern advice treatises written for the courtly elite, a degree of proficiency in certain board games was considered an essential quality for those who aspired to be a courtier. For instance, the Persian vizier al-Hasan b. Sahi (d. 850-851) recounts the ten essential 'arts' that courtly adab requires:

"The arts belonging to the refined culture (adab) are ten: three *Shahradjanic* (playing lute, chess, and with the javelin), three *Nushirwanic* (medicine, mathematics, and equestrian art), three *Arabic* (poetry, genealogy, and knowledge of history); but the tenth excels all: the knowledge of the stories which people put forward in their friendly gatherings."[145]

The knowledge of such board games was essential for the courtier not only because the sultan needed capable and challenging opponents to escape boredom but also these games provided a technical and epistemological channel for the patrimonial politics and its dynamics to gain *representation*. They provided a rich toolkit that connected the political mechanics with positional representation as well as analytical valuation (Uzunçarşılı 1988).

In the Persian-Islamic context these were the games of *chess* and *backgammon*. The latter includes the element of luck, or fortune, structurally embedded into the game. 'The throwing of the dice' forces tactical re-adjustment

---

[145] Al-Husri, *Zahr al-adab*, i. 142, cited in Goldziher, I., "Adab", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition (1913-1936).

in every turn whereas chess is rigidly structured. It relies on tactical discipline, a well-balanced hierarchical order within the ranks, and the ability to prepare the board for the end game. All the pieces have clearly assigned starting positions, they assume different roles, and there are firm limits to their movement, which creates a structurally imposed order between the pieces.

The original historical term for the most important piece in the game is 'shah' –the Persian title for the sovereign ruler, that is, the patriarch. Its English translation as 'King' is appropriate but for the piece next in line, one cannot say the same. In the Eastern original, this piece is 'the vizier', whereas in the West it is called 'the queen.' Only exceptionally in the West that the queens acquired and sustained over long periods of time the kind of powers amassed by the viziers of the East. In the east, there are no queens on the chessboard.

The vizier is the most powerful piece in the game. It moves across the chessboard like a mighty sovereign moves, even though formally it is the king's right hand, only 'second in command.' Herein lies the brilliance of chess that approximates the most to the likeness of a patrimonial game: Why is it that the vizier (or, the queen) the strongest piece and not the king? There are several reasons that correspond also to the most essential dynamics of the patrimonial systems: the vizier brazenly moves across the board, attacking and defending at the same time, whereas the king is mostly stationary and most importantly, well guarded. It is the vizier that takes the greatest risks, it forces the opponent to focus on him, in a way equipped with the powers of the sovereign, it acts like a magnet attracting the attention on himself –hence, the most important reason for its powers, the vizier can be sacrificed whereas the king cannot.

In stark contrast to the vizier, the movement of the king is severely restricted –for its own good. It hardly moves and when it does, it does so one tile at a time. The only exception to the 'one tile at a time' rule is when it 'castles', that is, when it takes cover inside a castle and hides behind a set of pawns. The king's movement, that is, the need to restrict it as much as possible, is such an

289

important aspect of the game even 'castling' has a prerequisite: if it had moved even a single tile, it cannot castle.

The king, most of the time, moves to escape from the opponent's direct attacks ('check'). Only in the end game it takes a supporting role in the attack to support the forward progression of a pawn towards the opponent's baseline for a 'promotion'. The pawn that makes it all the way across gets replaced by the player's choice of a vizier, knight, or bishop. This is the only part of the game when the king is on the offensive, that is, when it is absolutely essential to promote a new vizier out of a former pawn. In most other settings, it is on the defensive.

Delegation of the patriarch's powers and severe restrictions on his movement are all protective and defensive measures for the good of the patriarch. In his stead, the vizier takes the center stage, which makes it the primary target of attacks, traps, and ambushes. For the sake of the game (or of the king, since the king is the game) the vizier can be sacrificed just like a common pawn and a common pawn can be promoted to the rank of vizier –provided that it makes it to the end of the line, generally with the support of the king.

Without a patriarch, there is no patrimonial government. The king gets checked and there is nowhere to run and hide, the game is over. Of all the rules in the game, this is the one rule that *makes* the game, *conditions* the game; it makes the game possible, playable. The patrimonial game, just like the game of chess, is not about keeping scores. It is about eliminating the rival patriarch –anything less than that, no matter the players' standing in terms of remaining pieces on the board, is a stalemate.

The patrimonial chess board however is an unusual one: in the Ottoman Empire and in the case of the Enderun the same pool of recruits served in the lowest (the pawn) and the highest positions (the vizier). The Ottoman solution to a typically patrimonial problem can be seen –and its ingenuity could better be appreciated if we follow up with the chess analogy.

A chessboard is structurally subject to two things without even a single chess piece takes its position on it. The four by four division of the board into rank and file that makes eight diagonal and eight horizontal lines dividing the whole into sixty-four squares. Second, the sixty-four squares are divided into two: the white and the black squares. These are the only structural rules that the chess pieces will be confined to no matter how the game unfolds. There is however a decision this structural plan imposes on the overall strategy; a rough but important decision needs to be made precisely because of the two structural limits. The players can adapt two main strategies and of course as the game develops and depending on the veracity of the opposition, the starting strategy can facilitate between aggression and defense thus the game play is always a combination of the two (ultimately the aim of all the structural and normative rules are to either capture the rival king or lose yours). The aim of the game being singular, that is, the target being always the same piece –with definitively less capabilities of attack and survival, the structural limits become important.

There are two "sides", called as the queenside and the kingside. The former represents the right half of the board (when playing white) and the latter refers to the left thirty-two squares. In the opening the queenside is considered as the attack side (on this side the vizier covers more squares in terms of rank and file) and the right side, by focusing on to build first and foremost protection for the king is considered as the defensive opening mentality.

The Ottomans, with the Enderunî servant-elite and the *devşirme* kullar (servants, bondsmen) in general was able to turn an originally defensive strategy into one of extreme aggression by providing the king's side with a kind of chess piece that could not only take any role from pawn to the vizier, but also by bringing these pieces both at the beginning and the end of the attacks and the defenses.

As opposed to the European path, that is, the feudal sovereign's absolute reliance on his lords and knights, and later the development of the queen's side

into a self-regulatory bureaucratic apparatus that run within legal-rational domains, the Ottoman state center followed a more aggressive strategy by fusing the two sides and sewing them closely together by instilling into each side as well as every single piece a kind of stem cell that could evolve into many positions and assume varying functions. With the exact same DNA neither the two sides of the government nor the individual pieces did not get alienated from the center as it did in the European 'the Leviathan model' that later became the blueprint for the modern nation-state. As Mardin indicated the Ottoman state center resisted the adopting of this particular model and its style of government right until the nineteenth century, which, rather than indicating the Ottoman Empire's stalling behind its rapidly modernizing European counterparts, it shows the strength of its patrimonial mentality of government that resisted powerfully to any other system that did not involve a patriarch (the Ottoman sultan) (Mardin 1969).

References

Primary (Archival) Sources

Abdüllâtif Hâfız Enderunî, and Ahmet Koç. 2013. *Âyîne-i Derûn: Osmanlı'ya Devlet Adamı Yetiştiren Mektep: Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn.*

ʿAṭâ, Tayyâr-zâdê Aḥmed and Mehmet Arslan. 2010. *Osmanlı Saray Tarihi: Tarîh-i Enderûn.* İstanbul: Kitabevi.

Bon, Ottaviano. 1996. *The Sultan's Seraglio: an Intimate Portrait of Life At the Ottoman Court.* London: Saqi Books.

Mehmed Halîfe. 1986. *Târih-i Gılmânî.* 2. baskı. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.

Çelebi, Evliya. 2012. *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century.* Cambridge University Press.

Dankoff, Robert, Sooyong Kim and Evliya Çelebi. 2011. *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi.* Eland London.

Kānunnâme, Süleymaniye Ktp., Esad Efendi, nr. 587, vr. 165a-b.

Koçi Bey, (ed. tr. Çakmakcıoğlu, S.) *Koçi Bey Risaleleri: Sultan IV. Murad'a devlet yönetimindeki bozukluklar ile alınması gereken tedbirler hakkında sunulan risale ve Sultan I. İbrahim'e Osmanlı devleti teşkilatı hakkında sunulan risale.* (2008). İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi.

Hulasa-yı Hümayunname. Mülahhisi Ahmet Mithat. İstanbul : Matbaa-yı Amire, 1304 [1887]

Süreyya, Mehmed. (1996). *Sicill-i Osmanî yahud Tezkire Meşâhir-i Osmaniyye* Volumes 1-6. İstanbul

Ahmet Mithat, and Atâ Çatıkkaş. Ahmet Midhat'ın Kelile Ve Dimne Tercümesi =: Hulâsa-i Hümâyunnâme. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999.

Şehzade, and E. J. W. Gibb. *The History of the Forty Vezirs.* 1886.

Yazıcıoğlu Ali, *Tevârih-i Al-i Selçuk*, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Revan no.1391, 233a.

Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahat-nâme*, v. 1, İstanbul, 1896.

"The history of the forty vezirs."1886. London.

Secondary Sources

Abou-El-Haj, Rifaʿat Ali. 1984. *The 1703 rebellion and the structure of Ottoman politics*. Vol. 52. Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut te Istanbul,.

------. 1987. "The Ottoman Nasihatname as a Discourse Over Morality." *Revue D'Histoire Maghrebine*: 15.

------. 2005. *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries.* Syracuse University Press.

Acemoglu, Daron, Thierry Verdier and James A. Robinson. 2004. "Kleptocracy and Divide-and-Rule: A Model of Personal Rule." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 2(2-3): 162-192.

Ackerman, Kenneth D. 2005. *Boss Tweed: The Corrupt Pol Who Conceived the Soul of Modern New York.* Viral History Press, LLC.

------. 2011. *Boss Tweed: The Corrupt Pol Who Conceived the Soul of Modern New York.* Kenneth Ackerman.

Adams, Julia. 1994a. "The Familial State: Elite Family Practices and State-Making in the Early Modern Netherlands." *Theory and Society* 23(4): 505-539.

