THE MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE 1839-1908

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THE MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE 1839-1908

Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline

BY

SELÇUK AKŞIN SOMEL



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ABBREVIATIONS

Institutions and Documents

AD	Register of Document Copies (*Ayniyât Defteri*)
A.MKT.MVL.	Correspondences sent from the Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances to the Grand Vizierate (*Sadâret Meclis-i Vâlâ*)
BEO	Archive of the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı Âli Evrâk Odası*)
BOA	Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*)
CE	Council of Education (*Meclis-i Maârif*)
CPE	Council of Public Education (*Meclis-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye*)
CPW	Council of Public Works (*Meclis-i Umûr-ı Nâfıa*)
CSP	Council of the Sublime Porte (*Dâr-ı Şûrâ-yı Bâb-ı Âlî*)
DE	Director of education of a province (*vilâyet maârif müdîri*)
DPS	Directorate of Public Schools (*Mekâtib-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti*)
DRS	Directorate of Rüşdiyye Schools (*Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyye Nezâreti*)
EC	Educational council of a province (*vilâyet meclis-i maârifi*)
ECo	Educational commission of a *sancak* or a *kazâ* (*maârif komisyonu, maârif encümeni*)
EdC	Educational contribution-tax (*maârif hisse-i iânesi*)
HH	Imperial firman (*hatt-ı hümâyûn*)
ID	Imperial decree for the interior issues (*irâde dâhiliyye*)
IDE	Instruction Concerning the Duties of Directors of Education of the Imperial Provinces (1896) (*Vilâyât-ı Şâhâne Maârif Müdîrlerinin Vezâifini Mübeyyin Talîmât*)
IH	Special imperial decree (*irâde-i husûsiyye*)
IM	Imperial decree for educational issues (*irâde maârif*)
IMVL	Imperial decree concerning reports from the Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances (*İrâde Meclis-i Vâlâ*)

ISD	Imperial decree concerning reports from the Council of State (*İrâde Şûrâ-yı Devlet*)
MPE	Ministry of Public Education (*Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti*)
MV	Report of the Council of Ministers (*Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbatası*)
NEM	New method (*usûl-i cedîd*)
RPE	Regulation of Public Education (1869) (*Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*)
SCJO	Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye*)
YEE	Principal Documents of the Yıldız Palace (*Yıldız Esâs Evrâk*)
YMTV	Miscellaneous Reports Submitted to the Yıldız Palace (*Yıldız Mütenevvi Marûzât*)
YSHM	Special Reports Submitted from the Grand Vizierate to the Yıldız Palace (*Yıldız Sadâret Husûsî Marûzât*)
YSRM	Official Reports Submitted from the Grand Vizierate to the Yıldız Palace (*Yıldız Sadâret Resmî Marûzât*)

Abbreviations of Hijra-Months in Official Documents

M	Muharrem	B	Receb
S	Safer	Ş	Şa'bân
Ra	Rebiyyü'l-evvel	N	Ramazân
R	Rebiyyü'l-âhir	L	Şevvâl
Ca	Cemâziyyü'l-evvel	Za	Zi'l-kade
C	Cemâziyyü'l-âhir	Z	Zi'l-hicce

NOTE ON WRITING STYLE AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

Since changes in vowels and consonants between the nineteenth century Ottoman Turkish and contemporary Turkish have been not substantial, the present Turkish orthography has been applied in the transcription of Ottoman Turkish texts. Concerning place names, internationally well-established usages, such as "Aleppo", "Salonica", "Sarajevo", "Tripoli", are applied in that form. This is true also for those Ottoman institutions and titles that have their established English forms, such as "Grand Vizierate", "Caliphate", "Vizier", "Pasha". Otherwise, the Ottoman Turkish historical forms are preferred.

Pronunciations of those Turkish letters, which are non-existent in the English alphabet, are as follows:

c = *j* as in joy.
ç = *ch* as in chair.
ı, I = a vowel peculiar to Turkish, similar to *a* in private, or *u* in radium.
j = French *j* in *journal.*
ö = German *ö* in *können.*
ş = *sh* as in show.
ü = German *ü* in *über.*

PREFACE

Understanding reforms in public education are central to the process of modernization and reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman Empire. At its core, modernization meant rationalizing an inefficient army and cleaning up related abuses in administration and finance. Uniformity, discipline and efficiency became the main principles of Ottoman reformist bureaucrats who reshaped the financial and the administrative system in the center as well as in the provinces. Provincial reform posed unique problems, considering that centuries-old local intermediate forces acting as semi-legitimate representatives of the rural population resisted centralization. Thus centralizing reforms at the provincial level, called by the technical term *Islâhât*, could be carried out at the provincial level only in varying degrees.

In this process of centralization Ottoman public education provided government officials needed to perform the above-mentioned tasks. As an institution, public schooling inculcated among the imperial population the notions of regularity, discipline and efficiency, and thus provided the ideological legitimation for the increasing direct administrative presence of the Ottoman central power in the provinces. During the Hamidian period additional religious and authoritarian values were integrated, together with the above-mentioned notions, into the school curricula. The notions of regularity and discipline in particular have led to an increasing uniforming of Ottoman public education, a trend that made schooling ineffective for many ethnic groups that differed from the dominant Ottoman culture. The Ottoman legacy of educational uniformity and centralism was subsequently adopted by the Turkish Republic, and has been until the present time often a matter of controversy. This study could be better understood within this general historical framework.

Though there have been works written on the history of Ottoman education, the main framework is determined by the pioneering works of Mahmûd Cevâd, Nâfi Âtuf, Aziz Berker, Osman Ergin, Faik Reşit Unat and Hasan Ali Koçer.[1] In these the emphasis remains on the

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[1] Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târîhce-i Teşkilât ve İcrâât* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920); Nâfi Âtuf, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi (Bir*

developments in the capital. The fact that the archival files of the Ottoman Ministry of Education are still not classified has prevented researchers to deal with this subject from the provincial aspect. In this sense Bayram Kodaman and also Selim Deringil are exceptions.[2] Historians from national states, which were former Ottoman provinces, have produced monographies on Ottoman provincial history. Albanian, Armenian, Bulgaro-Macedonian, Greek and Arabic publications (Iraqi, Lebanese, Libyan, Saudi Arabian and Syrian) may be counted among these. But they share the common weakness of displaying too regional an attitude and of failing to consider the general Ottoman context.[3]

The present study was begun as a strongly revised version of my doctoral dissertation, but the rather different content as well as considerable differences in conclusions should one allow regarding this study as a separate book.[4] In contrast to the previous work, where

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Deneme) 2 vols. (İstanbul: A. Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931–1932); Aziz Berker, *Türkiye'de ilk Öğrenim I:1839–1908* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945); Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Mektebleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve Sanʿat Müesseseleri Dolayısiyle Türkiye Maarif Tarihi.* 2d ed. 5 vols. (İstanbul: Eser Kültür, 1977); Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Öğretmen Yetiştirme Problemi (1848–1967)* (Ankara: Yargıçoğlu Matbaası, 1967); Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1964).

[2] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1998); Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi.* 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988).

[3] On this occasion one may mention for the Hamidian era names of Albanian authors like Kristo Frashëri, "La première école élémentaire albanaise de Korça," *Studia Albanica* (Tirana) 2 (1987), 57–68; Hysni Myzyri, "Lufta për shkollën kombëtare shqipe në çekerun e fundit të shek. XIX," *Revista Pedagogjike* (Tirana) 4 (1982), 99–104; idem, *Shkollat e para kombëtare (1887–1908)*, Tirana 1973); Jašar Redžepagić, *Školstvo i prosveta na Kosovu od kraja XVIII stoljeća do 1918* (Priština, 1974). Among Arab historians see the studies of Abdullatif Abdullah Dohaish, "A Critical and Comparative Study of the History of Education in the Hijaz during the Periods of Ottoman and Sharifian Rule Between 1869–1925," (Ph.D. diss., Leeds University, 1974); ʿAbd ar-Razzāq al-Hilālī, *Tārīkh at-Taʿlīm fī-l-ʿIrāq fī-l-ʿahd al-ʿUthmānī* (Baghdad, 1959); Muhammad ʿAbd ar-Rahman aš-Šāmiḫ, *At-Taʿlīm fī Makka wa-l-Madīna Âkhir al-ʿAhd al-ʿUthmānī* (Ar-Riyādh, 1973); Raʿfat Gunā'imī aš-Šaykh, *Tatawwur at-Taʿlīm fī Lībiyā fī-l-ʿUsūr al-Hadītha* (Tripolis, 1972). For Bulgaro-Macedonian historians, compare Vojn Božinov, *Bălgarskata Prosveta v Makedonija i Odrinska Trakija 1878–1913* (Sofija, 1982); Bojka Sokolova, "Les institutions d'instruction étrangeres et la formation de l'intelligentsia albanaise à l'époque de la Renaissance," *Études Balkaniques* 19–4 (1982), 16–31; Slavko Dimevski, *Prosvetnata Politika na Egzarhijata i Učilištnite Buntove vo Makedonija* (Skopje, 1960). Among Greek historians, see the articles of Nikos Milioris, "O Syllogos ton Mikrasiaton i Anatoli," *Mikrasiatika Khronika* 12 (1964), 337–367; and Stephanos J.Papadopoulos, "Écoles et associations grecques dans la Macédoine du Nord durant le dernier siècle de la domination Turque," *Balkan Studies* 3 (1962), 397–442.

[4] Akşin Somel, *Das Grundschulwesen in den Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches während der Herrschaftsperiode Abdülhamids II 1876–1908* (Egelsbach; Frankfurt; St. Peter Port: Hänsel-Hohenhausen, 1995).

Ottoman government education is considered together with the development of non-Muslim community schools and foreign educational networks, this study concentrates on the institutional and ideological conditions shaping the development of public education and the expansion of government schools in the provinces throughout the nineteenth century until 1908. In contrast to the works dealing with İstanbul, the present work attempts to shed light on educational policies toward non-Turkish Muslim populations and peripheral communities. In this study, mainly those *vilâyet*s are surveyed, in which the "Regulation of *Vilâyet*s" (*Vilâyet Nizâmnâmesi*) was in force between 1867 and 1908.[5] Those regions, which were recognized as a part of the Ottoman Empire but enjoyed a *de facto* independent status, such as the Principality of Bulgaria, Egypt or Samos, or areas with exceptional administrative regimes such as Crete or Mount Lebanon have been left outside of the scope of this survey.

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This revised version of my thesis could be further developed and compiled only by the effective encouragement of Halil İnalcık and Klaus Kreiser. It was due to the invaluable readings and criticisms of Frank Towers that this study won the present shape. I am indebted to them many thanks. I want to thank Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung for granting me a doctoral scholarship for a period of twenty-two months. I am also grateful to the staff of the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archive, the Atatürk Kütüphanesi in İstanbul and the Südostforschung-Library at the University of Munich for their helpfulness during my

[5] According to the Regulation of *Vilâyet*s (1867) the administrative hierarchy was arranged as *vilâyet*s ("provinces"), *sancak*s (subdivision of a *vilâyet*), *kazâ*s ("districts") and *nahiyye*s (subdivision of a *kazâ*). *Vilâyet*s consisted of greater regions, which in some cases corresponded to contemporary national states. The most important administrative unit was the *kazâ*, since concrete administrative measures were realized within the provinces mainly at the level of *kazâ*s, and it was the administrator of a *kazâ*, called *kaymakam*, who stayed in a direct contact with the local population. For more detailed information, see İlber Ortaylı, *Türkiye İdare Tarihi* (Ankara: TODAİE, 1979); Kemal Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 3 (1972), 243–281; Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975* (Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press, reprinted 1987), 88–91.

research there. My thanks also go to Werner Ende who drew my attention to secondary sources in Arabic language, and Michael Ursinus who informed me about sources in Macedonian and Greek languages, which contributed greatly to the development of the present study. I feel obliged to Selim Deringil, who during my research period in the Archives of Prime Ministry supported my work through giving valuable advice. The same is true also for Mehmet Genç, Ali Akyıldız, Ömer Şen, Zekeriya Kurşun, Oktay Özel, Mehmet Kalpaklı, Slobodan Ilić and Fatih Bayram. I want to express my thankfulness to Paul Latimer, to Claire Özel, to David Thornton, and to my father and mother Sacit and Frengiz Somel, who corrected a part of this English version. I am grateful to Suraiya Faroqhi, who read an earlier version of the manuscript for the publisher and made valuable comments. Furthermore I am specially indebted to my dear wife Tezer Makal-Somel, who not only assisted me in an effective way by giving me moral support, but also took the care of our daughter upon herself in a self-sacrificing way during my full-day research in the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archive and also during my final stay in Germany.

There is no doubt that all errors and ommissions in this study are my own.

INTRODUCTION

The Myth of Westernization

The history of the Ottoman reforms and modernization[1] has been mostly understood in terms of positivistic Westernization, where open or sometimes hidden struggles took place between the reformist bureaucratic cadres against the obscurantist and reactionary Islamic elite of the *ulemâ* in order to achieve material progress. According to this view the process of the nineteenth century Ottoman modernization has been a linear one, where the ideals of the European Enlightenment increasingly penetrated during the *tanzîmât*-period, i.e. the period of the "reorganizations," among the educated Ottoman Muslim bureaucratic elite. It was the ideal of Westernization, which led the *tanzîmât*-reformers to promote the development of government schools. Within the framework of this historiographical school the period of Abdülhamid II is considered as a period of reaction and stagnation in terms of material developments within the Empire. The obscurantist and religious-oriented cultural policies of the Hamidian regime led to the decline at the level of educational quality. It was the Young Turks who, after the restoration of the constitutional regime in 1908, continued the modernization and Westernization of the Empire until its collapse.

This "Westernist" view of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Ottoman reforms adequately explains a number of historical developments, but cannot account for very basic phenomena. It is, for example, difficult to explain by means of this viewpoint the lack of any kind of stipulation concerning educational reforms in the *Gülhâne Hatt-ı Hümâyûnu* (Imperial Edict of Gülhane, 3 November 1839), the Magna Charta of the nineteenth century Ottoman reforms. Neither can Westernization explain the apparent unwillingness of the

[1] Terms such as "modern", "modernization", "modernity" have fallen into disrepute because they assume a backward-civilized dichotomy and understand the present-day conditions as the given. In this study these terms will be used exactly in this meaning, since Ottoman reformers after 1699 increasingly reflected similar notions in their writings and actions.

tanzîmât-reformers to deal with the effective reforming of the Islamic primary schools until the 1860s. According to the Westernist historiography the *tanzîmât*-statesmen were reluctant to take this step due to the fear of an Islamist reaction on behalf of the *ulemâ*, who considered Muslim primary schools within their realm of jurisdiction. This argument cannot explain why the attitude of the *tanzîmât*-reformers toward reforming primary education changed somehow "unexpectedly" in the 1860s, while no open *ulemâ*-opposition emerged against them. There has been a continuing dualism of public institutions in terms of Islamic and secular throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which also included educational institutions in the form of *medrese*s versus government schools. This situation has been considered conventionally as a sign of the impotence of the *tanzîmât*-Westernists to dissolve the Islamic institutions. But interestingly, the existence of this dualism became a matter of uneasiness especially for the generation of the Young Turks after 1908, while there is practically no sign of this concern until the 1870s. One eminent Turkish scholar states that "in the minds of the timid and rather limited supporters of Westernization [of the *tanzîmât*-period, the concepts of] modernization and Islamism remained two separate realms without any process of consideration and serious discussion."[2] This view toward the *tanzîmât*-reformers should be, I believe, changed. Historians need to "understand" the position of the early *tanzîmât*-statesmen. These "incoherencies" in the form of seemingly "unfitting dualisms" should be comprehended in terms of "coherences" and "fitting dualisms." Before the 1870s Islam was probably too much of a "natural" component of the intellectual culture even for the reformist bureaucrats for becoming aware of any kind of a discrepancy between modernization and Islam.

One of the first historians who hinted to the dual characteristic of the *Gülhâne Hatt-ı Hümâyûnu* in terms of modernism and traditionalism has been Halil İnalcık.[3] He has shown that the reform edict

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[2] *Bu ürkek ve pek sınırlı batılaşma meraklılarının kafasında modernleşme ile İslamcılık hiçbir kontrol ve hesaplaşmadan geçirilmeden birbirine yabancı iki düşünce alanı halinde yaşadı.* See Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi.* 2d ed. (İstanbul: Ülken, 1979), 19.

[3] Halil İnalcık, "Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhâne Hatt-i Hümâyûnu," in idem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu. Toplum ve Ekonomi Üzerinde Arşiv Çalışmaları, İncelemeler* (İstanbul: Eren, 1993), 354–359. This article was originally published in 1964. See also his "The Nature of Traditional Society: Turkey," in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey.* Edited by E. Ward and D.A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 42–63.

of 1839 contained elements of political thought which could be traced back to the deeper traditional roots of ancient Near Eastern state wisdom. Looking closer to this edict, one may see that the traditional "circle of justice" (*dâire-i adâlet*) with its main pillars of state, army, taxation, wealth and justice were more or less dealt in the same sequence. Some researchers have gone further to stress the very Islamic characteristics of the early *tanzîmât*-regime prior to the 1850s.[4] It has been shown that the number and the quality of those administrative measures at the provincial level to force Muslims for the observation of Islamic principles during the 1840s are difficult to be explained only as a policy to appease traditional Muslim popular sentiments which emerged as a reaction against reform measures.[5]

The memorandum of the Council of Public Works (*Meclis-i Umûr-i Nâfia*) of 1839, which reflected the intellectual horizon of the reformist bureaucrats, displays the duality of technological modernism and Islamism. All of the educational policies prior to 1856, which are discussed in this study, unmistakably bear this intellectual mark. In contrast to the conventional historiography, Islam as a culture and institution was not viewed by the early *tanzîmât*-reformers as a hindrance or burden to be overcome. For the ruling elite of the latter period primary education could probably be perceived *only* within the frame of religious education. The state-supported increase in the number of traditional Quran schools until 1856 supports this assumption, and it helps to explain why an efficient educational administration was never tried to be set up before 1856, why early government schools had a clearly professional character, or why the issue of education was never touched upon in the reform edict of 1839.

Only when the insufficient quality of education provided by the traditional Quran schools became obvious to the later *tanzîmât*-period ruling bureaucrats, did they take concrete steps from the 1860s onwards to include positive and practical course subjects, but even then without touching the remaining traditional Islamic curricula. An important development constituted the reform document of the Regulation of Public Education (*Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*) of

[4] Butrus Abu Manneh, "The Islamic Roots of the Gülhâne Rescript," *Die Welt des Islams* 34 (1994), 173–203; Kemal Çiçek, "Tanzimat ve Şer'iat. Namaz Kılmayanlar ve İçki İçenlerin Takip ve Cezalandırılması Hakkında Kıbrıs Muhassılı Mehmet Tal'at Efendi'nin İki Buyruldusu," *Toplumsal Tarih* 15 (Mart 1995), 22–27.

[5] Çiçek, *ibid.*

1869, prepared under the influence of the French Minister of Education, Jean Victor Duruy. This was a more or less secular approach to educational reform, but under an evident foreign influence. The official justification document of the Regulation of Public Education reflected a gradual shift of the late *tanzîmât*-reformers toward a more secular understanding of primary education, where schools were supervised by the government itself.

The Hamidian period (1878–1908) meant a renewed stress on Islam, while educational modernization continued to be promoted. This continuity of both Islam and modernization might appear superficially as a resemblance between the *tanzîmât*- and the Hamidian periods. But whereas the *tanzîmât*-period sheltered these two notions together without any apparent conflict between them, the Hamidian regime in contrast tried to form a synthesis from these continuities, and a strategic area of the application of this synthesis was the public educational system. The main tools for this were schoolbooks and detailed regulations for instructors to determine their behavior toward Islamic piety. According to the Hamidian Minister of Education, Zühdü Pasha, it was a necessity to promote education together with the preservation of piety. Pupils were expected to observe religious precepts at school, and textbooks on humanities reshaped toward this direction. On the other hand textbooks on natural sciences were left outside this process with the argument of the compatibility of Islam with them. But looking at the Hamidian textbooks on History and Morality, the aimed synthesis of Islam and modernity seems to have been unsuccessful. Textbooks on Morality remained within the cultural limits of Medieval Islamic understanding of social values, which did not correspond with the rapidly modernizing economy and infrastructure of the Empire. History textbooks, on the other hand, considered the *tanzîmât*-modernization as an achievement in Ottoman history. A parallel inconsistency in educational policy emerged in the discussion over the function of public education. In the 1880s the pragmatists, defending the emphasis on practical education for long term economic development could not overcome the resistance of the conservatives who considered public schools as institutions to raise future civil servants and regarded the instruction of French language as unnecessary in favor of Islam-based subjects. But during the last decade of the Hamidian rule a new educational policy emerged which put emphasis on the increase of practical subjects in public schools. These discrepancies in the educational content, the

curriculum and the expected function of public schools eventually constituted a general failure to reach the synthesis of Islamism and modernization at cultural and institutional levels. Children's impressions of school life from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries confirm these discrepancies, which convey a picture of a public school system with seemingly modern curricula, but with members of the religious *ilmiyye*-class as the dominant body of instructors. The exposure of some of the students to certain informal cultural factors with "subversive" characteristics intensified the general dissatisfaction of the Hamidian youth with the public school system. Altogether, these developments played a major role in the emergence of a generation of oppositional and worldly oriented Young Turks, which marked in a sense the ideological "bankruptcy" of the Hamidian regime. This unsuccessful historical experience perhaps might explain the accelerated steps toward cultural secularization during the Second Constitutional Period (1908–1918) and the strength of the republican Turkish secularist tradition.

Social Disciplining

An essential component of Ottoman education has been the function of "social disciplining." This term could be understood within the contexts of early-modern Absolutism and within the framework of the eighteenth century European Enlightenment. With the emergence of territorial and absolutistic states in early modern Europe church discipline, the strengthening of religious identity and the enforcement of religious conformity were used for aggrandizing the authority of the ruler, while people were expected to become obedient, pious and hard-working subjects. The humanist Dutch scholar Justus Lipsius systematized this policy of absolutism under the label "Neo-Stoicism." In the Netherlands, in Prussia and in other absolutistic regimes military reform, state-building and Neo-Stoic philosophy of "social disciplining" were closely connected to each other.[6]

[6] See R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 2–8; Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); H. Schilling (ed.), *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland—Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation"* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1986).

This religious notion of social disciplining was closely connected with the era of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, where the monarch was conceived as a theocratic ruler and had the mission to spread the true faith among his subjects. The expansion of the rational and secular philosophy of the Enlightenment among intellectual circles of western and central Europe from the eighteenth century onwards led to the phenomenon of "enlightened despotism" in central and eastern Europe, where "enlightened" rulers tried to reshape their societies according to rational principles, like in Prussia, Austria or Russia. The object of these attempts of social engineering were to provide extensive administrative centralization and rationalization of the economy and the finances with the ultimate aim to create an efficient army. These objects could not be realized without measures of social disciplining. In the early nineteenth century Jeremy Bentham proposed his *panopticon*, an architectural construction for the complete surveillance and disciplining of the residents of public institutions such as prisons, schools, hospitals etc. This period witnessed the industrial disciplinization of Western societies in parallel with the military disciplinization, which reflected itself in the structural reorganization of schools.[7]

Ottoman educational reforms continued to contain to a considerable degree the ancient tradition of viewing education as a means of inculcating religious and moral values to pupils with the ultimate aim to ensure feelings of obedience and loyalty toward the central authority. Since the earlier periods it could be observed the occasional phenomenon of enforcing children as well as adults by the central authority to make regular visits to mosques and to continue at Quran schools, especially during periods of political crisis. This enforcement became increasingly stronger toward the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the Sublime Porte, undertaking steps of administrative centralization and military reforms, tried to enforce its authority in the capital as well as in the provinces. These kind

[7] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, the Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1991); idem, *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and other Writings* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); M. Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: the Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (New York: Harmondswoth, 1978); Janet Semple, *Bentham's Prison. A Study of the Panopticon Penitentiary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Simon Werret, "Potemkin and the Panopticon: Samuel Bentham and the Architecture of Absolutism in Eighteenth Century Russia," http://www-server.bcc.ac. uk/Bentham-Project/werret1.htm.

of religious measures seem to be comparable with those steps of social disciplining, applied in early modern Europe. This trend in Ottoman educational policy continued well until the 1860s, which in fact helps us to explain the above-mentioned lack of a consistent secular approach. From the 1870s onwards this more or less traditional approach changed toward a direction, resembling more to a uniforming regulatory disciplining. The school class system, proposed by the pedagogue Selim Sâbit Efendi in his *Rehnümâ-yı Muallimîn* ("Guidebook for Instructors," 1870) was basing on a system of uniformity and surveillance, reminding Bentham's *panopticon.* Another field of educational uniforming has been in the usage of textbooks. The Hamidian period prohibited any school instruction independent of the repetition of the textual content of those schoolbooks approved by the Ministry of Public Education. Thus the usage of textbooks with the desired educational content became a standardized procedure in Ottoman educational system. What happened as a result of this rather formalistic, rigid and dull pedagogical approach has been the alienation of the young generations of Hamidian students from the content of schoolbooks and from the Hamidian ideology. At the same time, the increasing process of uniforming in government education manifested itself in school uniforms, class system, formal examinations, and levels of graduation within a tight system of educational promotion. Referring to the conceptualization of Foucault, the organization of the process of educational development, these divided into phases and each of them defined in terms of expected standard educational results, all of these phases altogether constituting a "general process" of education led to the emergence of the notion of "linear time," leading to a final point of development.[8] Not surprisingly, those generations of graduates from public schools became easily familiarized with the notions of evolution and progress in the positive sense. For them evolution was increasingly considered as a positive development in the material as well as in the intellectual sense. Even those Islamists who were educated in government schools perceived history and society within this context of evolution and progress.[9]

[8] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, passim.

[9] See the poems and articles of Babanzade Ahmed Naim, Manastırlı İsmail Hakkı, Mehmed Akif [Ersoy], Mehmed Şemseddin [Günaltay] in the chief Islamist journals *Sırât-ı Müstakîm* (1908–1912) and *Sebilürreşâd* (1912–1925).

Institutional and Financial Aspects

Looking at the *tanzîmât*-period prior to 1869, the main steps of reform in the realm of education could be observed in the fields of secondary and professional institutions. Though *rüşdiyye* schools as institutions embodied educational modernization during this period, they ultimately proved to be unsuccessful as secondary schools. The 1870s and the Hamidian period, on the other hand, witnessed the rise of primary *ibtidâî* schools and the secondary *idâdî* schools, while the *rüşdiyye*s, though continuing to exist, increasingly became obsolete.

The Ministry of Public Education was founded in 1857 due to the need of coordinating the increasing number of government schools more effectively. A second objective was better supervision of non-Muslim and foreign educational institutions. The foundation of the ministry was a major institutional step toward the secularization of public education. The Ministry of Public Education was not only an administrative institution for the regulation and direction of public education, but increasingly assumed the additional function of a bureaucratic body for the supervision of cultural activities within the Empire. During the Hamidian period the latter function turned the Ministry of Public Education into an agency of state censorship.

A crucial development in terms of legal-institutional framework was the promulgation of the Regulation of Public Education of 1869. This law provided the legal basis to reform the primary school system into a more secular educational network. Another component of this development was the legal acceptance of the professional status of primary school instructors. The regulation determined the institutional arrangement of the educational councils at the provincial level, which constituted a basic institutional requirement for the expansion and supervision of public schools outside İstanbul. On the other hand, the regulation could be seen as a part of the Ottomanist project of integrating Muslim, non-Muslim and foreign schools within a legal framework, and to found government schools for non-Muslim communities. But the Ottomanist stipulations of this late *tanzîmât* Enlightenment project were never applied. Looking at the administrative arrangements stipulated in the regulation, the organization of the educational council (*meclis-i maârif*) at the provincial level provided a basic institutional requirement for the expansion as well as for the supervision of public schools in the provinces.

The effective application of the Regulation of Public Education at the provincial level began only from 1880 onwards. But the differences of local administrative and social conditions in individual provinces prevented the Ministry of Public Education from applying the regulation in Anatolia, Balkans and Arabic-speaking provinces in a uniform way. The existence of the educational councils and the educational commissions at the level of *vilâyet*s, *sancak*s and especially at the level of *kazâ*s reflected the ability of the central administration to find local financial sources to set up greater number of schools.

The main provincial body of educational administration was the educational council headed by the provincial director of education (*maârif müdîri*). The director of education was responsible for the application of the decisions and orders of the Ministry of Public Education. Educational councils, in addition, had to find local financial resources for educational expenses and supervise spending. Here the membership structure of the educational councils, consisting to a considerable degree of provincial notables, was crucial. Their inclusion was instrumental in the provision of local material support for education. In the course of the Hamidian period, educational commissions became widespread at the level of *sancak*s and *kazâ*s. The "core regions" of western Anatolia observed a deeper penetration of the commissions down to the level of greater villages, whereas those regions with a predominantly tribal or non-Sunni populations had less effective educational councils and commissions, mostly confined to *sancak*-centers.

The provincial directors of education were appointed directly by the Ministry of Public Education. They executed decisions and acted as intermediaries between the ministry and the provincial educational councils. The prerogatives of the directors of education were strongly enhanced by the Instruction Concerning the Duties of Directors of the Imperial Provinces of 1896 (*Vilâyât-ı Şâhâne Maârif Müdîrlerinin Vezâifini Mübeyyin İrâde-i Husûsiyye*) which provided them with increased administrative and censorial power over schools and instructors. Looking at the actual characteristics of the provincial directors of education, one could see variations ranging from a formal Ottoman bureaucrat to a local religious saint, depending on the level of administrative closeness to the imperial capital. The existence of such situations provides a clue about the probability of considerable variations of educational policies from province to province.

Another development in provincial educational administration in the 1890s has been the setting up of bureaucratic bodies, called "educational office" or educational administration." These bodies, located in *vilâyet*-centers, eventually took over the more bureaucratic functions, which were previously performed by the semi-representative collegial body of educational councils.

The actual conditions for the expansion of public primary schools in the provinces depended on financial resources and the willingness of the local population to support the development of education. The educational contribution-tax, though providing a continuous tax-resource, was mainly assigned for the setting up *idâdî* schools and for meeting the expenses of the provincial educational administrations. The primary-level institutions of *ibtidâî*s and *rüşdiyye* schools, on the other hand, were left to fund themselves mainly through the incomes from those pious foundations which lost their reason of existence (*münderise*-foundations) or from donations of local wealthy people. Thus, the expansion of public primary schools could vary from region to region according to the existence of sufficient financial sources, dependent on the natural wealth of a locality and on the intensity of popular interest for education. In other words, the Ottoman state left, at least in the field of financing, the expansion of government primary education to the initiative of the local population. Only when conditions appeared where the direct government support seemed to be a necessity due to political reasons, did the central administration take over the financing of the expenses of the *ibtidâî*s and of the teachers' salaries.

The expansion of public education at the provincial level was closely connected with the increase of the teaching body in general. Though the Regulation of Public Education stipulated that instructors of public schools be graduates of teachers' seminaries, this condition was practically impossible to realize due to the insufficient number of seminaries within the Empire and their limited number of graduates in comparison to the rapidly increasing number of primary schools.

The authoritarian measures of the Hamidian regime adversely affected teachers. Considered as a professional group most liable to oppositional activities, instructors were subject to increasing surveillance by the government authorities. The provincial directors of education were empowered in 1896 to dismiss instructors at any case of suspected political activity.

Though the government considered it vital to support the expansion of schools and educational administrations at the provincial level, the Ministry of Public Education and local educational administrations had little power compared to other administrative bodies. The lack of a kind of an institutional self-confidence partly resulted from weak popular support. The setting up of a modern public school network as an alternative to the traditional religious school system was initiated from the top, without a noticeable civil movement pressing for educational modernization. It might be assumed, on the other hand, that at least in those regions with a certain degree of local initiatives could provincial educational administrations have to a certain extent the power to assert themselves for the educational cause.

Peripheral Populations and Education

The *tanzîmât* educational policy toward peripheral populations was governed by the object to set up *rüşdiyye* schools as political tools for building loyalty to the state. The foundation of *rüşdiyye*s in all *sancak*-centers of Bosnia following the pacification of the feudal resistance in 1851, the policy of strengthening Islamic sentiments among the Muslims of Albania and Crete in the 1850s and the 1860s to provide bonds of political loyalty, or the *rüşdiyye* school in Damascus after the disorders of 1860–1861 to promote *tanzîmât*-reforms in the region were parts of this policy.

The ethnic aspect of the Hamidian educational policy had two main dimensions. Regular Ottoman law and administration could be enforced on those non-Turkish Muslim population groups who were leading a sedentary life and were Sunni Muslims, such as the Albanians, the Pomaks or the Sunni Arabs of greater Syria, because they were integrated into the political structure. The Ministry of Public Education applied the same curricular policies to these groups as to the main Turkish population of Anatolia and the Balkans. At the same time, Albanians and to a certain extent Pomaks were subjected to a systematic cultural policy of linguistic Turkification within the framework of educational policies, which on the other hand could not be observed for the Arabs of the greater Syria. Arabic as the cultural language of Islam certainly could not be suppressed within the political framework of the Hamidian Islamism. The cultural goal of the Hamidian educational policy toward the Arabs remained

mainly within the limits of strengthening the political loyalty toward the Sultan-Caliph and the state as well as expanding the knowledge of Ottoman Turkish language.

The second dimension of the Hamidian educational policy was connected with those ethnic groups who either displayed tribal and nomadic social features, or belonged to religious groups not acknowledged by the Sublime Porte as separate religious communities. Non-Sunni Islamic groups such as the Alevis, the Twelver Shia, the Yezidis, the Zaydis or different Crypto-Christian people were exposed to various measures of Sunnification. Within this context educational measures were introduced which had a special character, in harmony with local circumstances. These *ad hoc* educational policies, varying according to the ethnic group in question, aimed at strengthening the feeling of loyalty toward the Sultan-Caliph and the Sunni Ottoman state. At the same time the state tried to inculcate notions of order, discipline and material progress among these peripheral population groups. The highly institutionalised religious community of the Twelver Shia in Iraq was the most resistant group. Weak Ottoman finances did not allow the Hamidian regime to pursue consistently such wide-ranged educational policies and limited the success of these measures.