------. 1994b. "Trading States, Trading Places: The Role of Patrimonialism in Early Modern Dutch Development." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36(2): 319-355.

------. 2005a. *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe.* Cornell University Press.

------. 2005b. "The Rule of the Father: Patriarchy and Patrimonialism in Early Modern Europe." *Max Weber's Economy and Society: A Critical Companion*: 237-266.

Adams, Julia, and Mounira M. Charrad. 2011. *Patrimonial Power in the Modern World.* Sage.

Agamben, Giorgio. 2009. *"What is an Apparatus?" and Other Essays.* Stanford University Press.

Ahmet Mithat, and Atâ Çatıkkaş. 1999. *Ahmet Midhat'In Kelile Ve Dimne Tercümesi = Hulâsa-i Hümâyunnâme.* Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı.

Ahmed, Shahab. 2015. *What is Islam?: The Importance of being Islamic.* Princeton University Press.

Ahmed, Shahab, and Nenad Filipovic. 2004. "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a Fermān of Qānūnī I Süleymān, Dated 973 (1565)." *Studia Islamica* (98/99):183-218.

Akalın, Şükrü H. 1994. "'Ebülhayr Rumi'" pp. 360-362 in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi.* Vol. 10.

------. 2012. "Anadolu Ve Balkanlarda Sarı Saltuk." *Çağdaş Türk Lehçeleri Araştırmaları*.

Akdağ, Mustafa. 1963. *Celâlî isyanları (1550-1603)* (Vol. 144). Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi.

Ake, Claude. 1966. "Charismatic Legitimation and Political Integration." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9(1):1-13.

Akkutay, Ülker. 1984. *Enderun Mektebi.* Gazi Üniversitesi.

Aksan, Virginia H. 1995. *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783.* Brill.

Aktan, Ali, and Mehmed Süreyyâ. 1995. *Sicill-i Osmanî, Yahud, Tezkire-i Meşâhir-i Osmâniyye.* Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Sebil Yayınevi.

Alaeddin Ali Çelebi. 1835. *Kitab-I Hümāyünnāme.*Bulak: Matbbatü Sahib üs-Seadet ül-Ebediye ve'l-Himmet.

Alasuutari, Pertti. 2018. "Authority as Epistemic Capital." *Journal of Political Power Journal of Political Power*: 1-26.

Al-Azmeh, Aziz. 2012. *Ibn Khaldun: A Reinterpretation.* Routledge.

Al-Bukhari, MII. 1997. "Adab Al-Mufrad (Imam Bukhari's Book of Morals and Manners)." *Lebanon: Al-Saadawi Publications*.

Albrecht, Holger, and Oliver Schlumberger. 2004. ""Waiting for Godot": Regime Change without Democratization in the Middle East." *International Political Science Review* 25(4):371-392.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. 1994. "Modern, Anti, Post, and Neo: How Social Theories have Tried to Understand the "New World" of "Our Time"." *Zeitschrift Für Soziologie* 23(3):165-197.

Âli, Mustafa b. A., and Orhan S. Gökyay. 1978. *Görgü Ve Toplum Kuralları Üzerinde: Ziyâfet Sofraları: (Mevaidü'N-Nefais Fi Kavaidi'L-Mecalis (Metin).* İstanbul: Tercüman.

Ali, Samer M. 2010. *Arabic Literary Salons in the Islamic Middle Ages: Poetry, Public Performance, and the Presentation of the Past.* University of Notre Dame Press.

Al-Kaysi, Marwan I. 2015. *Morals and Manners in Islam: A Guide to Islamic Adab.* Kube Publishing Ltd.

Allan, Michael. 2012. "How Adab Became Literary: Formalism, Orientalism and the Institutions of World Literature." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 43(2-3): 172-196.

Allen, Roger. 1998. *The Arabic Literary Heritage: The Development of its Genres and Criticism.* Cambridge University Press.

Almond, Gabriel A., and G. B. Powell. 1966. *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach.* Little, Brown.

al- *Muqaffa*, Ibn, and Saleh S. Jallad. 2002. *The Fables of Kalilah and Dimnah: Adapted and Translated from the Sanskrit through the Pahlavi into Arabic by Abdullah Ibn Al-Muqaffa AD 750.*Melisende.

al-Muqaffa', Ibn, and Vecdi Akyüz. 2004. *İslam Siyaset Üslubu,* İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları.

Al-Musawi, Muhsin. 2007. "Abbasid Popular Narrative: The Formation of Readership and Cultural Production." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 38(3): 261-292.

------. 2015. *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction.* University of Notre Dame Press.

Al-Qass, A. A., and H. K. al-Jubūrī. 1989. "Adab Al-Qadi".

Amadi, Henry. 2009. "Persistence and Change of Neo-Patrimonialism in Post-Independence Kenya".

295

Arnakis, G. G. 1953. "Futuwwa Traditions in the Ottoman Empire Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes, and Craftsmen." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12(4): 232-247.

Anderson, Lisa. 1987. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa." *Comparative Politics* 20(1): 1-18.

Anderson, Mary M. 1990. *Hidden Power: The Palace Eunuchs of Imperial China.* Prometheus Books.

Andreski, Stanislav. 2013. *Max Weber's Insights and Errors.* Routledge.

Andrien, Kenneth J. 1984. "Corruption, Inefficiency, and Imperial Decline in the Seventeenth-Century Viceroyalty of Peru." *The Americas* 41(1):1-20.

Arat, Reşit R. 1947. *Kutadgu Bilig: Metin.* Millî Eğitim Basımevi.

Arjomand, Said A. 1999. "The Law, Agency, and Policy in Medieval Islamic Society: Development of the Institutions of Learning from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41(2): 263-293.

Arkoun, Muhammad. 2012. "A Return to the Question of Humanism in Islamic Contexts." Pp. 91-110 in *Exploring humanity: intercultural perspectives on humanism*, edited by M. Spariosu, and J. Rüsen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Artan, Tülay. 2008. "A Book of Kings Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting." Pp. 299-330 in *Muqarnas, Volume 25.*"A Book of Kings Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting." Brill.

Asad, Talal. 2009. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam.* JHU Press.

Aščerić-Todd, Ines. 2007. "The Noble Traders: The Islamic Tradition of "Spiritual Chivalry" (Futuwwa) in Bosnian Trade-guilds (16th− 19th Centuries)." *The Muslim World* 97(2): 159-173.

Ashtiany, Julia, T. M. Johnstone, J. D. Latham and R. B. Serjeant. 1990. *Abbasid Belles Lettres.* Cambridge University Press.

Atıl, Esin. 1981. *Kalila Wa Dimna: Fables from a Fourteenth-Century Arabic Manuscript.* Smithsonian Institution Press.

Aya, Rod. 1978. "Norbert Elias and the Civilizing Process." *Theory and Society* 5(2): 219-228.

Ayalon, David. 1987. "Mamluk Military Aristocracy—A Non-Hereditary Nobility." *Jerusalem Studies in Arab and Islam* 9:205.

Ayverdi, Ekrem H. 1973. "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fâtih Devri (Cilt 3)." İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları.

------. 1974. "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fâtih Devri (Cilt 4)." İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları.

Babaie, Sussan. 2017. *Slaves of the Shah - New Elites of Safavid Iran.*

Babinger, Franz. 1993. "Ṣari Ṣaltik Dede." Pp. 171-172 in *First Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. 7.*, edited by M.T. Houtsma. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Barkey, Karen. 1991. "Rebellious Alliances: The State and Peasant Unrest in Early Seventeenth-Century France and the Ottoman Empire." *American Sociological Review*: 699-715.

------. 1994. *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization.* Cornell University Press.

------. 2005. "Islam and Toleration: Studying the Ottoman Imperial Model." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 19(1-2): 5-19.

------. 2008. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective.* Cambridge University Press.

Başgöz, I., and H. E. Wilson. 1989. "The Educational Tradition of the Ottoman Empire and the Development of the Turkish Educational System of the Republican Era." *Turkish Review* 3(16).

Baykal, İsmail Hakkı. 1953. *Enderun Mektebi Tarihi: Kuran, Fatih Sultan Mehmed*, İstanbul Fetih Derneği, İstanbul.

Beg, M. A. J. 1978. "al-Khassa wa'l-'Amma" pp. 1098-1100 in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition.* Vol. 4.

Bendix, Reinhard. 1967. "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9(3): 292-346.

------. 1998. *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait.* Psychology Press.

Bernstein, Basil. 1964. "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social Origins and some Consequences." *American Anthropologist* 66(6 PART2): 55-69.

------. 1973. "Class, Codes and Control. Volume 2, Applied Studies Towards a Sociology of Language."

------. 2000. *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control, and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique.* Rowman & Littlefield.

------. 2004. *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse.* Routledge.

Beydilli, Kemal. 2013. 'Yeniçeri Ocağı' Pp. 450-462 in *Diyanet Islam Ansiklopedisi, Vol. 43.* İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı.

Birnbaum, Eleazar. 1976. "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature: an Early 16th Century Manuscript of Navais Divan in Ottoman Orthography." *Central Asiatic Journal* 20(3): 157-190.

Blaydes, Lisa, Justin Grimmer and Alison McQueen. 2014. "Mirrors for Princes and Sultans: Advice on the Art of Governance in the Medieval Christian and Islamic Worlds."

Bloch, Marc. 1961. "Feudal Society, 2 Vols." *Trans. LA Manyon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press*.

Bon, Ottaviano, and Robert Withers. 1996. *The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court: From the Seventeenth-Century Edition of John [I.e. Robert] Withers.* Al Saqi.

Bon, Ottaviano, Robert Withers, Godfrey Goodwin and Ottaviano Bon. 1650. *The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court.* London: Saqi Books.

Bonebakker, Seger A. 1960. "Notes on some Old Manuscripts of the Adab Al-Kātib of Ibn Qutayba, the Kitāb Aṣ-Ṣināʿatayn of Abū Hilāl Al-ʿAskarī, and the Maṯal as-Sāʾir of Ḍiyāʾ Ad-Dīn Ibn Al-Aṯīr." *Oriens*: 159-194.

------. 1984. *Early Arabic Literature and the Term "Adab"*.