The Ottoman state considered those populations where the government was not able to establish civil administrative institutions due to their tribal structure or nomadic way of life, as elements, which needed "to be civilized and humanized." The measures for the integration of these populations into the Ottoman political system were first, conversion to Sunni Islam, and then the inculcation of political loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph and the acknowledgment of the Ottoman central authority. A further step included the learning of Ottoman Turkish. Within the context of the so-called "civilising" (*temdîn*) measures, children of the tribal aristocracies from remote regions of the Empire were brought to İstanbul and educated at the special "School for Tribes" (*Aşîret Mektebi*).

In parallel to the deviation from the *tanzîmât*-ideal of the Ottomanist pluralism, the number of non-Muslim students attending Ottoman public schools remained limited. Real intercommunal education could be realized only in the professional higher schools or in the *Mekteb-i Sultânî*.

The main argument of this study puts forward that the state tried, from the 1830s onwards, to use public schools as an institutional tool of social disciplining and modernization, which reached its cul-

mination during the Hamidian period. This policy ultimately proved to be a failure, since structural factors such as chronic weakness of finances, the inability to formulate an ideological synthesis of Islamism and modernism as well as ethnic heterogeneity constituted the main obstacles of this educational reform project of authoritarian-Islamic modernization.

This book will discuss the institutional and political aims of the Ottoman state in promoting public education during the *tanzîmât*-period and the Hamidian era. A special emphasis will be given on the development of provincial education. At a more general level, it will question the prevalent view of Ottoman educational reforms in terms of progressive modernization and secularization.

In the first chapter the emergence and development of Ottoman public education in İstanbul from 1838 to 1869 will be elaborated, considering the institutional, political and ideological aspects. The same will be discussed in the second chapter for the development of provincial education. The following two chapters deal with the institutional and financial basis of the development of public school network. More concretely, it will be discussed within institutional frame the establishment of provincial educational councils and their functions, the process of the expansion of primary and secondary schools in the provinces, the status of provincial school teachers and the emergence of provincial teachers' seminaries. Looking at financial issues, it examines those measures implemented for the development of provincial education such as tax policies, the establishment of local financial resources and the problem of teachers' salaries. It will be shown that provincial population was not always ready to provide financial contribution for educational modernization. The fifth and the sixth chapters will concentrate on the problems of curricular content with respect to the autocratic regime of Abdülhamid II. Educational policies of the Hamidian regime will be elaborated in terms of the expected societal functions of public schools, the transmission of political values as well as educational policies toward non-Turkish and non-Sunni Muslim population groups. The last chapter attempts to "understand" late nineteenth and early twentieth century school life from the eyes of the pupils on the basis of memoirs, takes into consideration informal cultural factors within the process of early socialization, and evaluates the degree of the "success" of nineteenth century educational reforms.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EMERGENCE OF GOVERNMENT PRIMARY EDUCATION (1838–1869)

The pre-modern Ottoman-Islamic school system was oriented towards the teaching of religious knowledge with only very little worldly and practical educational content. Because European military and political gains put the Ottoman Empire on the defensive, it became a necessity to reform the army and navy, which in turn required the Ottomans to acquire the fundamentals of Western scientific knowledge. Thus, the first modern government schools, founded at the end of the eighteenth century, were purely military institutions. The establishment of a modern army required financial means of considerable dimensions, which in turn demanded an effective system of taxation and the erection of an efficient centralized-rational administrative apparatus. In 1839 the first civil government schools were founded to train a body of civil servants for the new administrative structure.

It is debatable whether these first civil government schools in fact constituted the basis of Ottoman public education. Until the end of the 1860s the traditional Quran schools were more or less considered as the primary level of public education. The civil government schools, on the other hand, bore in general the characteristics of lower-level professional schools for civil servants. Prior to the Regulation of Public Education (1869) traditional Quran schools and *medrese*s, as an educational network under the control of the *ulemâ*, remained a legitimate parallel structure side by side with the network of government secondary schools (*rüşdiyye* schools and higher level institutions such as the *Dârülmaârif* and the *Mahrec-i Eklâm*). Only the growing understanding among the *tanzîmât*-bureaucrats of the need to secularize primary education could begin to shake the ancient monopoly of the *ilmiyye* over Islamic primary education. Reformers advanced the notion of a public school network, containing all of the educational levels. At this stage attempts were made to reform the existing Quran schools into primary institutions providing religious as well as basic practical knowledge, including literacy.

In terms of educational ideology, the chief causes of the reform

steps in the early years of educational modernization were military and predominantly utilitarian in nature. However, when the first civil institutions were established in 1839, there emerged considerations of an educational system also for political (to promote patriotic feelings, to strengthen the idea of an abstract state), cultural (material progress of humanity) and economic (to promote industrial and artisanal production as well as individual profit) ends. The concrete outcome of these considerations, on the other hand, appeared as curricular measures that promoted religious and moral values. Correction of human beings, one of the aims of public education, could be traced back to earlier traditions, the understanding of schools as agents for correcting and disciplining students particularly within the historical context of military reforms and administrative centralization. This could be compared with the early-modern European absolutistic policies of social disciplining.

A reform measure with a disciplinary nature was the introduction of the class-system into *rüşdiyye* schools. Until the foundation of the *rüşdiyye* schools neither the *sıbyân* schools nor the *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye* or the *Mekteb-i Ulûm-i Edebiyye* contained classes in the modern sense, divisions according to age and knowledge. With the beginning of the class-system the government educational system increasingly seems to have imported from western Europe modes of disciplining of students. Tidy school uniforms with military appearance helped to distinguish pupils from ordinary people. Separate rooms were assigned for certain levels of knowledge and age. The notion of standard textbooks for all government schools was attempted to be introduced, providing an increasing uniforming of the content of teaching, which but could not become fully effective until the Hamidian period. A tight system of educational promotion basing on certain steps of graduation was definitely stipulated in the Regulation of Public Education, but became fully established only during the Hamidian period.

Prior to the compilation of the Regulation of Public Education an increasingly secularist view of education became prevalent, reflecting itself in the attempts to reform the existing Quran schools. This secularist view could be also seen in the Ottomanist schemes for the development of education. The ruling political cadre of Âlî and Fuad Pashas together with their ministers, strongly favoring the Westernization of the Empire, promoted the policy of Ottomanism as a means of keeping the population of this multi-ethnic Empire together.

Another factor seemed to be the growing influence of France in the internal politics of the Empire. It was France which supported the foundation of the *Mekteb-i Sultânî*, a higher elite-school aiming mixed education. The same was also true for the Regulation of Public Education with its secularist and Ottomanist content. These facts support Cevdet Pasha's opinion that the educational reforms during the *tanzîmât*-period were undertaken to an important extent to demonstrate to European powers the eagerness of the Ottoman state to promote education and culture within the Empire.[1]

Traditional Schools

Prior to the eighteenth century, Ottoman education consisted mainly of religious schools and a few educational institutions with more secular characteristics. The latter ones, such as the Court School at the Topkapı Palace (*Enderun Mektebi*) or the training center for Janissary novices (*Acemi Oğlanları Mektebi*) or also government bureaus that trained novices in the art of literary style (*kitâbet*) should not be considered as a part of the regular educational system.[2] These bodies, located in the Ottoman capital, provided a relatively utilitarian training in practical course subjects and they used Ottoman Turkish as the language of instruction. With the exception of novice training at the government offices, however, they had an exclusive character due to the impossibility for common Muslims to enter these institutions particularly during the heyday of the Empire. Therefore it is more convenient to consider the Quran schools (*sıbyân mektebi*) at the elementary level and the *medrese*s at higher level as the actual traditional civil educational institutions for the Muslim Ottoman subjects. Those who aimed to acquire practical and worldly knowledge either

[1] Yahya Akyüz, "Cevdet Paşa'nın Özel Öğretim ve Tanzimat Eğitimine İlişkin Bir Layihası," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 3 (Ocak 1992), 89–90.

[2] Concerning the details of the training process of the novices at government bureaus prior to the era of reform, see the treatise of Abdülaziz Bey on the "Ottoman customs, ceremonies, phrases and national conduct" (*Âdât ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabirât ve Muamelât-ı Kavmiyye-i Osmaniyye*), in Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tabirleri.* Edited by Kazım Arısan and Duygu Arısan Günay (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 85–93. Also see Osman Ergin, *Istanbul Mektebleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısiyle Türkiye Maarif Tarihi.* 2d ed. vol. 1–2 (İstanbul: Eser Kültür, 1977), 65–66.

had to educate themselves and/or participated in circles of cultivated men. Not a few Ottoman scholars from the pre-modern as well as from the modern period educated themselves by these ways.[3]

Thus, the responsibility of providing education for common people was left to religious agencies within the community acting on private initiative. A typical Quran school consisted mostly of one room, which was often located at the vicinity of a mosque and directed by a member of the lower *ulemâ*, called also *hoca*. Wealthy Muslims mainly founded Quran schools, and the maintenance of these schools was secured by religious foundations for public purposes (*vakıf*) as well as by weekly payments of the parents to the *hoca*s. There is no evidence that these institutions were controlled or inspected regularly by a central organ, but in many cases the donors of the Quran schools monitored the qualifications of the *hoca*s. In the case of the Quran school at the complex of the Süleymaniye-Mosque in İstanbul, its foundation certificate (*vakfiyye*) demanded that the *hoca* be able to recite the Quran by heart in a correct way, demonstrate proficiency in composition, be well informed about the Islamic jurisprudence (*fıkıh*) and the rules of prayer. In addition, this foundation certificate stressed the condition that the *hoca* was leading a righteous life. Quran schools had no system of classrooms and children of differing ages and knowledge were often instructed in the same room. At best the students made exercises on small boards (*yaz-boz tahtası*), on which they wrote by using special ink, cleaned it and used it again. Usually *hoca*s selected among their students one of the more progressed as assistant (*kalfa*, "journeyman"), who helped the weaker students during the school hours.[4]

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[3] For detailed discussions on the *Enderun Mektebi* and the *Acemi Oğlanları Mektebi*, see Ergin, 31–40; Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600.* 2d ed. (New Rochelle; New York: Orpheus Publishing, 1989), 76–88; Andreas M. Kazamias, *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966), 25–34. Other possible names for Quran schools were *dârüttalîm, kuttâb, mahalle mektebi, mekteb, mektebhâne, muallimhâne, taş mekteb.* For Quran schools and *medreses*, see Cahid Baltacı, "Osmanlı Eğitim Sistemi," *Yeni Türkiye. Eğitim Özel Sayısı* 7 (Ocak-Şubat 1996), 467–470; Ergin, 11–24, 31–40, 63–73, 82–117; Kazamias, *ibid.* Comprehensive description about the method of autodidact training in İstanbul can be found in Richard Chambers, "The Education of a Nineteenth Century Ottoman Alim. Ahmed Çevdet Pasha," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 4 (1973), 440–464; Ergin, 375–382, and in İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar.* 3rd ed. 4 vols. (İstanbul: Dergah, 1982); idem, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, 3rd ed. 4 vols. (İstanbul: Dergah, 1988).

[4] Ergin, 82–96; Carter Vaughn Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom. A Social History.*

These facts make clear that traditional Ottoman primary education was, aside of certain basic common characteristics, far from being a uniform educational network with institutional standards. The private quality of Quran school instruction becomes evident by the fact that the livelihoods of instructors were maintained by the foundation and by payments of the parents.

The educational aim of the pre-modern Islamic school system at the primary level was the inculcation of basic religious knowledge to students, particularly the learning of Quranic verses by heart, whereas in the next educational stage of *medreses* the students could concentrate on deeper learning of religious knowledge.[5] In this context the instruction of reading and writing had merely a functional sense, while it did not belong to the ultimate educational goal of the traditional Islamic school system to transmit utilitarian-practical knowledge. Though there is no information concerning the degree of literacy among the Ottoman Turks at the time when the Ottoman power reached its apex, it can be assumed on the basis of contemporary information about the numerous Quran schools in Ottoman cities reported by European travellers like Schweigger (later sixteenth century) or by Ottomans like Evliya Çelebi (middle of the seventeenth century) that at least one fourth of the urban population could read and write in Turkish and knew at least those Arabic surahs of the Quran pertaining to prayer.[6] It may be thought that the increasing

(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), 53. Concerning Quran schools see also Özgönül Aksoy, *Osmanlı Devri İstanbul Sıbyân Mektebleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (İstanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fak., 1968); Klaus Kreiser, "Das türkische Schulbuch vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart," *Turquie. Livres d'hier. Livres d'aujourd'hui.* Edited by Paul Dumont (Strasbourg; İstanbul: Editions ISIS, 1992), 26. For the children's impressions of Quran schools, compare Chapter VII, 252–256 below.

[5] According to Abdülaziz Bey, pupils of some of the *sıbyân* schools used the booklet *Karabaş Tecvidi* for the learning of the correct recitation of the Quran, while the Ottoman vocabulary was mainly taught by the booklets *Subhâ-i Sıbyân* and *Tuhfe-i Vehbî*. The basic information on the precepts of Islam, on the other hand, was provided by the catechisms *İlmi Hâl, Mızraklı İlmi Hâl* and at a more advanced level by the *Dürr-i Yektâ*. The contents of these booklets were to be memorized by the pupils. Since most of the above-mentioned titles appeared only from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, it is almost certain that the information provided by Abdülaziz Bey on *sıbyân* schools were related to the nineteenth century. See Abdülaziz Bey, 62.

[6] Kreiser, "Schulbuch," 26, 27. In this context K. Karpat stresses that the Quran schools, albeit their inefficiency, were possibly more effective than assumed in providing literacy among the Ottoman Muslim population. Karpat is basing his argument on a statistical information, dated 1310/1894–1895, where the percentage of

administrative decentralization after the sixteenth century, which was accompanied by the weakening of public order and safety within the Empire, had certain effects on the efficiency of the pre-modern Islamic school system. Threats to property stemming from social instability persuaded many wealthy families to stipulate that their charitable donations to *vakıf*s be used in ways that would generate profits for the donor. Such a development had its impacts on the working conditions of the *medrese*s and probably also on the Quran schools, while the founders of those religious endowments appointed in many cases family members as professors (*müderris*) or teachers without any regard to their actual qualifications. In this manner not a few Islamic educational institutions in fact became places for the acquisition of material profit.[7] At the beginning of educational modernization in the early nineteenth century, the inefficiency of the Quran schools in İstanbul was rather obvious. There exist reports from the first half of the nineteenth century of illiterate persons acting as Quran schoolteachers, and of students who only acquired the ability to read and write after seventeen years of intensive instruction.[8]

Antecedents to the Development of Government Schools

The increasing ineffectiveness of the Ottoman army units in the face of its Habsburg and Russian counterparts, particularly following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774, forced the Ottomans to introduce comprehensive military innovations imported from the West. Inasmuch as military innovations became inevitable, it became necessary to study their scientific foundations.

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illiteracy of the Muslim population is shown according to the provinces. According to this information the level of illiteracy seems to be as low as 36% of the total Ottoman Muslim population in the Empire. But this statistical information does not inform about the method of reaching these data. See Kemal H. Karpat, "Reinterpreting Ottoman history: a note on the condition of education in 1874," *Int. J. Turkish Stud.* 2–1 (1984), 93–100. Karpat's above-mentioned statistical source is cited as İstanbul Üniversitesi Kitaplığı, Türkçe Yazmalar No. 9075.

[7] Kazamias, 45–46; Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi.* 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), x. Concerning religious foundations, see Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Türk Kültür Sistemi İçinde Vakfin Yeri," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, 15 (1986), 24–27; idem, "Türk Vakıf Kurucularının Sosyal Tabakalaşmadaki Yeri, 1700–1800," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 3 (1982), 143–164.

[8] Ergin, 70 fn. 2, 84, 462, 463.

The first modern educational institution, where practical and natural scientific subjects were taught and which could preserve its institutional existence until this day, is the Naval Engineering School (*Mühendishâne-i Bahrî-i Hümâyûn*), founded in 1773 with the support of the French military expert Baron de Tott. This establishment taught contemporary positive and practical sciences like Mathematics, Geometry, French (from 1842 onwards English became the main foreign language taught, and French an elective course). Until the 1830s several other military educational institutions followed this body. In the Engineering School for Armed Forces (*Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyûn*), established in 1795, similar subjects were taught as in the Naval School. In 1826 the Military Medical School (*Tıbhâne-i Âmire*), and later in 1834 the War Academy (*Mekteb-i Ulûm-i Harbiyye*) (from 1840 onwards French as the main foreign language) were founded. At this point it should be mentioned also the "Translation Office of the Sublime Porte" (*Bâb-ı Âlî Tercüme Odası*). This body was not an educational institution in the formal sense, but more in harmony with the old tradition of training the novices at the government bureaus on the art of literary style. C. Findley regards this institution as the first educational body within the Ottoman Empire, where civil Muslim government officials were not educated within the framework of religion. This office was founded in 1821 to teach officials French language in order to break the traditional monopoly of the Phanariot Greeks over the office of government translator.[9]

Except for the Translation Office all the above-mentioned institutions were located around the military arsenal in İstanbul, while many of the instructors taught at the same time in more than one institution. Since no modern primary school system existed at that time, soldiers or even military officers from the army corps were admitted to these schools who at first had to acquire the basic skills of literacy as well as elementary knowledge.[10]

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[9] Ergin, 69–73, 315–321, 327, 334–368. For more detailed information, see also Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar: XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Prusya Münasebetleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1985); Emre Dölen, "Mühendislik Eğitimi," *Tanzîmât'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, (İstanbul: İletişim, 1985), 511–520; Findley, 133–134; *Mühendishâne-i Berri-i Hümâyûn'un 1210/1795 Tarihli Kanunnamesi*. Edited by Kazım Çeçen and A.M. Celal Şengör (İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 1988), passim; Max Roche, *Éducation, assistance et culture Françaises dans l'Empire Ottoman* (İstanbul: Editions ISIS, 1989), 17.

[10] Ergin, 317–321, 327, 334–368. It has been stated that the instruction both at

Aside of Translation Office all the remaining educational bodies founded until the 1830s were purely military professional schools. The first government civil schools, on the other hand, were established only after an interval of nearly 65 years following the foundation of the Naval Engineering School. This delay resulted from several factors. First of all, the state of military emergency which lasted for the most time from the beginning of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774 until 1839 forced the Ottoman state to give the priority to the setting up of educational institutions with essentially military characteristics for the rapid modernization of the armed forces. Also at least some sections of the Ottoman *ulemâ*, these functioning as a religious-ideological power group and often acting together with the Janissary-Corps, stood against any kind of attempt for institutional modernization. The *ulemâ* probably feared that especially the erection of civil schools would destroy their traditional monopoly over education and thus jeopardize their leading religious-educational position within the Ottoman Muslim society. The Janissaries, on the other hand, regarded efforts of military modernization as a potential threat to their own existence as a corps. In face of this two-sided opposition it was extremely difficult for the state to introduce educational reforms. Although Mahmud II (1808–1839) aimed in 1246/1830–1831 to send 150 students to Europe, young men selected from the palace and the Medical School, he could not carry out this aim because of the popular reaction against this plan. In 1834, the sultan dared to select few candidates from the military engineering schools to send to Europe, and only with the narrow object to study military sciences. In contrast, the Egyptian governor Mehmed Ali Pasha was sending students to Europe already from 1229/1813–1814 onwards, and these receiving education in various arts and professions.[11] Leaving the above-mentioned factors aside, it is also not very

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the Naval Engineering School as well as at the Engineering School for Armed Forces were in fact rather inefficient. During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–29 Mahmud II could not find any naval or army officer graduated from these institutions. See Sadreddin Celal Antel, "*Tanzîmât* Maarifi," *Tanzîmât I. Yüzüncü yıldönümü münasebetile* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 444. Compare also Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane, Mühendishane Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776–1826)* (İstanbul: Eren, 1995) and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyûn Başhocası İshak Efendi. Hayatı ve Çalışmaları Hakkında Arşiv Belgelerine Dayalı Bir Değerlendirme Denemesi," *Belleten* 53 (1989), 735–768.

[11] Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târîhce-i Teşkilât ve İcrâât* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920), 3–4; Ergin, 534.

clear what kind of a vision of public educational modernization the reformist political elite indeed had, or whether they did have any reform design in their minds. At least until 1839 we do not know any document discussing the need of reform in public education.

Even though projects were prepared later for the development of public education, Ottoman administration considered civil schools mostly at a secondary level of importance in comparison to military institutions. Until the end of the Empire public schools were rather neglected vis-à-vis state military schools. For example, the first modern government schools, decided to be set up in the provinces, were military institutions: it was decided in 1845 to erect in the provincial centers with army corps headquarters military preparatory schools (*idâdî*), their graduates to be sent to the War Academy in İstanbul. In these provincial military *idâdî* schools French as a foreign language was introduced from 1863 onwards, while this should be realized for some of the public schools in the provinces only with the beginning of the 1880s. In regard to the amount of the subjects taught as well as from the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the teaching body, the military educational institutions in the provinces were manifestly superior than the civil public institutions at the same educational levels. It is more than symbolic that while military schools possessed solid and fine buildings, the public schools were forced to work in provisional shelters, rented places, dark and dilapidated houses.[12]

Conditions for the Emergence of Government Primary Schools: Social Disciplining, Modernization and Early Educational Administration (1825–1845)

A modern army could not be set up without the necessary financial means, which in turn would require an efficient taxation and therefore the establishment of a centralized structure of administration. Not at least with the object to instruct a body of civil servants with the necessary qualifications for such an administration, the first public schools were founded in İstanbul in 1839, having more likely the level of an advanced primary school, but in fact bearing the quality

[12] Ergin, 309–310, 426–427.

of professional institutions.[13] In addition, the political weakening of the local notables as well as the steps of Westernizing reforms necessitated new methods for the assertion of political legitimation of the Ottoman central power.

At the same time, there seems to have been a separate traditional practice of the Ottoman state at times to require children to continue at Quran schools, in particular during periods of socio-political crisis, which could be understood as a means of social disciplining. During these periods of crisis the tendency could be observed to put considerable emphasis on religious primary education together with enforcing the observation of religious duties.[14] One may assume that the antecedents of this authoritarian stress on religion perhaps could be traced back to the early sixteenth century, when the state tried to enforce Sunni Islam against the militant Shiites in Anatolia.[15] The increasing weakening of the central government particularly in the course of the eighteenth century strengthened the already existing tendency of the Ottoman state to rely on Islamic orthodoxy as a source of political legitimation.[16] The ruling periods of Selim III

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[13] According to a minute of the Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances, dated 22 S 1262/19 February 1846, the main aim of the educational innovations was directed toward the reforming of the civil bureaucracy. The goal was specified as "to raise well-mannered and well-informed servants for their employment at the important services of the Ottoman government" (*hizmet-i mühimme-i Saltanat-ı Seniyyede kullanılmak üzere terbiyyeli ve malûmatlı bendegân yetişdirmek*), cited from Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı," *150. Yılında Tanzimat.* Edited by Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 368, 386.

[14] Concerning a decree of Mustafa II (1697–1703) stressing the need for literacy, see Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi (başlangıçtan 1988'e).* 3rd rev. ed. (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi, 1989), 173. Cited also in Osman Kafadar, *Türk Eğitim Düşüncesinde Batılılaşma* (Ankara; Konya: Vadi, 1997), 81; Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety. The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600–1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), passim.

[15] Aydoğan Demir, "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Terk-i Salât Edenlerle İlgili Fermanı," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* (İzmir) 2 (1984), 46–53; Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* (İstanbul: Enderun, 1972); Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law.* Edited by V.L. Menagé (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973); Ertuğrul Ökten, "Ottoman Society and State in the Light of the Fatwas of Ibn Kemal," (Master's thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara, 1996).

[16] The stress on the institution of the Caliphate as a diplomatic instrument at the peace treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), or the invention by Mustafa III (1757–1774) of the practice of *Huzur Dersleri,* i.e. courses on Quranic exegesis at the sultanic audience during the Ramazan-months, were signs of the growing dependence of the state on Islamic symbols of power. See Madeline C. Zilfi, "A Medrese for the Palace: Ottoman Dynastic Legitimation in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of*

(1789–1807) and Mahmud II contain decrees emphasizing religious firmness.[17] In a provincial example, an official notification (*ilam*), dated 24 B 1229/12 July 1814 and sent by the *kadı* (Islamic judge) of Yenice-i Karasu (Macedonia) to the Sublime Porte reported that the orders of the Sublime Porte concerning the forced observation of the five-times ritual prayer in mosques, the opening of schools for Muslim children and their instruction as well as the investigation of the conditions of pious foundations were received.[18] The efforts to impose central authority on the provinces characterized the rule of Mahmud II, and within this context it seems to be likely that religious education in particular served as a means of political control.

The firman (imperial edict) on compulsory religious education, dated 1240/1824–1825, may be considered as a part of the policy of social disciplining.[19] This document, on the other hand, differs from the previous ones in its main stress on education as well as in its relatively detailed content. In this firman the following points were stressed. First of all, the teaching of religious precepts was to be preferred to all worldly matters (*her bir şeyden evvel zaruriyyât-ı diniyyeyi öğrenmekliği umûr-ı dünyeviyyenin cümlesine takdîm eylemek lâzım*). It was pointed out that most people had been fallen into religious ignorance because of the guilt of their own parents, since those parents took their children still at the age of five or six from school and gave them over to trade as novices in order to earn money. Second, those children, growing in ignorance were not showing any interest towards learning later in life. Though such parents would be judged in the life after, nevertheless if this state would continue, the ignorance of the majority of the population concerning religious matters

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the American Oriental Society 113 (2/ April–June 1993), 184–191. Compare also Kemal Çiçek, "Tanzimat ve Şer'iat. Namaz Kılmayanlar ve İçki İçenlerin Takip ve Cezalandırılması Hakkında Kıbrıs Muhassılı Mehmet Tal'at Efendi'nin İki Buyruldusu," *Toplumsal Tarih* 15 (Mart 1995), 22–27.

[17] See for example the imperial decrees, dated 1205/1790–1791 and 1253/1837–1838, where Muslims are demanded to perform their daily five ritual prayers always in mosques and together with the community, in BOA Hatt-ı Hümâyûn (hence HH) 10151, 22340.

[18] BOA Cevdet Maârif 448 (24 B 1229).

[19] Aziz Berker and M. Cevâd rely for this firman on Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's *Târîh-i Cevdet.* 2d ed. vol. 12 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Osmâniyye, 1309), 238–240. The whole text can also be found in M. Cevâd, 1–3, cited from *Târîh-i Cevdet.* See also Aziz Berker, *Türkiye'de ilk Öğrenim I: 1839–1908* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1945), 3. For the original text, see Appendix 1.

would lead to a "vehement punishment inflicted by God" (*böyle giderse min kablü'r-Rahman terbiyye-i şedîdeyi müstelzim olacağı*). Third, the firman stressed the salvation of Muslims "from the worldly punishments as well as from the punishments in the life after" (*o misillü dünya ve âhiret ukubetinden tahlîs ve sıyânet*). Therefore "all the members of the Muslim community, old and young, who remained ignorant" (*câhil kalmış olan genc ve ihtiyâr bilcümle ümmet-i Muhammed*), were to acquire knowledge about religion and learn the Islamic rules. Fourth, it was stated that from that time onwards no one had the right to take his child from the school until the child would attain the age of puberty and learn the catechism and acquire sufficient knowledge about Islamic rules. If a child attained puberty and was old to give him over to a master, his parents or his mandate should go together with his schoolteacher to the kadı. Only if the office of the kadı examined the boy and submitted his parents a sealed document of permission, they could give the boy over to a master. In case of the violation of this stipulation the kadı would deliver the responsible people to the Sublime Porte. Fifth, the teacher at school had to train the children intensively in reading to teach them the Quran and let them read texts for the recitation of the Quran and catechism.

According to this firman compulsory public education at the level of traditional Quran schools had to be introduced in İstanbul and its vicinity to strengthen religious knowledge among the population. Though some historians consider this document solely as a manifestation of the *ulemâ*-opinion,[20] there are however some points in this document which should be paid more notice. First of all it is stipulated, in contrast to all the religious discourse, that the students should be taught to read, an ability which has a *practical* use. Second, it is striking that there is a warning more than once of a "wordly punishment." The years around 1824–1825 were particularly a time of misfortune for the Ottoman state, since the rather inefficient and pre-modern structure of administration as well as the Janissary corps with their mostly untrained members could suppress neither the Serbian nationalist movement nor the Greek insurrection. It could

[20] Kodaman is among the historians who interpret this document mainly as a religious text. According to him Mahmud II announced this firman only to appease the *ulemâ*. Therefore this firman is without any value as a step towards the modernization of the educational system, which, he claims, remained also only on paper. See Kodaman, 3.

be argued that the sultan perhaps tried to realize the expansion of literacy at least among the population of İstanbul by using a religious discourse. The expression "worldly punishment" probably could be an allegory for the catastrophic consequences of an ignorant and inefficient state apparatus. Interestingly, this firman apparently did not remain on paper. It is shown that possibly there were attempts to apply the stipulations of the firman also at the provincial level.[21]

If the firman thus could be understood as an antecedent of the actual modernizing efforts after 1838, it could perhaps be considered also as one of the first documents which combined educational modernization with the tradition of social disciplining. This tradition as a complementary development lasted until the 1860s, and revived during the Hamidian period. The expansion of Ottoman Muslim public education followed two different lines of development, the first one originating from the emergence of professional schools raising government officials, and the second one a continuation and indeed a partial modernization of the tradition of social disciplining.

Now looking at the conditions for the development of government primary schools with professional characteristics, government concern for the setting up of these schools and for the reformation of the traditional Quran schools was aroused by two immediate factors. Firstly, professional military schools needed to admit only those students with a certain level of elementary knowledge, instead of the previous practice of teaching the newly admitted students during the first years elementary knowledge in special classes within the respective institutions.[22]

Besides, it should also be taken into consideration the humiliating defeats of the Ottoman armies at the hands of the efficient Egyptian troops of the separatist governor Mehmed Ali Pasha during the 1830s and the connection of these developments with the concrete results of the new Egyptian educational system in the military field. It seems unlikely that the Porte remained unaware of the modernizing reforms undertaken by Mehmed Ali Pasha. In Egypt the effective modernization of the primary school system had begun two decades before

[21] Faik Reşit Unat shows that there exists a copy of this firman, dated 6 April 1826, in the *Burdur Şer'i mahkeme sicilleri* (Register of the Kadıcourt of Burdur), Defter No. 204, 15–16. See Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1964), 38.

[22] Ergin, 383–384.

the Ottoman state. When the Egyptian troops occupied the greater Syrian area between 1831 and 1840, the Egyptian administration established in the form of military schools the first modern primary schools in a province previously governed by Ottomans.[23] In fact, this "school system" consisted at 1838 only of three schools in Damascus, Aleppo and Antakya.[24] These schools were first established toward the end of 1834 or in the beginning of 1835. When the Egyptian commander Ibrahim Pasha in Syria could not find any suitable candidates for the officers' staff of his army among the nearly completely illiterate recruits, he set up military primary schools in order to supply his army with low-ranking officers with basic knowledge. These institutions were called *Jihādiyya*. In these schools army officers were active as administrators as well as teaching body. The students wore uniforms, were paid stipends and were transferred to the army when they learned to read, write and count. Possibly around the end of 1835 there were 380 students at the school in Damascus, and 130 students at the school in Antakya. The Egyptians planned to erect similar institutions in Ayıntâb as well as in Kilis.[25] These schools paralleled to the more elaborate educational system in Mehmed Ali's Egypt with its secondary and professional schools, which also were established with military aims. The students at the secondary schools were regarded as recruited soldiers and thus were subjected to rigid military discipline. In the elementary schools students were taught courses of Quran, Reading, Writing and Counting. Graduates with higher capabilities were selected for the two secondary schools ("preparatory schools"), where they received education for four years on subjects like Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Algebra, Geometry, History,

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[23] According to G. Antonius this school system came to an end after the retreat of the Egyptian troops from Syria in 1840. See George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening. The Story of the Arab National Movement* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1938), 41.

[24] A.L. Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria, Including Lebanon and Palestine* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 87–88.

[25] Antonius has asserted that the basic aim of Ibrahim Pasha for the establishment of these schools was to awake Arabic national feelings in Syria. See Antonius, 41. A. Tibawi, however, has criticised this statement by stressing that the Egyptian schools in Syria were established solely for military-practical reasons. The fact that Ibrahim Pasha proposed his father Mehmed Ali Pasha in 1838 to close down these schools due to financial difficulties reveals the weakness of İbrahim Pasha's possible ideological considerations, which also supports the critique of Tibawi to Antonius. See A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800–1901. A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 68; idem, *Modern*, 87–88.

Geography, Calligraphy and Drawing. Among the graduates of the secondary institutions some were selected for further training at professional schools.[26] The Egyptian school system could not be considered as a civil educational structure, where general knowledge would be taught for solely civil goals and serve for an educational goal with a cultural content.[27] On the other hand, compared with the contemporary situation in the Ottoman Empire without any single Muslim primary school with practical course subjects, this system constituted a highly uniform, well-organized and relatively widespread structure which provided at least a part of the indigenous Muslim population practical and positive knowledge. In its structural and its institutional dimensions, if not educational goals, the Egyptians provided the beginning of a public educational system.

In İstanbul, the first definite initiative toward the reformation of the school system to a worldly-practical direction appeared in the memorandum of the "Council of Public Works" (*Meclis-i Umûr-ı Nâfia*, hence CPW), published in February 1839, which was prepared probably at the prompting of Mahmud II.[28] This memorandum is significant, insofar as it reflects the viewpoint of the reformist bureaucrats of the pre-*tanzîmât* period concerning education and partly also their political attitude. In this document the state of the traditional Quran schools was criticised severely, but the educational proposals in this memorandum were, in contrast to its criticisms were still conservative and religious. This document was composed of two parts. In the first part the importance of public education were stated. The main statements were as the following.

After stating the importance of arts and sciences (*maârif ve ulûm*) as the main sources of wealth for the people (*menbâ-ı servet ve ganâ*),

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[26] A.L. Tibawi, *Islamic Education. Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems* (London: Headly Brothers, 1972), 54; B. Williamson, *Education and Social Change in Egypt and Turkey. A Study in Historical Sociology* (Houndmills; Basingstoke; Hampshire: Macmillan, 1987), 61–63.

[27] Tibawi even claims that this structure could not constitute a nucleus of a public educational system. See Tibawi, *Islamic Education*, 55.

[28] The memorandum appeared in the official gazette *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 21 Za 1254/5 February 1839, nr. 176. The complete text can be found in M. Cevâd, 6–10. Also in the first issue of the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye, Sene 1316* (İstanbul, 1316/1898–99), 16–22, the memorandum is printed with some alterations. A version in Latin script can be found in Unat, 81–83. An English translation of the first part is provided in Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 105. For the whole *Takvim-i Vekayi* version, see Appendix 2.

a parallel was drawn between the religious sciences (*ulûm-ı diniyye*) as the means for the salvation after the death and the worldly sciences (*fünûn-ı sâire*) for the "perfection of the living of humanity" (*muâşeret-i nev-i benî âdemin kemâli*). Then, the usefulness of different worldly sciences for commerce and industrial production was shown. In connection with this argument it was underlined that ignorance would lead to poverty. Furthermore, any trade which was learned only through practice could not be developed (*amelen tahsil eyledikleri sanâyi asla ilerilemiyeceği*). Pointing to the political dangers of ignorance, it was asserted that ignorant people would be unaware of the meaning of the state, "thanks to it they exist, and also would not comprehend the meaning of patriotism" (*sâyesinde oldukları devletin ve hubb-ı vatan ne olduğunu bilemiyecekleri*).[29] Finally, it was stated that the spread of sciences and skills within a country was the main aim of the state.

In the second part of the memorandum the present state of schools and propositions for the solution of educational problems were expressed. Following the observation that the existing professional military schools could not find appropriate students with any elementary knowledge to write or read any book, the impossibility was stated to teach them Arabic, Persian and French, and begin with the scientific introductions. This situation was attributed to the chaos and irregularity in the primary schools (*ufak mektebler*). Accordingly, instruction was done without any regulation and order, and teachers were not under supervision. Again the claim was put forward that uneducated boys cannot appraise the state, its benefits and also cannot know patriotic feelings because of their ignorance. Such people had no use for themselves or their "community" (*millet*).[30] For the development of agriculture, trade and industry, the existing schools were to be put into order by examining the qualifications of the primary school teachers, the division of schools into classes, instruction of different subjects in each class. On the other hand still conservative propositions were made to instruct in traditional schools alphabet (*hece*) and the Quran by the complete reading of the Quran

[29] In the textual version of the *Salnâme Maârif* (1316), 17, the original form of "thanks to it they exist, and also would not comprehend the meaning of patriotism" is altered to "thanks to it they live, and also would not comprehend the meaning of the country where they reside" (*ve sayesinde yaşamakda olduklary devletin ve bulundukları memleketin ne olduğunu bilemiyecekleri*).

[30] It is in fact unclear whether the term *millet* in this context could also be translated as "nation."

(*hatm*), while courses such as Literary Composition (*İnşâ*), Lexicology, Morality, Writing (*Kitâbet*) and Calligraphy (*Hat*) would be taught at the greater mosque-schools (*selâtin-i izâm mektebleri*).[31] Only those pupils from traditional schools able to read the Quran completely and the catechism would fit for the greater mosque-schools. Capable graduates of these greater schools should continue their study at professional schools (*mekâtib-i aliyye*). This document proposed compulsory education for boys at the traditional and greater mosque-schools to provide them proficiency in reading, writing and the basic Islamic precepts. The memorandum appears to be parallel to the firman of 1240/1824–25 in its dual structure of seeking for modernization of schools and society and at the same time proposing a traditional kind of an Islamic education. In this sense it points to the dual tendency of modernization and social disciplining while on the other hand these two concepts remain unconnected each other, without any attempt of a synthesis of both. One may say that those reformist bureaucrats preparing this document did not conceive in their minds any trouble in putting the two notions together.

This memorandum was accepted by the legislative organs and approved by the sultan only after certain alterations were made. The Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye*, hence SCJO) and the Council of the Sublime Porte (*Dâr-ı Şûrâ-yı Bâb-ı Âlî*, hence CSP) considered the impossibility for those students only able to read the Quran and catechism to comprehend the proposed texts on Lexicology and Morality recommended for the greater mosque-schools. Instead students of the greater mosque-schools should first be taught texts concerning the morphology and syntax of the Arabic language.[32] On the other hand, the state expected instructors at the greater mosque-schools to be proficient in Arabic morphology and syntax as well as in subjects such as Lexicology, Literary Composition, and in texts on Morality and Calligraphy. The

[31] In the memorandum it was proposed lexical texts like *Tuhfe* (Persian-Turkish poetic dictionary), *Nuhbe* (Arabic-Turkish poetic dictionary), *Subhâ-i Sıbyân* (Arabic-Turkish dictionary for pupils) and the traditional booklet on morality *Birgivî Risâlesi*. For more details about these texts, see Kreiser, "Schulbuch," 27, 28.

[32] Concerning the morphology of Arabic language books like *Emsile, Binâ, Maksûd* and *İzzî*, and for syntax the *Avâmil* were proposed. As will be seen also in the later curricula, this stress on the instruction of Arabic and Persian grammar was basing on the conviction that the written Ottoman Turkish language could not be comprehended without the necessary knowledge in Arabic and Persian grammar.

Treasury of the Imperial Estates at Mortmain (*Evkaf-ı Hümâyûn Hazînesi*) would pay greater mosque-school teachers. The Office of the *Şeyhülislâm*, i.e. the institution responsible of all matters connected with the Islamic law and religious schools, would appoint the teachers, and the schools supervised by a member of the *ulemâ*, selected again by the *şeyhülislâm*. As an expression of justification the statement was made that "since this issue [education] is a matter of religion, its various religious as well as administrative uses are manifest and self-evident" (*bu husûs umûr-i diniyyeden olmağla dinen ve mülken envâ'u fevâ'idi bâhir ve bedîhi oldığı*). With these revisions the document was enforced by a decree, dated 14 Za 1254/30 January 1839, and subsequently published in the *Takvim-i Vekayi*.[33] The main significance of these alterations lies in the specification of the administrative and financial connections between the reformed mosque schools, their instructors and the Office of the *Şeyhülislâm*. The justification sentence shows that primary education was for the bureaucrats of the 1830s a natural part of religious affairs.

This first memorandum for the modernization of the Muslim educational system, on the one hand proposed innovative organizational measures for a new arrangement of the school system, the establishment of school classes, the supervision of teacher and compulsory education for boys. On the other hand, proposals dealing with educational content followed the traditional line except for the statements pertaining to the provision of literacy and the instruction in Turkish. It did not mention courses such as Mathematics, Geography or History.[34] An important point in the memorandum was the statement of the reorganization of the schools not only in İstanbul, but also in the whole Empire. According to this document, except for the professional schools, the *şeyhülislâm* and the *ulemâ* would retain control of the educational system. This memorandum displays, in regard to the latter aspects, to a considerable degree the traditional policy of religious control over schools, the aim of inculcating religious values to children in combination with an organizational reform with modern characteristics aiming to put the schools under a stricter

[33] BOA HH 24232 (14 Za 1254/30 January 1839); M. Cevâd, 19–20; Ergin, 386.

[34] Berker stresses that though the CPW originally proposed also subjects like Mathematics, Geography and History for greater schools, the CSP and SCJO excluded them. See Berker, 11. It is not possible, however, to find remarks about these subjects in any of the published correspondences between the three councils.

regulation. This document at the same time shows the fundamental difference between the educational goals of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Egypt and the reformatory Sublime Porte bureaucrats of the pre-*tanzîmât* period. Whereas the utilitarian-military goal had the greater weight at the foundation of the Egyptian schools, the Ottoman reformers regarded the basic aim of a modern school system not merely in practical terms, but also from the political (to create patriotic sentiments, the concept of an abstract state), cultural (material progress of humanity), as well as from the economic (to increase the industrial and artisanal production, to heighten individual profit) points of view. Such an at least "ideally" comprehensive outlook is indicative for the civil character of the school system envisaged by Ottoman bureaucrats.[35]

A concrete step for the setting up of an educational administration was taken by the appointment of İmâmzâde Esad Efendi (d. 1851), a former kadı and inspector of religious foundations, as the supervisor (*nâzır*) of Muslim schools together with his promotion to the *ilmiyye*-rank of *Anadolu Payesi*.[36] An administrative body was set up under the direction of Esad Efendi, called "Directorate of *Rüşdiyye* Schools" (*Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyye Nezâreti*, hence DRS) and the first employment of the term *rüşdiyye*, probably denoting greater mosque-schools. Since the DRS probably began in November 1838, it seems likely that the preparation of the abovementioned memorandum as well as the ensuing imperial decree constituted a development of its own.[37]

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[35] Fatma Müge Göçek in her *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire. Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) defends the idea that Ottoman educational reforms were a result of the attempt of the sultan to create a social group loyal to his person in his struggle against the official and provincial households which challenged his power. This argument, however, does not seem to be compatible with the content of the existing official documentation of that period. Göçek's claim, on the other hand, is also connected with the assumption that the notion of an abstract state in the Ottoman Empire emerged only toward the end of the nineteenth century, among the oppositional Young Turks, as well as the perception of Ottoman sultans as active political actors throughout the history. But it seems to be rather questionable to stress the notion that the abstract state emerged only among the Young Turks, while some clues challenge this assumption, such as the abovementioned memorandum of 1839 or the official justification text of the Regulation of Public Education of 1869 (compare 86–89. below). See pp. 45, 51, 52, 67, 68, 70, 73, 123, 125, and 127 in her study.

[36] For details about life and personality of İmâmzâde Esad Efendi, see M. Cevâd, 20 fn. 3.

[37] M. Cevâd, 20; Ali Akyıldız, *Tanzîmât Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Reform (1836–1856)* (İstanbul: Eren, 1993), 225, 226; Ergin, 386. Ergin claims that Mahmud II disliked the designations "primary group" (*birinci sınıf*) for Quran schools and

It has been a matter of dispute whether the DRS could be considered as a core of an administration for public education.[38] Regarding the prevalent notion of education as a part of religious affairs and its supervision by the Office of the *Şeyhülislâm*, it is not possible to support the argument considering this institution as the core of a secular educational administration. As will be seen in the following pages, the DRS could not develop into an administration assuming control over the newly founded *rüşdiyye* schools after 1847.

First non-military institutions founded by the state with the quality of primary schools in early 1839 were the *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye* ("School for Learning") and the *Mekteb-i Ulûm-i Edebiyye* ("School of Literary Sciences"), designed particularly for the training of unschooled young officials.[39] These institutions emphasized Turkish prose forms, and the School for Learning proposed that after students learned Arabic they would take practical subjects like French, Geometry,

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"secondary group" (*ikinci sınıf*) for the greater mosque-schools, these mentioned in the correspondence sent by the SCJO, and instead ordered that the secondary group be named *rüşdiyye* (from *rüşd*, "majority"), implying that students should attend this category of schools until reaching majority. According to the Islamic canonical law the age of majority was 14. See Ergin, 384. On the other hand, the correspondence submitted by the SCJO does not contain the terms "primary group" and "secondary group," but instead *mahalle mektebi* and *selâtini izâm mektebleri*. See M. Cevâd, 17–20. As the possible equivalent for the designation "secondary group," one may find the term *sınıfu sâni* only in the initial memorandum prepared by the CPW and in the report sent by the CSP to the SCJO. See M. Cevâd, 9, 13. See also the imperial decree concerning the appointment of instructors and their assistants to the *rüşdiyye* schools in İstanbul, Eyüb, Galata and Üsküdar, in BOA HH 24024, dated 20 Z 1254/5 March 1839. Since the promotion of İmâmzâde Esad Efendi to the rank of *Anadolu Pâyesi* became effective on 10 November 1838, Akyıldız concludes that the foundation of the DRS should have been realized few days following this promotion. See Akyıldız, *ibid.* On the other hand, M. Cevâd gives as the date of foundation 21 Za 1254/5 February 1839, basing on the announcement made in the official gazette *Takvim-i Vekayi*.

[38] Unat has defended the idea that this directory was no more than an institution for the direction of the two civil government schools. Kodaman, on the contrary, regards this body as a first step toward the secularization of the school system as well as a beginning of a modern educational administration. See Kodaman, 6–7; Unat, 18–19.

[39] The word *adlî* at the name of the first school does not have any connection with the "administration of justice," but is the second name of Sultan Mahmud II, thus the school is attributed to the sultan. See Ergin, 394–396. According to Akyıldız this institution was founded in January or February 1839. He bases this information on the records of the foundation documents at the Registers Transferred from the Financial Department (*Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler*) at the BOA, dated 27 Za 1254/11 February 1839. See Akyıldız, 226. According to this author the second institution was founded on 19 March 1839. See Akyıldız, 227; compare Ergin, 386.

Geography and History.[40] For the first time in the Ottoman Empire a Muslim non-military school offered these courses. These two schools were placed under the supervision of the DRS, i.e. they began to be controlled by the *ilmiyye*. Although sometimes these institutions were designated as the first *rüşdiyye* schools, the School for Learning together with the School of Literary Sciences in fact displayed the character of professional institutions but in the form of advanced primary schools.

The earliest document, issued by the director of the DRS, proposed organizational and curricular specifications of educational institutions. İ. Esad Efendi's memorandum was in fact an instruction concerning the organization of schools in general. The sultan approved this memorandum with a decree, dated 1 M 1255/17 March 1839. Here a detailed curriculum of the schools at the primary-level, i.e. Quran schools, was proposed, whereas the educational goal of the more advanced institution (School of Literary Sciences) was described only in general lines. Accordingly, primary-level schools should instruct the letters, followed by the teaching of the Quran, Recitation (*Tecvîd*) and Chanting (*Tilâvet*) of parts of the holy book. Memorization of the Quran emerged as the main goal of primary education. Pupils unable to memorize the Quran were not allowed to leave the school until the age of thirteen. Those pupils who demonstrated ability in literature and sciences should continue at the School of Literary Sciences. This level of education was designed to provide the pupils the necessary skills to compose texts with fluent expression and correct orthography.[41] This memorandum of İ. Esad Efendi envisaged a public education within traditional lines, and emphasizing letters.

This stress on Quranic instruction reflected itself in the setting up of new Quran schools for the expansion of education in İstanbul. The government consistently upheld its new policy of admitting only those applicants to the bureaucratic career who graduated from schools, which in turn forced an increasing number of İstanbul Muslims to attend the schools, and contributed to the spreading of primary education.[42]

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[40] Ergin, 386–400. Concerning the actual improbability of the instruction of the subject of History, see 194 fn. 81 below.

[41] M. Cevâd, 23–25.

[42] M. Cevâd, 26, 27.

The DRS continued its existence until 1849, when İ. Esad Efendi became appointed to the membership of the SCJO and the DRS dissolved. With this appointment, the School for Learning and the School of Literary Sciences became incorporated under the supervision of the "Directorate of Public Schools."[43]

Though İ. Esad Efendi was influential in the shaping of the curricula of traditional primary schools, the jurisdiction of the DRS was in fact limited with the School for Learning and the School of Literary Sciences. This limitation seems to be a reason for the lack of serious reforms in education until 1845. The Ministry of Pious Foundations controlled the Quran schools and the appointment of its instructors, which created a major obstacle for the reforming of these institutions. According to Cevdet Pasha this ministry, being for the greater part under the control of the *ulemâ*, prevented any reform attempt concerning the Quran schools.[44] An additional reason for the lack of any reform attempt was also the scarcity of the necessary financial resources to reshape the Quran schools. An 1846 cabinet protocol stated the financial difficulty of making a general reform of these institutions, and therefore the necessity to take at the beginning only partial steps in harmony with existing material resources.[45] One should also consider that the period between 1842 and 1845 embodied a time of reaction against the reform steps previously taken by the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşid Pasha (1800–1858), the architect and initiator of the *tanzîmât*-period.[46] Notwithstanding these conditions, it has to be underlined that the early *tanzîmât* governments considered education within the realm of religion. Thus, the state lacked a strong motivation to reform traditional primary schools. Berkes also stated that the appointment of one of the *ulemâ* as the director of the DRS

[43] Akyıldız, 237; M. Cevâd, 40.

[44] BOA Yıldız Esas Evrak (Principal Documents of the Yıldız Palace, hence YEE) Cevdet Paşa Evrakı Collection 18–553/587–93–38, 1.

[45] İhsanoğlu, "*Tanzîmât* Öncesi," 368, citing the cabinet protocol dated 22 S 1262/19 February 1846, in BOA ID 6634.

[46] Concerning Mustafa Reşid Pasha, see Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzîmât.* 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1985); Bayram Kodaman, *Les Ambassades de Moustapha Rechid Pacha à Paris* (Ankara: Imprimerie de la Société Turque d'Histoire, 1991); Bayram Kodaman and Ahmet Turan Alkan, "*Tanzîmâtın* Öncüsü Mustafa Reşid Paşa," *150. Yılında Tanzîmât.* Edited by Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 1–10; *Mustafa Reşid Paşa ve Dönemi Seminerleri (1985, Ankara)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987).

indicated the religious characteristics of public education, which resulted with the delay of substantial reform steps.[47]

Early Developments of Government Education and Rüşdiyye schools (1845–1857)

Following the foundation of the DRS as well as the setting up of the two government schools with professional characteristics, no further reform attempt seemed to be made. When Mustafa Reşid Pasha became Foreign Minister for the third time and thus could exert his influence on the government, it became possible to notice certain developments.[48] The successor of Mahmud II, Abdülmecid (1839–1861) issued a firman, dated 13 January 1845, probably by the encouragement of Reşid Pasha, which was addressed to the SCJO and where the sultan stressed the following pressing necessities. Accordingly, there was a need for the "elimination of ignorance among the subjects" (*izâle-i cehl-i tebaa*), which could only be achieved by public education (*terbiyye-i âmme*). The need was put forward for the foundation of secondary schools, colleges and professional schools (*menbâ-ı ulûm ve fünûn ve mehaz-ı sanâyi-ı maârif-nemûn olan mekâtib-ı lâzime inşası*), while both worldly and religious education should be taken into consideration (*dinen ve dünyeviyyen her bir husûsda izâle-i cehl*), and schools be set up in the provinces (*memâlikin münâsib olan mahallerine iktiza eden mekteblerin tanzimi*).[49] This firman appears as the first official document, which considered different levels of education as a whole, while emphasizing the necessity to expand public schools outside İstanbul. In this document one can notice again the dual understanding of "worldly and religious education." Although the motive for this "sudden" step remains unclear, one could only assume that the difficulties in applying the *tanzîmât*-reforms in the provinces in the early 1840s made the reformist bureaucrats aware of the importance of politically legitimatizing an increasingly centralizing regime at the popular and provincial level.

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[47] Berkes, 107.

[48] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir 1–12*. Edited by Cavid Baysun. 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986), 10.

[49] Berker, 13–14.

This firman in fact forced the Sublime Porte to take new measures for the promotion of education. Thereupon the first step was the setting up of a "Temporary Council" (*Meclis-i Muvakkat*), consisting of eight members, belonging to the higher bureaucracy and the *ilmiyye*. This body began to work on 24 S 1261/4 March 1845 where three reform proposals were prepared and submitted to the Porte (October–November 1845). The first concerned the reformation of the Quran schools, the second focused on the establishment of *rüşdiyye* schools "in the way as to turn schools into places of learning of those arts and sciences indispensable for people, in harmony with the needs of time and within the limits of religion" (*usûl-i diniyye dâiresinde umûm nâs içün taallümü zarurî olan ulûm ve fünûna mekseb olacak bir tarzda ve ihtiyâcât-ı zamâniyyeye muvâfık sûretde tanzîm ve ıslâh*). The third proposal dealt with the foundation of the *Dârülfünûn*, the "university" which, after unsuccessful attempts in 1863–1865 and 1870–1872, could be definitely set up only in 1900. One of the important issues stressed in these proposals was the need of a central agency, which would plan and direct educational reforms as well as preparing the necessary regulations and curricula.[50]

As a result of these proposals, the state set up a permanent central collegial body for educational issues, the "Council of Public Education" (*Meclis-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye*, hence CPE) in June 1846. With one exception, laymen staffed this new body. This council was put under the joint supervision of the head of the SCJO, Sadık Rifat Pasha,[51] and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Reşid Pasha. This structure is considered to be an important step toward the secularization of the educational administration. Whereas the Office of the *Şeyhülislâm* previously controlled every aspect of educational life and supervised the DRS, the Sublime Porte now was in the position of selecting each member of the CPE.[52]

The CPE emerged as a body for decision-making as well as for the execution of decisions. Shortly after its formation, it prepared a report dealing with those issues previously touched by the Temporary

[50] Akyıldız, 228–230; Berker, 18; M. Cevâd, 27–30; Ergin, 440–441. About the history of the *Dârülfünûn*, see Ali Arslan, *Darülfünun'dan Üniversite'ye* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1995); Mehmed Ali Aynî, *Dârülfünûn Tarihi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Dârülfünûnu, 1927); Ergin, 545–563; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Darülfünun Tarihçesine Giriş. İlk İki Teşebbüs," *Belleten* 210 (Ağustos 1990), 699–738.

[51] About the ideas and activities of Sadık Rifat Pasha, see 61–62 below.

[52] Akyıldız, 232. Also see Berker, 18.

Council. Among other points it stated the primary-level schools to impart mainly a religious and moral-oriented education, whereas the greater schools (*büyük mekâtib-i mevcûde*) to provide practical education in addition to religious subjects. This document stressed the need for the establishment of an additional executive body in order to fulfill functions like the execution of reforms, the proposition of changes in regulations and the supervision and inspection of Quran schools and preparation of reports basing on these inspections. This proposed body of execution should be an organ of the CPE. Based on this proposal, which the Sublime Porte approved in November 1846, the "Directorate of Public Schools" (*Mekâtib-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti*, hence DPS) was formed in December 1846.[53]

This report of the CPE, at the same time, mentions a certain "Regulations of Quran Schools and *Rüşdiyye* Schools" (*Mekâtib-i Sıbyân ve Rüşdiyye Nizâmâtı*). It is not clear whether this regulation was compiled already in 1846. But it seems likely that this regulation was similar in content with the "Regulations of the Schools in İstanbul" (*Dersaâdet Mekâtibi Nizâmâtı*), mentioned in a correspondence of the CPE to the Grand Vizierate (dated 18 Za 1264/16 October 1848), with the Regulation for Primary Schools, on which H.A. Koçer provides information (accepted on 8 April 1847) or with the decisions taken by CPE and announced in March 1847.[54] According to these decisions pupils should attend Quran schools between 6 and 10 years of age, and pupils above 10 years of age continue at *rüşdiyye* schools. Those parents, unwilling to send their children to schools were to be prosecuted. The decision designed four years of education for Quran schools, and two years for *rüşdiyye* schools. Poor children, compelled to work in trade, were to attend at least one course at the Quran schools. This document also stipulated that the teaching staff of Quran schools would consist of one main instructor, one assistant (*kalfa*) and, if possible, one writing-teacher. It was under the responsibility of the main instructor to teach the primer (*Elifbâ*), the Quran, recitation of the Quran (*Tecvîd*), the catechism, reading of

[53] BOA ID 6923, cited from Akyıldız, 235; Ergin, 441–443; Kodaman, 12; M. Cevâd, 34.

[54] BOA Imperial Decree Concerning Reports from the SCJO (İrâde Meclis-i Vâlâ, hence IMVL) 3324; BOA ID 7648, cited from Akyıldız, 235–236; M. Cevâd, 35,39; Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişmesi (1773–1923)* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1970), 58–60.

Turkish texts with vowel-signs (*harekeli Türkî*) and the *Ahlâk Risâlesi* ("Booklet on Morality").[55] These stipulations on the one hand underlined the basically religious character of primary education. At the same time, concrete decisions were taken to reform the existing Quran school education. The instruction of the primer, the reading of Turkish texts with vowel-signs, and the employment of a writing-teacher were innovations toward practical education at the Quran schools. But since those schools under the supervision of the Ministry of Religious Foundations were not directly controlled by the CPE, decisions taken by the CPE concerning the Quran schools connected to pious foundations represented proposals which mostly could not be implemented.[56] This fact becomes also apparent when comparing with the 1862 project of the Ministry of Public Education where nearly the same objects were expected from the reformation of Quran schools.

Looking at the structure of the DPS, it was Sahhaflar Şeyhizâde Esad Efendi (1786/87–1848), the former court-historian (*vakanüvis*), who was appointed director to DPS, and Kemal Ahmed Efendi (the later Kemal Pasha, 1808–1886), the former chief clerk of the secretary of the Grand Vizierate (*Mektûbi-i Hazret-i Sadâretpenâhi Odası Mümeyyizi*) and interpreter of Persian language, who became his assistant.[57] To the director, in addition, were assigned two inspectors who were expected to inspect the Quran schools and the projected *rüşdiyye* schools. But when Esad Efendi, after nearly one year later, became promoted to the head of the CPE, his position was filled by the appointment of Kemal Efendi, while one of the inspectors, Hâfiz (or İmâmzâde) Mustafa Vehbî Efendi ("Vehbî Molla," d. 1877) became the assistant of Kemal Efendi (December 1847).[58] It is striking that the above-mentioned names, being members of the same institution, were personalities with rather contrasting worldviews. While S.Ş. Esad Efendi and Mustafa Vehbî Efendi were members of the *ilmiyye*, sharing a traditional outlook toward education, Kemal Efendi in con-

[55] BOA ID 7648, cited from Akyıldız, 235–236; Koçer, 60. Concerning the "Booklet on Morality," see 62–64 below.

[56] Berker, 20–21.

[57] For more detailed information about the lifes of court historian Esad Efendi and about Kemal Pasha, see İnal, *Son Asır*, vol. 1, 321–325, and vol. 2, 811–818; Koçer, 55–56.

[58] Akyıldız, 235–236; Ergin, 441; M. Cevâd, 35–36. About the personality of Mustafa Vehbî Efendi, see Ergin, 441–442, fn. 1.

trast belonged to the younger generation of civil servants who felt the necessity for radical reforms for educational modernization. The fact that these incompatible individuals were appointed by the secular body of CPE to the DPS is again indicative for the lack of a view differentiating education from religion even among the reformist bureaucracy.

Kemal Efendi should be considered as one of the pioneers of modern Ottoman-Turkish education. Even prior to his appointment as DPS-director, he tried to reform Quran schools, but the Ministry of Pious Foundations blocked Kemal Efendi's efforts.[59] Simultaneously, Kemal Efendi took the initiative to set up the first two model *rüşdiyye* schools in İstanbul, probably in early 1847, and met the expenses from his own sources. When it became apparent that the students in these two institutions could learn the basics of Arabic, Persian, Arithmetic and Geography in a relatively short period, the Sublime Porte agreed to set up five additional *rüşdiyye* schools in İstanbul in 1848.[60] Concerning the question of the curriculum of the first *rüşdiyye* schools, there is no direct documentary information about this issue. Because the first students learned the basics of Arabic, Persian, Arithmetic and Geography, by inference at least these subjects were a part of the curriculum. Initially considered as two-year intermediaries between reformed Quran schools and universities, the difficulties of reforming Quran schools and establishing the *Dârülfünûn* convinced Kemal Efendi to expand *rüşdiyye* schools to four-year institutions that would take on the last year of Quran school courses and the first-year of the high-school curriculum. While taking these steps, Kemal Efendi was also effective in the establishment of the Teachers' Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* Schools (*Dârülmuallimîn*) in 1848.[61]

In his efforts to develop a modern educational system with full-fledged primary and secondary institutions, he succeeded in 1849 to set up a higher secondary school in İstanbul, called *Dârülmaârif* ("Abode of Education"), under the auspices of the mother of the reigning sultan. Only *rüşdiyye*-students or students from the School for Learning

[59] BOA YEE Cevdet Paşa Evrakı 18-553/587-93-38, 1; Ergin, 443.

[60] BOA ID 8438, 3-29 Z 1263/8 December 1847; M. Cevâd, 60-61.

[61] Akyıldız, 236-238; Ergin, 443, 445; M. Cevâd, 38, 39; Abdülkadir Özcan, "*Tanzîmât* Döneminde Öğretmen Yetiştirme Meselesi," *150. Yılında Tanzîmât* Edited by Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 444; Cemil Öztürk, *Atatürk Devri Öğretmen Yetiştirme Politikası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996).

or School of Literary Sciences could apply to this new institution. The educational period lasted three years. Though planned as an intermediate institution between *rüşdiyye* schools and the *Dârülfünûn*, the *Dârülmaârif* in a short time lost its initial quality because the assistant director of the DPS, Mustafa Vehbî Efendi, admitted graduates of Quran schools to this school. This event shows the difficulties of undertaking reforms while the administration is occupied by conservative-minded personnel. When the first institutionally continuous category of public secondary schools, the *idâdî* schools, were founded, the *Dârülmaârif*, now an obsolete institution, was dissolved and its building assigned for the *idâdî* school in İstanbul in 1872.[62] The endeavours of Kemal Efendi for the development of public education remained limited due to its individuality. More comprehensive reforms in education needed adequate institutional arrangements such as a ministerial organization, which became realized after 1856.

The Reform Edict of 1856 and Institutional Developments (1857–1869)

The year 1856 constitutes a turning point in the history of Ottoman public education, where a sequence of institutional reform measures were realized until 1869, providing the foundation of the Ministry of Public Education and leading to the promulgation of the Regulation of Public Education. The Reform Edict of 1856, announced toward the end of the Crimean War mainly due to diplomatic pressures originating from England, France and Austria, mandated among other reform schemes equal opportunity for all subjects to be admitted to Ottoman civil and military schools, and acknowledged the right of every officially recognized religious community (*cemâat*) to establish their own schools, provided that these be under state supervision.[63]

This relative freedom to establish schools led to the rapid development of educational networks among Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks. In face of such an extension of non-Muslim schools the Porte felt the need to support the development of the Ottoman public school system even more than before. The present organizational

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[62] Akyıldız, 239, 240; M. Cevâd, 40–44; Ergin, 449–453; İnal, *Son Asır*, vol. 2, 813.

[63] Berkes, 152–154; Roderic H. Davison, "Westernized education in Ottoman Empire," *The Middle East Journal* (Summer 1961), 289–301; Kodaman, 15.

framework and the competencies of the DPS, however, were insufficient for a task like the establishment of an "empirewide" school system. To meet this end, the Porte founded the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti* ("Ministry of Public Education," hence MPE) in 1857, having broader powers and a more autonomous organizational structure.[64]

The foundation of the MPE has been interpreted as the unequivocal consent of the Porte toward the modernization of the educational system according to European examples.[65] Interestingly, the contemporary court annalist Lütfi Efendi, himself a member of the *ulemâ*, regarded the foundation of a Ministry of Education as a futile decision since "the Western sciences could have been taught at the *medrese*s with much less amount of cost, while the extreme ignorance and the chilly fanaticism [in the *medrese*s] would have been little by little lessened."[66] From now on the Ottoman state began to put its whole weight on the establishment of a modern school system by introducing public education, including non-Muslim schools, under a better coordinated government control and to shape these in harmony with its centralistic designs.

The guarantee of the reform edict providing freedom for non-Muslim communities to open their own schools necessitated the setting up of a collegial body in 1856, called "Mixed Educational Council" (*Meclis-i Muhtelit-i Maârif*) and composed of representatives of Muslims and non-Muslim communities (six members, i.e. one Muslim, one Greek-Orthodox, one Gregorian Armenian, one Catholic, one Protestant and one Jew). This body had the authority to determine the quality of schools, the curricula and the selection of instructors.[67] In connection with this development, the CPE structured Ottoman education in three levels. At the level of primary education (*sıbyân mektebleri*) the language of instruction was determined as the language of the community, while the instructors appointed by the religious heads of the respective communities, the latter assigned the responsibility for this level of education. The curricula should consist mainly of religious subjects, and Muslims and non-Muslims receiving

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[64] Kodaman, 15–16.

[65] Kodaman, 16.

[66] *Sâlif üz-zikr fünûn-i garbiyyenin medâris-i mevcûdede talîmi az bir külfet ile husûl bulur ve bu vesîle ile cehâlet-i müfrîde ile taassûbât-ı bâride refte refte azalmış olur idi.* Quotation cited from Unat, 21.

[67] Akyıldız, 246, 247.

primary education, separated from each other. At the secondary level (*rüşdiyye* schools) the language of instruction was Ottoman Turkish, since graduates of *rüşdiyye* schools were considered as potential civil servants. At the tertiary level, consisting of professional schools, the language of instruction should be selected in harmony with those languages specific for the art or science to be taught. Schools at the secondary and tertiary levels would offer mixed education. In accordance with this structure, the CPE enhanced the educational quality of *rüşdiyye* schools by including introductory courses on natural sciences. Also the proposition was made to have students of *rüşdiyye* and higher schools wear uniforms.[68] These stipulations of the CPE displayed the Ottomanist policy of the Reform Edict to consider non-Muslims as users of government schools. While the primary level should preserve the culture of the religious community, the secondary level should provide the socialization of non-Muslims into the Ottoman imperial culture. On the other hand, the expectation that the *rüşdiyye* schools would offer an education adapted to both Muslim and non-Muslim students, i.e. mixed education, was a manifestation of an apparent optimism.