------. 1990. "Adab and the Concept of Belles-Lettres." *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Abbasid Belles-Lettres*: 16-30.

------. 2001. "The Misery of the Men of Letters: Some Quotations from their Poetry." *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi*: 147-161.

------. 2002. "Supplement-Variations on the Theme of "Ḥirfat Al-Adab"." *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi*: 17-38.

Boroujerdi, Mehrzad. 2013. *Mirror for the Muslim Prince: Islam and the Theory of Statecraft.* Syracuse University Press.

Bosworth, Clifford E. 1963. "A Pioneer Arabic Encyclopedia of the Sciences: Al Khwarizmi's Keys of the Sciences." *Isis* 54(1): 97-111.

------. 1970. "An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes: Ṭāhir Dhū L-Yamīnain's Epistle to His Son ʿAbdallāh (206/821)" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29(1): 25-41.

Bray, Julia. 2003. "Lists and Memory: Ibn Qutayba and Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb." *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam. Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung*: 210-231.

------. 2006a. "Adab." Pp. 13-14 in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia.* Vol. 1, edited by J.W. Meri. New York: Routledge.

------. 2006b. "The physical world and the writer's eye: al-Tanukhj and medicine." Pp. 229-264 in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam.*"

Brockelmann, Carl. 1977. "Kelile ve Dimne" pp. 552-558 in *İslam Ansiklopedisi, Vol. 6.* İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı.

Brookshaw, Dominic P. 2003. "Palaces, Pavilions and Pleasure-Gardens: The Context and Setting of the Medieval Majlis." *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6(2): 199-223.

Browne, Edward G. 1902. *A Literary History of Persia-from the Earliest Times Until Firdawsi.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, Khan, Muhammad Muhsin. 2000. *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī: The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari: Arabic-English.* Kazi Publications.

Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin de. 1968. *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554 – 1562*, tr. Edward Seymour Forster. Oxford.

Cachia, Pierre. 2003. *Arabic Literature: An Overview.* Routledge.

Çakır, Müjgân. 2007. "Kıyâfet-Nâmeler Hakkında Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi" *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 5:333-350.

Campbell, Joseph. 1956. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces.* New York: Meridian Books.

Casanova, José. 2011. *Public Religions in the Modern World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1987. *The Imaginary Institution of Society.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chaplin, Charlie, and Joan Berry. "Al-Jahiz's Profoundly Serious Work on Scholarly Hospitality".

Collins, Randall. 2011. "Patrimonial Alliances and Failures of State Penetration: A Historical Dynamic of Crime, Corruption, Gangs, and Mafias." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 636(1): 16-31.

Colville, Jim. 2002. *Sobriety and Mirth: A Selection of the Shorter Writings of Al-Ja'hiz.* Routledge.

Cooperson, Michael, and Shawkat M. Toorawa. 2005. *Arabic Literary Culture, 500-925.* Detroit: Thomson Gale.

Cooperson, Michael, Beatrice Gruendler and Wolfhart Heinrichs. 2008. *Classical Arabic Humanities in their Own Terms: Festschrift for Wolfhart Heinrichs on His 65th Birthday Presented by His Students and Colleagues.* Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Daftary, Farhad, and Josef Meri. 2003. *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung.* IB Tauris.

Dankoff, Robert. 2004. *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi.* Brill.

De Blois, François. 1990. *Burzōy's Voyage to India and the Origin of the Book of Kalīlah Wa Dimnah.* Psychology Press.

------. 1991. "The Pañcatantra: From India to the West, and Back".

De Vries, Hent, and Lawrence E. Sullivan. 2006. *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World.* Fordham University Press.

Dean, Mitchell. 2014. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society.* Los Angeles, California: Sage.

Dedes, Yorgos. 1996. "The Battalname, an Ottoman Turkish Frontier Epic Wondertale: Introduction, Turkish Transcription, English Translation and Commentary", Harvard University.

Demir, Necati. 2002. *Dānişmend-Nāme: Tenkidli Metin. Türkiye Türkçesine Aktarılış. Dil Özellikleri Sözlük. Tıpkıbasım. 2.* [Cambridge, Mass.]: Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University.

------. 2012. *Dânişmend Gazi Destanı.* Niksar: Niksar Belediyesi.

Demir, Necati., Erdem,Mehmet Dursun,,. 2006. *Battal-Nāme: Eski Türkiye Türkçesi.* Kızılay, Ankara: Hece Yayınları.

Demir, Necati, and Mehmet D. Erdem. 2006. *Battal Gazi Destanı: Türkiye Türkçesi.* Ankara: Hece Yayınları.

Demir, Necati, Mehmet D. Erdem and Sibel Üst. 2007. *Ebā Müslīm-Nāme.* Ankara: Destan Yayınları.

Doğrul, Ömer R., and Ibn al-Muqaffa'. 1985. *Kelile Ve Dimne.* Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.

Doni, Anton F., Thomas North and Joseph Jacobs. 1570. *The Earliest English Version of the Fables of Bidpai, "the Morall Philosophie of Doni".* London: D. Nutt.

Dūğlās, Fadwá M. 1985. *Structures of Avarice: The Bukhalā' in Medieval Arabic Literature,* Brill.

Dunlop, D. M. 1961. *"Fuṣūl Al-Madanī": Aphorisms of the Statesman.* Cambridge University Press.

Durkheim, Émile. 2005. *Suicide: A Study in Sociology.* Routledge.

Ebu'l-Hayr-i Rūmi, Fahir İz and Gönül A. Tekin. 1975. *Ṣaltuḳ-Nāme: The Legend of Ṣarı Ṣaltuḳ.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Print. Off.

Eickelman, Dale F. and Armando Salvatore. 2002. "The Public Sphere and Muslim Identities." *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes De Sociologie* 43(1):92-115.

Eldem, Halil E., Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters. 1999. *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul.* Cambridge University Press.

Elger, Ralf. 2002. "Adab and Historical Memory. the Andalusian Poet/Politician Ibn Al-Khaṭīb as Presented in Aḥmad Al-Maqqarī (986/1577-1041/1632), Nafḥ Aṭ-Ṭīb." *Die Welt Des Islams*:289-306.

Elias, Norbert. 1982. *The History of Manners (the Civilizing Process, Vol. 1).* New York: Pantheon Books.

Ergin, Muharrem. 1958. *Dede Korkut Kitabı: I Giriş, Metin, Faksimile.* Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

Evans, Peter B., Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol. 1985. *Bringing the State Back In.* Cambridge University Press.

Eyal, Gil, and Larissa Buchholz. 2010. "From the Sociology of Intellectuals to the Sociology of Interventions." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:117-137.

Falk, Harry. 1978. *Quellen Des Pañcatantra.* Harrassowitz.

Farabî, Ebu N. 1987. *Fusulü'l-Medeni: Siyaset Felsefesine Dair Görüşler.*

Farag, Iman. 2001. "Private Lives, Public Affairs: the Uses of Adab." *Muslim Traditions and Modern Techniques of Power* 3.

Fetvacı, Emine. 2013. *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court.* Indiana University Press.

Finkel, Joshua. 1927. "A Risāla of Al-Jāḥiẓ." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*: 311-334.

Firdawsī, and Reuben Levy. 2011. *The Epic of the Kings: Shah-Nama, the National Epic of Persia.* London: Routledge.

Fisher, Carol G., and Alan Fisher. 1985. "Topkapi Sarayi in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Bobovi's Description." *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10(64).

Fleet, Kate. 2002. "Early Ottoman Self-Definition." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 26:237-238.

Fleischer, Cornell H. 1983. "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and "Ibn Khaldunism" in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Letters." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18(3): 198.

------. 1986. "Preliminaries to the Study of the Ottoman Bureaucracy." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10:135-141.

------. 1990. "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman".

------. 1994. "Between the Lines: Realities of Scribal Life in the Sixteenth Century".

------. 2014. *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600).* Princeton University Press.

Fleischer, Heinrich L. 1888. *Über Den Türkischen Volksroman Sireti Seijid Battal.* Leipzig: Bilkent University.

Fleischer, Heinrich L., and Battal Inandı. 1982. "Türk Halk Romanı Seyyid Battal Hakkında (II)." *Milli Kültür Dergisi* 37.

Foucault, Michel. 1972. "The confession of the flesh." Pp. 194-228 in *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings,* edited by C. Gordon.

------. 1976. *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* New York: Harper & Row.

------. 1982. "The Subject and Power." *Critical Inquiry* 8(4): 777-795.

------.1983. 'On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of Work in Progress', in H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow (eds) *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press

------. 2012. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 2: The use of Pleasure.* Vintage.

Foucault, Michel, Rabinow, Paul, Hurley, Robert, Faubion, James D., 2000. *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth.* London: Penguin.

Foucault, Michel, Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller. 1991. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fuess, Albrecht, and Jan-Peter Hartung. 2014. *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries.* Florence: Taylor and Francis

Fyzee, Asaf A. 1964. "The Adab Al-Qadi in Islamic Law." *Malaya L. Rev.* 6: 406.

Gabrieli, Francesco. 1960. "Adab." *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1:175.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "Religion as a cultural system." Pp. 87-125 in *The Interpretation of Cultures.*" Religion as a cultural system.".

------. 1974. ""From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding." *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*:26-45.

Gelibolulu Ali Mustafa Efendi.,. 1956. *Mevaidü'n-Nefais Fi Kavaidi'l-Mecalis.* İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi.

Ghiloni, Aaron J. 2017. "Can Cosmopolitanism Work Religiously? A Response to David T. Hansen." *Religious Education* 112(3):217-224.

Gibb, Elias J. W. 1902. *A History of Ottoman Poetry.* Luzac.

301

Giddens, Anthony. 1972. "The Political Context of Weber's Sociology.":28-39.

------. 1981. *Critique of Historical Materialism: The Nation-State and Violence.* London: Macmillan.

------. 2013. *Politics and Sociology in the Thought of Max Weber.* London: Polity.

Goffman, Erving. 1968. "Asylums: essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates"

Goldstone, J. A. (1991). *Revolution and rebellion in the early modern world.* Univ of California Press.