With the formation of the Mixed Educational Council, there emerged a functional division between this new body and the CPE. Whereas the CPE began to deal mainly with educational issues concerning religious instruction, the Mixed Educational Council was discussing educational issues covering non-Muslim as well as Muslim schools. After a short period of one year this dual structure was united in March 1857 into the MPE. The following month the DPS was incorporated into the MPE as the "Undersecretary of the MPE" (*Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti Müsteşarlığı*).[69]

In an 1861 document, the state tried for the first time to integrate all the existing schools within the Empire, non-Muslim as well as Muslim, into a legal framework and to connect them to the MPE with the aim "to inspect the systems and the regulations of all schools which exist for the study and education of every community within

[68] Akyıldız, 247, 248.

[69] For the appointments of Abdurrahman Sami Pasha as the minister of public education for the first time on 18 B 1273/14–15 March 1857, and for the appointment of the last director of the DPS, Hayrullah Efendi, as the undersecretary of the MPE on 25 Ş 1273/20 April 1857, see Akyıldız, 248; M. Cevâd, 66; Kodaman, 16.

the Protected Imperial Ottoman Dominions" (*Memâlik-i Mahrûse-i Şâhânede her bir sınıfın tederrüs ve taallümleri içün bulunacak kâffe-i mekâtibin nizâmât ve usûlüne nezâret etmek üzere*).[70] Besides other points the following decisions were particularly significant. All schools except for the War School, Naval and Medical Schools had to be left to the jurisdiction of the MPE, which divided schools into three categories: 1. *Sıbyân* schools, i.e primary schools of all religious communities, 2. *Rüşdiyye* schools, and 3. Professional schools (*mekâtib-i fünûn-ı mütenevvia*). In the *sıbyân* schools which taught reading and religious subjects, children from different communities were separated. In the *rüşdiyye* schools, considered as secondary schools providing mixed education, students were to be taught the "requirements of civilization and material progress" (*mûcib-i medeniyyet ve mâmûriyyet bulunan fünûn*) as well as the necessary knowledge for the future continuation at the professional schools. The medium of instruction was to be Ottoman Turkish in the second and the third categories of the above-mentioned schools.[71] This regulation clearly constituted the approved version of the proposal made by the CPE earlier in 1856–1857. It attempted to classify primary schools of all communities as *sıbyân* schools (while originally this designation was more likely applied to traditional Quran schools). In this respect Ottomanist educational policy aimed to weaken the social barriers between religious communities. This tendency would find its strongest expression in the Regulation of 1869.

In 1864 the MPE underwent an administrative reorganization. The CPE and the Mixed Educational Council, the main organs of the MPE, seemingly failed to function in a proper way.[72] Due to this situation, these two bodies were dissolved and in their place a *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Heyeti* (Board of Public Education) was founded, later to be called *Meclis-i Maârif* (Council of Education, hence CE). This new board, headed by the Minister himself, contained two

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[70] This document is cited for the first time by Berker, 46–47, and Kodaman cited Berker's text, 6–17. But Berker does not specify the access number or place of this document, which probably at the time of the publication of Berker's work was still not classified. Thus we do not know the original text, except for the transcribed version provided by Berker. Though Berker in his work does not specify the body which prepared the document and sent it to the MPE, it may be assumed from the wording of the text that it was perhaps the Grand Vizierate which compiled this text.

[71] Berker, 46–47.

[72] Report submitted by the Grand Vizierate to the sultan, dated 18 N 1280/25–26 February 1864, cited in M. Cevâd, 82–84.

offices, i.e. the *Dâire-i Mekâtib-i Mahsûse* (Office of Private Schools) and the *Dâire-i Mekâtib-i Umûmiyye* (Office of Public Schools), the latter also called *Dâire-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye* (Office of Public Education). The first office was expected to examine and investigate books compiled on Islamic religion and canonical law as well as supervising Muslim primary schools, while the latter was assigned the function to arrange all educational issues pertaining to Muslims and non-Muslims. The Office of Public Education was opened on 27 Z 1280/3 June 1864, consisting of six Muslim, two Greek Orthodox, two Gregorian Armenian, two Catholic, one Protestant and one Jewish member as well as two secretaries.[73] These institutional changes aimed at ensuring a better coordination between bodies specialized in different areas of education. On the other hand, the new function of the investigation of books by the Office of Private Schools was in fact the setting up of a body for censorship, a development probably connected with the emergence of a civil press life which was highly critical toward the government. In the same year the Sublime Porte issued a press law (*Matbuât Nizâmnâmesi*) which prohibited any criticism toward the Ottoman state.

The foundation of the MPE as a body independent from the *ulemâ*, and a more determinate ruling circle around the reformist statesmen Âlî and Fuad Pashas led to a renewed attempt for the reformation of the traditional Quran schools. With this aim some of the Quran schools in İstanbul from 1862 onwards were introduced certain innovations in order to simplify and speed up the instruction of reading and writing. The ministry distributed writing utensils such as slates (*taş levha, yaz-boz tahtası*), chisels (*taş kalem*), case for pens and ink (*divit*) among the students. The object was similar to the 1846–48 regulations and decisions of the CPE to raise graduates from Quran schools who would possess the abilities of reading the Quran thoroughly, know the catechism well enough, being able to recite the Quran and read Ottoman Turkish texts. This reform would spare *rüşdiyye* schools from the burden of providing pupils basic literacy and reading abilities.[74]

These experiments seem to have failed, which can be inferred from the official reports sent by the Ministers of Public Education, Subhi Pasha and Safvet Pasha to the Grand Vizierate, and com-

[73] M. Cevâd, 81–82, 82–84, 85–86.
[74] Ergin, 464–466.

plaining about the level of Quran school graduates and proposing new reform measures.[75] From a report sent by Safvet Pasha in June 1868 we learn that though the curriculum of the Quran schools (at least of those in the capital) contained courses enabling the student to attain basic literacy, the graduates of these primary institutions were still not proficient enough to read texts without vowel symbols (*hareke*) and were lacking knowledge in numerals. It was pointed out that these graduates failed at the *rüşdiyye* entrance examinations, which were mainly based on testing the reading skills of the applicants.[76] This statement shows that the steps of 1862 to reform Quran schools remained futile.

Slightly earlier, the CE submitted a report to the grand vizier, stating the inevitability of reforming the Quran schools, since these were in fact "preparatory institutions for the *rüşdiyye*s" (*mekâtib-i mezkûreye idâdîyye makamında olan sıbyân mektebleri*). This report proposed that the instructors of the existing Quran schools should be examined by the CE, and those instructors found to be capable and sufficiently young be obliged to continue at certain days at the Teachers' Seminary for *Sıbyân* Schools, which at that period was about to be founded. Instruction at the Quran schools was to be realized according to a curriculum to be determined anew. Those instructors, found to be either too aged or incapable to become adjusted to the new reformed curriculum, should be allowed to continue to teach at their institutions, but under the condition that educated and competent assistant instructors be appointed to the latter institutions "to assist" the traditional instructors. The ministry feared that the dismissal of the incompetent and aged instructors would lead to their reaction (*ve ihtiyâr ve müsinn olub da usûl-i cedîde üzere talim ve tedrîse ehliyyeti kâfi*

[75] Safvet Pasha [Mehmed Esad] (1814–1883) was a representative of the reformers of the late *tanzîmât*-period, who devoted his whole energy for the reform and development of Ottoman education. The major reformatory steps taken during the 1860s should be credited for the greater part to his endeavours. Safvet Pasha was appointed minister of public education in 1868, remaining at this position until 1871. It was during his office that the RPE was compiled and promulgated. He was appointed for further two times minister of education until 1876, and for several times minister of foreign affairs and minister of trade until his death. For more detailed information, see Inal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, vol. 2, 809–894; Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern*, 83–85.

[76] BOA İrâde Şûrâ-yı Devlet (Imperial Decree Concerning Reports from the Council of State, hence ISD) 484–1–8 Ca 1285. Report from Safvet Pasha to the grand vizier, dated 8 Ra 1285/29 June 1868.

olmayanları kesri hatırlarını ve şikâyet u sadâyı mûcib olmamak). The CE stated that the principle of the "new method" (*usûl-i cedîde*)[77] should be applied to the Quran schools, first in İstanbul, and proposed the prohibition of the collection of the traditional weekly school-fees (*avâid*) from the pupils, this to be replaced by the payment of fixed monthly government salaries to the *sıbyân*-instructors.[78] The propositions of the CE aimed to establish a greater control over the Quran school instructors and to replace old and inflexible ones with young and educated teachers.

The futility of the previous reform attempts forced Subhi Pasha and the SCJO to develop a more comprehensive project entitled as the "Regulation Draft Concerning the Reforming of *Sıbyân* Schools" (*Sıbyân Mekteblerinin Islahâtına Dâir Nizâmnâme Lâyihasıdır*) in February 1868, consisting of ten articles. This document aimed to introduce to Quran schools practical subjects such as Orthography (*İmlâ*), Geography and the four arithmetic operations (*Âmâl-ı Erbaa*). In order to meet the expenses emerging from these reform steps, it was proposed to transfer to the MPE those funds at the Treasury of the Imperial Estates at Mortmain (*Evkaf-ı Hümâyûn Hazînesi*) which were assigned for the supply of Quran schools. Boys age six or older had to attend *sıbyân* schools. Those parents were to be warned officially who were not sending their children to Quran schools. Another proposal set up separate *sıbyân* schools for girls.[79] This regulation constituted a further step in reforming Quran schools, where for the first time courses of non-Islamic character were included into the curriculum. It was a radical proposal to transfer the funds assigned for Quran schools from the Treasury of the Imperial Estates at Mortmain to the MPE.

The examinations and interviews, undertaken by the CE proved that the overwhelming majority of the present Quran school instructors were unable to adapt themselves to the new reformed curriculum of the Quran schools. Eventually a Teachers' Seminary for Quran schools (*Dârülmuallimîn-i Sıbyâniyye*) was founded in November

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[77] For the term *usûl-i cedîde*, see 169 below.

[78] BOA IMVL 26278. Report of the CE to the grand vizier, dated 20 N 1284/15 January 1868.

[79] Subhi Pasha to the grand vizier, 20 N 1284, and report of the Department of Laws and Regulations at the SCJO, dated 17 L 1284/11 February 1868, to the grand vizier, in IMVL 26278. Also see Berker, 58–63, and Özcan, 449.

1868 to raise educated teachers.[80] The period of instruction at this institution was two years. This seminary initially consisted of two instructors, one director and one superintendent. Originally theological students at the imperial mosques of İstanbul were considered as candidates for this institution. But since the main aim of the Quran school instruction became the exercise of the reading and writing of Ottoman Turkish texts in addition to the learning of the Quran, the design to limit the prospective Quran school teaching body to theological students was abandoned in favor of admitting students with non-theological backgrounds.[81] This signified the changing perception of primary education from being a stage of mainly religious instruction to a more practical-worldly oriented level of education. In fact a campaign of counter-propaganda was launched by those groups which probably felt the existence of this institution detrimental to their vital professional interests, and the novelty of the notion of secular primary education led to the closing down of this seminary. But this situation lasted only for a short time, and the Teachers' Seminary for Quran schools was reopened in 1872.[82]

Looking at the development of the issue of primary schools from 1838 to 1868, the original educational aim of ensuring religious information became gradually changed into the aim of offering curriculum of Islamic *and* practical-worldly content. The Reform Edict of 1856 played an essential role in this process, forcing Ottoman bureaucrats to take more decisive steps toward the reformation of Quran schools.

Though the *rüşdiyye*s started in 1847 as secondary schools, the intellectual performance of the graduates from these institutions fell far below the expected level of *rüşdiyye*-education. A correspondence from the Grand Vizierate, dated 3 B 1280/14 December 1863 reveals that many of the graduates from the *rüşdiyye* schools could not write in a correct way, nor could they prepare a composition. Due to this situation, the Ottoman administration could not immediately benefit from those new civil service clerks who graduated from the *rüşdiyye*

[80] BOA ISD 484–1–8 Ca 1285. Report from Safvet Pasha to grand vizier, dated 8 Ra 1285/29 June 1868; Berker, 56–58; Özcan, 450.

[81] Report sent from the Department of Education of the Council of State to the grand vizier, dated 29 R 1285/21 August 1868, in BOA ISD 484. Also the sultanic decree, dated 9 Ca 1285 /28 August 1868, in ISD 484.

[82] Özcan, 450, 455.

schools.[83] This circumstance eventually forced the MPE to set up a special one-year course for preparing *rüşdiyye*-graduates to administrative career, in July 1862, called *Mekteb-i Eklâm* ("School of Bureaus"). After a year this arrangement proved to be unsatisfactory, and this course was expanded into a three-year-school of its own right, now named as *Mahrec-i Eklâm* ("Outlet for the Bureaus").[84] According to Cevdet Pasha this new school was a forerunner of the future *idâdî* schools, to be founded as the main secondary schools throughout the Empire. The *Mahrec-i Eklâm* functioned until 1877, when the "Imperial School of the Civil Service" (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye-i Şâhâne*) was expanded and replaced the former.[85] The low educational level of *rüşdiyye*s was connected with the general weakness of the Quran school graduates, which led *rüşdiyye*s to adopt primary school functions.

In 1868 the CE urged the Grand Vizierate to raise the level of instruction at the *rüşdiyye* schools by applying the *usûl-i cedîde* at these schools, and increasing the period of instruction from four to five years. No further detail is given about the new curriculum.[86] But one may safely say that this proposal was not seriously taken into consideration, as the stipulations in the Regulation of 1869 concerning *rüşdiyye* schools clearly prove.[87]

The growing expansion of *sıbyân* schools and *rüşdiyye* schools as well as the attempts to reform these institutions, strengthened the need to define and establish solid financial sources for the increasing educational expenses. In 1868 the *sıbyân* schools and the *rüşdiyye* schools depended on three financial sources. First of all, yearly fees, to be paid by the parents of the pupils. Second, the transfer of those funds at the *Evkaf-ı Hümâyûn* Treasury, originally assigned for the supply of the *sıbyân* schools, to the institutions which were undergoing reform. Third, those funds annually transferred from the state

[83] Cited from Ergin, 477, 478.

[84] Ergin, 476–479.

[85] Cevdet Pasha states that the main difference of the *Mahrec-i Eklâm* from the later *idâdî*-schools was in the emphasis of the curriculum of the former institution in literary subjects, whereas in the latter the stress was put more on practical and natural scientific subjects. See BOA YEE 18–553/587–93–98 (Cevdet Paşa Evrakı); YEE 18–1860–93–39 (Cevdet Paşa Evrakı); Ergin, 479, 595–596, 602–604.

[86] Report of the CE to Grand Vizierate (20 N 1284/15 January 1868), in BOA IMVL 26278.

[87] M. Cevâd, 473–477.

budget to the MPE.[88] Among these specified sources, the first one was to be applied in harmony with the actual financial conditions of the students' parents. Accordingly, students' families were categorized in three classes. Children of rich families (*agniyazâde*) were to pay an annual fee of 400 *kuruş*, wealthy children (*ehli servet evlâdı*) 200 *kuruş*, and the remaining children 100 *kuruş*.[89] Those children, who could prove their poverty by testimonials given by the local *imâm* and the headman of the town quarter (*muhtâr*) had the right of free attendance at the *rüşdiyye* school.[90]

Though the proposition of the CPE in 1856 and the document of 1861 tried to place the existing Muslim and non-Muslim schools within a common legal framework, there was still a need for a more comprehensive legal setting which would determine educational as well as institutional and financial policies and issues concerning Ottoman public education. The government policy of Ottomanism, which became particularly strong after the edict of 1856, needed comprehensive educational planning for the propagation of this ideal. After 1864 discussions began for a regulation encompassing Ottoman public education. In 1867 Jean Victor Duruy, the French educational reformer and Minister of Education of France, proposed the foundation of interconfessional secondary schools, the setting up of a university, the establishment of professional schools and the opening of public libraries. Within two years the state enacted these proposals as the "Regulation of Public Education" (*Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*).[91] One could consider the period between 1838 and 1869 as the early stage of Ottoman educational reforms, where reform measures were taken on individual basis or without considering the administrative, financial and professional aspects as a whole. The Regulation of Public Education, on the other hand, would provide a legal and institutional framework for Ottoman public education which would last until the Young Turk period.

Significant educational developments of the late *tanzîmât*-period included the foundation of three institutions in İstanbul, which later

[88] Subhi Pasha to grand vizier (20 N 1284/15 January 1868), in BOA IMVL 26278; Report of the Dept. of Laws and Regulations at the SCJO (17 L 1284/11 February 1868), in BOA IMVL 26278.

[89] For general salary conditions, compare Chapter IV, 163–164.

[90] Report of the CE to grand vizier (20 N 1284/15 January 1868), in BOA IMVL 26278.

[91] Berkes, 179; İhsanoğlu, "Tanzimat Öncesi," 370; Kodaman, 20–22.

functioned as schools for the raising of state-elites and intellectuals of the Empire and the Turkish Republic. One of them, the School of the Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye-i Şâhâne*) was originally set up in 1859 as a course to train young clerks of the Sublime Porte on subjects such as Law, Economics, Geography, History, and Statistics. *Rüşdiyye*-graduates could also enter this institution after passing the entrance examination. The Sublime Porte gave priority to graduates of this course in the appointments of *kazâ* (district) governors (*kaymakam*) and local financial directors (*mal müdürü*). It was originally a two-year course, but the educational period was expanded in 1869 into three years, and finally became four in 1870. During the Hamidian period, the *Mekteb-i Mülkiyye* was elevated to a professional college, providing three years of secondary school education (*idâdî*) and two-year professional classes. French became compulsory, as well as one of the local languages of the Empire as an elective, i.e. Greek, Armenian, or Bulgarian. After 1877, *kazâ* governorships were only appointed among those officials who had graduated from this school. The *Mekteb-i Mülkiyye-i Şâhâne* was an institution where some of the more distinguished intellectuals of the Empire taught, such as Mizâncı Murad Bey, Abdurrahman Şeref Bey, Sakızlı Ohannes Pasha, and Akyiğitzâde Musâ Bey. Thus, graduates of this school did not distinguish themselves only in their professional competence, but also in their intellectual orientations.[92]

Another institution of a comparable kind was the *Mekteb-i Sultânî* (present-day *Galatasaray Lisesi*). It was founded in 1868, aiming the Ottomanist goal of providing education for both Muslim and non-Muslim pupils. Although it was a government school, this institution was set up in close collaboration with the French Ministry of Education. The curriculum, in its original form, was in harmony with those of the French lycées. Except for courses such as Religion, Ottoman History, Islamic History, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Literature, Geography and Calligraphy, the remaining courses on natural sci-

[92] Ali Çankaya [Mücellidoğlu], *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler (Mülkiye Şeref Kitabı): Son Asır Türk Tarihinin Önemli Olayları ile Birlikde: (Atik) Mekteb-i Fünun-ı Mülkiyye, Mekteb-i Mülkiyye-i Şahane, Mekteb-i Mülkiyye, Mülkiye Mektebi, Siyasal Bilgiler Okulu, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Tarihi* (Ankara: Mars, 1968–1969, 1970–1971); Ergin, vol. 1–2, 594–619; Joseph S. Szyliowicz, "Elite Recruitment in Turkey: The Role of the Mülkiye", *World Politics* 23 (1971), 371–398.

ences, law, philosophy and classical European languages such as Greek and Latin were to be taught in French. Initially set up as a five-year high school, the subsequent inclusion of an additional seven years for primary and secondary education turned the *Mekteb-i Sultânî* into an institution with twelve-year education. The first rector of the institution was a Frenchman, followed by an Ottoman Armenian, and later by Muslim Ottomans. Instructors consisted of Frenchmen and Ottomans. Pupils who received a diploma were eligible to continue their education at French universities. After 1874 three professional schools were included to the *Mekteb-i Sultânî*: the Law School (*Galatasaray Hukuk Mektebi*), the School of Humanities (*Galatasaray Edebî Mektebi*) and the Engineering School (*Turûku Meâbir Mektebi*). Despite initial reactions from Islamist and conservative non-Muslim circles against the mixed education of Muslims and non-Muslim pupils, in a short period this school had become an institution where wealthy parents of all denominations sought to send their boys for instruction. The *Mekteb-i Sultânî* was a fee-paying school, but Muslim children with exceptional abilities could continue their education as free boarder students following an examination.[93]

The third institution was the *Dârüşşafaka* ("House of Compassion"), a private orphanage founded in 1873 by the philanthropic organisation *Cemiyyet-i Tedrîsiyye-i İslâmiyye* ("Society for Islamic Education") to promote education among Muslims of modest means. This secondary school, organized in accordance with the disciplinary regulations of military schools, emerged as one of the best schools of the Empire, offering opportunities for orphans and poor children with intellectual abilities. Many of its instructors were military officers, who prepared some of the textbooks and translated others from French into Ottoman Turkish, to be used only at the *Dârüşşafaka*. A number of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman

[93] Yahya Akyüz, "Galatasaray Lisesi'nin Islahına İlişkin Ali Suavî'nin Girişimlerini Gösteren Bir Belge,", *Belleten* 46 (1982), 121–131; Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 245–246; *Galatasaray Lisesi: (Mekteb-i Sultani) 1868–1968* ([1968], n.p.); Fethi İsfendiyaroğlu, *Galatasaray Tarihi* (İstanbul: Doğan Kardeş Yayınları, 1952); Bayram Kodaman-Abdullah Saydam, "Tanzimat Devri Eğitim Sistemi", *150. Yılında Tanzimat.* Edited by Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 486–487; İhsan Sungu, "Galatasaray Lisesinin Kuruluşu," *Belleten* 7 (1943), 315–347; Adnan Şişman, *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi'nin Kuruluşu ve İlk Eğitim Yılları (1868–1871)* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1989).

intellectuals, among them the prominent journalist and author Ahmed Râsim, were graduates of this institution.[94]

Educational Policies and Educational Ideology: Modernism and Social Disciplining (1845–1869)

One of the main motives of Ottoman educational expansion and modernization was the training of a new generation of administrators, equipped with the necessary practical and positive knowledge. In this context educational development was understood as a part of the administrative modernization of the Empire. At the same time the expansion of education was considered as a means of social and economic development. The first part of the report, prepared by the CPW in 1838 clearly reflects the latter perception. A discussion appeared in the official gazette in 1847, where different educational systems in various European countries were compared.[95] It has been argued that this article clearly represented the tendency of the Sublime Porte to find a European educational model.

Another source of Western influence in terms of the structuration of educational institutions possibly could have been the educational current of the "monitorial system," called also Bell-Lancaster schools. According to this system the instructor, after providing the necessary instruction to his pupils, would select among his best students those who would transmit the course information to lower grades. The monitorial system provided the dissemination of education among a great number of students by means of few instructors. This movement emerged in Britain and in British India in the beginning of the nineteenth century as a means to provide mass education to the children of the poorer social strata, and spread throughout continental Europe.[96] According to Berkes American Protestant mission-

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[94] *Darüşşafaka: Cemiyet-i Tedrisiyei İslâmiye, 1949/Türkçe Okutma Kurumu* (İstanbul: Kurum, 1949); Ergin, 487–494; *İlk Halk Okulu Darüşşafaka (1873–1972)* (İstanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1972); Mehmed İzzet (et al.), *Darüşşafaka: Türkiye'de İlk Halk Mektebi* (İstanbul: Ufuk Matbaası, 1927); Ahmed Râsim, *Matbû'ât Hâtıralarından: Muharrir, Şâ'ir, Edîb* (İstanbul: Kanâ'at Kitâbhânesi, 1924), 6–66.

[95] İhsanoğlu, "Tanzimat Öncesi," 370, citing the *Takvim-i Vekayi*, dated 10 M 1264/28 December 1847.

[96] Concerning the monitorial system, see Andrew Bell, *The Madras School or Elements of Tuition* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes, 1993); R. Freeman Butts, *A Cultural History*

aries set up the first monitorial schools in the Ottoman Empire in the early 1830s, and afterwards this system was adopted by the Ottoman army for military primary and adult education.[97] It is possible that the monitorial system was also applied to a certain extent at civil government schools after the 1840s. Though there is no direct evidence for this assumption, Selim Sâbit Efendi's criticisms concerning the monitorial system in his *Rehnümâ-yı Muallimîn* ("Guidebook for Instructors") in 1870 clearly manifests some degree of familiarity with this method.[98]

As an integral part of this process of educational modernization Kemal Efendi introduced secular courses such as Arithmetic and Geography to Muslim civil educational institutions, i.e. to the *rüşdiyye* schools. The fact that the Regulation of 1869 was prepared to a great deal as a part of the French educational project displays another aspect of the considerable European influence in Ottoman educational modernization schemes.[99]

Midhat Pasha's educational policy in the province of Danube served as an example for the *tanzîmât*-bureaucrats, who until the 1860s tried to develop educational policies towards non-Muslim communities, but lacked the resolve to enforce them in a thorough way.[100] Though the Reform Edict of 1856 guaranteed equal access to civil and military government schools and mixed education was promoted by 1861, only professional schools like the Naval School or the Medical School carried out these policies.[101] Low in number, deficient in educational content, and encumbered by Islamic influenced curriculum, the *rüşdiyye* schools could not handle mixed education. However, no step was taken to change their character. Instead, the

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of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, n.d.); Matthew Davenport Hill, *Public Education: Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in Large Numbers* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes, 1993); James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes, 1993).

[97] Berkes, 102–104, basing on sources such as James E. DeKay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832* (New York, 1833), 155–56, 232 ff., 433–35, 490–91; William Goodell, *Memoirs, or Forty Years in the Turkish Empire.* Edited by E.D.G. Prime (New York, 1876), 143, 165; Marshal Marmont, *The Present State of the Turkish Empire,* trans. Fréderic Smith (London, 1839), 78–79; Mehmed Esad, *Mirât-ı Mekteb-i Harbiyye* (İstanbul, 1894), 8–12.

[98] Compare 171 below.

[99] İhsanoğlu, "Tanzimat Öncesi," 370.

[100] Compare 77–78 ff. below.

[101] Davison, *Reform*, 132–133, 245–252.

MPE established a special secondary school for mixed education in 1868 in İstanbul, the *Mekteb-i Sultânî*.

Minister of Public Education from 1868 to 1871, Safvet Pasha was eager to increase the number of reformed *sıbyân* schools in the provinces. Temporary and mobile teachers were appointed to Quran schools outside of İstanbul because of the lack of proficient teachers at the provincial level. He also sent a number of experienced and qualified teachers to the provinces to instruct in modern subjects and train local staff up-to-date methods of teaching.[102]

The issue of the introduction of French courses into *rüşdiyye* schools, discussed in 1869–1870 for certain provincial institutions, manifested the orientation of the MPE toward modernist and practical instruction in these years. Safvet Pasha wrote to the grand vizier, stating that trade towns such as Beirut or İzmir demanded French courses in public schools. In spite of the attitude of the Grand Vizierate to pursue a less expensive policy of translating books from foreign languages into Ottoman Turkish to be used in schools, Safvet Pasha pointed out that local Muslims in the trade towns were inclined to send their children to foreign schools due to the demand for the instruction of French language. A correspondence from the governor of the *vilâyet* of Syria supported Safvet Pasha's arguments. The local administration of Jerusalem asked the MPE for the inclusion of French courses in the local *rüşdiyye* curriculum and proposed the appointment of an instructor for French with a monthly salary between a minimum of 600 *kuruş* and 1000 *kuruş*.[103] By a decree, dated 24 L 1286/27 January 1870, it was accepted to include French courses to those *rüşdiyye*s located at trade ports and areas with a high proportion of foreign population. At the *rüşdiyye* school in Jerusalem, an Austrian Jew was appointed as instructor for French, with a monthly salary of 600 *kuruş*. This amount of salary was comparable with the salary of a *rüşdiyye*-headmaster.[104] Educational modernization during the *tanzîmât*-period paralleled the training of well-educated civil servants, the introduction of secular and practical course subjects, and mixed education of Muslims and non-Muslims in public schools.

Another development of the *tanzîmât*-period was the foundation of

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[102] Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern*, 84, 85; Özcan, 451.

[103] Safvet Pasha to grand vizier (16 R 1286/26 July 1869), in BOA ID 42205–1–23 L 1286.

[104] Decree, dated 24 L 1286/27 January 1870, in BOA ID 42205–1–23 L 1286.

rüşdiyye schools for girls in 1858. A possible reason for the increasing concern of the government for female education was revealed in an article, which appeared in the official gazette *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1861. According to this article *rüşdiyye* schools for girls would teach women about religion and worldly issues in order to provide their husbands comfort in domestic matters and to preserve their own chastity.[105]

A different kind of concern for female education could be found in the opinions of Sadık Rifat Pasha, the "ideologue" of the early *tanzîmât*- period. Probably toward the end of the 1840s, i.e. a decade before the foundation of the first female *rüşdiyye* school, he argued that the state should provide "good upbringing" (*hüsnu terbiyye*) for female children, since "personal maturity" (*kemâlât*) was among the "honourable ornaments" (*agarr hıliyât*) for girls. Rifat Pasha in addition stressed that "the motherly embrace was indeed the earliest school for human beings" (*ağuş-i mâder insânın en evvelki mektebi olmağla*). Therefore it would be a "great service for one's nation and humanity" (*milletine ve insâniyyete pek büyük hidmetdir*) to raise mothers who would provide their children religious and moral education while suckling them.[106] Though these motives clearly displayed political features, nevertheless giving women a fair level of education seemed to become a matter of concern for the late *tanzîmât*-ruling circles. The setting up of female *rüşdiyyes* was a considerable step in leading women into public life.

Though the curriculum of the first female *rüşdiyye* school in İstanbul is unknown, the above-mentioned aims for setting up schools for girls indicate that the curriculum probably included courses on sewing and embroidery. Due to the lack of female instructors during the first years, the teaching staffs of girls' schools were composed of male instructors except for teachers of courses like handicraft or sewing. Only in 1873 the first graduates of the Female Teachers' Seminary took up their profession.[107]

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[105] Cited from Ergin, 458; M. Cevâd, 74–75. Compare also Berrak Burçak, "The Status of the Elite Muslim Women in İstanbul Under the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II" (Master's thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara 1997), 24.

[106] Rifat Paşa, "Ahlâk Risâlesinin Zeyli," *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr*. Vol. 7 (İstanbul: Ali Bey Matbaası, 1293/1876), 18.

[107] Male teachers were to be "aged and ugly" (*müsinn ve çirkin*). See Ergin, 457–458. Ergin states 1869 as the date of the foundation of the Female Teachers' Seminary. Berker however, informs as 1870, and Özcan as Muharrem 1287/April 1870 as the date of foundation. Compare Berker, 100, Özcan, 457.

In spite of these modernistic tendencies, the early years of the Ottoman educational modernization also inherited the former tradition of considering civil education as a means of social control and disciplining by inculcating religious and moral values to pupils, a seemingly complementary tendency to the modernistic policies. This latter outlook remained effective in the Quran schools and partially also in *rüşdiyye* schools at least until the 1860s and eventually revived during the Hamidian period.

Among its basic aims in the 1840s, government education accented moral and religious content. Until 1845, a member of the *ulemâ* directed the only government body for educational administration, the DRS. The proposals of the DRS promoted religious education. Though a more secular body, the CPE was formed in 1846, still it stressed the great importance of "moral education" (*tehzîb-i ahlâk*) and "correction of the self" (*ıslah-ı zât*) in "human education" (*terbiyye-i insâniyye*).[108] In this context Sadık Rifat Pasha, at that time at the head of the SCJO, compiled a booklet for schoolchildren, with the title "Principles of Morality" (*Mebâdi-i Ahlâk*, referred later as *Ahlâk Risâlesi*, "Booklet on Morality"), which, while teaching pupils to read simple Ottoman texts, would also inculcate moral values. This book was accepted by the CPE as a textbook for Quran schools to be used as a second book after completing the primer *Elifbâ Cüzü*.[109]

An 1848 statement on the newly founded *rüşdiyye*s maintained that "the reason for the foundation of *rüşdiyye* schools [is] the proper realization of the important issue of the correction of the subjects which for some time is asked for and being a necessity" (*rüşdiyye mekteblerinin küşâdı bir müddetdenberü matlûb ve müstelzimi âlî olan terbiyye-i tebaa madde-i mutenâsının hüsnu husûli kaziyye-i marziyyesine mebnî olarak*).[110]

The term "correction of the subjects" (*terbiyye-i tebaa*) in this quotation explains itself one of the main aims of Ottoman public education, i.e. social disciplining. In a later report a similar statement was made that "the fundamental principle of public education [is] the expansion of public instruction" (*terbiyye-i âmmenin üssu esâsı olan*

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[108] Report, dated 12 M 1263/31 December 1846, and sent by the CPE to the Sublime Porte, in BOA ID 6911.

[109] Decree, dated 18 M 1263/6 January 1847, for the admission of the printing and usage of the *Mebâdi-i Ahlâk* as a textbook, in BOA ID 6911.

[110] Decree, dated 24 Za 1264/22 October 1848, in BOA IMVL 3324.

neşru maârif).[111] The term "terbiyye," here employed for "education," in fact contains meanings such as "bringing up," "raising," "training" as well as "correction" and "chastising." The differentiation, made in this expression between education, "terbiyye," and instruction, "maârif," strengthens in this context the possibility of an underlying notion of education as a means of inculcating moral values. When the Muslim unrest against the Catholics of Shkodër (İşkodra) undermined the government authority in June 1856, the earlier decision to found a *rüşdiyye* school in this town was rapidly put into practice, with the aim to establish "a source of correction" (*bir menbâ-i terbiyye*) for the local population.[112]

In addition to the government-supported expansion of Quran schools in İstanbul and in the provinces from the 1840s onwards until the 60s, state-supplied schoolbooks distributed freely among poor children were mainly of religious and moralistic nature.[113] In 1847 and 1848 the *Birgivî Risâlesi*, the *İlmi Hâl Risâlesi* ("Booklet for Catechism") and the *Tecvîd Risâlesi* ("Booklet Concerning the Recitation of the Quran") went to the Quran schools of İstanbul.[114] The copies of the *Ahlâk Risâlesi*, on the other hand, were to be sent to Quran schools as school-equipment (*temür baş*) to be read by the pupils only in schools.[115] In 1860, when Mustafa Vehbî Efendi was inspecting Quran and *rüşdiyye* schools in the western Anatolian provinces, he distributed for the local schools books like *Elifbâ Cüzü, Zübdetu İlmi Hâl, Tecvîd Risâlesi, Tecvîd Şerhi Risâlesi, Malûmât-ı Nâfia Risâlesi, Birgivî Risâlesi, Gülistan, Emsile Cüzü, Talimu Fârisi, Kavâidu Fârisi, Ahlâk Risâlesi, Avâmil, Resâili Erbaa, Maksûd Cüzü, Binâ Cüzü, İhyâ ül-Veled, Hesâb Risâlesi* and *İlmi Hâl Risâlesi*.[116] Five years later, when measures were

[111] Report, dated 25 C 1269/5 April 1853, and prepared by the CPE, in BOA ID 16926.