Goldziher, Ignác. 2012. "Adab" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition (1913-1936)."Adab."* Leiden: Brill.

Goodwin, Godfrey. 2013. *The Janissaries.* Saqi.

Gordon, Colin. 1991. "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction." Pp. 1-52 in *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality."* Governmental Rationality: An Introduction." Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gorski, Philip S. 2003. *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe.* University of Chicago Press.

Gökbilgin, M. T. 1977. *Osmanlı Müesseseleri Teşkilatı Ve Medeniyeti Tarihine Genel Bakış.* Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası.

Gökyay, Orhan Ş. 2006. *Dede Korkut Hikâyeleri.* Kabalcı Yayınevı.

Gril, Denis. 1993. "Adab and Revelation Or One of the Foundations of the Hermeneutics of Ibn 'Arabi." *Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi: A Commemorative Volume.*

Grube, Ernst J. 1991. *A Mirror for Princes from India: Illustrated Versions of the Kalilah Wa Dimnah, Anvar-i Suhayli, Iyar-i Danish, and Humayun Nameh.* Bombay: Marg Publications.

Gutas, Dimitri. 1981. "Classical Arabic Wisdom Literature: Nature and Scope." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101(1):49-86.

------. 2006. "The Greek and Persian Background of Early Arabic Encyclopedism." *Organizing Knowledge. Encyclopædic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*:91-101.

Güngör, Tahir. 2007. "Enderun Saray Mektebi'nde has Oda Teşkilatı", Marmara Üniversitesi.

Günther, Sebastian. 2005. "Advice for Teachers: The 9th Century Muslim Scholars Ibn Saḥnūn and Al-Jāḥiẓ on Pedagogy and Didactics." *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*:89-128.

------. 2006. "Be Masters in that You Teach and Continue to Learn: Medieval Muslim Thinkers on Educational Theory." *Comparative Education Review* 50(3):367-388.

Hachmeier, Klaus. 2004. "Rating Adab: Al-Tawḥīdī on the Merits of Poetry and Prose. the 25th Night of the Kitāb Al-Imtā' Wa-L-Mu'Ānasa, Translation and Commentary." *Al-Qanṭara* 25(2):357-385.

Hafız Hızır İlyas, and Ali S. Çoruk. 2011. *Osmanlı Sarayında Gündelik Hayat: Letâif-i Vekâyi'-i Enderûniyye.* İstanbul: Kitabevi.

Hafız Hızır İlyas, and Cahit Kayra. 1987. "Tarih-i Enderun, Letaif-I Enderun: 1812-1830: Enderunlu Çuhadar İlyas Ağa'nın "Enderun Tarihi" Ya Da "Letaif-I Enderun" Adıyla Bilinen Anıları." İstanbul: Güneş Yayınları.

Hafızoğlu, Tahir. 2002. *Kırk Vezir Hikayeleri.*İstanbul: Selis Kitaplar.

Hagen, Gottfried. 2009. "Heroes and Saints in Anatolian Turkish Literature." *Oriente Moderno* 89(2):349-361.

Ḥāğib, Yūsuf H., and Robert Dankoff. 1983. *Wisdom of Royal Glory: A Turco-Islamic Mirror for Princes.* University of Chicago Press.

Halife, Mehmet, and Kâmil Su. 1986. *Târih-i Gilmânî.* Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.

Halstead, J. M. 2007. "Islamic Values: A Distinctive Framework for Moral Education?" *Journal of Moral Education* 36(3):283-296.

Hasluck, F. W., and Margaret M. H. Hasluck. 2008. "Sari Saltuk." Pp. 429-439 in *Christianity and Islam under the sultans.*" Hasluck Press.

Hathaway, Jane. *The politics of households in Ottoman Egypt: the rise of the Qazdaglis.* Cambridge University Press, 2002.

------. 2009. "Eunuch Households in Istanbul, Medina, and Cairo during the Ottoman Era." *Turcica* 41(0):291-303.

------. 2012. "Beshir Agha: Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem." New York: Oneworld Publications.

Hathaway, Jane and Morgan, David. 2009. "Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt." Cambridge, GBR: Cambridge University Press.

Heath, Peter. 2009. "Al-Jāḥiẓ, Adab, and the Art of the Essay." Pp. 133-172 in *Al-Jāḥiẓ: A Muslim Humanist for Our Time.*, edited by A. Heinemann.

Hefter, Thomas. 2014. *The Reader in Al-Jahiz: The Epistolary Rhetoric of an Arabic Prose Master.* Edinburgh University Press.

Heinrichs, Wolfhart. 1995. "The Classification of the Sciences and the Consolidation of Philology in Classical Islam." *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*:119-139.

Hennis, Wilhelm, and Keith Tribe. 1992. "Max Weber: Essays in Reconstruction".

Hertel, Johannes. 1912. *The Panchatantra-Text of Purnabhadra: Critical Introduction and List of Variants.* Harvard University.

Heywood, Colin. 1999. "The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths." Pp. 228-250 in *Frontiers in Question.* Springer.

Hilālī, Taqī al-Dīn., Khan, Muhammad Muhsin., Bukhārī,Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl. 2011. *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an in the English Language: A Summarized Version of at-Tabarî, Al-Qurtubî, and Ibn Kathîr with Comments from Sahîh-Al-Bukharî.* Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Darussalam Publishers and Distributors.

303

Hindery, Roderick. 1978. *Comparative Ethics in Hindu and Buddhist Traditions.* Motilal Banarsidass Publ.

Hindess, Barry. 2004. *Discourses of power: from Hobbes to Foucault.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Hitti, Philip K. 2002. *History of the Arabs.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Hodgson, Marshall G. 2009. *The Venture of Islam, Volume 1: The Classical Age of Islam.* University of Chicago Press.

Holmberg, Bo. 2006. "Adab and Arabic Literature." *Literary History: Towards a Global Perspective. Volume 1: Notions of Literature Across Times and Cultures.*

Horovitz, Josef. 1930. "Ibn Quteiba's Uyun Al-Akhbar." *Islamic Culture* 4:193.

Hoyland, Robert G. 2006. "History, fiction and authorship in the first centuries of Islam." Pp. 30-60 in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam.* Routledge.

Hozien, Muhammad. 2005. "The Introduction of Greek Philosophy in the Muslim World." *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* 1(1): 118-126.

Hutchins, William M. 1989. *Nine Essays of Al-Jahiz.* Peter Lang Pub Inc.

Ibn ʿAdī, Yaḥyá, and Sidney H. Griffith. 2002. *The Reformation of Morals: A Parallel Arabic-English Text.* Brigham Young University Press.

İlgürel, Mücteba. 1988. ""Acemi Oğlanı"." Pp. 324-325 in *Diyanet Islam Ansiklopedisi Vol. I.* "Acemi Oğlanı" İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı.

İlyas Efendi, Hızır. 1859. *Letaif-i Enderun.* İstanbul: Darüt-tıbaat il-Âmire.

Imber, Colin. 2002a. "The Origin of the Janissaries." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 26(2): 15-19.

------. 2002b. "The Origin of the Janissaries." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 26(2):15-19.

------. 2009. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power.* Palgrave Macmillan.

İnalcık, Halil. 1954. "Ottoman Methods of Conquest." *Studia Islamica* (2):103-129.

------. 1960. "Mehmed the Conqueror (1432--1481) and His Time." *Speculum* 35, no. 03: 408-427.

------. 1960. "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3(2):131-147.

------. 1965. "Ghulam (The Ottoman Empire)." Pp. 1085-1091 in *The Encyclopedia of Islam Vol. II.* "Ghulam (The Ottoman Empire)."

------. 1973. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age.* Trans. Norman Itzkowitz, Colin Imber. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

------. 1990. "Istanbul: An Islamic City." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1: 1-23.

------. 1993. "Turkish and Iranian Political Theories and Traditions in Kutadgu Bilig." *The Middle East and the Balkans Under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*:1-18.

------. 1994. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1600.* Cambridge Univ. Press.

------. 1998. "Periods in Ottoman History" in *Essays in Ottoman History,* İstanbul: Eren.

------. 2003. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600.* London: Phoenix.

------. 2010. *Şair Ve Patron: Patrimonyal Devlet Ve Sanat Üzerinde Sosyolojik Bir İnceleme.* Ankara: Doğu-Batı Yayınları.

------. 2013. *The Ottoman Empire: 1300-1600.* Hachette UK.

İnalcık, Halil, and Donald Quataert. 1994. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

İnalcık, Halil, and Suraiya Faroqhi. 1997. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire.* Cambridge University Press.

İnalcık, Halil, and Cemal Kafadar. 1993. *Süleymân the Second [Ie the First] and His Time.* Isis Press.

İpekten, Haluk. 1989. *Enderunlu Vasıf: Hayatı, Kişiliği Ve Şiirlerinden Seçmeler.* Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.

İpşirli, Mehmet. 1995. "Enderun." Pp. 185-187 in *Diyanet Islam Ansiklopedisi.* Vol. 11"Enderun." İstanbul.

------. 1998. "Huzur Dersleri." *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 18:441-444.

Irving, Thomas B. 2005. *Kalilah and Dimnah: An English Version of Bidpai's Fables Based upon Ancient Arabic and Spanish Manuscripts.* Newark, Del: Lingua Text.

Irwin, Robert. 1994. *The Arabian Nights: A Companion.* Tauris Parke Paperbacks.

Itzkowitz, Norman. 1962. "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities." *Studia Islamica* (16): 73-94.

İsfendiyaroğlu, Fethi. 1952. *Galatasaray Tarihi.*

Iskandar, Kai Ka'us ibn, Levy, Reuben. 1951. *A Mirror for Princes: The Qabus Nama.* London: The Cresset Press.

Jacobs, Joseph. 1888. *The Earliest English Version of the Fables of Bidpai: "The Morall Philosophie of Doni".* D. Nutt.

Junne, George H. 2016. *Black Eunuchs of the Ottoman Empire: Networks of Power in the Court of the Sultan.* London: I.B. Tauris.

Kafadar, Cemal. 1995. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State.* Univ of California Press.

------. 2007. "Introduction: A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum." *Muqarnas*: 7-25.

Kai Ka'us ibn Iskandar ibn Kabus, and Birnbaum, Eleazar. 1981. "The Book of Advice : The Earliest Old Ottoman Turkish Version of His Kabusname".

Kai-Kāʿūs ibn Iskandar, and Reuben Levy. 1951. *A Mirror for Princes: The Qābūs Nāma.* Luzac & Co.: London.

Kalberg, Stephen. 1980. "Max Weber's Types of Rationality: Cornerstones for the Analysis of Rationalization Processes in History." *American Journal of Sociology* 85(5): 1145-1179.

Káldy-Nagy, Gy. 1979. "The Holy War (Jihād) in the First Centuries of the Ottoman Empire." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3:467-473.

Karabaş, Seyfi. 1974. *Structure and function in the Dede Korkut narratives*. Thesis (PhD)--University of California, Los Angeles, 1974.

Karamustafa, Ahmet T. 2015. "Islamisation through the Lens of the Saltuk-Name." *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia. Surrey: Ashgate*: 349-364.

Karataş, Özgür S. 2014. "Klâsik Türk Müziği Eğitimi'nde Bir Saray Üniversitesi: Enderûn Mektebi." *Electronic Turkish Studies* 9(2).

Kaufmann, Kathryn S. 1997. "Subjectivity and Medieval Arabic Adab.", University of California, Berkeley, .

Kayaalp, Pınar. 2013. "Frontier Warriors as Cultural Mediators: Shifting Identities of Byzantine and Turkish March Fighters as Elicited from Anatolian Epic Literature." *Mediaevistik* 25(1): 119-130.

Kaykāvūs ibn Iskandar ibn Qābūs, 'Unṣur al-Ma'ālī. 1981. *Mütercimi Meçhul Ilk Türkçe Kabusname: Inceleme, Sözlük, Tıpkı Basım.*[Cambridge MA]: Harvard University Printing Office].

Kaykāvūs ibn Iskandar ibn Qābūs, 'Unṣur al-Ma'ālī, and Serpil Çalışlar Ekici. 2003. *Kabusname*. İstanbul: Pencere Yayınları.

Keith-Falconer, Ion G. N. 1885a. *Kalīlah and Dimnah, Or, the Fables of Bidpai: Being an Account of their Literary History, with an English Translation of the Later Syriac Version of the Same, and Notes*. University Press.

------. 1885b. *Kalīlah and Dimnah: Or, the Fables of Bidpai, being an Account of their Literary History, with an English Translation of the Later Syriac Version of the Same, and Notes*.

Kennedy, Philip F. 2005. *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.

Keskin, Muhammet. 2009. "Enderun Saray Okulu'Nda has Oda Teşkilatının Önemi, Uygulanan Eğitim Yönetimi Ve Stratejileri", Yeditepe Üniversitesi, .

Khalidi, Tarif. 1994. *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kia, Mana. 2014. "Adab as Ethics of Literary Form and Social Conduct: Reading the Gulistān in Late Mughal India." *No Tapping Around Philology: A Festschrift in Honor of Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr.'s 70th Birthday*:281-308.

Kiel, Machiel. 1978. "The Türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobrudja." *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* (6-7).

------. 2005. "Ottoman Urban Development and the Cult of a Heterodox Sufi Saint: Sari Saltuk Dede and Towns of Isakçe and Babada in the Northern Dobrudja." *Collection Turcica*:283-298.

Kilpatrick, Hilary. 1982. "A Genre in Classical Arabic Literature: The Adab Encyclopedia.":34-42.

------. 1996. "Modernity in A Classical Arabic Adab Work, the Kitab Al-Aghani." *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*:242.

------. 1998. "Adab" in *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature. Vol. 2.*, edited by J.S. Meisami, and P. Starkey. Taylor & Francis.

Kimchoeun, Pak, and Vuthy Horng. 2007. *Accountability and Neo-Patrimonialism in Cambodia: A Critical Literature Review.* Cambodia Development Resource Institute.

Kittaniy, Samir. 2011. "Some Aspects of Humanism in the Classic Religious Collections on Political Justice in Islam." *International Journal of Arts & Sciences* 4(14):187.

Klemm, Verena. 2000. "Different Notions of Commitment (Iltizam) and Committed Literature (Al-Adab Al-Multazim) in the Literary Circles of the Mashriq." *Arabic & Middle Eastern Literature* 3(1):51-62.

Knapp, Peter. 1986. "Hegel's Universal in Marx, Durkheim and Weber: The Role of Hegelian Ideas in the Origin of Sociology." *Sociological Forum* 1(4):586-609

Koçi Bey. 1972. *Koçi Bey Risâlesi.* İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı.

Koçu, Reşad Ekrem. 2004. *Topkapı Sarayı.* İstanbul: Doğan Kitapçılık.

Köprülü, Mehmet F. 1986. *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri.* Ötüken.

Kostiner, Joseph, and Philip S. Khoury. 1991. *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East.* London; New York: I.B. Tauris.

Kraemer, Joel L. 1984. "Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: A Preliminary Study." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104(1):135-164.

------. 1986. *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam: Abū Sulaymān Al-Sijistānī and His Circle.* Brill Archive.

------. 1992. *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age.* Brill.

Kunt, Ibrahim M. 1974. "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5(3): 233-239.

------.1975. "Kulların Kulları" *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi: Hümaniter Bilimler* 3: 27-42.

------.1982. *Transformation of Zimmi into Askeri.* Princeton University.

------.1983. *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650.* Columbia University Press.

Lambton, Ann K. S. 1970. *Islamic Mirrors for Princes.* Accademia nazionale dei Lincei.

Lambton, Ann K. 1954. *Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government.* Variorum.

------. 1962. "Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship." *Studia Islamica* (17):91-119.

------. 2013. *State and Government in Medieval Islam.* Routledge.

Lapidus, Ira M. 1973. "The Evolution of Muslim Urban." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15(1):21-50.

------. 1984a. *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages.* CUP Archive.

------. 1984b. *Knowledge, Virtue, and Action: The Classical Muslim Conception of Adab and the Nature of Religious Fulfillment in Islam.* University of California Press.

Latham, J. D. "Ibn Al-Muqaffaʿ and Early ʿAbbāsid Prose." *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: ʿAbbāsid Belles-Lettres*: 48-75.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F., and Robert K. Merton. 1948. "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action." *Media Studies*:18-30.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet. 1944. "The People's Choice". New York: Columbia University Press.

Leder, Stefan, and Hilary Kilpatrick. 1992. "Classical Arabic Prose Literature: A Researchers' Sketch Map." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 23(1): 2-26.

Levend, Agâh S. 1984. *Divan Edebiyatı: Kelimeler Ve Remizler Mazmunlar Ve Mefhumlar.* Enderun kitabevi.

Levey, Martin. 1967. "Medical Ethics of Medieval Islam with Special Reference to Al-Ruhāwī's "Practical Ethics of the Physician"." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*: 1-100.

Levy, Reuben. 1928. *The Three Dervishes and Other Persian Tales and Legends.* London; New York: H. Milford Oxford University Press.

Lewis, D. M. 1994. *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 6: The Fourth Century BC.*

Lewis, Geoffrey. 2011. *The Book of Dede Korkut.* Penguin UK.

Loewen, Arley. 2003. "Proper Conduct (Adab) is Everything: The Futuwwat-Nāmah-i Sulṭānī of Husayn Va'Iz-i Kashifi." *The Society for Iranian Studies* 36(4): 543-570.

Luis Roniger. 2004. "Political Clientelism, Democracy, and Market Economy." *Comparative Politics* 36(3):353-375.

Lyall, Armstrong. 2006. "The Making of a Sufi: Al-Nuwayrī's Account of the Origin of Genghis Khan." *Mamluk Studies Review* 10(2):153-160.

Lybyer, Albert H. 1913. *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent.* New York: AMS Press.

Machiavelli, Niccolò, Harvey C. Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov. 1996. *Discourses on Livy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Makdisi, George. 1990. "The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West with Special Reference to Scholasticism".

Mardin, Ebül'ulâ. 1900. *Huzûr Dersleri.* İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Hukuk Fakültesi.

Mardin, Şerif. 1961. "Some Notes on an Early Phase in the Modernization of Communications in Turkey." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3(3):250-271.

------. 1962. *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study of Turkish Political Ideas.* Princeton.

------. 1969. "Power, civil society and culture in the Ottoman Empire." Comparative Studies in Society and History, 11(3), 258-281.

------. 1973. "Center-periphery relations: A key to Turkish politics?" *Daedalus*.

Marlow, Louise. 2009. "Surveying Recent Literature on the Arabic and Persian Mirrors for Princes Genre." *HIC3 History Compass* 7(2):523-538.

Marzubān ibn Rustam, and Reuben Levy. 1968. *The Tales of Marzuban.* New York: Greenwood Press.

Mazzuca, Sebastián. 2007. "Reconceptualizing Democratization: Access to Power Versus Exercise of Power." *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*:39-49.

McLarney, Ellen. 2011. "The Islamic Public Sphere and the Discipline of Adab." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43(3):429-449.

McLean, Paul D. 1998. "A Frame Analysis of Favor Seeking in the Renaissance: Agency, Networks, and Political Culture." *American Journal of Sociology* 104(1):51-91.

------. 2005. "Patronage, Citizenship, and the Stalled Emergence of the Modern State in Renaissance Florence." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47(3):638-664.

------. 2007. *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence.* Duke University Press.

Mclean, Paul D. 2011. "Patrimonialism, Elite Networks, and Reform in Late-Eighteenth-Century Poland." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 636(1):88-110.

Meisami, Julie S., and Paul Starkey. 1998. *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature.* Taylor & Francis.

Ménage, V. L. 1966. "Some Notes on the Devshirme." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29(1):64-78.

Mengi, Mine. 2002. "Kıyâfetnâme." *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 25:513-514.

Meri, Josef W. 2005. *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia.* Routledge.

Merton, Robert K., Marjorie Fiske and Alberta Curtis. 1946. "Mass Persuasion; the Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive".

Merton, Robert K., and Alice S. Kitt. 1950. "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior." *Continuities in Social Research*:40-105.

Merton, Robert K., and Paul F. Lazersfeld. 1950. "Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of" the American Soldier".