[112] BOA ID 23032.

[113] About the government-supported expansion of Quran schools, see 74 ff. below.

[114] The government approved to print 6000 of the *İlmi Hâl Risâlesi* (decree dated 18 R 1263/5 April 1847, BOA ID 7370), 4000 of the *Tecvîd Risâlesi* (decree dated 10 C 1263/26 May 1847, IMVL 2015), 1200 of the *Birgivî Risâlesi* (decree dated 26 N 1264/26 August 1848, ID 9313).

[115] The government approved the printing of 6000 of the *Ahlâk Risâlesi* (decree dated 29 C 1263/14 June 1847, BOA IMVL 2036).

[116] The distributed number of books in Bursa for each title were between 30 and 100. Report, dated 21 Z 1276/10 July 1860 and sent by the schoolmaster of the *rüşdiyye* school of Bursa to the Sublime Porte, in BOA ID 30972. For more information about the *Kavâidu Fârisi*, see Kreiser, "Schulbuch," 66–68.

taken to support education among the Circassian immigrants, these being settled in the *sancak* of Lâzistan, the sultan donated books for the Quran schools such as the *Elifbâ Cüzü*, the *Âmme Cüzü*, the *Tebâreke Cüzü*, the *Emsîle Cüzü*, the *Binâ Cüzü*, the *Maksûd Cüzü*, the *İlmi Hâl Risâlesi* and the *Tecvîd Risâlesi*.[117] It is striking that these books, mostly of them with traditional Islamic and scholastic qualities, were distributed among Quran schools and *rüşdiyye* schools alike. These titles are indicative for the Islamic character of *rüşdiyye*-education during the *tanzîmât*-period.

The expansion of Quran schools in Crete and in the western Balkans, though closely connected with the weakening of Islam among the local Muslims and with local unrest, should also be considered within the context of the tradition of social disciplining. The state tried, by means of religious education, to re-establish loyalty for the Islamic central authority on the one hand and inculcate the notion of obedience on the other.[118]

It was in a sense inevitable that the dominant atmosphere at the *sıbyân* schools and the *rüşdiyye* schools remained religious. Despite the new character of *rüşdiyye* schools or some of the reformed Quran schools the general scarcity of qualified instructors led to the employment of capable members of the *ulemâ* as teachers.[119] Even during the first decades following the foundation of the Teachers' Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* Schools applicants to this institution remained for the most part former *medrese*-students. After Ahmed Cevdet Efendi (later Pasha) was appointed director of this seminary in 1850, he prepared a regulation for this institution (*Dârülmuallimîn Nizâmnâmesi*) and submitted the proposal to the CPE on 29 C 1267/1 May 1851, which eventually was accepted by the Sublime Porte. This regulation, among other points, prohibited seminary students from mendicant preaching (*cerre çıkmak*) outside İstanbul during the three holy months of Receb, Şaban and Ramazan, which was traditionally done by *medrese*-students. For Ahmed Cevdet Efendi, the main objections were first, the danger of forgetting the knowledge acquired at the courses as a consequence of the interruption of instruction for three months, and second,

[117] These books were distributed in the town of Batum, among the villages of Batum, and in the *kazâ*s of Hemşin, Atina, Arhavi, Hopa, Gönye and Livane. See BOA IMVL 24886.

[118] Compare 180 ff. below.

[119] Findley, 133.

the undermining the dignity and respect of the future instructors by this act of what he called "beggary" (*dilencilik*).[120] This example reveals on the one hand the aim of the Ottoman administration to raise instructors as a professional group distinct from the population and with some degree of esteem, and the cultural difficulties to change the behavior of teacher-candidates to reach this goal on the other.

The religious character especially of the Quran schools was reinforced by the fact that the *ulemâ* regarded them as their monopoly, and vehemently defended these schools against the influences of the *tanzîmât*-reformers. It is interesting to observe that while both the *tanzîmât*-reformers and the conservative *ulemâ* considered primary schools within the realm of Islamic education, the fear of the lower *ulemâ* of being unable to adapt themselves to the reformed state of Quran schools and thus to loose their occupation led to anti-reformist reactions justified by superficially Islamic discourse. When the attempt was made to reconvert certain Quran schools, actually used as coffee shops, into regular schools in 1876, their "instructors" attempted to protest against such "unislamic" measures.[121]

A clear indication concerning the educational ideology of the *tanzîmât*-period constitutes the textbook *Ahlâk Risâlesi*, written by Sadık Rifat Pasha (1807–1856).[122] As a close associate of Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Rifat Pasha is considered one of the key figures in shaping the state policies of the early *tanzîmât*-period. He advocated rational policies for the promotion of central power together with the legal protection of the basic civil rights of imperial subjects as well as the encouragement of trade, industry and education. However, he defended the concentration of political power in the hands of the Sublime

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[120] Yahya Akyüz, "Türkiye'de Öğretmenliğin Temelleri Sağlam Atılmıştı," *Yeni Türkiye. Eğitim Özel Sayısı* 7 (Ocak-Şubat 1996), 471–475.

[121] For the details, see Berker, 115; Ergin, 84, 446, 450–452, 460–463.

[122] For details about Mehmed Sadık Rifat Pasha's life and his ideas, see Ercüment Kuran, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnsan Hakları ve Sadık Rifat Paşa," *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 11–15 Ekim 1976)*. Vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1981), 1449–1453; Necdet Kurdakul, "Mehmet Sadık Rifat Paşa," *Tarih ve Toplum* 71 (1989), 312–317; Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin Doğuşu. The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* Translated into Turkish by Mümtaz'er Türköne, Fahri Unan and Irfan Erdoğan (İstanbul: İletişim, 1996), 191–219; Ali Fuad [Türkgeldi], *Ricâl-i Mühimme-i Siyâsiyye* 2d ed. (İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1928). Rifat Pasha's writings were published in the *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr*. 8 vols. (İstanbul: Tatyos Dividciyan and Ali Bey, 1290/1873–1293/1876).

Porte bureaucracy without encouraging popular participation.[123] Rifat Pasha's view on public education paralleled this authoritarian-reformist attitude. While favoring the expansion of public education among the Ottoman subjects, Rifat Pasha also showed a degree of cautiousness concerning the political consequences of mass education. For him the general population should acquire only basic literacy. He reserved professional education for those aiming to become civil servants, army officers or financial experts, because he believed that providing ordinary people a more comprehensive instruction might lead to a liberal outlook and even to disobedience and rebelliousness.[124]

The *Ahlâk Risâlesi* was probably the earliest government-backed textbook, written for traditional Quran schools as well as for government primary schools and was required in instruction between 1847 and 1876.[125] Considering its wide distribution among numerous provincial Quran schools of the Balkan and western Anatolian provinces during the 1850s and 60s, the *Ahlâk Risâlesi* represented the dominant educational attitude of the *tanzîmât*-period.[126]

Examining a series of positive and negative behavioral categories, the author supported or condemned these by basically using three types of justifications, i.e. social control, religion together with reason, and humanity. Giving only a few examples, the need for the acquisition of knowledge (*ilim*) in order not to become an ignorant, which would lead to disrespect, or the inappropriateness of lying (*kizb*) due to the possibility of its discovery by other people and the shameful consequences, were justified by the notion of social con-

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[123] See Rifat Pasha's "Ahlâk Risâlesine Zeyl" and "İdâre-i Hükûmete Müteâllik Bazı Kavâid-i Esâsiyyeyi Mutazammın Diğer Risâle," *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr.* Vol. 7 (İstanbul: Ali Bey, 1293/1876), 33–38, 42–64; Mardin, *loc. cit.*

[124] "Rifat Paşa Merhûmun Bin İki Yüz Elli Dört Tarihinde ve İbtidâki Sefâretinde Viyanada İken Husûl-i Saâdet-i Hâl-i Devlet-i Âliyye Hakkında Kaleme Aldığı Bazı Mütâelâtdır," *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr.* Vol. 8. See also Mardin, 211. Compare also *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr*, Vol. 7, 16–17.

[125] The possiby last date of its publication is 1306/1888–89. Though printed in changing formats in different editions (page numbers varying between 23 and 37), the text itself was preserved in its original form.

[126] *Risâle-i Ahlâk* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye-i Adliyye-i Şâhâne Litografya Destegâhı, 1263/1847). Interestingly, this textbook was subsequently translated into Ladino by the Ottoman Jewish judge Yehezkel Gabbay (1825–1898) under the title *El Buen Dotrino* and printed in 1861 as a booklet to be used in Sephardi primary schools. See Isaac Jerusalmi, *From Ottoman Turkish into Ladino. The Case of Mehmet Sadık Rifat Pasha's Risâle-i Ahlâk and Judge Yehezkel Gabbay's Buen Dotrino* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Ladino Books, 1990).

trol. To be fearful of God and to abstain from evil actions, while doing good things, a binding obligation according to religion and reason (*dince ve akılca*), or the preservation of health (*hıfz-ı sıhhat-ı vücûd*) in order to serve God and the self, were examples for the justification by means of religion and reason. While generosity (*sahâvet*) was a prerequisite of humanity (*insâniyyetin şartındandır*), shamelessness and buffoonery (*arsızlık ve masharalık*) would be improper to the "purpose of humanness" (*gâyet-i insâna yakışmıyan*). Rifat Pasha never used a purely religious justification, but mentioned religion always together with reason. This twofold usage of religion and reason suggested a natural harmony or inseparability of these categories. The category of humanity, which Rifat Pasha often applied, was not understood as a transcendental ideal, but somehow mainly as a function of prevalent social values, where the final attitude of social environment, i.e. social control, was important. This approach was even more reinforced by behavioral categories such as "good manners and respect" (*edeb ve hürmet*) where the child was inculcated the duty to revere and respect (*tazim ve hürmet*) elder or greater (*büyük*) persons, to button up the coat when approaching the greater individual and to kiss his hand, to sit only when the greater asks him to do so, to talk only when asked.

The pupil, memorizing the alphabet would read this textbook thoroughly, and be introduced to positive and negative behavioral categories. Whatever these behavioral categories might be, nearly all of them would be defended or opposed by means of justifications, which had the quality of indisputability. The dominant authority in the textbook was social pressure, and the pupil would have to comply with the expectations of the social environment. As an inevitable consequence the pupil would have to act in harmony with the existing social traditions. Another authority would appear as the twofold concept of religion and reason. The pupil would sense a close connection between religion and reason, but this twofold concept would also appear as an unquestionable source.

The reader would not be encouraged, by this *Ahlâk Risâlesi*, to act as an independent individual, being responsible for himself by means of his critical reason, since his positive identity as an individual would be only a function of the attitude of the social environment. This authoritarian attitude mixed religious arguments with traditional ones. The notion of the responsibility of the human being for his own life, in a rational sense, was represented in the *Ahlâk Risâlesi* only at a

minimum level. The values of the eighteenth century European Enlightenment and the ideals of the French Revolution, where individuals began to be perceived as having become mature by means of critical reasoning, and hence their independence from ancient traditions and values, were not among the main aims which the *tanzîmât*-statesmen strove for. Instead, the pupil was aimed to be disciplined in his moral as well as his bodily behavior, conditioned by traditional social and religious values.

CHAPTER TWO

BEGINNINGS OF GOVERNMENT EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCES (1849–1869)

Though designed in 1839, the plan to set up government schools in the provinces could be implemented effectively only in the early 1850s, and legal foundations of educational administration at the provincial level would wait until 1869. Until this year educational development at provincial level was realized particularly in the Balkan region. In the Balkans as well as in Crete or in Syria educational reforms sought to forestall unrest and disaffection among local Muslim population groups and to promote loyalty toward the Ottoman state. The foundation and reformation of provincial Quran schools served the aim of social disciplining. On the other hand, the policy of Ottomanism, becoming stronger after 1856, induced the Sublime Porte to found *rüşdiyye* schools particularly in the Balkans to promote mixed education where the majority of the Ottoman Christian subjects were residing. The predominance of Islamic tradition and religious instructors in *rüşdiyye* schools made thwarted this goal prior to 1869. Only the introduction of a special kind of curriculum, acknowledging the difference of religious beliefs among students, could successfully promote Ottomanism. The exemplary steps taken by Midhat Pasha concerning the dissemination of modern schools within the province of Danube as well as his success in promoting mixed education constituted later a model for the development of government school system in the other provinces.

Rüşdiyye Schools

Rüşdiyye schools were the first government educational institutions to be set up in the provinces. With the exception of provincial military schools and traditional *medrese*s, provincial *rüşdiyye* schools prior to the 1880s were the highest educational institutions in the periphery. Especially those *rüşdiyye*s, equipped with better instructors, could sometimes turn into centers of provincial intellectual life. Provincial

graduates of such institutions formed the "educational elite" of the periphery.[1]

Only one year following the foundation of first *rüşdiyye* schools by Kemal Efendi in İstanbul, it was planned to expand these institutions at the provincial level. A communication, sent by the CPE to the Sublime Porte (18 Za 1264/16 October 1848) stated the aim to found *rüşdiyye* schools in the provinces. But since it was difficult to realize this goal throughout the Empire immediately, the CPE proposed adopting the policy of setting up *rüşdiyye* schools at first only in Bursa and in Edirne as models for schools to be established in other provinces. Since a legal setting did not exist for provincial education, the CPE considered the "Regulations of Quran Schools and *Rüşdiyye* Schools" (*Mekâtib-i Sıbyân ve Rüşdiyye Nizâmâtı*) as the legal frame for provincial Quran schools and *rüşdiyye*s. This regulation stipulated the continuation of pupils above 10 years of age at *rüşdiyye* schools, while those parents, unwilling to send their children to schools would be prosecuted. The education would last four years for Quran schools, and two years for *rüşdiyye* schools. The CPE decided to distribute the booklets *İlmi Hâl* ("Catechism") and *Ahlâk Risâlesi* ("Booklet on Morality") among the Quran school pupils of Bursa and Edirne. For the problem of finding buildings for *rüşdiyye* schools, it proposed to select one of the existing larger Quran school-buildings as the *rüşdiyye*-building. Only those Quran school pupils able to read books should be admitted to *rüşdiyye* schools. The CPE found it sufficient to appoint as schoolmasters of these new institutions those students, who just had begun courses at the Teachers' Seminary in İstanbul. Their assistants (*muîn*) were to be selected among capable local *ulemâ*, one for each schoolmaster.[2] These propositions were approved by the government, and issued by a decree, dated 24 Za 1264/22 October 1848.[3] This step to found *rüşdiyye* schools in Bursa and Edirne shortly after the setting up of the first examples of these institutions in İstanbul showed the determination of the state to expand government education in the provinces. But the lack of qualified instructors to realize this aim revealed itself by the decision of the

[1] Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar*. Edited by Faruk Ilıkan. 2d ed. (İstanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret, 1998), 16; For further details concerning the nature of Rüşdiyye-education in the provinces and the capital, see Chapter VII, 262 ff.

[2] Report, dated 18 Za 1264/16 October 1848 and sent by the CPE to the Sublime Porte, in BOA IMVL 3324.

[3] Decree, dated 24 Za 1264/22 October 1848, in BOA IMVL 3324.

CPE to send non-graduate students from the newly founded Teachers' Seminary as schoolmasters to the projected *rüşdiyye* schools. Also the administrative means to enforce children to continue at Quran schools and *rüşdiyye* schools in Edirne and Bursa was not specified. The selection of Bursa and Edirne as the ancient capitals and main towns of the Empire after İstanbul was a decision to be expected. But the next phase of educational expansion at the provincial level occurred in Bosnia, in the "far west" of the Ottoman Balkans.

The foundation of *rüşdiyye* schools in the *eyâlet* (designation for "province" prior to 1867) of Bosnia began in the early 1850s. The Field-Marshal of the Imperial Rumelian Army Corps Ömer Lûtfi Pasha (Latas) together with the local officials of Bosnia asked the Sublime Porte for the foundation of *medrese*s and Quran schools (*dershâne*) in each of the five Bosnian *sancak* (designation for the subdivisions of a province) centers as well as the appointment of instructors from İstanbul.[4] The reply, formulated on 16 B 1267/17 May 1851 and sent to the governor of Bosnia as well as to Ömer Pasha stated that the CPE and the SCJO agreed that the "same goal" could also be achieved by the foundation of *rüşdiyye* schools in these five *sancak*-centers instead of setting up *medrese*s.[5] For this the order was given to find out abandoned *medrese*- or school-buildings with more than two rooms for their conversion into *rüşdiyye* schools, or if impossible, to construct school-buildings. The local population would pay for the construction expenses. The Ottoman administration agreed to appoint for each *rüşdiyye* school a schoolmaster (*muallîm-i evvel*), a secondary teacher (*muallîm-i sânî*) and a porter (*bevvâb*) with the respective monthly salaries of 750, 400 and 100 *kuruş*.[6] Possibly the rather hurried steps to set up government schools in this region was related to the recent suppression of Muslim feudal resistance against administrative centralization and *tanzîmât*-reforms.[7]

The centers decided for *rüşdiyye* schools did not include the main towns of Bosnia, i.e. Sarajevo and Mostar. Their exclusion led to local requests from these two towns, and these were approved by an imperial decree to found *rüşdiyye* schools in Sarajevo and in

[4] Bana Luka, Bihke (Bihać), Yeni Pazar (Novi Pazar), Travnik, İzvornik.

[5] BOA BEO Sadaret Meclis-i Vala (Correspondence sent from the SCJO to the Grand Vizierate, hence A.MKT.MVL.), 1267.7.16, 41–69.

[6] BOA BEO A.MKT.MVL. 1267.7.16, 41–69.

[7] See Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Ottoman Islamic Education in the Balkans in the Nineteenth Century," *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad) 36: 2, 3 (1997), 449–450.

Mostar.[8] Local taxes would fund the teachers' salaries. The instructors were expected to be graduates of the Teachers' Seminary in İstanbul.[9] A later report from the governor of Bosnia (19 N 1268/7 July 1852) informs that all of the *rüşdiyye*-instructors had arrived the five *sancak*-centers, whereas among these centers school-buildings were completed only in Travnik and Izvornik. Thus those instructors, sent to the remaining towns, were forced to find temporary quarters for *rüşdiyye* schools in these *sancak*-centers.[10] The issue of school-buildings in the provinces was a problem, which continued until the end of the Empire. Instructors appointed to a newly founded *rüşdiyye* school outside İstanbul were often encountered with the task to find a temporary shelter for their institution, mostly unsuitable to function as a school-building. If the instructor was able enough to find resources, he could provide the construction of a more suitable building. This, on the other hand, depended to a great extent on the interest of the local population for education, and their willingness to contribute to the project.

Following the foundation of *rüşdiyye* schools in restricted areas such as Edirne, Bursa and Bosnia, a more general policy for the expansion of *rüşdiyye* schools throughout the provinces was launched by the CPE, when it proposed on 25 C 1269/5 April 1853 new *rüşdiyye* schools in twenty-five provincial centers.[11] The CPE intended to appoint for each school one instructor (*hoca*), one assistant (*muîd*) and one porter, with the respective monthly salaries of 600, 300 and 80 *kuruş*.[12] The CPE considered that for each of these schools annually

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[8] Report, dated 17 Ca 1268/9 March 1852 and submitted by the CPE to the Sublime Porte, in BOA ID 15342.

[9] Decree, dated 10 C 1268/1 April 1852, in BOA ID 15342.

[10] Correspondence, sent by the governor of Bosnia, dated 19 N 1268/7 July 1852, in BOA ID 15765.

[11] Under the category of *Rumeli* Berat, Delvine, Edirne, Janina, Yenişehir (Larisa), Monastir (Bitola), Filibe (Plovdiv), Prizren, Ruscuk (Russe), Salonica, Skopje, Shkodër, Sofia, Şumnu and Vidin were specified. Under the category of *Anatolu* towns like Ankara, Bursa, Erzurum, Kandiye, İzmir, Kastamoni, Konya, Nicosia, Mytilene and Trabzon were mentioned. See the report of the CPE, dated 25 C 1269/5 April 1853, in BOA ID 16926. Compare also Aziz Berker, *Türkiye'de ilk Öğrenim I: 1839–1908* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1945), 34 fn. 37, and Bertold Spuler, *Die Minderheitenschulen der europäischen Türkei von der Reformzeit bis zum Weltkrieg (mit einer Einleitung über das türkische[mohammedanische] Schulwesen)* (Breslau: Schriften des Osteuropa-Institutes in Breslau, 1936), 72.

[12] In total amounts, salaries of each of the *rüşdiyye* school would require monthly 980 *kuruş*, and for all of the twenty-five schools 24.500 *kuruş*, which would amount to an annual salary expenditure of 294.000 *kuruş*.

an amount of 2000 *kuruş* would be needed. Concerning the assignment of buildings, it was advised to look for former Quran schools, abandoned *medrese*-edifices, or government constructions possible to adapt easily into *rüşdiyye*-buildings, or to rent or buy houses with at least four rooms, or perhaps to construct separate *rüşdiyye*-buildings. The whole project was to be financed by the state treasury. Undertaking rigid savings from current government expenditures as well as by the assignment of certain funds for this project could only realize this. An example of such a fund assignment was the transfer of the salaries of the formerly existing Anatolian Inspectorate to this undertaking, or also a permanent reduction at the salaries of government officials.[13] This decision of founding twenty-five *rüşdiyye*s in the provinces was an ambitious venture in relation to the material capabilities of the Ottoman state in terms of trained instructors and financial resources. The decision to reduce the salaries of government officials also revealed the material strains of the administration to realize this project.

Looking at the pace of its realization, this project still was far from its full accomplishment in 1856, when only six of the planned twenty-five schools had been established.[14] We know that at least Ankara, Kandiye (Herakleion) and Shkodër lacked government schools.[15] In fact, this outcome is not surprising, taking into account the Crimean War (1854–1856) and its considerable material expenditures, and this at a period when the Ottoman finances were far from being in a satisfactory state.

A way to overcome the financial burden of setting up *rüşdiyye* schools was the foundation of the so-called semi-*rüşdiyye*s (*nısfu rüşdiyye*),

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[13] Report of the CPE (25 C 1269/5 April 1853), correspondence (4 B 1269/13 April 1853) sent by the SCJO to the Grand Vizierate, report (19 B 1269/28 April 1853) sent by the Grand Vizierate, in BOA ID 16926. According to M. Cevâd, the reduction at the officials' salaries was specified as 2%. See Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târîhce-i Teşkilât ve Icrâât* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920), 59.

[14] Report, dated 23 Ş 1272/29 April 1856, and sent by the SCJO, in BOA IMVL 15492.

[15] The initial decision to found a *rüşdiyye* school in Ankara was revised in favor of the town of Yozgad due to the fact that the latter was indeed the administrative center of the *eyâlet* of Ankara. See the report, dated 22 B 1272/29 March 1856, and sent by the SCJO to the governor of Ankara, to the Ministry of Finances and to the DPS, in BOA BEO A.MKT.MVL 1272 B 22, 79/25. Compare also IMVL 15268. Concerning Shkodër, the anti-Catholic unrest, which bursted out shortly after the declaration of the reform edict of 1856 and undermined the central authority, forced the Sublime Porte among other measures to set up a *rüşdiyye* school in this town. See BOA ID 23032.

i.e. the practice to appoint initially only a secondary teacher and a porter for two years, and to appoint the schoolmaster toward the third year when more sophisticated course subjects would be taught. The secondary teacher was mostly selected locally, usually member of the local *ulemâ*. In this way a number of provincial *rüşdiyye* schools could be established, which in their first two years of existence were semi-*rüşdiyye*s.[16]

The steps toward an effective expansion of public education in Crete were taken in 1857, when it was proposed to found *rüşdiyye* schools in Kandiye and Hanya (Khanea) as well as Quran schools in the Muslim villages of this island. The main reasons for stressing on these rather extensive steps were the educational progress among the local non-Muslims, i.e. among the Greek-Orthodox community, and the sending of teachers, possibly from Greece, to each non-Muslim village. The local Muslims, on the other hand, were lacking any kind of educational development. Due to this non-existence of education as well as certain "other reasons" some Muslims were inclined to convert to Christianity (*hüner ve maârif-i ilmiyyeden mahrûm kalmakda oldukları cihetle bazı esbâba mebnî öteki tarafa meyl ile câbecâ tebdîl-i mezheb eylemekde oldukları*). Therefore, it became urgent to save such Muslim children from the "dangers of ignorance" (*olmisillü evlâdu Müslîmenin dûçâr oldukları varta-i cehl ü bî-behreden kurtarılmak*) and as an effective measure to found Quran schools in each of the Muslim villages in order to strengthen the Islamic belief among the Cretan Muslim peasants.[17] Indeed, when the necessary resources were specified to cover at least a part of the expenses of this educational plan, the Sublime Porte gave its consent. One of the resources was the Muslim orphan fund of Kandiye which was ready to meet the expenses of the prospective *rüşdiyye* school of that town. After leaving the 12% profit of this fund to the orphans, the remaining 190.000 *kuruş* were transferred to the local government financial fund (*mal sandığı*), and this amount, together with its future interests, set aside to found the *rüşdiyye* school. It was also decided to found Quran schools in the Muslim villages of the *kazâ* of Kandiye to "save them from ignorance" (*bunların dahî cehâletden kurtarılmasıçün*). In Khania, on the other hand, the rich heritage of a deceased Muslim notable without any heir,

[16] Compare the correspondences in BOA IMVL 23870.

[17] Report, dated 13 B 1272/8 March 1857, and sent by the governor of Crete to the Sublime Porte, in BOA IMVL 16301.

reaching an amount of 57.000 *kuruş*, was assigned for the foundation of a *rüşdiyye* school in the latter town. The local government financial office agreed to provide monetary support by raising this amount to 100.000 *kuruş*.[18]

The first civil *rüşdiyye* school in an Ottoman Arab town was set up in Damascus as one of the numerous consequences of the disorders of 1860–61 in Syria which had occurred as a Muslim reaction against the *tanzîmât*-reforms. The notion of Muslim—non-Muslim legal equality in particular, leading to the socio-economic superiority of local well-educated Christians against the insufficiently trained Muslims led to outbursts of anger resulting with bloodshed. Due to such conditions the Ottoman state considered as crucial to undertake also the reformation of traditional Quran schools of Damascus and turn them into more efficient educational institutions. According to a statement of the SCJO the existing traditional schools in Damascus could no longer fulfill their educational functions. These schools, connected to the local pious foundations, had become means of income (*arpalık*) for people without any relationship to education, and these institutions ceased to provide instruction to local Muslims. Thus, whereas Muslim children were "wasting their time in the streets," non-Muslim children in contrast were receiving instruction at their communal schools or at foreign institutions on the main scientific subjects as well as on Arabic literature, by using the "language of Islam" (*lisân-ı İslâmiyye*), i.e. Arabic. Thanks to their educational superiority over the Muslims, non-Muslims became able to hold important positions in the local administration. To combat this trend the state decided to found a *rüşdiyye* school and to reform Quran schools. Another object of these educational reforms was the aim to show the presence of the *tanzîmât*-reforms in this city (*mekteb-i rüşdînin sûret-i teşkîl ve küşâdı Elhamdülillah eser-i himmet-i bülend-mertebe-i Dâverîleriyle hıtta-i Şâmiyyede sernümâ-yı zuhûr olmakda olan ıslâhât ve tanzîmâtın cümle-i cemîlesinden olacağından*).[19] The supervision of the *rüşdiyye* school and the reformation of the Quran schools would be realized by the "Directorate of Damascene Schools" (*Mekâtib-i Şâmiyye Müdürlüğü*), headed by Mahmud Efendi, a scholar belonging to local higher *ulemâ*-

[18] Correspondence, dated 8 L 1272/1 June 1857, from the Grand Vizierate to the governor of Crete, to the MPE as well as to the Ministry of the Finances, in BOA BEO A.MKT.MVL. 1272 L 8, 87/86–1.

[19] BOA BEO A.MKT.MVL. 1278 R 21, 134/33.

group and member of the provincial administrative council.[20] This special directorate for the local education in Damascus was one of the earliest examples of provincial educational administration in the Ottoman Empire. The declared aim to realize and display *tanzîmât*-reforms in Damascus by means of education revealed the object of the state to strengthen its presence in the region.

An important motive for the promotion of education in the provinces was the aim to prevent the development of local nationalism or separatism. In a 1865 report sent to the Grand Vizierate, the governor of the *sancak* of Trikkala (Tırhala) observed that while previously local Greeks and Greek consuls had evaded local Albanian and other Muslim lords, more recently the Greeks had begun to pay much more respect and attention to the Albanian notables. The governor, arguing the impossibility of such a shift of attitude without any political calculations, noted that the local Albanian notables had no knowledge of Turkish, whereas spoken and written Greek was widespread among them. According to the governor, provocative Greek pamphlets were smuggled from Greece to parts of Trikkala and Janina, for consumption by Albanian lords. In order to prevent Greeks from taking advantage of Albanian "ignorance" and to forestall any future problems arising from the "perturbation of the minds" (*zihinlerini tahdîş*), *rüşdiyye* schools were planned in Ergiri (Gjirokastër), Avlonya (Vlorë), Delvine and Çamlık (Çameria). These institutions would impart the necessary knowledge in religion, direct local Muslims to the "path of civilization" (*medeniyyet yoluna girmeleri*) and save them from the "darkness of ignorance."[21] When this issue was forwarded from the Sublime Porte to the MPE, the reply of the MPE stressed the irrelevance of *rüşdiyye* schools in these localities unless pupils acquired basic literacy and elementary information on the Quran and the Islamic religion. Therefore, the MPE urged creation of Quran schools in the major villages instead of *rüşdiyye* schools. After a series of correspondences between the Sublime Porte and the governor of Janina, it was finally decided to found thirty Quran schools in the

[20] For the draft of the report, dated 19–21 R 1278/24–26 October 1861, and sent by the SCJO to Fuad Pasha (Minister of Foreign Affairs), who at that time was inspecting Syria, and to Emin Pasha (governor of Damascus), as well as to the Ministry of Finances, see BOA BEO A.MKT.MVL. 1278 R 21, 134/33. Compare also M. Cevâd, 75.

[21] BOA IMVL 24964.

villages of the *sancak* of Ergiri, and appoint instructors with a monthly salary of 100 *kuruş*. Government educators worried that Muslim Albanian children attended local Christian schools, i.e. Greek schools, and the step of founding Quran schools was a preventive measure.[22]

It could happen that the population of a provincial area would send petitions to the central authority and request for government schools. The Sublime Porte usually tried its best to satisfy such requests. When it became financially impossible to realize a local request, the MPE would abandon a previously projected *rüşdiyye* school in favor of the local demand. When, for example, the local council of Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ) sent in 1853 a petition to the Sublime Porte and requested for the foundation of a *rüşdiyye* school due to their educational disadvantage in the face of non-Muslim economic competition, the CPE considered this demand as having a high priority, and abandoned an earlier planned *rüşdiyye*-project. Another example was from the town of Adapazarı, where the local council sent a petition to the MPE and asked for the setting up of a *rüşdiyye* school.[23]

At least during the early years of provincial public schools, instructors appointed to institutions situated far away from İstanbul received higher salaries. Thus when the provincial administration of the province of Baghdad founded a *rüşdiyye* school and requested for the appointment of teachers by the MPE, Safvet Pasha, the Minister of Public Education, proposed that its instructors should receive comparatively higher salaries due to the distance of this place from the imperial capital. Therefore the schoolmaster, a graduate of the Teachers' Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* Schools, was decided to receive a monthly salary of 1200 *kuruş*, the secondary teacher, himself originally from Baghdad and living in İstanbul, to receive 500 *kuruş*, and the porter, also to be sent from İstanbul, a monthly salary of 200 *kuruş*.[24] These amounts were in fact two times as high as ordinary teachers' salaries.

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[22] Decree, dated 1 S 1283/13 July 1866, in BOA IMVL 24964.

[23] Report (17 S 1270/19 November 1853) sent by the CPE to the Grand Vizierate, and followed by a decree, issued on 7 N 1270/3 June 1854, in BOA ID 19173; petition, sent from the local council of Adapazarı (11 L 1281/9 March 1865), in BOA IMVL 23870.

[24] Decree, dated 15 S 1286/27 May 1869, in BOA ID 41219–1–14 S 1286.

Quran schools

The Sublime Porte placed considerable importance on increasing the number as well as the educational level of Quran schools in Istanbul and the provinces, because these institutions provided the basic skills for *rüşdiyye*-education.[25] Quran schools were considered, at least until 1868, as the essential basis of Ottoman Muslim education and socialization, and within this framework one could view this stress on religious instruction as a continuation of the tradition of social disciplining. Due to its dual importance as the basic educational agency for Muslims, and as the necessary educational level prior to the *rüşdiyye*-level schools, the government took pains to convert the Quran schools into institutions, which would provide basic literacy along with religious education.