Metcalf, Barbara D. 1984. *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam.* University of California Press.

Migdal, Joel. 1998. "Why do so Many States Stay Intact?" *Weak and Strong States in Asia-Pacific Societies*: 11-37.

Milanovic, Branko. 2014. "The Return of" Patrimonial Capitalism": A Review of Thomas Piketty's Capital in the Twenty-First Century." *Journal of Economic Literature* 52(2): 519-534.

Miles, Mike. 2000. "Signing in the Seraglio: Mutes, Dwarfs and Jestures at the Ottoman Court 1500-1700." *Disability & Society* 15(1): 115-134.

Miller, Barnette. 1933. "The Curriculum of the Palace School of the Turkish Sultans." *The Macdonald Presentation Volume (Princeton, 1933)*: 305-325.

------. 1970. *Beyond the Sublime Porte: The Grand Seraglio of Stambul.* New York: AMS Press.

------. 1973. *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror.* New York: Arno Press.

Miller, Pavla. 2015. "Antipodean patrimonialism? Squattocracy, democracy and land rights in Australia." Pp. 137-163 in *Patrimonial Capitalism and Empire.*" Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Miller, Peter, and Nikolas Rose. 2017. "Political power beyond the state: Problematics of government" pp. 191-224 in *Foucault and Law.* Routledge.

Mills, Charles W. 1957. *The Power Elite.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Mische, Ann. 2011. "Relational Sociology, Culture, and Agency." *The Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis*: 80-97.

Mommsen, Wolfgang. 1965. "Max Weber's Political Sociology and His Philosophy of World History." *International Social Science Journal* 17(1): 23-45.

Mommsen, Wolfgang J. 1990. *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890-1920.* University of Chicago Press.

------. 1992. *The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber Collected Essays.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mommsen, Wolfgang J., Weber, Max. 1977. *The Age of Bureaucracy.* New York; London: Harper & Row.

Mommsen, Wolfgang J., and Jürgen Osterhammel. 1987. *Max Weber and His Contemporaries.* London: Allen & Unwin.

Montagu, Lady M. W. 1965. *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.* Clarendon Press.

------. 2012. *The Turkish Embassy Letters.* Broadview Press.

Morgan, Stephen L., Ismaila Z. Mohammed and Salisu Abdullahi. 2010. "Patron–client Relationships and Low Education among Youth in Kano, Nigeria." *African Studies Review* 53(1): 79-103.

Motyl, Alexander J. 2001. *Imperial Ends: The Decay, Collapse, and Revival of Empires.* Columbia University Press.

Muhanna, Elias. 2018. "The world in a book: Al-Nuwayri and the Islamic encyclopedic tradition." Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mumcu, Ahmet. 1985. *Tarih Içindeki Genel Gelişimiyle Birlikte Osmanlı Devletinde Rüşvet: (Özellikle Adlî Rüşvet).* İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi.

Murphey, Rhoads. 2008. *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400-1800.* London: Continuum.

Murvar, Vatro. 1971. "Patrimonial-Feudal Dichotomy and Political Structure in Pre-Revolutionary Russia: One Aspect of the Dialogue between the Ghost of Marx and Weber." *The Sociological Quarterly* 12(4): 500-524.

Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm. 1988. "The Birth of an Aesthetic Discourse in Ottoman Architecture." *Metu Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 8:115-122.

Necipoğlu-Kafadar, Gülru. 1986. "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45(3): 224-243.

------. 1987. "The Formation of an Ottoman Imperial Tradition: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries".

------. 1991. *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.* New York, N.Y.: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge, Mass.

------. 1993. "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces." *Ars Orientalis* 23:303-342.

------. 2005. The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.* 66(2): 242.

Nelson, Benjamin. 1974. "Max Weber's "Author's Introduction" (1920): A Master Clue to His Main Aims." *Sociological Inquiry* 44(4):269-278.

Nisbet, Robert A. 2017. *The Sociological Tradition.* New York: Routledge.

Nūrbakhsh, Javād. 1978. *In the Tavern of Ruin: Seven Essays on Sufism.* Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Pubns/KNP.

Oarhe, Osumah. 2013. "Tonic Or Toxin? The State, Neopatrimonialism, and Anticorruption Efforts in Nigeria".

Ocak, Ahmet Y. 1979. "Sarı Saltık Ve Saltıknâme." *Tarih Kurumu* (197): 266-275.

Ohlander, Erik. 2009. "Enacting Justice, Ensuring Salvation: The Trope of the 'Just Ruler' in some Medieval Islamic Mirrors for Princes." *The Muslim World* 99(2): 237-252.

O'Leary, Timothy. 2006. "Foucault and the Art of Ethics." London: Continuum International Pub. Group.

Olivelle, Patrick. 1999. *Pañcatantra: The Book of India's Folk Wisdom.* Oxford Paperbacks.

------. 2006. *The Five Discourses on Worldly Wisdom.* NYU Press.

Onal, Sevda. 2013. "Ottoman Palace as a Culture Academy and Poetry Councils Organized in the Palace." *International Journal of Academic Research* 5(5).

Ortaylı, İlber. 2011. *Osmanlı Sarayında Hayat.* İstanbul: Yitik Hazine.

------. 2014. *Private and Royal Life in the Ottoman Palace.*New York: Blue Dome Press.

------. 2016. *Türkiye Teşkilat Ve İdare Tarihi.* İstanbul: Cedid Neşriyat.

Owen, David. 1994. *Maturity and Modernity: Nietzsche, Weber, Foucault and the Ambivalence of Reason.* London ;New York: Routledge.

Öz, Mehmet. 2007. "Siyasetname, Ahlak Ve Görgü Kitapları." *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi C.II*:359-370.

Padela, Aasim I. 2007. "Islamic Medical Ethics: A Primer." *Bioethics* 21(3):169-178.

Padgett, John F., and Christopher K. Ansell. 1993a. "Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434." *American Journal of Sociology* 98(6):1259-1319.

------. 1993b. "Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434." *American Journal of Sociology* 98(6):1259-1319.

Palmer, Julian. 1953. "The Origin of the Janissaries.".

Paoli, Letizia. 2008. *Mafia Brotherhoods: Organized Crime, Italian Style.* Oxford University Press.

Parkin, Frank. 2004. *Max Weber.* London: Routledge.

Parry, Vernon J. 1976. "The Successors of Sulaiman, 1566-1617." *A History of the Ottoman Empire To* 1730:103-132.

Parry, Vernon J., and Michael A. Cook. 1976. *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730: Chapters from the Cambridge History of Islam and the New Cambridge Modern History.* Cambridge University Press.

Parsons, Talcott. 1963. "On the Concept of Political Power." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107(3):232-262.

------. 1986. "Power and the Social System." *Power*:94-143.

------. 1991. *The Social System.* Psychology Press.

Pellat, Charles. 1964. "Variations Sur Le Thème De L'adab." *Correspondance D'Orient* 56:19.

------. 1982. "Adab in Arabic Literature," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/4, pp. 439-444.

Penzer, Norman M. 1993. *The Ḥarēm: An Account of the Institution as it Existed in the Palace of the Turkish Sultans, with a History of the Grand Seraglio from its Foundation to the Present Time.* New York: Dorset Press.

------. 2013. *Harem: Inside the Grand Seraglio of the Turkish Sultans.* Dover Publications.

Pereira, Anthony W. 2016. "Is the Brazilian State "Patrimonial"?" *Latin American Perspectives* 43(2):135-152.

Pétis, François. 1708. *Turkish Tales : Consisting of several Extraordinary Adventures, with the History of the Sultaness of Persia and the Visiers.* London: Printed for Jacob Tonson.

Pierson, Paul. 2000. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review* 94(2):251-267.

Piketty, Thomas. 2014. "Capital in the Twenty-First Century: A Multidimensional Approach to the History of Capital and Social Classes." *The British Journal of Sociology* 65(4):736-747.

Piketty, Thomas, and Arthur Goldhammer. 2017. Capital in the twenty-first century. Piterberg, Gabriel. 2003. *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play.* University of California Press.

Plato, and C. D. C. Reeve. 2004. *Republic.* Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co.

Polat, Nusret. 2015. "Kültürel Bir Karşılaşma: II. Mehmed Ve Bellini." *Sanat-Tasarım Dergisi* 1(6):33-37.

Quataert, Donald. 2003. "Ottoman History Writing and Changing Attitudes Towards the Notion of "Decline"." *History Compass* 1(1).

Rabinow, Paul. 1997. *Essays on the Anthropology of Reason.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.

Rahim, Adibah B. A. 2013. "Understanding Islamic Ethics and its Significance on the Character Building." *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity* 3(6):508.

Rahman, Fazlur. 1966. "The Status of the Individual in Islam." *Islamic Studies* 5(4):319-330.

Rauch, James E., and Peter B. Evans. 2000. "Bureaucratic Structure and Bureaucratic Performance in Less Developed Countries." *Journal of Public Economics* 75(1):49-71.

Reno, William. 1999. *Warlord Politics and African States.* Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Riedel, Dagmar A. 2012. "Kalila Wa Demna." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

Ringrose, Kathryn M. 2007a. "Eunuchs in Historical Perspective." *HIC3 History Compass* 5(2):495-506.

------. 2007b. *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Robison, Richard. 2012. "Interpreting the politics of Southeast Asia: debates in parallel universes." Pp. 17-34 in *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Politics.* Routledge.

Rodrigue, Aron, and Nancy Reynolds. 1995. "Difference and Tolerance in the Ottoman Empire." *Stanford Humanities Review* 5(1):81-90.

Roett, Riordan. 1999. *Brazil: Politics in a Patrimonial Society.* Greenwood Publishing Group.

Rooke, Tetz. 2000. "The influence of adab on the Muslim intellectuals of the nahda as reflected in the memoirs of Muhammad Kurd 'Ali (1876-1953)." Pp. 193-219 in *The Middle East in a globalized world.*, edited by B.O. Utvik, and K.S. Vikør. London.

Rose, Nikolas, Pat O'Malley and Mariana Valverde. 2006. "Governmentality." *Annu. Rev. Law Soc. Sci.* 2:83-104.

313

Rose-Ackerman, Susan. 2001. "Trust, Honesty and Corruption: Reflection on the State-Building Process" *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes De Sociologie* 42(3):526-570.

Rosenthal, Erwin I. J. 1985. *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Rosenthal, Franz, and ʻAlmawī, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Mūsá. 1947. *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship.* Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

Rosenthal, Franz. 1970. *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam.* Brill.

------. 1971. *Four Essays on Art and Litterature in Islam.* Brill Archive.

Rotberg, Robert. 2003. "Failed States, Collapsed, Weak States: Causes and Indicators." *State Failure and State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*: 337-363.

Roth, Guenther. 1975. "Socio-Historical Model and Developmental Theory: Charismatic Community, Charisma of Reason and the Counterculture." *American Sociological Review*: 148-157.

Roth, Guenther, and Wolfgang Schluchter. 1984. *Max Weber's Vision of History: Ethics and Methods.* University of California Press.

Roth, Guenther, and Max Weber. 1976. "History and Sociology in the Work of Max Weber." *The British Journal of Sociology* 27(3): 306-318.

Roth, Michael S. 1981. "Foucault's" History of the Present"." *History and Theory* 20(1): 32-46.

Rudolph, Lloyd I., and Susanne H. Rudolph. 1979. "Authority and Power in Bureaucratic and Patrimonial Administration: A Revisionist Interpretation of Weber on Bureaucracy." *World Politics* 31(2): 195-227.

Rycaut, Paul. 1971. *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire.* Ayer Co Pub.

------. 2003. "The history of the present state of the Ottoman Empire: containing the maxims of the Turkish polity, the most material points of the Mahometan religion, their sects and heresies, their convents and religious votaries : their military discipline, with an exact computation of their forces both by sea and land : illustrated with divers pieces of sculpture representing the variety of habits amongst the Turks : in three books."

Sacks, Jeffrey. 2007. "Futures of Literature: Inhitat, Adab, Naqd." *Diacritics* 37(4): 32-55.

Sadan, Joseph. 1989. "An Admirable and Ridiculous Hero: Some Notes on the Bedouin in Medieval Arabic Belles Lettres, on a Chapter of Adab by Al-Râghib Al-Iṣfahânî, and on a Literary Model in which Admiration and Mockery Coexist." *Poetics Today*: 471-492.

------. 2001. "Background, Date and Meaning of the Story of the Alexandrian Lover and the Magic Lamp: A Little-Known Story from Ottoman Times, with a Partial Resemblance to the Story of Aladdin." *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi*: 173-192.

Sager, Fritz, and Christian Rosser. 2009. "Weber, Wilson, and Hegel: Theories of Modern Bureaucracy." *Public Administration Review* 69(6): 1136-1147

Salinger, Gerard. 1956. "A Muslim Mirror for Princes." *The Muslim World* 46(1): 24-39.

Saltuk-name, Topkapı S. Müzesi, Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay-Tekin. 1974. *The Legend of Sari Saltuk.* Harvard University Printing Office.

Salvatore, Armando. 2001. *Muslim Traditions and Modern Techniques of Power.* LIT Verlag Münster.

------. 2011. "Eccentric Modernity? an Islamic Perspective on the Civilizing Process and the Public Sphere." *European Journal of Social Theory* 14(1): 55-69.

------. 2016. *The Sociology of Islam: Knowledge, Power and Civility.*

Salzmann, Ariel. 1993. "An Ancien Régime Revisited: "privatization" and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire." *Politics & Society* 21(4): 393-423.

Şanzumî, Hayrullah. 2006. *Üçüncü Hârname : Eşek Kitabı : Dinî, Edebî, Tarihî Ve Sosyolojik Bir Tahlil.* Taksim, İstanbul: Pegasus Yayınları.

Sarfatti, Magali. 1966. *Spanish Bureaucratic-Patrimonialism in America.* Institute of International Studies, University of California.

Sartori, Giovanni. 1970. "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics." *American Political Science Review* 64(4): 1033-1053.

Schloen, David J. 2001. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East.* Cambridge (MA): Cambridge University Press.

Schluchter, Wolfgang. 1985. *The Rise of Western Rationalism: Max Weber's Developmental History.* University of California Press.

------. 1989. *Rationalism, Religion, and Domination: A Weberian Perspective.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schluchter, Wolfgang, and Guenther Roth. 1985. *The Rise of Western Rationalism: Max Weber's Developmental History.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schmidt, Steffen W. 1977. *Friends, Followers, and Factions: A Reader in Political Clientelism.* University of California Press.

Schmitt, Carl. 1985. *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty.* University of Chicago Press.

Schreyögg, Georg, and Jorg Sydow. 2009. *The Hidden Dynamics of Path Dependence: Institutions and Organizations.* Springer.

Schwartz, Barry. 1967. "The Social Psychology of the Gift." *American Journal of Sociology* 73(1):1-11.

Scott, James C. 1972. "Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia." *American Political Science Review* 66(1):91-113.

Šehzāde, and EJW Gibb. 1886. *The History of the Forty Vezirs.*

Seligman, Adam B. 1997. *The problem of trust*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Shamma, Tarek. 2009. "Translating into the Empire: The Arabic Version of Kalila Wa Dimna." *The Translator* 15(1):65-86.

Shayzarī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr, Ensar Köse and Nahîfî Mehmed Emin Efendi. 2013. *Nehcüʾs-Sülûk Fî SiyâsetiʾL-Mülûk =: Siyaset Stratejileri.* İstanbul.

Sheykh-Zada, and Elias J. W. Gibb. 2003. *History of the Forty Vezirs, Or, the Story of the Forty Morns and Eves.* [Whitefish, MT]: Kessinger Pub.

Shils, Edward. 1957. "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory." *The British Journal of Sociology* 8(2): 130-145.

------. 1961. "Centre and Periphery." Pp. 117-130 in *Glencoe, Ill.*" Centre and Periphery".

Simmel, Georg, and Kurt H. Wolff. 1950. *The Sociology of Georg Simmel.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Sindzingre, Alice. 2010. "The Concept of Neopatrimonialism: Divergences and Convergences with Development Economics".

Singerman, Diane. 1995. *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics, and Networks in Urban Quarters of Cairo.* Princeton University Press.

Sperl, Stefan. 2007. "Man's "Hollow Core": Ethics and Aesthetics in Ḥadīth Literature and Classical Arabic Adab." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 70(3): 459-486.

Sourdel, Dominique, C. E. Bosworth, P. Hardy and Halil İnalcık. 1965. "Ghulam." Pp. 1079-1091 in *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

Starkey, Paul. 2006. *Modern Arabic Literature.* Edinburgh University Press.

Sunar, Mehmet M. 2006. "Cauldron of Dissent a Study of the Janissary Corps, 1807-1826"

Süreyya Bey, Mehmed, Nuri Akbayar and Seyit A. Kahraman. 1999. *Sicill-i Osmanî.* İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı/Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı.

Süreyya, Mehmed. 1996. *Sicill-i Osmanî Yahud Tezkire Meşâhir-i Osmaniyye.* Istanbul: Sebil.

Swedberg, Richard, and Ola Agevall. 2016. *The Max Weber dictionary: key words and central concepts*.

Swidler, Ann. 1986. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review*:273-286.

Szakolczai, Árpád. 1998. *Max Weber and Michel Foucault: Parallel Life-Works.* London; New York: Routledge.

Sztompka, Piotr. 1999. *Trust: A Sociological Theory.* Cambridge University Press.

Tanzil-ur-Rahman. 1966. "Adab Al-Qadi." *Islamic Studies* 5(2): 199-207.

Tarım-Ertuğ, Zeynep. 2004. "Saray Teşkilâtı ve Teşrifatı", pp. 212-220 in *Fatih ve Dönemi* (ed. Necat Birinci), İstanbul.

Taş, Kenan Z. 1999. *Osmanlılarda Lalalık Müessesesi*. Isparta: Kardelen Kitabevi.

Tatçı, Mustafa, and Cemâl Kurnaz. 2016. *Türk edebiyatında hû şiirleri*. Üsküdar, İstanbul: Keşkül.

Taylor, Charles. 2004. "Merleau-Ponty and the Epistemological Picture.".

------. 2007. *A Secular Age.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Taylor, McComas. 2007. "The fall of the indigo jackal the discourse of division and Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcatantra." Albany: State University of New York Press.

Tayyârzadâ Aḥmad 'Aṭâ, and Mehmet Arslan. 2010. *Osmanlı Saray Tarihi: Tarîh-i Enderûn.* İstanbul: Kitabevi.

Tayyâr-Zâde Atâ, and Mehmet Arslan. 2010. *Osmanlı Saray Tarihi: Tarîh-i Enderûn.* İstanbul: Kitabevi.

Tezcan, Baki. 12--15 April 1999. "Ethics as a Domain to Discuss the Political: Kınalızâde Ali Efendi and His Ahlâk-I Alâî." *Proceedings of the International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World*: 109-120.

Tezcan, Semih. 2001. *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri Üzerine Notlar.* YKY.

Tha'ālibī, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad, Tevfik R. Topuzoğlu and İlhan Erdem. 2015. *Kitāb Ādāb Al-Mulūk Al-Khwārazm-Shāhī.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Toledano, Ehud R. 2000. "The Concept of Slavery in Ottoman and Other Muslim Societies: Dichotomy Or Continuum?" *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study, London and NY: Kegan Paul International*: 159-176.

------. 2007. *As if Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East.* Yale University Press.

Toorawa, Shawkat M. 2005. "Defining "Adab" by (Re) Defining the "Adīb": Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Tayfūr and Storytelling" pp. 287-305 in *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature,* edited by P.F. Kennedy. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Toska, Zehra. "Türk Edebiyatında Kelile Ve Dimne Çevirileri Ve Kul Mesud Çevirisi", Istanbul University.

------. 1991. "Kelile Ve Dimne'nin Türkçe Çevirileri." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 15:355-380.

------. 2007. "Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin 'Bir Diğer Eseri': Hulâsa-i Hümâyunnâme." *Journal of Turkish Studies-Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları-in Memoriam Şinasi Tekin II* XXXI(II): 291-318.