With the aim to increase the educational level of provincial Quran schools, the CPE from the 1850s onwards sent primers (*Elifbâ Cüzü*) to provinces for their free distribution among poorer Quran school pupils. For example, in 1854 it sent approximately 10,000 primers to poorer pupils in the Balkan towns of Drama, Serrez, Salonica, Monastir (Bitola) and Ohri.[26] In 1860, the MPE made a similar distribution of 660 schoolbooks to Quran schools in the *kazâ*s of the *sancak*s of Karesi, Saruhan and Mytilene.[27]

The effort to increase the number of Quran schools in the provinces can also be observed in the initiatives of the sultan. For example, Sultan Abdülmecid founded a provincial Quran school with his personal finances in Muş during the winter of 1851/1852. The report, sent by the military governor of the *eyâlet* of Kurdistan, informs us that until that time not a single school for Muslims existed in this town. The Privy Purse covered the construction expenses of the stone building, and the school was named after the sultan. This institution was expected to admit one hundred pupils, and the monthly expenses were estimated around 100 *kuruş* (1000 ?), including the teachers' salary. As a kind of *ad hoc* local financial measure, the district head (*kaymakam*) collected a special educational tax (*rüsûm-ı tahsîliyye*) to

[25] Report of the CE to the grand vizier, dated 20 N 1284/15 January 1868, in BOA IMVL 26278.

[26] Decree, dated 15 Ş 1270/13 May 1854, in BOA ID 18891.

[27] Correspondence, dated 2 M 1277/21 July 1860, and sent by the administrative council of Bursa to the Sublime Porte, in BOA ID 30972.

cover monthly expenses. Another Quran school, again financed by the sultan, was set up in Medina, the Hijaz, in 1854.[28]

Beginning in 1857, and accelerating during the 1860s, Quran schools opened in certain Balkan regions with the special goal of strengthening Islamic belief. Examples from Crete and southern Albania were discussed previously. In 1861 *sıbyân* schools began to be set up in some areas of the western Balkans with a similar motive to strengthen Muslim belief among Islamic populations, where Islam seemingly was threatened by apostasies into Christianity. Some town populations of Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Janina and Skopje were reported as unaware of the basic Islamic precepts. The Sublime Porte argued that it was more meaningful to establish Quran schools in these areas rather than founding *rüşdiyye* schools. The directive was given to found two *sıbyân* schools in each of the towns of Mat, Eşbât (Shpat), İpek (Peja, Peć), Gora and Yakova (Đakovica), and five in Debre-i Zir. The *sıbyân*-instructors, unlike the traditional Quran schools supported by pious foundations, were to be appointed by the MPE with a monthly salary of 100 *kuruş*. The MPE planned to raise funds from local wealthy people to cover the construction expenses.[29] The fact that Quran schools were founded by the central authority and the salaries paid by the MPE is indicative for the determination of the Ottoman state in these years to strengthen Islam as a means of political loyalty. An additional function of government-created Quran schools was to teach Ottoman Turkish language to those Muslim pupils with a different native language along with the usual instruction in basic Islamic precepts. An indirect evidence supporting this assumption is a report on the issue of the establishment of *rüşdiyye* schools in Yakova and İpek, where the need was pointed out to know the approximate number of children who had read the complete Quran at least two or three times and had a fair capacity *to read Turkish texts* in order to determine the possible number of prospective applicants able to enter *rüşdiyye* schools.[30] The learning of Turkish

[28] Report (17 Ra 1268/10 January 1852), sent by Abdülkerim Nadir Pasha (military governor of the eyâlet of Kurdistan) to the Sublime Porte, and the decree, dated 11 R 1268/3 February 1852, in BOA ID 15116; Decree, dated 2 Ş 1270/28 June 1854, in BOA ID 18851.

[29] Correspondence, dated 22 M 1278/30 July 1861, and sent by the Sublime Porte to the MPE and to the Ministry of the Finances, in BOA BEO A.MKT.MVL. 1278 M 22, 129/95.

[30] Report of the SCJO (24 M 1284/28 May 1867) in BOA IMVL 25774.

language provided locals the opportunity to enter civil and military service. It may be also asked the degree of the tendency of the central government to promote Turkish language among non-Turkish-speaking Muslims as a means to establish closer cultural and political ties to the Empire.

An exceptional way to found and administer Quran schools emerged with the immigration of Turks, Tatars and mainly Muslim Caucasians from Russia throughout the nineteenth century, but especially following the Crimean War. The Refugee Commission (*Muhâcirîn Komisyonu*) settled migrants who survived the difficult journey in different areas of the Empire.[31] The Sublime Porte felt obliged to provide these newly settled population groups solid houses, mosques and schools, the expenses to be met by the state budget, and realized by means of the Refugee Commission.[32] But there were many cases where the government could not provide the needed services. In such situations the colonies in question collected the necessary amount of money to set up mosques and schools.[33] Circassian immigrants, who were settled during the early 1860s in the *sancak* of Lâzistan, were provided with Quran schools. Until 1866 a total of eighteen instructors staffed these institutions. Some of these teachers were selected locally, with preference given to those who knew the language of the immigrants.[34] The Ottoman state applied a special policy toward these immigrants, who were not yet integrated into the Empire. The first step of their integration was the strengthening of Islamic belief among them, a measure of social disciplining, which could be realized by mosques and Quran schools. Since the Sublime Porte considered these steps as a necessary political investment for strengthening their bonds to the State, it tried its best to meet the expenditures. This policy could be compared to the above-mentioned

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[31] Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975.* 2d ed. (Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 115–118.

[32] Concerning the government investments for founding mosques among immigrant colonies in the *sancak* of Karahisar-ı Sahib in 1863–1864, see BOA Cevdet Dahiliye 8605, cited by Ömer Şen in his "Göçmenlere Yönelik Eğitim Politikaları" (unpublished article), 1. I am greatly indebted to Ömer Şen for his generosity to show me his manuscript.

[33] For similar initiatives in Megidia (Mecidiye, Rumania), Amasya and Uzunyayla (Sivas), see BOA Cevdet Dahiliye 7843 and 10027, and BOA ID 31497, cited by Ö. Şen, 2–3. In the case of Uzunyayla the neighboring population of Hafik provided monetary support for the immigrants to construct forty-one houses, one mosque and one school.

[34] BOA IMVL 24886.

state-sponsored Quran schools in Crete and parts of Albania, where Islamic belief seemed to be in danger.

Government authorities encouraged local initiatives for the expansion of Quran schools. The official gazette *Takvim-i Vekayi*, dated 5 August 1867, reported of Muslim villages within the *kazâ*s of Çarşamba (Sarı Göl, Kayalar, present Ptolemais), Tikveş (Kavadarci), Serfice (Servia) as well as Ustrumca (Strumica) in the Balkans, which came together and set up for each two or three villages one *sıbyân* school. They received support from the administration of the province of Rumeli when providing teacher for these schools.[35] This example indicates the existence of educational initiatives even at the level of villages.

The level of education of provincial Quran schools could be raised if local administrators took the initiative. An example was Tahsin Efendi, who, after graduating from the School of the Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*), was appointed administrator of the *kazâ* of Prilep, located in the province of Rumeli. In 1864 he told the MPE that though the teachers of Prilep's five Quran schools could teach "Arabic sciences" (i.e. Islamic elementary knowledge), they did not know anything about worldly subjects such as Mathematics or Geography. Therefore Tahsin Efendi took the initiative and taught in his spare times the students of the Quran schools Mathematics, beginning with the four arithmetic operations up to the level of logarithm (*nisbet-i adediyye*) and also instructed some of the capable local clerks Geography and Ottoman cursive style (*rıka*).[36] There were other local administrators engaged in similar activities for raising the level of local Islamic education. The most noteworthy among them was Midhat Pasha.

The prominent Ottoman statesman and reformer, Midhat Pasha (1822–1884) founded in Niş (Niš) an industrial school (*ıslahhâne*) probably during his office as the governor of the *sancak* of Niş in 1862, where boys belonging to different religious communities began to receive mixed education.[37] Since the existing Quran schools were

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[35] Berker, 63.

[36] Berker, 43.

[37] Hasan Kaleshi-Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf, "Das Wilajet Prizren. Beitrag zur Geschichte der türkischen Staatsreform auf dem Balkan im 19. Jahrhundert," *Südostforschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kultur und Landeskunde Südosteuropas* (Munich), 26 (1967), 189; Nafi Atuf, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi (Bir Deneme)*. Vol. 1 (İstanbul: A. Halit Kitaphânesi, 1931–1932), 121. Atuf states 1860 as the year of the foundation

unable to prepare students for *rüşdiyye* schools, Midhat Pasha reformed the existing Quran schools and set up additional schools in Niş and Leskofça (Leskovac), and compelled all Muslim boys to enroll in these institutions. Midhat Pasha planned to apply these measures also to the remaining *kazâ*s of the *sancak*, after they proved their success in Niş and Leskofça.[38] After Midhat Pasha became governor of the province of Danube (Tuna) in 1864, he gradually established a network of reformed Quran schools and *rüşdiyye* schools within the province.[39] He supported mixed education at the government schools as a measure against the increasing nationalism among the Bulgarians and in order to prevent them continuing at Russian schools in Kişinau (Kişinev, Moldavia) and Odessa.[40] The educational activities of this provincial administrator included the main characteristics of the *tanzîmât*-period policies by promoting reformed Quran schools on the one hand and creating the Ottomanist conditions for mixed education on the other. His usage of local financial sources became an example for the later Regulation of Public Education of 1869.

The State of the Administration of Provincial Education (1849–1869)

Prior to the establishment of local educational administrations and councils, the major problem was the supervision and inspection of both *rüşdiyye* and Quran schools in the provinces. Therefore, at intervals educational inspectors had to be sent from İstanbul to the provinces. Another problem connected with the non-existence of an educational administration at the provincial level was the difficulty to establish consistent and successful policies to raise local funds for covering construction and salary expenses of provincial schools. It was difficult for an inspector to acquire more detailed information

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of this industrial school; İlber Ortaylı, "Midhat Paşa'nın Vilâyet Yönetimindeki Kadroları ve Politikası," in *Uluslararası Midhat Paşa Semineri. Bildiriler ve Tartışmalar (Edirne, 8–10 Mayıs 1984)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986), 227–233. For the life of Midhat Pasha, see İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar.* 3rd ed. Vol. 1 (İstanbul: Dergah, 1982), 315–414.

[38] Berker, 43.

[39] B. Sakarbalkan, "Prenslik devrinde Bulgaristan'da Türk Eğitimi," *Türk Kültürü* (Ankara) 3–26 (1964), 81, 82.

[40] Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 154–155.

concerning the needs and the local financial possibilities during his period of short visit in the province. The provincial population, on the other hand, without any local educational administration to voice its requests was forced to apply directly to the MPE or to the Sublime Porte. The lack of provincial participation in local educational policies constituted a structural difficulty in raising funds for schools. The Regulation of Public Education of 1869 aimed to settle this problem by stipulating the foundation of provincial educational councils where representatives of the locality would participate in the application of educational measures.

A good example of the duties of an educational inspector in the provinces is the work of Mustafa Vehbî Efendi. Throughout the 1850s and 60s Mustafa Vehbî Efendi, the Assistant Director of the DPS and later inspector of the MPE, was sent to different areas of the Balkans as well as of Anatolia in order to inspect local schools, to found new ones, to give instructions to local teachers and to distribute texts. In 1854 alone, he distributed nearly ten thousand primers in western Thracean and Macedonian towns.[41] According to a statement in the official gazette, dated 16 Ca 1272/24 January 1856, Vehbî Efendi succeeded in setting up of *rüşdiyye* schools in Yenişehir, Janina, Delvine, Monastir and Shkodër during his inspection trip to the European provinces, where he also gave out schoolbooks.[42] In 1860, again, the MPE sent Vehbî Efendi to inspect the *eyâlet* of Hüdâvendigâr. Arriving at Bursa, Vehbî Efendi spurred the completion of the deficient parts of the *rüşdiyye*-building and its furnishings by raising the necessary funds from some of town notables.[43] At this occasion he distributed schoolbooks for the local *rüşdiyye* school. In addition Vehbî Efendi gave instructions to teachers as how to perform teaching. While resuming his inspection trip to the *sancak*s of Karesi and Saruhan, Vehbî Efendi continued to distribute schoolbooks for Quran schools while inspecting these institutions. The following year Vehbî Efendi was assigned the duty to set up *sıbyân* schools in the Western Balkan towns of Mat, Eşbât, İpek, Gora,

[41] BOA ID 18891–2 (13 Ş 1270).

[42] *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 16 Ca 1272, cited from M. Cevâd, 63–64. This information should be treated with caution, since it seems to be rather clear that the *rüşdiyye* school of Shkodër was definitely founded toward the end of 1856.

[43] Correspondence, dated 2 M 1277/21 July 1860, and sent by the administrative council of Bursa to the Sublime Porte, in BOA ID 30972.

Yakova and Debre-i Zîr as well as transporting the necessary schoolbooks. In 1865 two inspectors, both belonging to the class of the *ilmiyye* like Vehbî Efendi, were sent for the inspection of the schools located in Damascus, Tripoli and Aleppo as well as in the Aegean islands, Cyprus and western Anatolia.[44] These inspectors were to receive a monthly salary of each 1750 *kuruş* and a travel allowance of each 6500 *kuruş*. These were considerably high amounts of money if compared with the monthly salary of a *rüşdiyye* schoolmaster, who usually received less than half of the first amount.[45] A prominent figure among these inspectors was the Albanian Islamic scholar and intellectual Davud Şükrü Efendi Boriçi who acted as inspector for primary schools in the *vilâyet* of İşkodra during the 1860s.[46] Though inspectors were distributing textbooks in the provinces, transportation of *rüşdiyye* schoolbooks to provincial schools was in most cases done by the instructors themselves.[47]

The educational endeavors of Midhat Pasha as the governor of the *sancak* of Niş between 1861 and 1864 and as governor of the newly formed province Danube between 1864 and 1868 influenced the central educational policy profoundly, both in respect of educational ideology as well as of innovations concerning the financing of schools. He succeeded to realize mixed education of Turks and Bulgarians at industrial schools, which constituted an example of Ottomanist education. The inclusion of secular course subjects into Quran schools proved the workability of a successful reformation of *sıbyân* schools at provincial level. Midhat Pasha was also able to secure local financial resources for the foundation and support of new schools.[48] In fact this success came out within the framework of a new system of provincial administration, implemented first in 1864 in the newly created province of Danube. The core of this sys-

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[44] Correspondence, dated 23 Za 1281/19 April 1865, and sent by the MPE to the SCJO, in BOA IMVL 23905.

[45] Final document, dated 18 M 1282/13 June 1865, and sent by the Grand Vizierate for imperial decree, in BOA IMVL 23905.

[46] Peter Bartl, *Die albanischen Muslime zur Zeit der nationalen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung (1878–1912)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 142. For more detail about Davud Şükrü Efendi Boriçi, see 127–128 below.

[47] Report of the CPE, dated 7 B 1271/26 March 1855, to the Grand Vizierate, in BOA IMVL 14121–1 (5 Ş 1271).

[48] Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Mektebleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısiyle Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, 2d ed. Vol. 1–2 (İstanbul: Eser Kültür, 1977), 466–467. See also 141 below.

tem of provincial administration was the administrative council, consisting partly of local notables, two of them Muslim and two non-Muslim, partly of representatives of the local clergy of the officially accepted religious communities as well as of local civil officials. When this administrative system proved to be successful in provincial experiments, the Sublime Porte devised it as a general system for all Ottoman provinces under the title "Regulation of *Vilâyet*s" (*Vilâyet Nizâmnâmesi*) in 1867. Through this administrative structure it became easier for governors and administrators to cooperate with local notables in order to ensure the necessary financial sources and labour for organizing and realizing public works, including the foundation of schools.[49] Midhat Pasha's success in financing provincial schools soon reflected itself in the Regulation of 1869.[50]

Still before the promulgation of the Regulation of Public Education in 1869, considerations were made for the setting up of a uniform educational administration at the provincial level. Safvet Pasha, the Minister of Public Education, reported to the grand vizier the impossibility of controlling and supervising effectively from İstanbul both Quran and *rüşdiyye* schools in the province.[51] To replace costly and inefficient annual provincial school inspections, the minister drew up plans for educational councils in each *vilâyet*- and *sancak*-center. The *mutasarrıf*s (*sancak* governors) of each *vilâyet*'s main *sancak* headed the six-member *vilâyet* educational council while the local financial directors led the four-member educational councils of the remaining *sancak*s. Local notables approved by the Sublime Porte filled the rest of the council seats at both levels. These councils were designed to meet twice a month, where issues such as the application of the MPE regulations at the local level and measures to put schools into order and cover their deficiencies were discussed and put into effect. These discussions and decisions should be reported to the MPE. In addition, they should communicate with the provincial administration concerning urgent problems, and one among their members sent

[49] İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzîmâttan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* (İstanbul: Hil, 1985), 56–66, 74–78.

[50] As İsmail Kemal Bey also stressed, *as ever since Midhat Pasha's administration of the Danube Vilâyet, the Central Government had left to the local authorities the power of raising pecuniary resources outside of the general revenues of the Treasury*, in Ismail Kemal Bey, *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*. Edited by S. Story (London: Constable, 1920), 56–57.

[51] 2 Ra 1285/23 June 1868, in BOA Şûrâ-yı Devlet Evrâkı-Maârif 205/3 (1285 Ra 6).

each week alternately to *rüşdiyye* schools and Quran schools for inspecting the performance of teaching, manners of the pupils, assuring the actual application of the regulations by individual instructors. Finally, Quran schools were to be set up by these councils in those villages without any schools.[52] There are evidences that before 1869 some local administrators tried to establish organs for the ad-ministration of local schools. For instance the administrator of the *sancak* of Tekfurdağı (*vilâyet* of Edirne) requested permission from the MPE to found a local commission for the maintenance of schools.[53] The Directorate of Damascene Schools, mentioned earlier, is another example for the existence of local educational administration prior to 1869. These developments signified the inability of the MPE as a single institution in the capital to coordinate and supervise the increasing number of public schools in the provinces, and the growing dependence on local financial resources for founding and maintaining educational institutions. It should be considered that the transportation and communication systems of this vast Empire prior to the 1880s were not far removed from medieval conditions, and the administration by İstanbul of schools, located in Baghdad or in Banja Luka, could not be efficiently realized.

[52] BOA Şûrâ-yı Devlet Evrâkı-Maârif 205/3 (1285 Ra 6).
[53] Berker, 64–65.

CHAPTER THREE

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PROVINCIAL EDUCATION: LEGAL STEPS, EDUCATIONAL COUNCILS, PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS, INSTRUCTORS (1869–1908)

Increasing difficulties for the MPE to direct the expansion of public schools in the provinces from only one center and the impossibility to finance both provincial *rüşdiyye* and Quran schools by only budgetary means necessitated an effective public support for the continuation of educational expansion. Ottoman educational modernization, on the other hand, was a project of state reform, which signified a development planned and executed from above and without substantial participation from below. It is true that the issue of educational modernization did not enjoy in the early nineteenth century a widespread civil backing from the society, and education was not a very popular issue except for traditional Quran schools. But the effect of the *tanzîmât*-reforms, the increasing influence of the West within the Empire and the improvement of the economic and social position of non-Muslims vis-à-vis Muslims particularly from 1856 onwards must have created alertness among provincial Muslim literati concerning the backwardness of Islamic education. A few examples of local demands for the foundation of non-traditional *rüşdiyye* schools, and civil initiatives to form local councils for the maintenance of schools are probably symptomatic for this trend. The Ottoman state, facing problems in expanding public schools in the provinces, welcomed these developments. The Regulation of Public Education of 1869 (hence RPE) stipulated the setting up of provincial educational councils, where local notables were members and would ensure local public support. But the Sublime Porte was careful to select only those locals who were agreeable for the state. The foundation of local educational councils as executing, inspecting and financing bodies provided institutional basis for a stable development of provincial education.

The RPE as the first comprehensive legal text aimed to arrange public education in the capital and in the provinces. With this document, primary education ceased to be regarded within the realm

of religion, and the Ottoman state began to place more importance on the organization of primary schools and the professional status of primary school instructors. On the other hand, the RPE could be seen as a part of the Ottomanist project by trying to integrate Muslim, non-Muslim and foreign schools within a legal framework, and to found government schools for non-Muslim communities. Being in a sense a late *tanzîmât* Enlightenment project, the latter stipulations were never put into application. Though promulgated in 1869, the RPE was effectively applied only after 1880, and then with varying intensity, according to time and place.

The MPE as an institution in the late nineteenth century became increasingly differentiated. But aside of being an administrative institution for the regulation and direction of public education, it assumed the function of a bureaucratic body for the supervision of cultural activities within the Empire. During the Hamidian period the latter function turned the MPE into an agency of state censorship. Another feature of the MPE and local educational councils was their little power compared to other administrative bodies. The lack of a kind of institutional self-confidence partly resulted from weak popular support particularly in remoter areas. It might be assumed, on the other hand, at least in those regions with a certain degree of local initiative, that provincial educational administrations had to some extent the power to further the educational cause.

The expansion of public primary schools varied from region to region according to the existence of sufficient financial sources, depending on the natural wealth of a locality and on the existence of popular interest for education. In the core regions of the Empire and especially in western Anatolia emerged local initiatives for setting up modern primary schools in cooperation with the local administration. This early Hamidian phenomenon was probably connected with the concern of Muslims about the social and economic progress of local non-Muslims. On the other hand, the greatest difficulties in the expansion of primary education were encountered mainly in the localities with meagre agricultural resources and with tribal populations who considered schools as agencies of central power.

A basic requirement for the expansion of public education at the provincial level was closely connected with the increase of the teaching body in general. Though the RPE stipulated that instructors in public schools should be graduates of teachers' seminaries, this condition was practically impossible to realize due to the insufficient

number of seminaries within the Empire and their limited number of graduates in contrast to the rapidly increasing number of primary schools. A widely applied provisional measure was to appoint local officials and military officers as part-time instructors at provincial schools. Considering the low educational quality of provincial seminaries, the primary aim of the MPE seemed to be to raise in a short time instructors who would provide basic literacy among the provincial population. The project to instruct village *imâm*s in new teaching methods in provincial seminaries and employ them subsequently as village school instructors supported this basic educational aim.

Another problem concerning primary school instructors was the disharmony between the standard curricula of teachers' seminaries designed to raise teachers competent to instruct Turkish pupils and the varying cultural conditions in a number of non-Turkish provinces. It may be assumed that the increase of provincial teachers' seminaries and consequently the growing number of indigenous graduates from these institutions could have decreased the actual gap between the normative teaching requirements and the local sociocultural conditions. Within this context it should be noted that Albanians and Armenians were strongly represented among non-Turkish Ottoman teaching profession.

The authoritarian measures of the Hamidian regime adversely affected teachers. Considered as a professional group most liable to oppositional activities, instructors were subject to increasing surveillance by the government authorities.

Similar to some eighteenth and nineteenth century European states such as France, Prussia and Russia, educational modernization went hand in hand with the bureaucratization of educational administration. The processes of the standardization of school levels and curricula, the selection of textbooks, the instruction and certification of future teachers, the foundation of schools, the means for financing provincial schools, the responsibilities of local educational councils and their position vis-à-vis the MPE contributed to the development of an educational bureaucracy of its own.[1]

[1] See Margaret Scotford Archer, *Social Origins of Educational Systems* (London; Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1979); Egon G. Guba, *Administrative relationships: teacher effectiveness, teacher satisfaction, and administrative behavior; a study of the school as a social institution* (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago [c1957]); Karl Schleunes, *Schooling and Society: The Politics of Education in Prussia and Bavaria 1750–1900* (Oxford: Berg, 1989).

Legal Steps and the Regulation of Public Education of 1869

The Regulation of Public Education (*Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, RPE) constitutes a turning point in the Ottoman educational history. Through this regulation the existing schools in the capital and those to be established in the provinces were integrated into one comprehensive law. At the same time, this regulation stipulated the foundation of provincial educational administrations. But it should also be noted that not a few of the decisions in the regulation could not be realized until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Perhaps it would be more sound to regard this regulation not merely as a legal document, but at the same time as an educational project reflecting a mixture of the educational and political attitudes of the late *tanzîmât*-bureaucrats as well as of French educational ideals.

The RPE was prepared under the influence of Jean Victor Duruy, the French Minister of Education, who in a sense acted as a foreign educational adviser to the Sublime Porte.[2] Duruy's reform project of 1867 was reshaped into a legal document, consisting as a whole of 198 articles. The final version was proposed by Safvet Pasha, the Minister of Public Education in cooperation with Sadullah Pasha, the Director of Military Schools, and Kemal Ahmed Pasha, the head of the Department of Education at the Council of State (*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*) together with other experts on 1 September 1869.[3]

The official justification of the RPE, attached to the cabinet report, prior to September 1869, reflects the ideological motives of the Westernizing educational reformers.[4] It was stated that natural sciences

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[2] Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 179. Concerning the influence of the French educational model on the Ottoman education from the late 18th century onwards, see Osman Kafadar, *Türk Eğitim Düşüncesinde Batılılaşma* (Ankara; Konya: Vadi, 1997), 98–102; Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975.* 2d ed. (Cambridge; London; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 108–112.

[3] Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrâât* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920), 101–102, 509. The other contributors of the regulation were Dadian Artin Efendi, Recaizade Ekrem Bey, Ebüzziya Tevfik Bey, Mehmed Mansur Efendi and Dragan Cankov Efendi. See Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773–1923)* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1970), 83.

[4] M. Cevâd, 102–109. See also Sadreddin Celal Antel, "Tanzîmât Maarifi," *Tanzîmât I. Yüzüncü yıldönümü münasebetile* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 450. For the complete text, see Appendix 3.

(*fünûn*) and education (*maârif*) were the basic sources of welfare in the world. Only through these it was possible to bring forth inventions and institutions, which were beneficial for trade and industry, which in turn led to progress (*terakkiyât*). This development of trade and industry enabled humanity (*cemiyyet-i beşeriyye*) to provide its needs more easily. Only through this development it became possible for those nations and people belonging to the "community of civilization" (*dâire-i medeniyyete dâhil olan milel ve akvâm*) to have a share in the treasures and wealth of the world.[5]

The document then criticized the paucity of educational institutions in the Empire. Though the "higher sciences" (*ulûm-ı âliyye*) were requiring a regular primary school system as a basis, the number of the existing *sıbyân* schools was inadequate. Besides, only elementary religious knowledge was taught in the *sıbyân* schools. Instructors lacked pedagogical skills and *sıbyân* school education needed rules for the improvement of the personality and morality of children (*tehzîb-i mizâc ve ahlâk*). On the other hand the lack of high schools forced the graduates of the *rüşdiyye* schools to continue either at the *Mahrec-i Eklâm* ("Outlet for the Bureaus") or at the military schools. This situation was an obstacle for the education of those students who aimed to acquire knowledge about natural sciences and industry. Coming to legal propositions, the justification document urged regulations for compulsory school attendance. A proposed permanent body of inspectors would continuously supervise all educational institutions. Every kind of school within the Ottoman Empire had to be classified and legally integrated into a system. The methods of instruction had to be officially determined (*usûl-i talîmin tertîb ve tanzîmi*).[6] The justification text of the RPE clearly underlined the need to take steps for raising the educational quality of instruction and to expand education among the population.

Dealing in a more detailed way with institutional requirements, the justification document pointed out the need for the better training of instructors and the increase of their payment. These changes would raise society's esteem of their profession. A more stable development of provincial education would be realized by setting up provincial educational administrations. An education tax would fund the system.[7]

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[5] M. Cevâd, 102, 103.
[6] M. Cevâd, 103–105.
[7] M. Cevâd, 105,106.

The document was concluded by stressing the necessity of a mixed education in order to "strengthen the mutual understanding and friendship among the children of different religious communities" (*sunûf-ı tebaa etfâlinin muhteliten tahsîl-i maârif tarîkine sevki ve o cihetle beynlerinde itilâf ve muhâdenetin tahkîmi*). For the realization of this aim it was designed to set up secondary *idâdî* schools offering instruction on the same line with the *Mekteb-i Sultânî*. The need was put forward to provide schoolbooks on modern sciences, which would be translated from foreign languages into Ottoman Turkish. The state had to take control over instruction in the natural (*fünûn*) as well as the human sciences (*ulûm*). Only religious subjects in the non-Muslim communal institutions remained outside of government control.[8] In this concluding part of the justification text the Ottomanist aim of the RPE becomes more apparent. The existing *rüşdiyye* schools were considered as insufficient to fulfil the aim of bringing children of different communities together due to the substantial amount of religious subjects in the curriculum. Another significant statement was the decision to supervise the instruction of human sciences (*ulûm*), which until that time was left to the *ulemâ*. This decision meant that the government aimed at controlling all aspects of public education, with the exception of the *medreses*.

Compared to the memorandum of 1839 that treated education as both religious and worldly, the text of 1869 regarded the transmission of worldly knowledge practically as the sole aim of education. This latter document implied that religious subjects taught in the Muslim institutions were to be supervised by the government, thereby minimizing the influence of the *ulemâ* over Muslim education. Though in both documents the seemingly secular category of "humanity" stands out, the latter text also emphasized the category of the "community of civilization," which meant western European countries and their colonies. The text viewed them as examples of progress and wanted to emulate them. Though in the memorandum and other educational documents prior to 1868 the miserable situation of *sıbyân* schools was criticized harshly, this category of schools was always considered within the realm of religious education. The 1869 text, on the other hand, criticized *sıbyân* schools for being under the determining influence of religious culture. Illustrating Ottomanist attitudes

[8] M. Cevâd, 106–109.

towards non-Muslim subjects, the document continued the policy of 1856 to emphasize mixed education as a way to remove barriers between faith communities with the goal of creating one Ottoman nation. The documents differed radically over the role of religion in education. The 1869 text stressed the promotion of secular knowledge, leaving religion to a secondary position, and for the first time questioned the function of *sıbyân* schools as a necessary level of religious education. Such a radical departure from Ottoman tradition owed much to French influence, but its realization in fact could never take place completely until the dissolution of the Empire.

To summarize the RPE, first and most important, primary education ceased to be regarded as an educational stage belonging to religious realm and with the only goal to provide pupils literacy. Primary education were furnished greater weight within the school system than in the previous years. This attitude could be noticed not only from the articles in the regulation enforcing natural scientific-utilitarian subjects, but especially from those paragraphs where the primary school teachers were furnished a legal and administrative status as government officials, while the administrative basis of the primary schools were also determined. Here primary school teachers were treated as a professional group, arranged according to rank and salary. It considered the promotion of primary education for girls. The stipulation was made to expand public primary schools at the provincial level and to set up schools in every part of towns or in every village. As a second point, provincial administrative bodies with their organs, personnel and working methods were designed for the development of education outside the capital. The policies concerning the financing of the provincial schools as well as of the local educational administrations were settled in this regulation. Furthermore all government, private, non-Muslim community as well as foreign schools within the Empire were integrated within a legal framework. Finally, the responsibilities of the MPE ceased to be limited to educational matters and the area of duties of it began to include also cultural institutions like museums, libraries and responsibilities such as scientific publications.[9] This regulation remained in force, with

[9] Art 1, 3–17, 68–78, 129–130, 133–138, 143–152, 178–198, in M. Cevâd, 469–473, 485–487, 493–499, 505–509. Concerning the evaluation of the Regulation of 1869, see also Antel, 454–457.

some modifications, until 1913. Items such as the supervision of schools or employment of teachers, specific stipulations concerning the responsibilities of the director of education of a province as well as of the educational administrations at the level of *sancak*s or *kazâ*s were further specified in the Instruction of 1896.[10] The RPE provided a comprehensive legal framework both for public education and for the structure of the MPE.

Except for some few stipulations, the articles concerning the provincial administration could be essentially applied only during the Hamidian period. Therefore it is the latter period which has to be taken into consideration in relation to those articles pertaining to the provincial educational administration.

The Ministry of Public Education

In order to understand the relationship between the MPE and provincial educational administrations better, the institutional arrangement of the MPE needs to be explained. In 1869, according to the RPE, the ministry was composed of four main offices, i.e. the office of the Minister of Public Education, the Sublime Council of Education (*Meclis-i Kebîr-i Maârif*), the Secretary (*Tahrirât Kalemi*) and the Accounts Office (*Muhasebe Kalemi*). Among these bodies the Sublime Council of Education was in fact the institutional continuation of the former CE, and itself consisted of two departments, i.e. the Department of Science (*Dâire-i İlmiyye*) and the Department of Administration (*Dâire-i İdâre*). Convening biannually to set educational policy, the Sublime Council of Education's assemblies included the members of the Department of Science and Department of Administration and two delegates from each of the the Council of State, from the Supreme Court of Appeal (*Divân-ı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye*), from the hierarchy of the *ulemâ* (*Tarîk-i İlmiyye*) and from the army together with the religious heads of the non-Muslim communities, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education. The Department of Science's duties included translating schoolbooks, corresponding with European universities, developing the Turkish language (*lisân-ı Türkînin ilerülemesine*

[10] Compare 106 below.

çalışmak) and arranging the *Rüus*-diploma examinations.[11] The "internal members" (*âzâ-yı dâhiliyye*) of the Department of Science were expected to be proficient in at least one of the classical languages like Arabic, Ancient Greek or Latin or one of the European languages, to be a specialist on a certain scientific field and to have the ability to compose texts in Turkish language. The Department of Administration was responsible for managing schools, supervising provincial educational administrations (after their establishment in the future), museums, libraries and government printing presses as well as the personnel of these institutions. Furthermore this department was expected to prepare drafts of regulations, instructions and rules concerning the MPE and submit these drafts to the assembly of the Sublime Council of Education. The Department's governing board consisted of one chairman and two vice-chairmen, one a non-Muslim, four "investigators" (*muhakkık*), two of them non-Muslims, and of six salaried members (*âzâ-yı muvazzafa*), again two of them non-Muslims.[12] Probably in 1870 the "Department for the Writing and Translation [of Books]" (*Telif ve Tercüme Dâiresi*) was formed within the MPE. In connection with this newly founded department the "Regulation for the Writing and Translation [of Books]" (*Telif ve Tercüme Nizamnâmesi*) was issued in the same year.[13]

Particularly during the Hamidian era, the ministerial organization underwent numerous alterations, which appeared mainly as a result of the countrywide spread of schools, the increasing differentiation of educational institutions, the expansion of provincial educational administrations as well as of the intensified inspection of the non-Muslim and foreign schools. Also, the MPE began to function as the agency of state censorship. In harmony with these developments, the "Commission for Inspection and Examination" (*Encümen-i Teftîş ve Muayene*) was set up on 19 Kanun I.1297/31 December 1880.[14] Ten

[11] Rüus was a kind of diploma for *medreses* bestowing the holder of it the right to teach at the *medreses*.