------. 2015. "Ahmet Midhat's Hulâsa-i Hümâyunnâme" *Tradition, Tension and Translation in Turkey* 118:73.

Tosyalı, Rıfat O. 1957. *Edirne Sarayı*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Tritton, Arthur S. 1957. *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*. Luzac.

Türkdoğan, Melike Gökcan. 2014. "Ilm-i Kiyafet Ve Firâset Baglaminda Mustafa Bin Evrenos'un Hazâ Kitab-i Firâsetname Ve Kiyâfetnâmesi." *Journal of International Social Research* 7(34).

Tusî, Nâsîrüddin. 2007. *Ahlâk-I Nâsırî*. Litera Yayıncılık.

Ullmann, Manfred. "Khassa." *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*: 1097-1098.

Unat, Faik R. 1964. *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Târihî Bir Bakış*. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı.

Uricoechea, Fernando. 1980. *The Patrimonial Foundations of the Brazilian Bureaucratic State*. Univ of California Press.

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail H. 1945. *Osmanli Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

------. 1948. *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez Ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

------. 1988a. *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal: Büyük Selçukîler, Anadolu Selçukîleri, Anadolu Beylikleri, İlhanîler, Karakoyunlu Ve Akkoyunlularla Memlûklerdeki Devlet Teşkilâtına Bir Bakış*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

------. 1988b. *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi.

Vakalopoulos, Apostolos E. 1976. *The Greek Nation, 1453-1669: The Cultural and Economic Background of Modern Greek Society*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press.

Van Gelder, Geert J. 1981. "Brevity in Classical Arabic Literary Theory." *Volume 4 of Publications of the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo*.

------. 1992. "Mixtures of Jest and Earnest in Classical Arabic Literature: Part I" *Journal of Arabic Literature* 23(2): 83-108.

Van Zon, Hans. 2008. *Russia's Development Problem: The Cult of Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Von Grunebaum, Gustave E. 1953. *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

------. 2010. *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation*. University of Chicago Press.

Von Soest, Christian. 2007. "How does Neopatrimonialism Affect the African State's Revenues? The Case of Tax Collection in Zambia." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 45(4): 621-645.

------. 2010. "What Neopatrimonialism is–Six Questions to the Concept."

Walzer, Sofie. 1957. "An Illustrated Leaf from a Lost Mamlūk Kalīlah Wa-Dimnah Manuscript." *Ars Orientalis*: 503-505.

Wang, Liping, and Julia Adams. 2011. "Interlocking Patrimonialisms and State Formation in Qing China and Early Modern Europe." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 636(1): 164-181.

Watts, John. 1990. "De Consulatu Stiliconis: Texts and Politics in the Reign of Henry VI." *Journal of Medieval History* 16(3): 251-266.

Weber, Max. 1949. *Max Weber on the Methodology of the Social Sciences*. Free Press.

------. 1965. "Politics as a Vocation", edited by H.H. Gerth, and C.W. Mills. Fortress Press Philadelphia, PA.

------. 1975. *Roscher and Knies: The Logical Problems of Historical Economics*. New York: Free Press.

------. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Univ of California Press.

------. 1981. "Some Categories of Interpretive Sociology." *The Sociological Quarterly* 22(2):151-180 (http://www.jstor.org/stable/4106315).

------. 1989. *Max Weber: Selected Works, 1908-1932*.Houston: Meredith Long & Company.

------. 2002. *Basic Concepts in Sociology*. New York: Citadel Press.

------. 2013. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Routledge.

------. 2014. "The agrarian sociology of ancient civilizations." Verso.

------. 2017. "Methodology of Social Sciences".

Weber, Max, Henderson, A. M., Parsons, Talcott. 2012. *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Mansfield Centre, CT: Martino Publishing.

Weber, Max, Hans H. Bruun and Sam Whimster. 2014. *Max Weber: Collected Methodological Writings*.

Weber, Max, and John Dreijmanis. 2008. *Max Weber's Complete Writings on Academic and Political Vocations*. New York, NY: Algora Publ.

Weber, Max, A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. 2012. *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Mansfield Centre, CT: Martino Publishing.

Weber, Max, David S. Owen and Tracy B. Strong. 2004. *The Vocation Lectures*. Hackett Publishing.

Weber, Max, David S. Owen, Tracy B. Strong and Rodney Livingstone. 2004. *The Vocation Lectures: "Science as a Vocation, "Politics as a Vocation"*. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub.

Weber, Max, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wei-Arthus, Huiying. 2000. *A Study of Authority and Relations in Chinese Governmental Agencies and Institutional Work Units: Neo-Patrimonialism in Urban Work Units*. Edwin Mellen Pr.

White, Harrison C. 1992. *Identity and Control: A Structural Theory of Social Action*. Princeton University Press.

White, Hayden. 1980. "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality." *Critical Inquiry* 7(1):5-27.

White, Hayden V. 1959. "Ibn Khaldun in World Philosophy of History." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2(1):110-125.

Wiarda, Howard J., and Howard J. Wiarda. 1974. *Politics and Social Change in Latin America: The Distinct Tradition.* University of Massachusetts Press Amherst.

Willame, Jean-Claude. 1972. *Patrimonialism and Political Change in the Congo.* Stanford University Press.

Wittek, Paul. 1955. "Devşirme and Sharia." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental African Studies* 17(2):271-278.

Wood, Ramsay. 1982. *Kalila and Dimna: Selected Fables of Bidpai.* Granada Paperback.

------. 1986. *Kalila and Dimna : Tales for Kings and Commoners : Selected Fables of Bidpai.* Rochester, Vt.: Inner Traditions International.

------. 2008. "Tales of Kalila and Dimna: Fables of Friendship and Betrayal.".

Wood, Ramsay, and G. M. Whitworth. 2011. *Kalila and Dimna : Fables of Conflict and Intrigue : Following on from, Kalila and Dimna : Fables of Friendship and Betrayal.*

Woods, Dwayne. 2012. "Patrimonialism (Neo) and the Kingdom of Swaziland: Employing a Case Study to Rescale a Concept." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 50(3): 344-366.

Wormhoudt, Arthur. 1988. "Adab Al Minbar: Sermons from Umayyad Times."

Wrong, Dennis H. 1968. "Some Problems in Defining Social Power." *American Journal of Sociology* 73(6): 673-681.

Yamamoto, Kumiko. 2003. *The Oral Background of Persian Epics: Storytelling and Poetry.* Brill.

Yaman, Bahattin. 2008. *Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları 18. Yüzyılda Ehl-i Hiref.* Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Yıldırım, İsmail. 2016. "Enderunlu Hâfiz Abdullatif Efendinin Hâb-Nâme-i Latîf'I." *Journal of International Social Research* 9(43).

Yılmaz, Gülay. 2009. "Becoming a Devşirme: The Training of Conscripted Children in the Ottoman Empire." Pp. 119-135 in *Children in Slavery Through the Ages*, edited by G. Campbell, S. Miers and J.C. Miller. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Yılmaz, İbrahim. 2006. "Edep Ve Âdâb Kavramlarının Semantiği Ve Tarihsel Seyri." *Marife* 6(2): 165-177.

Yüce, Kemal. 1987. *Saltuk-Nâme'De Tarihî, Dinî Ve Efsanevî Unsurlar.* Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.

Zabludovsky, Gina. 1989. "The Reception and Utility of Max Weber's Concept of Patrimonialism in Latin America." *International Sociology* 4(1): 51-66.

Zand, Dale E. 1996. *The Leadership Triad: Knowledge, Trust, and Power.* Oxford University Press.

Ze'evi, Dror. 1996. "Kul and Getting Cooler: The Dissolution of Elite Collective Identity and the Formation of Official Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1(2): 177-195.

Ziadeh, Farhat J. 1987. "Adab Al-Qadi and the Protection of Rights at Court." *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*: 143-150.

Zilfi, Madeline C. 1983."Elite Circulation in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26: 354-57.

------. 1993. "A Medrese for the Palace: Ottoman Dynastic Legitimation in the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*: 184-191.

------. 2004. "Servants, Slaves, and the Domestic Order in the Ottoman Middle East." *Hawwa* 2(1): 1-33.

Appendix

1- Tradition, as Raymond Williams (1976 [2014], 252) remarked "is a particularly difficult word." Many classical sociologists used the term as a foil to contrast the novelties that came with 'modernity.' The term 'modernity' itself is a relational term: the present in relation to the past –which, the classical sociologists regarded to be dominated by traditions. Especially within the forms of 'modernization theory' the term has frequently been used in the same fashion. Traditional society indicated to a static way of life –as opposed to modernity's dynamism; it designated conservatism and resistance to change, and it referred to an ingrained habit of looking to the past for answers to challenges and problems rather than innovation and willingness to change. Tönnies, Durkheim, Weber, and Marx developed theories that contrasted social patterns that existed in the "past" with those that exist "now." Traditionalism more often than not meant a non-critical attitude, a world of the taken for granted.

As the social sciences developed and most significantly in the fields of anthropology and sociology, the earlier approaches to delineate the modern condition also began to change. The break between the pre-industrial capitalist (or pre-modern) society and the modern society was neither total nor completely radical after all. Accordingly, the term 'tradition' started to receive new interpretations. As opposed to the earlier monolithic characterization, sociologists identified the foundations that enables traditions to function: all traditions rest on

'claim', that is, first, a certain status group or groups to legitimately and authoritatively make the claim that certain behaviors, thoughts, symbols, and so on, have roots in the past and need to be respected and preserved; second, these claims need to be accepted as truths by at least some segments of the society. The focus on the 'claim' explains the downgraded role of facts or documented historical reality in the make-up of traditions. In the domain of religion, as Lewis and Hammer (2007) point out, "historically verifiable traditions coexist with recent innovations whose origins are spuriously projected back into time."

Following Shils' definition, in this dissertation tradition denotes anything (beliefs, norms, institutions, material objects, etc.) that is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present. In this research, the term 'tradition' does not indicate unreflective and noncritical habits and thinking patterns of a society. It designates a dynamic institution that is not at all opposed to change but in fact deals with change –in a way that safeguards certain values and norms and more often than not prioritizes the whole (i.e., society) over its constituent parts.