[12] Art 131–142 of the RPE, in M. Cevâd, 494–497; Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*. 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 22.

[13] *Düstûr Cüzü Sânî* (Dersaâdet: Matbaa-i Âmire 1289), 231–244; Antel, 450; İsmet Binark, "Maarif Tarihimize Ait Bir Rapor," *Yeni Türkiye. Özel Eğitim Sayısı* 2–7 (Ocak-Şubat 1996), 484.

[14] Kodaman, 32, cited from BOA ID 66917. On the other hand, according to a report of Mehmed Ziya Bey, dated 17 January 1915 and concerning the institutional development of the MPE, the date for the foundation of the "Commission

years later the "Commission for the Inspection of Texts" (*Tedkîk-i Müellefât Komisyonu*) was established, this body being superior to the former one and assigned greater powers (28 Kanun II.1307/9 February 1892). Another ten years passed until the formation of the "Committee for the Inspection of Religious and Canonical Books" (*Kütüb-i Diniyye ve Şeriyye Tedkîk Heyeti*) on 1 Kanun I.1318/14 December 1902.[15] Around 1903 the ministerial organization consisted of eighteen departments, including the institutions for censorship and specialized bodies for the administration of public schools, for the coordination of the inspection of non-Muslim and foreign schools and for the direction of the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümâyûn*).[16] This development in ministerial organization displays the bureaucratization process of educational administration with the increase of the number and types of schools and the need for more efficient supervision. Also, the intensification of the Hamidian autocracy turned the MPE into a department of state censorship and into an agency aiming to monopolize information.

The Emergence of Provincial Educational Councils (1869–1881)

It was stipulated in the RPE that in each *vilâyet*-center a local branch of the Sublime Council of Education was to be established, functioning as a local executive agency of the Sublime Council. The head of each local branch, the "director of education" of a *vilâyet* (*maârif müdiri*, hence DE) was also the chairman of the *vilâyet*'s Educational Council (*meclis-i maârif*, hence EC). One of the two vice-chairmen of the EC was to be a non-Muslim. Besides, the EC was to consist, similar to the Sublime Council, of four "investigators" (*muhakkık*), two of them non-Muslims, of at least four and maximum ten Muslim and non-Muslim members without salary, and finally of one secretary, one accountant and one cashier. In each *sancak* inspec-

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for Inspection and Examination" is given as 23 Kanun II.1297/4 February 1882. This report apparently provides chronological information pertaining to the foundation of the individual administrative bodies within the MPE. It was not possible, however, to consult the original document. See Binark, "Maarif Tarihimize," 477–493.

[15] The report of Mehmed Ziya Bey, dated 17 January 1915. See Binark, "Maarif Tarihimize," 477–493.

[16] Binark, "Maarif Tarihimize," 477–493; Kodaman, 35–36.

tors were expected to be active as officials of the EC of the *vilâyet*. Subject to imperial decree, the MPE selected the DE, the two vice-chairmen of the EC, the investigators as well as the inspectors in the *sancak*s, i.e. all the key-persons of the educational administration at the provincial level. The remaining components of the EC, the "members" were selected from among the local notables (*mahallî erkânından olmak üzere*) by the administration of the respective *vilâyet*, proposed to the MPE and appointed after being approved by the MPE. The MPE reserved the right to dismiss "members" of the EC and to appoint new ones. Except for the "members," all components of the EC, i.e. the DE, the vice-chairmen, the investigators, the inspectors in the *sancak*s, the secretary, the accountant and the cashier were assigned fixed salaries.[17] This arrangement of the EC with two types of members, i.e. government officials with fixed salaries and also "honorary" members selected from among the notables, clearly tried to establish a balance between appointed officials and local representation for a more efficient administration of provincial schools, but without losing MPE's control over the EC.

The RPE did not make any stipulation concerning the separate educational administrative structures at the level of *sancak*s and *kazâ*s. Though during the 1880s educational administrations were set up on the level of *sancak*s and *kazâ*s, a regulation concerning their arrangement was promulgated only in 1896.[18]

As the main agent of the MPE at the provincial level, the responsibilities of the EC included the execution of the decisions and orders of the MPE and the realization of the stipulations of the RPE. Also, the EC collected and administered the state allowances and the local donations. It supervised the schools, libraries, printing presses and similar establishments in the provinces. In addition, the EC prepared an annual report (*mazbata*) for the MPE describing the general educational situation in the *vilâyet*s and educational problems. The administrative council of the *vilâyet* (*vilâyet meclis-i umûmisi*) had to receive a copy of this report, since it was this body which determined the budget of the provincial educational administration. The governor of the province, who was at the same time the chairman of the

[17] Art 143–145, in M. Cevâd, 497–498.
[18] See 93 below.

administrative council, sent the copy of the official report to the Sublime Porte.[19] The EC supervised teachers and examinations, and awarded diplomas. In case of the need to change or revise the curriculum of the local *sıbyân* schools, the ECs were responsible to request for an official permission from the MPE. The Sublime Council of Education was the main authority to decide on this matter.[20]

The stipulations of the RPE concerning provincial educational administration reflect the effort to integrate local notables into the expansion of provincial education. In the face of the critical financial situation of the Ottoman state the *tanzîmât*-reformers were more or less forced to encourage local participation, since an efficient utilization of local financial sources could be possible only through the support of local groups. On the other hand, the state tried as far as possible to hold the scope of local participation under its control. Only those, loyal to the Sublime Porte, had the opportunity to join the EC. It was clearly an Ottomanist stipulation to fix quotas for non-Muslims for key positions like vice-chairman, inspector and investigator. But even they had to be appointed by the Sublime Porte.

Looking at actual developments, the application of the RPE at the provincial level prior to 1881—the setting up of provincial educational administrations in the form of ECs—seemingly did not result from a centrally planned policy. During this early period, the ECs were possibly set up mainly due to the initiatives of local administrators. The irregularity both of the location of the ECs at the provincial level and of the quality of membership as well as the institutional discontinuities support this assumption. For example, though Midhat Pasha is said to have founded ECs in the *vilâyet*-centers of Danube and of Baghdad between 1869 and 1872, these reported bodies seem

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[19] The term *vilâyet meclis-i umûmîsi*, which in fact means "general assembly of the *vilâyet*," constitutes an obscurity in this article. According to İ. Ortaylı the "general assembly of the *vilâyet*" (*vilâyet meclis-i umûmîsi* or also *meclis-i umûmî-i vilâyet*) did not possess, in contrast to the administrative council of the *vilâyet* (*meclis-i idâre-i vilâyet*), any real administrative competences and decision power. The general assembly of the *vilâyet* consisted *exclusively* of local representatives and was only assigned consultative functions. This assembly met only for a limited time each year, where various local petitions and requests were submitted to the governor. Possibly by using the term "general assembly of the *vilâyet*" it was meant in reality the administrative council. Compare İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra Mahalli İdareler* (Ankara: TODAİE, 1974), 84–87.

[20] Art 7 and 146, in M. Cevâd, 471, 498. See also Aziz Berker, *Türkiye'de İlk Öğrenim I:1839–1908* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945), 90.

to have disappeared by the mid 1870s. At least official provincial yearbooks (*vilâyet salnâmesi*), published in the later years, do not indicate them.[21] A similar situation is true also for Sivas or Syria. Whereas the provincial yearbook of Sivas, dated 1287/1870, shows us the existence of a *maârif meclisi*, this body is not reported in the yearbook of 1293/1876.[22] According to R. Deguilhem an EC existed around 1877–1878, which seemed to be non-existent in 1882.[23]

Those ECs prior to 1881 reveal a rather irregular distribution at the provincial level. Whereas, for example, the provincial center of the *vilâyet* of Ankara did not have any kind of a body similar to an EC, the *kazâ* of Sivrihisar or the *sancak*-center of Kırşehri, both located within the borders of the latter *vilâyet*, had their "educational commissions" (*maârif komisyonu*, hence ECo).[24] The *vilâyet* of Hüdâvendigâr possessed only one EC, located in Bursa, its provincial capital, without any other similar body in the *sancak*- or *kazâ*-centers of the same province.[25] The same situation was true also for the provinces of Aydın, Erzurum, Mamuretülaziz, Monastir or Salonica.[26] Looking at the province of Kastamoni, on the other hand, with the exceptions of the *kazâ*s of Boyabad, İstifan (Ayancık), Kalecik and Gerede, all the remaining *sancak*- and *kazâ*-centers within the latter *vilâyet* had their ECos.[27]

It is not very clear how these bodies were set up, and we do not know to what extent they acted as instructed in the RPE. It is almost certain that there was no centrally planned policy to establish EC

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[21] Kodaman, 27; M. Cevâd, 127. See the *Tuna Salnâmesi*. Defa 6, Sene 1290 (Ruscuk: Matbuât-ı Vilâyet, 1290/1873), 47–50, and the *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bağdad*. Defa 1, Sene 1292 (Bağdad: Matbaa-i Vilâyet, 1292/1875), 49–71.

[22] *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Sivas*. Defa 1, Sene 1287 (Sivas, 1287/1870–1871), 41; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Sivas*. Defa 6, Sene 1293 (Sivas, 1293/1876).

[23] Randi Deguilhem, "State Civil Education in Late Ottoman Damascus: A Unifying or a Separating Force?," in *The Syrian Land. Processes of Integration and Fragmentation in Bilād al-Shām from the 18th to the 20th Century*. Edited by Thomas Philipp and Birgit Schaebler (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998), 232; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Suriyye*. Ondördüncü Defa. Sene-i Hicriyye 1299 (Şam: Vilâyet Matbaası, 1299/1881–1882), 130–154.

[24] *Salnâme*. Sene 1293, Defa 5 (Ankara, 1293/1876), 65,89.

[25] *Salnâme*. Sene 1292, Defa 6 (Bursa: Matbaa-i Vilâyet-i Hüdâvendigâr, 1292/1875), 46.

[26] *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Aydın*. Sene 1296 (İzmir, 1296/1879), 48, 93; *Erzurum Salnâmesi*. 1293, Defa 7 (Erzurum, 1293/1876), 73; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Mamuretülaziz*. Defa-i evvel, Sene 1298 (Vilâyet Belediye Matbaası, 1298/1881), 50, 72, 78; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Manastır*. Defa 2 (Monastir: Matbaa-i Vilâyet-i Manastır, 1293/1876), 40; *Salnâme-i Selânik*. Sene 1293, Defa 6 (Salonica, 1293/1876), 33.

[27] *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Kastamoni*. Sene 1295, Defa 10 (Kastamoni, 1295/1878), 37–95.

in *vilâyet*-centers and ECos in *sancak*- and *kazâ*-centers. Their indication in the official provincial yearbooks does not necessarily mean that these bodies had an official character. For example, the local Muslim educational initiative of the *Cemiyyet-i Makasıd-i Hayriyye* ("Society for Benevolent Purposes"), a non-government organization to found modern Sunni Muslim primary schools in Beirut and the neighboring districts, is shown in the provincial yearbook of Syria (1881–1882).[28] The format of their entry in the yearbook is the same as those of the ECs of the Anatolian or Balkan provinces, each body being listed among the other local administrative organs (administrative council, courts etc.) and in the format of a council with a chairman (*reis*) and a number of members (*âzâ*).[29] The membership consisted solely of local notables, which again was the same as for the ECs of other provinces. After the dissolution of the *Cemiyyet-i Makasid-i Hayriyye* by the government in fall 1882, the individual members were appointed by the MPE to the "new" official EC.[30]

In terms of the membership structure, most of the members of the ECs and the ECos before 1881 consisted of local religious dignitaries (*müderris, şerîf, nakîb-üleşrâf, hâfız* etc.) headed by the *mufti*. With the exception of the EC of Salonica, none of these bodies contained any non-Muslim member, this being a clear violation of the stipulations of the RPE. It is unclear whether the members of these ECs and ECos have received any kind of salary from the state. The above-mentioned characteristics of these ECs and ECos reveal their more or less semi-official status. The actual role of the ECs of the 1870s is not known well, and is a subject for further research.[31]

But the EC as an official body, founded by the MPE as a part of a central policy and in terms of the stipulations of the RPE, could not be set up at the provincial level before 1881. The financial situation between 1870 and 1881 and the lack of fairly trained per-

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[28] *Salnâme-i Suriyye* 1299/1881–1882. For more details about the *Cemiyyet-i Makasıd-i Hayriyye*, see Donald Cioeta, "Islamic Benevolent Societies and Public Education in Ottoman Syria, 1875–1882," *The Islamic Quarterly* XXVI–1 (1982), 42–53; Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Das Grundschulwesen in den Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches während der Herrschaftsperiode Abdülhamid II. (1876–1908)* (Egelsbach, Frankfurt, St. Peter Port: Hänsel-Hohenhausen, 1995), 178–186.

[29] *Salnâme-i Suriyye* (1299/1881–1882), 170, 183, 193, 203, 215, 239, 242.

[30] Cioeta, 50–51; Somel, 181.

[31] Compare Berker, 128.

sonnel constituted major impediments. On the other hand, there were also political reasons for the delay of the full implementation of the RPE in the provinces. A legal document with a highly Ottomanist content was not very likely to be executed after the death of the Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Âli Pasha in 1871, the last of the prominent *tanzîmât*-grand viziers. The successor of Âli Pasha, Mahmud Nedim Pasha (d.1883) was a decided enemy of the *tanzîmât*-reforms, while political instability characterized the years after Mahmud Nedim Pasha's office (1871–1872), until the deposition of Sultan Abdülaziz in 1876.[32] Between 1876 and 1878, there were added problems and chaos in relation with the changes in the political system, i.e. the constitutional experiment, and the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878. The consolidation of the Hamidian rule, which happened between 1879 and 1881, made the formulation of a concrete government educational policy more possible. Even when the MPE began to establish educational administrations in the provinces from 1881 onwards, certain stipulations of the RPE of clearly Ottomanist content were never put into practice. Not only ideological reasons, but also the dire financial straits of the government played an important role.

With the Hamidian period one could observe a more comprehensive and consistent policy of educational institutionalization at the provincial level. The first steps in this direction could be traced back to a report of the MPE, dated 1 S 1299/23 December 1881, concerning the creation of provincial educational administrations. The report made explicit the Hamidian regime's motives for provincial educational policy.[33] This document pointed out that Christian subjects considered education as the guarantee for the permanence and progress of their communities (*milliyyetlerinin beka ve terakkisi*) and their material welfare (*saâdât-i dünyeviyyeleri*). After the endeavours and

[32] About the life of Mahmud Nedim Pasha, see İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*. 3d ed. Vol. 1 (İstanbul: Dergâh, 1982), 259–314. For his political views, see Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Sultan and the Bureaucracy: The Anti-Tanzimat Concepts of Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Paşa," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 22 (1990), 257–274.

[33] Berker, 128. According to Kodaman, 45–46, this report was submitted to the sultan and approved for its implementation on 18 Ra 1299/7 February 1882. Compare also the report of Mehmed Ziya Bey, dated 17 January 1915, in which the decision taken on 4 February 1297/16 February 1882 to found ECs at the *vilâyet*-centers, is recorded: Binark, "Maarif Tarihimize," 484.

sacrifices of non-Muslims for the development of their schools were shown as an example, it was then stressed that instruction in the Christian schools should conform to the policies of the Ottoman government. For the realization of this aim two kinds of measures were proposed; first, to supply the material needs of these schools as much as possible by means of government support, and second, to inspect these institutions in an effective way and keep them under close supervision.[34] At the same time the report warned that failure to execute these measures would deny the Empire the benefits of the "educational capital" (*sermâye-i maârif*) which the non-Muslim communities had under their disposal, and these schools could become "perhaps" even harmful. This passage in the report reveals the concern of the Sublime Porte about nationalist movements among non-Muslim communities such as Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks, who were suspected of using community schools as means of inculcating separatist propaganda.

According to the report "some foreigners" (*bir takım ecânib*) exploited the lack of government support for Christian schools through using "the deceptive appearance of serving for the respectable duty of disseminating knowledge and skill" (*neşr-i ilm ü marifet vazife-i muhteremesini rû-pûş-i hîle ve mekîdet ederek*) and could set up schools in various places within the provinces by exploiting the freedom provided by the RPE. These institutions had the opportunity to teach Ottoman children and adolescents in line with their own designs. Such an undesirable situation could be prevented only through setting up ECs in all regions. Thus it would be possible on the one hand to control and inspect schools of the Christian Ottoman subjects and foreigners, and, on the other, to remedy the deficiencies of the public schools. Since the present financial situation would not allow the establishment of ECs in all parts of the Empire at the same time, the priority was given to those regions of Anatolia which were more backward in terms of educational development and, as a consequence, were more liable to foreign educational influence. It was expected that the foundation of the ECs in the *vilâyet*-centers would also make it easier to found teachers' seminaries for *sıbyân* schools as well as for the gradual expansion of branches of provincial educational administration down to the level of *sancak*s and *kazâ*s. Those provinces decided for the immediate foundation of ECs in this document were

[34] Berker, 128.

Diyarbekir, Erzurum, Mamuretülaziz, Sivas and Van.[35] It appears in this report that the chief objective in establishing ECs was to control and inspect non-Muslim communal institutions and foreign schools in an effective way along with the expansion of public schools in the provinces. Also, it seems likely that, in those regions without sufficient numbers of public schools, foreign schools were in fact attended by Muslim children, which could only be prevented by increasing the number of public schools in such localities. During the Hamidian period, foreign institutions were increasingly considered to be agencies in which native children, Muslim as well as non-Muslim, were subjected to political indoctrination which weakened loyalty toward the state and the sultan. In the case of Muslim pupils, the additional danger of undermining Islamic values constituted an additional threat. In the light of such worries it emerged as a pressing need to set up ECs in the provinces.

The Expansion of Provincial Councils (1882–1908)

The 1881 MPE report argued that weak finances made it impossible to found educational administrations in all parts of the Empire at the same time. While not widespread throughout the Empire, ECs did however increase after 1881, a pattern demonstrated by the *Ayniyât*-registers between February and April 1882. ECs were founded in Diyarbekir, Erzurum, Mamuretülaziz, Sivas, Van, and Edirne. These were followed by Syria, Aydın, Salonica and Janina. At the end of 1883 it was decided to establish an EC also in the *vilâyet* of Monastir.[36] But under conditions of financial bankruptcy and constant monetary shortages the setting up of ECs constituted a challenge for the Sublime Porte.

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[35] Berker, 128. Compare also Kodaman, 46, who states that in the document for the submission of the proposal to the sultan (*arz tezkiresi*), the province of Edirne was also mentioned, because, due to the destruction of most of the schools as a result of the Russo-Ottoman War, the need was stressed to set up an EC, cited from BOA ID 67930.

[36] BOA BEO Ayniyât Defteri (AD) Nr. 1420, p. 311 (27 Ra 1299/16 February 1882); Nr. 1420, p. 377, (30 Ca 1299/19 April 1882); Nr. 1243, p. 20 (25 M 1301/26 November 1883). Though there existed already in 1878–79 probably "semi-official" EC's in the provincial capitals of Aydın, Erzurum, Mamuretülaziz, Monastir, Salonica and Syria, documentary evidence shows that these institutions were founded for the second time, as a part of officially determined policy.

How financially problematic it in fact was to set up a provincial educational administration during the early 1880s manifests itself in a letter sent by the Sublime Porte to the MPE concerning the educational administration of Monastir. Accordingly it was decided previously to assign the DE a monthly salary of 2000 *kuruş*, for each of the two inspectors 1000 *kuruş*, for the secretary 500 *kuruş*, for the office servant and for other expenditures of the office 280 *kuruş*.[37] But this former arrangement had to be changed radically due to "present conditions" (*hâl-i hâzır cihetiyle*) in a way that the salary of the DE was reduced "provisionally" at a ratio of 50%, to only 1000 *kuruş* per month, which in turn had to be financed through the incomes of the local *münderise*-foundations, i.e. foundations which lost their institutional reason of existence, within the province of Monastir. Though it was planned to appoint two inspectors, now this function became included among the responsibilities of the DE.[38]

Throughout the Hamidian period the ECs expanded somewhat unevenly, both regionally and chronologically. This fact may be partly attributed to the critical financial circumstances of the Ottoman state which led to the policy of founding educational administrations in a "selective" way, thus giving primacy to those provinces where the state had pressing interests at stake.[39] Furthermore political and administrative conditions varied to a considerable degree between the Ottoman provinces. There were even some provinces in which civil administrative institutions were unable to take root at the level of *kazâ*s and sometimes at the level of *sancak*s as late as the early 1900s. For example, the Hijaz received an educational administration in 1891 because its tax revenues, the educational contribution-tax in particular, had finally reached a level high enough to pay for the

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[37] This means that the expenditures of an educational administration of a province during the early 1880s could come up for each month;

Director of Education	2000	*kuruş*
2 Inspectors	2000 (1000 + 1000)	"
Secretary	500	"
Servant of the office and other office expenditures	280	"
Total	4780	"

[38] BOA AD Nr. 1243, p. 20 (25 M 1301/26 November 1883).

[39] This can be seen also in the report from December 1881 where eastern Anatolian provinces were given priority.

service.[40] In the end of 1892 it was also discussed to set up an educational council in the remote and poor *vilâyet* of Mosul and to appoint a DE.[41]

The individual qualities of the DEs of provincial ECs varied considerably. While the DEs of the Balkan provinces, as in the case of the *vilâyet* of Janina, could be appointed among civil officials graduated from the School of the Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) still at the beginning of the 1880s, İsa Ruhi Efendi, a sheikh of the Sufi Rifai order who lacked formal government education, was appointed DE of the *vilâyet* of Baghdad in 1889.[42] Since the DEs played a decisive role in provincial education, the non-uniform qualities of the DEs could lead to considerable differences in the development and functioning of public schools. Such differences also point to the different government interests and policies varying according to regional circumstances. Variations in educational background could also effect state supervision of foreign schools. The fact that a considerable part of the DEs were not graduates of higher educational institutions and thus did not possess proficiency in one of the main European languages was an obstacle for the effective supervision of the curricula of foreign institutions as well as of their schoolbooks.[43]

The next step in the development of educational administration in the provinces was the setting up of the ECos (*maârif komisyonu, maârif encümeni*). The ECos were collegial bodies at the level of *sancak*- and *kazâ*-centers, with a membership structure comparable to the ECs. One may ask what was the relationship between the individual composition of the ECo and the level of educational progress in terms of the participation of local notables in the development of

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[40] For the educational contribution-tax, see 146 ff. below.

[41] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 631 (10 B 1308/19 February 1891). On the other hand A.A. Dohaish states that no EC was set up in the Hijaz until 1908. According to him it was only in 1908 when it was decided for the second time to establish an EC in the Hijaz. See Abdullatif Abdullah Dohaish, "A Critical and Comparative Study of the History of Education in the Hijaz During the Periods of Ottoman and Sharifian Rule Between 1869–1925," (Ph.D. diss., University of Leeds, 1974), 76–77. I am grateful to Dr. Anja Pistor-Hatam for drawing my attention to this source. For Mosul, see BOA Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat ("Miscellaneous Reports Submitted to the Yıldız Palace," hence YMTV) 72/43 (22 Ca 1310), dated 20 R 1310/11 November 1892.

[42] BOA AD Nr. 1421, p. 114 (6 Z 1299/19 October 1882); AD Nr. 1422, p. 61 (6 S 1307/2 October 1889).

[43] BOA YMTV 53/108 (27 Muharrem 1309), dated 27 M 1309/2 September 1891.

public schools in *kazâ*s. The official yearbooks for individual provinces, particularly those dating after 1890, show the members of each ECo at the level of *kazâ*s. Accordingly, the ECos were mostly made up of two categories of members; one category consisted of local government officials like the *mufti* (senior Muslim interpreter of religious and canonical rules, often the head of the EC or the ECo), the local Islamic judge (*nâib*), the local financial director (*mal müdîri*), the secretary for official correspondences (*tahrirât kâtibi*) and other similar personalities, while the other category of members were made up of local notables like *ağa*s, *hacı*s, *zâde*s or *şeyh*s. In many *kazâ*s ECo membership consisted only of persons belonging to the first category. This shows that local participation was rather limited in these localities, since the respective ministries in İstanbul mostly appointed these officials.[44] In fact, official provincial yearbooks hardly tell us any direct and open relationship between the member structure of the local ECos and the level of educational development or the quantity of schools in given localities. But it must be noted that quite often the *mufti* or one of the *hacı*s or *şeyh*s was at the same time member of the local "commission for pious foundations" (*evkaf komisyonu*) of the *kazâ, sancak* or *vilâyet.* This connection seems to have been an important precondition for securing local resources, particularly in the form of the *münderise*-foundation incomes, for the support of public education, especially for primary schools.[45]

The RPE required that in the EC also representatives of non-Muslim communities should be present.[46] But in practice, even in *vilâyets* with large non-Muslim populations, the ECs were composed solely of Muslims.[47] For example the stipulation in question was not implemented in the EC of the *vilâyet* of Syria until the end of the

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[44] Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra*, 55.

[45] See the *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Suriyye. Sene 1318* (Damascus, 1318/1900), 168–231; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Beyrut. Sene 1318* (Beirut, 1318/1900), 148–310; *Bağdad Vilâyet-i Celîlesine Mahsûs Salnâme. Sene-i Kameriyye 1321* (Baghdad, 1321/1904), 196, 273–324; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Haleb. 1326 Hicrî* (Aleppo, 1326/1908), 228–493; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bitlis. Sene 1318* (Bitlis, 1318/1900), 110, 146, 162, 196, 225; *Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. Hicri 1325* (Bursa, 1325/1907), 397–607.

[46] Art 143, in M. Cevâd, 497.

[47] Those *vilâyet* ECs with non-Muslim members were located in Adana, Edirne, Erzurum, Mamuretülaziz, Rhodes and in Trabzon. See the *Adana Vilâyeti Salnâmesi.* Defa 12, 1320 (Adana, 1320/1902–1903), 116; *Cezâir-i Bahr-ı Sefid Salnâmesi.* Yirminci Defa (Rodos: Matbaa-i Vilâyet, 1321/1903–1904), 91; *Edirne Vilâyeti Salnâmesi* (Edirne, 1319/1901–1902), 656; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Erzurum.* Defa 15, 1318 Sene-i Hicriyyesi

1880s. Only when the native non-Muslim schools of this province refused in 1887 to open their doors to government inspection with the excuse that there was not a single local non-Muslim member in the EC of the *vilâyet* of Syria, did the provincial administration admit non-Muslim members to the EC.[48]

The official provincial yearbooks document the expansion of the local ECos in the course of the Hamidian era. A comparison between two yearbooks of the *vilâyet* of Syria, one dated 1300/1882–1883 and the other 1318/1900 concerning the expansion of the ECos in this province within eighteen years provides us interesting information. In this comparison also the official yearbook of the *vilâyet* of Beirut, dated 1311/1893–1894 and from 1318/1900 will be taken into consideration, since the *vilâyet* of Beirut was until 1888 a part of the *vilâyet* of Syria.

According to the 1300/1882–1883 yearbook, there existed within the province of Syria besides the EC in Damascus also ECos in the *sancak*-centers of Beirut, Tripoli, Latakia, Acre, Hama and Balqa, but none in Hawran. At the *kazâ*-level ECos existed only in the *kazâ*s of Saida (main *sancak* of Beirut) and of Janin (*sancak* of Balqa).[49] Looking at the yearbook of Syria nearly twenty years later, dated 1318/1900, one observes ECos in all of the *sancak*-centers within this *vilâyet*, including the centers of the remote sanjaks of Hawran (Basr al-Harir) and Kerak. Looking closer at the level of *kazâ*s, it would come out that all *kazâ*-centers within the main *sancak* of Damascus had ECos (except for those of Rašaya and Zabdani). In the periferal *sancak*s of Hama and Kerak, on the other hand, half of the existing *kazâ*s had ECos, and Hawran had none. The 1311/ 1893–1894 and 1318/1900 Beirut yearbooks show ECos in all of the *sancak*-centers. ECos existed in *all* of the *kazâ*s within the *sancak*s of Nablus (Balqa), Acre, and Latakia, and they were absent only in the *kazâ*s of Marjayun

(Erzurum, 1318/1900–1901), 234; *Mamuretülaziz Vilâyeti Salnâmesi.* Sekizinci Defa, 1312 Sene-i Hicriyyesi (Vilâyet Matbaası, 1312/1894–1895), 157; *Trabzon Vilâyeti Salnâmesi.* Yirmi İkinci Defa. 1322 Sene-i Hicriyyesi (Vilâyet Matbaası, 1322/1904–1905), 276. On the other hand, Aleppo, Ankara, Aydın, Beirut, Diyarbekir, Janina, Kosovo and Monastir belonged to those provinces with substantial non-Muslim populations where the *vilâyet* ECs did not contain any non-Muslim member.

[48] Report sent from the governor of Syria to the Yıldız Palace, in BOA YMTV 27/46 (17 Zilkade 1304), dated 14 Za 1304/4 August 1887.

[49] *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Suriyye. Sene 1300* (Damascus, 1300/1882–1883), 100, 165, 171, 189, 198, 211, 225, 238, 240.

(main *sancak* of Beirut), Akkar and Hisn al-Akrad (*sancak* of Tripoli).[50]

This comparison shows an expansion of the local educational administrations at the level of *kazâ*s. Though at the beginning of the 1880s local educational administrations were set up mainly at the level of *sancak*-centers, at the beginning of the twentieth century ECos had been established in most of the *kazâ*-centers of these two provinces. Even around 900, those *kazâ*s without any local ECo were either regions (the *kazâ*s of Rašaya and Zabdani within the main *sancak* of Damascus) where Greek Orthodox and Maronite Christians constituted the majority of the local population, or areas with a predominant bedouin population (the *kazâ*s of Selimiyye and Hamidiyye within the *sancak* of Hama, the *kazâ* of Maan within the *sancak* of Kerak) and areas of Druze presence (the complete *sancak* of Hawran). The inhabitants of these *kazâ*s consisted of communities of non-Muslims, of non-Sunni people, or of tribal people difficult to be controlled by a settled central administration, i.e. population groups which were not integrated into the present political system and where probably the educational contribution-tax could not be collected in an effective way for the financing of the ECos.

The expansion of educational administrations in western Anatolia, in comparison, reached down to the level of *nahiyye*s. According to the yearbook of the *vilâyet* of Hüdâvendigâr, dated 1325/1907, there existed ECos in most of the *nahiyye*s of the *kazâ*s of all *sancak*s except for the *kazâ* of Ayvalık. In the latter *kazâ* the population consisted predominantly of Greeks.[51] On the other hand the expansion of the ECos in remoter areas such as in eastern Anatolia was still in its earliest stage even toward the end of the Hamidian era. The yearbook of the *vilâyet* of Bitlis, dated 1318/1900, included only ECos at the *sancak*-level (*sancak*s of Muş, Genc, Siird). The only ECo at the level of *kazâ* existed in Ahlat (main *sancak* of Bitlis).[52]

Especially in times of critical developments or political crisis, the Sublime Porte monitored the efficiency of the provincial educational administrations' the supervision of non-Muslim and foreign institu-

[50] *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Beyrut. Sene 1311* (Beirut, 1311/1893–1894), 149, 157; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Beyrut. Sene 1318* (Beirut, 1318/1900), 148, 202, 212, 221, 226, 232, 243, 256, 263, 269, 278, 291, 298, 304, 310; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Suriyye. Sene 1318* (Damascus, 1318/1900), 168, 172, 178, 181, 183, 185, 187, 193, 198, 218, 225, 228, 230.

[51] *Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. Hicri 1325* (Bursa, 1325/1907), 397–607.

[52] *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bitlis. Sene 1318* (Bitlis, 1318/1900), 110, 146, 162, 196, 225.

tions. When the number of foreign schools continued to increase within the *vilâyet* of Mamuretülaziz in eastern Anatolia, their activities came under closer surveillance. For example, because the DE of the latter province did not sent until 1890 any report to the MPE concerning the courses taught in these foreign schools, he was replaced by the former chief secretary (*mektubcu*) of the previously dissolved *vilâyet* of Dersim, Hayri Efendi, who reportedly was well informed about the local conditions.[53]

The Sublime Porte used local complaints about the functioning of provincial educational administrations as a means of local control. When a Wlach instructor reported to the Sublime Porte about the openly partial attitude of the DE of the *vilâyet* of Monastir towards the educational institutions of different non-Muslim communities, a government investigation confirmed the allegation and the DE in question was instantly dismissed.[54] Another case happened in the *vilâyet* of Adana. The notables of the provincial center, some local *ulemâ* and the "Islamic judicial commission of the *vilâyet*-center" (*merkez-i vilâyet niyâbet-i şeriyyesi*) telegraphed the *şeyhülislâm* in İstanbul that the DE of Adana insulted Islamic belief and spoiled the morality of school children. After the complaints had been forwarded to the Office of the Grand Vizier, it was decided that first the MPE should investigate.[55]

More funds could be raised locally when ECos at the *kazâ*-level cooperated efficiently with the *kazâ*-administration and the local administrative council. For example, the ECo of the *kazâ* of Tikveş (*vilâyet* of Salonica) efficiently cooperated with the *kazâ*-administration, and the local council confiscated illegal incomes of some local notables and used these sources to found new village *ibtidâî* schools.[56] The objective of the ECs and the ECos to raise funds for financing local schools was one of the most important functions in the expansion of education.

[53] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 345 (17 Za 1307/5 July 1890).
[54] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 479 (26 M 1308/11 September 1890).
[55] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 515 (5 R 1308/18 November 1890).
[56] BOA YMTV 37/56 (1 C 1306), dated 22 B 1303/26 April 1886.

The Bureaucratization of Provincial Educational Administration

The expansion of primary and secondary public schools in the remoter regions of the Empire, the establishment of diverse financial sources such as the educational contribution-tax and the *münderise*-foundations, the growing body of instructors and above all the Hamidian tendency to keep cultural life under tight government surveillance rendered the provincial stipulations of the RPE and the ECs and ECos in their collegial shape insufficient to cope with the increasing burden of the administration of the personnel, the finances and coordinated supervision of provincial schools. Thus two main developments occurred. In 1896 an instruction was put into craft which provided more specific stipulations concerning provincial educational administration. The other was the institutional differentiation of educational adminstration and EC.

On 8 B 1314/13 December 1896 the "Instruction Concerning the Duties of Directors of Education of the Imperial Provinces" (*Vilayât-ı Şâhâne Maârif Müdîrlerinin Vezâifini Mübeyyin Talimât*, IDE) was put into effect. In this instruction the responsibilities of the DEs were rearranged, and for the first time the functions of educational administrations at the level of *sancak*s and *kazâ*s were settled legally. The DE was enhanced its provincial administrative powers and increased its control over teachers. He sent quarterly reports (*lâyiha-i icmâliyye*) to the MPE, and at the end of every educational year two detailed reports (*lâyiha-i mufassala*), one addressing enrollment and instruction and the other covering finances. The DE kept statistical registers of all schools within the area of jurisdiction, public (*resmî*), private (*husûsî*), communal (*millî*) and foreign (*ecnebî*) institutions, and annually reported the data to the MPE. In line with Hamidian censorship, the DE inspected beforehand the texts of speeches given by educational staff at receptions of prizes or at other occasions to be delivered. The DE also censored school theater scripts.[57]

The IDE regulated the ECos at the level of *sancak*s and *kazâ*s. Members of these organs as well as their chairmen were to be selected by the administrative councils of the respective *sancak*s and *kazâ*s and appointed officially by the governor following the approval of the

[57] Art 6, 7, 43, in *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye, sene 1316* (İstanbul: 1316/1898–1899), 137–138, 149–150; Berker, 148–150; Kodaman, 47.

DE. The duties of these ECos were the same as the functions performed by the EC, but acting within administratively more limited areas and with lesser competences. The chairmen of the ECos were expected to send biannual registers to their superior, i.e. the DE of the respective *vilâyet* about the revenues of those foundations which lost their institutional reason of existence (*evkaf-ı münderise*) as well as those registers concerning the *avârız akçesi*-tax, of other local revenues, school fees and the places of their expenditure, while compiling at the end of each educational year a general summary (*icmâl-ı umûmî*) pertaining to the general educational situation in their locations.[58] In those *sancak*-centers with *idâdî* schools the directors together with one teacher from these schools were expected to participate at the sessions of the ECos.[59] The same application should be valid for the headmasters of the *rüşdiyye* schools in *kazâ*-centers.[60] As we learn from the provincial yearbook of Bursa, the ECos crucial responsibilities were to ensure the application in local schools of the curriculum as well as of the schoolbooks settled by the MPE, inspect the execution of the instructions sent by the MPE, to set up new schools in needed locations and finally, to select "appropriate" school teachers.[61]

Parallel to the differentiation of administrative functions stipulated in the IDE and the pressing administrative needs of a routine nature, the provincial yearbooks of the later Hamidian period tell us the emergence of a second administrative body at the *vilâyet*-center together with the EC, which was termed either as *maârif dâiresi* ("educational office") or as *maârif idâresi* ("educational administration"). With the exception of Yemen probably all of the *vilâyet*-centers had these administrative bodies. In more remote provinces such as Erzurum this institution was usually consisting of the DE, two account officials, one secretary, one cashier. In some provinces, such as Diyarbekir, this body also included one museum official (*müze memuru*). In a more centrally located *vilâyet*-center such as İzmir, the *maârif idâresi* could be made of a bureaucratic body of twelve officials, which could include the inspector for printing houses, inspectors for books published in Greek and German languages, an official responsible for

[58] For the *avârız akçesi* and the *münderise*-foundations see 122 fn. 2, and 133 below.
[59] For *idâdî* schools, see 102 ff. below.
[60] Art 10, 13–15, in *Salnâme Maârif 1316*, 139–141. Concerning the administrative councils of *sancak*s and *kazâ*s, see Ortayl, *Tanzimattan Sonra*, 65–69.
[61] *Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti Salnâmesi, Hicri 1325* (Bursa, 1325/1907), 332.

the ECos at the level of *kazâs*, an inspector for primary schools, officials for financial issues and for correspondences.[62] These educational administrations were purely bureaucratic institutions where the members were full government officials. The membership structure of the EC, on the other hand, did not seem to have changed considerably, perhaps with the possible novelty of the inclusion of *idâdî* school directors.

This differentiation of educational administration into two bodies, one with a semi-representative character and one with a purely bureaucratic nature paralleled the structuration of the MPE in İstanbul. The *vilâyet* EC turned into an institution similar to the CE (*Meclis-i Maârif*), the highest organ of the MPE, where educational policies were prepared and offered to higher authorities for approval. The *maârif idâresi*, on the other hand, was the bureaucratic executive body at the provincial level, comparable to the executive departments, directories and financial offices within the MPE. The increasing surveillance and censorship policies of the Hamidian autocracy particularly from 1890 onwards required a bureaucratic apparatus at the provincial level that would render the inspection of local publications possible.

Primary Education in the Provinces

Sıbyân and İbtidâî Schools

In spite of the attempts to reform the curriculum of the existing Quran schools throughout the 1860s, the apparent lack of success in introducing worldly-oriented course subjects into these institutions along with the emerging emphasis on natural scientific subjects in primary education led to the foundation of the first government primary schools. The first model of such an institution was set up in İstanbul in 1872, called *ibtidâî mektebi* ("*ibtidâî* school," "primary school"). The method of education, applied in these *ibtidâî* schools, was based on Selim Sâbit Efendi's pedagogical approach of the *usûl-i*

[62] *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Aydın.* Defa 25, 1326 Sene-i Hicriyyesi (Vilâyet Matbaası, 1326/1908), 104; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Diyarbekir.* Sene-i Hicriyye 1323, Defa 20 (Vilâyet Matbaası, 1323/1905), 73; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Erzurum.* Defa 15, 1318 Sene-i Hicriyyesi (Erzurum, 1318/1900–1901), 234.

cedîd ("new method"). When positive educational results were observed among the pupils of the first *ibtidâî* school, the MPE decided to increase the number of them and also to transform the existing traditional *sıbyân* schools into the *ibtidâî* schools. In 1876 there were still only three *ibtidâî* schools in İstanbul itself.[63]

Until the 1880s the term *sıbyân mektebi* usually referred to primary schools in a general sense. The traditional Quran schools and those *sıbyân* schools reformed and modernized by the government, as well as primary schools founded by the state and even the non-Muslim primary schools could be referred to collectively as *sıbyân* schools.[64] In the 1880s the term *sıbyân mektebi* began to designate only traditional Quran schools, whereas the term *ibtidâî mektebi* increasingly became applied to primary schools founded by the MPE. In 1881 the name of the departmental subdivision *Mekâtib-i Sıbyâniyye İdâresi* ("Direction of the Primary Schools") within the MPE was changed to *Mekâtib-i İbtidâiyye İdâresi.*[65] Toward the end of the Hamidian period the term *ibtidâî* school became accepted to the extent as applying this term even for the traditional Quran schools. Now in order to make any differentiation possible between the traditional and government schools, the Quran schools were called "*ibtidâî* schools where traditional methods are applied" (*usûl-i atîka üzere ibtidâî mektebi*), whereas the government institutions were designated as "*ibtidâî* schools with the application of the *usûl-i cedîde*" (*usûl-i cedîde üzere ibtidâî mektebi*).[66] The usage of the term *ibtidâî mektebi* both for Quran schools as well as for government schools in official documents perhaps could be related to the "historical relict" of considering primary education as an integral part of religious instruction.

The RPE for the first time decided to disseminate primary schools down to village-level, where the school-age as well as measures concerning compulsory education were determined. *Sıbyân* schools were to be set up in every village and in every town quarter, or if that were not possible, then there should be at least one *sıbyân* school for every two villages or for two town quarters. The school-age for male

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[63] Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Mektebleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısiyle Türkiye Maarif Tarihi.* 2d ed. Vol. 1–2 (İstanbul: Eser Kültür, 1977), 469–475; Kodaman, 70, 157; M. Cevâd, 507–508.

[64] See Art 4–8 of the Regulation of 1869, in M. Cevâd, 470–471.

[65] Kodaman, 31,71.

[66] *Hüdâvendigâr Salnâmesi. Sene 1325*, 322; Kodaman, 31, 68, 72; M. Cevâd, 470–471.

sıbyân school pupils was settled from seven until eleven, and for female pupils from six until ten.[67]

Concerning RPE-stipulations for ensuring compulsory schooling, it became a part of the responsibility of the local dignitaries such as the "Council of Elders" (*İhtiyâr Meclisi*) in a village or a town quarter to determine the number of school-age children in the respective locality and the financial situation of their parents or relatives. If there were children who evaded school, the teacher was to submit their names to the local headman (*muhtâr*), who together with the Council of Elders was empowered to take measures, including the imposition of fines on parents or closest relatives of the child, and to force the transfer of the pupil to school.[68] In October 1872 the Office of the Grand Vizier and in June 1873 the MPE sent dispatches to provincial administrations, where the above-mentioned articles concerning the expansion of primary schools as well as compulsory education were ordered to be implemented.[69] But in the face of the lack of stable financial sources for the establishment of provincial schools and for the setting up of educational administrations particularly during these years, it does not seem very likely that these dispatches made a great effect for the development of provincial educational system.

The appointments of the DEs to the provinces were in fact initiated only ten years later, by an announcement of the MPE, dated 25 B 1299/23 June 1882. In this announcement it was also stressed that "in the provinces it will be attempted in the first place to improve the condition of the *sıbyân* schools" (*taşralarca evvel emirde mekâtib-i sıbyâniyyenin ıslâh-ı ahvâline teşebbüs*) and expand these institutions.[70]

The implementation of the RPE articles, which aimed at the spreading of public primary schools practically to every village, differed considerably from region to region. In 1907 within the *kazâ* of Bursa of the *vilâyet* of Hüdâvendigâr, one of the most developed Islamic provincial regions in the Ottoman Empire, only 11 primary schools applied modern methods out of a total of 155 village schools.[71] On

[67] Art 3 and 9, in M. Cevâd, 470–471.
[68] Art 10–13, in M. Cevâd, 471–472.
[69] Berker, 102–103.
[70] Ergin, Vol. 3–4, 1148; M. Cevâd, 216.
[71] *Hüdâvendigâr Salnâmesi* (Sene 1325/1907), 335; M. Cevâd, 336.

the other hand, a region situated more at the periphery of the Empire, such as the *sancak* of Jerusalem, had in 1885 a total of 158 urban and rural *ibtidâî* schools with teachers appointed by the Ottoman government. Geographically close to the *sancak* of Jerusalem, the *kazâ* of Janin in northern Palestine (*sancak* of Balqa, *vilâyet* of Beirut) had at least 35 *ibtidâî* schools in the early 1890s.[72] In contrast to these regions there existed even around 1890 *vilâyet*-centers where still not a single *ibtidâî* school existed, like in San'a', the center of the *vilâyet* of Yemen.[73] These examples demonstrate that there may not always be a correlation between socio-economic development of a certain region and the level of the development of public education. They also show that central directives had a limited reach.

Examining the average degree of the dissemination of *ibtidâî* schools for each *kazâ* in 1323–1324/1905–1906, a significant number of *sancak*s that culturally were known to display less aptitude for modern education could display higher figures than the imperial average. While the imperial average of male and co-educational *ibtidâî* schools for each *kazâ* was 12.47, *sancak*s such as Monastir, İştib (Štip), Seniçe (Senica), Prizren, Taşlıca (Pljevlja) and İşkodra displayed higher averages, ranging between 14.8 and 26 for each *kazâ*. The figure for Diyarbekir was 14.6, Ergani 30.66, Nablus 36.33 (but Beirut only 1.5!), Jerusalem 70.[74] These rather unexpected high figures could only be interpreted as the manifestation of a systematic government policy to set up modern primary schools by means of budgetary support in those regions where local initiatives for educational development were insufficient and the presence of Ottoman central authority was rather a novelty.

Looking at the degree of the realization of the *usûl-i cedîd* in *ibtidâî* schools, children's impressions in Chapter VII reveal that the MPE remained unable to establish a general standard for *ibtidâî* education. Whereas some schools applied the *usûl-i cedîd*, this did not seem the case for an important part of the provincial *ibtidâî*s.

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[72] M. Cevâd, 258.

[73] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 235 (6 B 1307/26 February 1890); BOA YMTV 191/132 (23 S 1317/3 July 1899).

[74] For the average distribution of government *ibtidâî* schools for each *kazâ* between 1902–1908 at the level of *sancak*s, see the Appendixes 11 and 12.

Rüşdiyye Schools

Rüşdiyye schools initially were designed as secondary institutions with modern curriculum and a higher educational level than the religious-oriented *sıbyân* schools. Yet the RPE classified *rüşdiyye* schools together with the reformed Quran schools as a part of the primary educational level.[75] The *rüşdiyye* schools lost in fact their reason d'être, when on the one hand *ibtidâî* schools began to be set up with a more practical-oriented curriculum, and on the other *idâdî* schools in the early 1880s began to replace these in the government educational system as secondary institutions in the real sense. This development was due to the incapability of the *rüşdiyye* schools to function as secondary-level institutions. In those towns where *idâdî* schools were founded, the MPE pursued the policy of incorporating the existing *rüşdiyye* schools into the new *idâdî* schools by means of including the *rüşdiyye*-level classes as the lower classes of the new complex. The remaining *rüşdiyye* schools which continued to function as independent bodies in some of the *sancak*- and *kazâ*-centers had the educational quality of a higher primary school.[76]

The RPE of 1869 designed the category of *rüşdiyye* school as an institution where Muslim as well as non-Muslim pupils could be accepted. The RPE assigned a *rüşdiyye* school for Muslims to those towns (*kasaba*) which contained more than five hundred households and had an overwhelmingly Muslim population, while in the case of predominant Christian populations the RPE designated the *rüşdiyye* school for exclusive use of Christians. In towns with mixed population, it was designed to establish separate *rüşdiyye* schools for each of the two communities, on the condition that each religious community within the town represented by more than hundred households.[77] This plan for non-Muslim *rüşdiyye* schools was never realized and even though provincial *rüşdiyye*s were tried to be set up in localities with more than five hundred Muslim households prior to the Hamidian period, these often remained closed due to the shortage of instructors.[78]

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[75] Art 2 of the MPE. See M. Cevâd, 470.

[76] Kodaman, 102, 106–107. Compare also 262 ff. below.

[77] Art 18, in M. Cevâd, 473.

[78] For the example of the *rüşdiyye* school of Akşehir, *vilâyet* of Konya, in 1294/1877, see Bereketzade İsmail Hakkı, *Yâd-ı Mâzî* (İstanbul: Tevsi-i Tıbaat Matbaası, 1332/1913–1914), 249.

The non-Muslim *rüşdiyye* schools were not set up due to the abandonment of the Ottomanist policy during the Hamidian period.

According to the RPE the teaching staff of *rüşdiyye* schools were to consist of one schoolmaster (*muallim-i evvel*) and one or two secondary teachers (*muallim-i sâni*), the number of teachers to be determined in harmony with the total number of *rüşdiyye*-students. These teachers were to be appointed according to a "Regulation Concerning the Teachers" (*Muallimîn Nizamnâmesi*).[79] There are no signs, however, that such a regulation was implemented. Instead, the existing legal framework of the RPE was applied in the appointment of instructors.

An Hamidian development concerning the *rüşdiyye* schools was the policy of founding the so-called *merkez rüşdiyye mektebleri* ("central *rüşdiyye* schools"), which was to include *ibtidâî*- as well as *rüşdiyye*-level classes in one institution. The MPE decided in 1888 to promote the establishment of the *merkez rüşdiyye* schools. But though a number of such institutions were founded in İstanbul, there is no data about the existence of these at the provincial level.[80]

The development of *ibtidâî*s and *rüşdiyye* schools in the provinces depended on local financial sources.[81] Since the only general tax for education, called "educational contribution-tax" (*maârif hisse-i iânesi*, EdC), was assigned mainly for the setting up of *idâdî* schools, factors like economic wealth of a locality or the inclination of the local population for generous donations played a decisive role in spreading *ibtidâî* schools and *rüşdiyye* schools. In the case of the *vilâyet* of Basra around 1891, the number of these institutions could not increase, since the portion of the EdC assigned to the local educational administration for local investments had already been allocated for the establishment of the *idâdî* school. On the other hand the donations of the local population did not suffice even for the maintenance of the existing ten *ibtidâî* schools and four *rüşdiyye* schools. The administrative council of the *vilâyet* of Basra pressured the Sublime Porte to assign the remaining portion of the EdC collected in this province for the foundation of new *ibtidâî* schools and additional four *rüşdiyye* schools.[82]

[79] Art 21, in M. Cevâd, 474.
[80] Kodaman, 98,107.
[81] See 152 ff. below.
[82] BOA AD Nr. 1423, p. 40 (18 Ş 1308/29 March 1891); AD Nr. 1423, p. 182 (26 L 1308/4 June 1891). For EdC, see 146 ff. below.

Another example concerning the determining role of local financial sources could be seen in a document sent by the *sancak*-administration of Bingâzi, northeastern part of Libya, to the Sublime Porte in February 1892. This *sancak*, inhabited by a predominantly bedouin population, had one *rüşdiyye* and a few *ibtidâî* schools in the *sancak*-center. Founded by the local military corps, these schools were materially in poor condition. When the administrator of this *sancak* wrote a letter to the Sublime Porte to ensure financial assignments for the improvement of the existing *ibtidâî* schools as well as for the setting up of new ones in Derne and Marj, he received the reply that the administration had to use mainly local financial sources to achieve these objects. Thereupon the administrator of Bingâzi sent a new letter to İstanbul, claiming that the local population did not have any idea about the meaning of education, and since these people were remaining in a state of complete ignorance and constant nomadic existence, it would be senseless to ask them for donations for the establishment of schools.[83] The last example displayed the difficulty of finding local sources among those population groups where the notion of institutionalized education was not familiar. This was especially true for tribal and non-sedentary populations.

Foundation of Primary Schools through Local Initiatives

Since the EdC was *de facto* assigned for the establishment of *idâdî* schools, the foundation of provincial primary schools inevitably became dependent on local financial sources. Here, the endeavours of local educational administrators were crucial for raising funds.

Another object of local initiative was the appointment of instructors. The constant shortage of graduates of the Teachers' Seminary in İstanbul forced provincial administrators to hire local officials who had received formal education and could to a certain extent substitute for professional instructors. This practice declined as more teachers' seminaries were founded in provincial capitals.

Midhat Pasha's local initiatives occurred even before the Hamidian era, i.e. in the 1860s and early 1870s when he governed first the province of Danube, then Baghdad. In Baghdad he founded the first

[83] BOA YMTV 60/31 (11 Ş 1309/11 February 1892).

rüşdiyye school in 1869 by raising local resources for the construction of this institution. For the later expenses of the *rüşdiyye* school the provincial administration of Baghdad took loans from the Administration of Pious Foundations of Baghdad, which was to be paid back through the revenues of the *münderise*-foundations by means of instalments.[84]

In addition to Midhat Pasha, the governor of the *sancak* of Acre, *vilâyet* of Syria, around 1873–1874 turned a part of the annexes of the main mosque of the *sancak*-center into a *rüşdiyye*-building. But since the MPE despite of numerous applications did not appoint any instructor to this school, the governor took advantage of the presence of an educated political exile in this town and appointed him as schoolmaster of the new *rüşdiyye* school. The preacher of the main mosque of Acre, on the other hand, became the secondary teacher of this school.[85] When the *rüşdiyye* school in the town of Akşehir, *vilâyet* of Konya, could not be opened due to the lack of instructors, the administrator of this *kazâ* took the initiative and appointed one among the more able local *ulemâ* as a secondary teacher to this school.[86]

In a striking example of a successful local initiative, the administrator of the *kazâ* of Gemlik, *vilâyet* of Hüdâvendigâr, not only founded a local ECo in this *kazâ* through his own initiative, but also reformed the traditional primary schools in the villages of his *kazâ* while setting up three government primary schools for boys and three for girls. In addition, he employed six male and female teachers who were well-versed in new educational methods (*usûl-i cedîde üzere tedrîs*) without demanding any financial support from the budget of the MPE. As a result nine hundred children attended these schools in 1881. The Sublime Porte decided to promote this *kaymakam* to a higher bureaucratic rank and also to decorate him.[87] In Adapazarı, *sancak* of İzmid, the *kaymakam* of the *kazâ* induced local officials as well as notables and "public-minded" inhabitants (*memûrîn ve eşrâf-ı belde ve hamiyyetperverân ahâli*) to donate a nearly seven hundred Turkish Pounds for educational investments. This donation paid for a new building where both the *ibtidâî* school and the *rüşdiyye* school were

[84] BOA AD Nr. 1424, p. 240 (23 N 1309/2 May 1891).
[85] B.İ. Hakkı, 148, 149.
[86] B.İ. Hakkı, 262.
[87] BOA AD Nr. 1420, p. 111 (20 C 1298/19 Mai 1881).

situated. The sultan issued a decree to decorate this *kaymakam* with a *Mecidiyye*-decoration of the fifth degree.[88]

In 1880 the local population of the *kazâ*s of Kırkağaç and Akhisar, both located in the *vilâyet* of Aydın, established commissions (*komisyon*) supervised by the provincial administration to develop and maintain the local infrastructure, particularly the roads, and to found a *sıbyân* school which was to teach in harmony with "new educational methods" (*usûl-i cedîde*).[89] A notable of Kuşadası, *vilâyet* of Aydın, a Mahmudzâde Mehmed Efendi, turned his mansion over for the foundation of the prospective *ibtidâî* school without demanding any kind of payment. The Sublime Porte decided to grant the son of this notable, Hasan Tahsin Bey, the bureaucratic degree of the third rank (*rütbe-i sâlise*).[90]

The existence of neither an *ibtidâî* school nor a *rüşdiyye* school in the *kazâ* of Kılkış, *vilâyet* of Salonica, until 1898–1899 was changed by the efforts of the newly appointed *kadı* (Islamic judge) to this *kazâ*. The new *kadı*, who was at the same time responsible of the local pious foundations, took the initiative to transfer some of the foundation revenues for the setting up of an *ibtidâî* school as well as a *rüşdiyye* school.[91]

Local initiatives to found schools, to support the material infrastructure of education and to hire professionally trained instructors originated both from appointed administrators and from local population. Cooperation of both sides was a necessary precondition for success. At the same time, awareness about the importance of education among the local population was a basic prerequisite for educational development. The provided examples stem mostly from western Anatolia, where an alertness emerged among the Muslim population concerning the educational progress and economic power of local Greeks. The apparent inability of the Ottoman state to found the needed number of schools in a short time must have led mindful local notables to cooperate with local administrators to found schools. The Sublime Porte and the MPE encouraged these initiatives. The RPE already stipulated local funds as the main financial

[88] BOA YMTV 66/43 (7 S 1310/31 July 1892).
[89] BOA AD Nr. 1418, p. 194 (20 C 1297/30 May 1880).
[90] BOA AD Nr. 1420, p. 177 (17 N 1298/13 August 1881).
[91] Esat K.Ertur, *Tamu Yelleri (Emekli Yargıç Hüseyin Kâmil Ertur'un Anıları)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 45.

resource for provincial primary schools. On the other hand, the difficulty of the MPE to allocate needed resources from its budget for setting up sufficient number of schools made the Ottoman state dependent on local initiatives.

Provincial İdâdî Schools

Together with the first steps toward the development of a government educational system from 1773 onwards the weight was put on professional schools in order to provide skilled personnel for the army, navy, and civil administration. The lack of primary schools imparting practical knowledge, and as a consequence the scarcity of basic worldly information among the applicants to government professional schools drew the attention of the *tanzîmât*-reformers in the 1860s to the necessity to reform the existing Quran schools, and later to the policy of setting up *ibtidâî* schools. At the same time, however, there existed an acute lack of trained civil officials that became even more urgent together with the increasing differentiation of the state bureaucracy and the expansion of provincial administrative organs. The Sublime Porte urgently needed a corps of officials equipped with necessary training. The increase in the number of professional schools, therefore, became a pressing need.

The formation of *idâdî* schools and the incorporation of the *rüşdiyye* schools into the former eventually realized a "solution of compromise" between the options of professional school and primary school. In the lower classes of the *idâdî* school, which consisted of the former *rüşdiyye*-classes, the student would now complete his primary school knowledge, and in the upper classes receive the education imparting the necessary training for a possible bureaucratic career.[92]

The issue of *idâdî* schools was discussed with the occasion of an 1884 letter, possibly originating from the Ministry of War which proposed the establishment of government medical schools in the army corps headquarters[93] as a counterweight to foreign medical schools existing in some of the provinces. While this was rejected by the

[92] Kodaman, 120, 125. A comprehensive study on *idâdî* schools has been made by Benjamin Fortna, which will be published soon.

[93] There were seven Ottoman army corpses, with their headquarters located after 1878 in İstanbul, Edirne, Monastir, Erzurum, Damascus, Baghdad and San'a'.

cabinet with the argument that even the civil medical school in the capital was far from being perfect, it was stated that without the elimination of this deficiency and without reforming the secondary schools (*sâniyye mektebleri*) to a degree where the necessary basic knowledge for a medical study could be provided, and without expanding the secondary schools within the Empire it would not be proper to found new medical schools in the provinces. It was pointed out to the scarcity of the necessary teaching staff for these proposed institutions. The cabinet, therefore, decided that the MPE should at first take measures for the setting up of *idâdî* schools in the "mentioned provinces," i.e. provinces with army headquarters.[94]

The article 61 of the decisions of the Congress of Berlin concerning the internal reforms in the Ottoman Empire was an external factor in the reform of education. The cabinet, headed by Mehmed Said Pasha considered among the reform demands also the admission of non-Muslims to *rüşdiyye* schools, the instruction of French language in these institutions as well as the transfer of the direction of the *rüşdiyye* schools to "communal councils" (*cemâat meclisleri*).[95] The *idâdî* schools, in this context, offered a relatively appropriate curriculum for the realization of a mixed education. It is also striking that the first secondary schools at the provincial level were founded in Beirut and Janina, i.e. places with a strong presence of non-Muslim and foreign schools.[96] Thus *idâdî* schools emerged, within the context of diplomatic factors, as institutions approaching the Ottomanist ideals of the *tanzîmât*-period, though the Hamidian regime had abandoned Ottomanism as a main political goal.

The expansion of *idâdî* schools drew criticism. The former DE of the *vilâyet*s of Salonica and of Archipelago, Mustafa Bey, pointed to those stipulations of the RPE, according to which the establishment of primary schools was underlined as the main educational aim and

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[94] BOA AD Nr. 1243, p. 254 (24 B 1301/20 May 1884).

[95] Cevdet Küçük, *Osmanlı Diplomasisinde Ermeni Meselesinin Ortaya Çıkışı 1878–1897* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1984), 53–54. It is unclear what the term "communal council" specifically implies. But considering the terminology of the Ottoman chancery language it seems to be probable that the term *cemâat* was used here for non-Muslim communities. Since in this cabinet protocol the reforming of those *vilâyet*s inhabited by Armenians was mentioned, it may be assumed that prior to the consolidation of the Hamidian regime at the beginning of the 1880s the Sublime Porte considered the establishment of local communal councils for local administration in harmony with the article 61 of the decisions of the Congress of Berlin.

[96] See 120–121 below.

as a part of compulsory education. For him it was more meaningful to reform the existing curriculum of the *ibtidâî* schools to prepare students for higher schools and increase the number of the primary schools at the level of villages. Only after accomplishing this, the improvement of *rüşdiyye* schools and opening of *idâdî* schools could be considered. Mustafa Bey argued that instead of improving the necessary "chain of outlets" (*silsile-i mahâric*) and reforming the *rüşdiyye* schools, these existing already for forty years, the state pursued the unnecessary and untimely policy of founding *idâdî* schools, while failing to adequately fund them. According to this DE the teaching methods in the *idâdî* schools suffered because it was mixed with the curricula of *ibtidâî, rüşdiyye* and *idâdî* schools (*bunlarda ibtidâiyye ve rüşdiyye ve idâdîyye programları muhtelîten cârîdir*).[97] What Mustafa Bey criticized in the structure of the curriculum of *idâdî* schools seemed to be indeed the exact object of the public educational policy.

Another criticism concerning the expansion of *idâdî* schools came from Marshal Şâkir Pasha, the Inspector General of Eastern Anatolian Provinces.[98] He claimed that destructive movements such as Nihilism, Anarchism, Socialism emerged in European countries due to unlimited expansion of education. Şâkir Pasha argued that the education of destitute peasant boys in *idâdî* schools would on the one hand provide them higher learning, but the fact that they would study together with wealthy boys but lack the same chances for finding adequate employment would make them discontented and lead them perhaps toward an oppositional attitude against the state. The compiler of this report underlined the need to provide educational opportunities to individuals in harmony with their social position and their prospective future life. Therefore it should be the responsibility of the administration to set up *ibtidâî* schools in every village where pupils would acquire basic literacy and learn the precepts of their religion. For the continuation of education at the *idâdî*-level, Şâkir Pasha proposed a tuition high enough to prevent ordinary people

[97] BOA YMTV 37/56 (1 C 1306), dated 22 B 1303/30 April 1886.

[98] Report of Şâkir Pasha to Yıldız Palace, dated 30 Mart 1896/11 April 1896, in BOA YEE A–21/III–21–131 (Şâkir Paşa Evrakı). Ahmed Şâkir Pasha (1838–1899) was one of the senior Ottoman soldier-bureaucrats, whom Abdülhamid II trusted in the government and inspection of the troubled eastern Anatolian provinces. About his life and personality, see Ali Karaca, *Anadolu Islahatı ve Ahmet Şakir Paşa (1838–1899)* (İstanbul: Eren, 1993).

from studying at *idâdî* schools and thus stop the "impropriety of educational equality" (*tahsîlde müsâvât yolsuzluğu*).

One may say that the *idâdî*s of the *vilâyet*- and *sancak*-centers, with their mainly natural scientific-oriented curricula, constituted the most important agents in the provinces of the government's modernist educational ideology and the reform-minded state bureaucracy.[99] The architecture of the *idâdî* schools, which were modelled mainly after French building-style, also symbolized this reformist attitude at a visual-plastic dimension in the provinces. These constructions with such foreign architectural style must have been striking for provincials. This reminds us to Şâkir Pasha's worries of those provincial students of modest origins who could become discontented after *idâdî*-education. In fact, the majority of the Young Turk opposition were products of government institutions, and many of them graduated from *idâdî* schools. Mustafa Bey's criticisms concerning the curriculum was insofar true as the education of the *idâdî* students remained at the level of a "scholasticism," where modern subjects were memorized without a thorough digestion. In Chapters V and VII the curricular aspects of the Hamidian education will be dealt in a greater detail.

Though the first civil *idâdî* schools were founded in İstanbul from 1872 onwards,[100] it was only during the Hamidian period that these institutions began to expand at the provincial level. The possibly earliest provincial institution, called *idâdî* school, was founded in 1873 in Yenişehir (*vilâyet* of Janina).[101] But there is virtually no information about this institution. In 1882 an *idâdî* school was set up in the *vilâyet*-center of Janina, and in the same year a government secondary school, called *Medrese-i Sultânî*, began to function in Beirut.[102] Aside from these institutions, the actual expansion of *idâdî* schools in the provinces began after 1885, mainly as a result of new financial resources created by the introduction of the EdC in 1884. New institutions began to function in 1885 in Bursa, Edirne and Kale-i

[99] See the provincial *idâdî* curriculum of 1899 in Appendix 6. For the *rüşdiyye*-level lower classes of the *idâdî*s, compare 262 ff. below.

[100] Ergin, 496. According to Kodaman there existed six *idâdî* schools in 1877 in İstanbul, and only one outside the capital, which he does not specify. See Kodaman, 118.

[101] M. Cevâd, 155.

[102] BEO AD Nr. 1421, p. 70 (5 L 1299/20 August 1882).

Sultaniyye.[103] In the following years İzmir, Trabzon, Rhodes, Mamuretülaziz, Ankara, Skopje, Priştine (Priština), Serfice (Servia), Gümülcine (Komotini), Manisa, Adana, Jerusalem, Maraş, Çankırı, Teke, Bitlis, Muş, Kastamoni, and İzmid witnessed the setting up of *idâdî* schools.[104] It was decided in November 1889 by the cabinet to found *idâdî* schools in Rize (*sancak* of Lâzistan, *vilâyet* of Trabzon), as well as in Kırşehri (*vilâyet* of Ankara). In April 1890 the step was taken for the setting up of *idâdî* schools in Sivas, Aleppo, Salonica, and in September, in Konya. These plans were even partly realized during the same year.[105] According to a cabinet report, until 1892 a total of thirty-four *idâdî* schools were founded in the provinces.[106]

Concerning the facilities and educational level of these institutions, there existed basically two different kinds of *idâdî* schools. The more widespread kind of *idâdî* school was the day-*idâdî* without any boarding facilities, where the period of education lasted five years. The *idâdî* school with boarding facilities, on the other hand, was set up only in certain provincial centers, and the educational period lasted seven years. The curricula of these two kinds of *idâdî* schools differed from each other to a considerable degree. Whereas the former was in fact a lower kind of a secondary school, the latter one functioned as a "preparatory" institution for higher professional schools. In 1892 only those *idâdî* schools situated in İzmir, Damascus, Beirut, Salonica, and Janina included boarding facilities. For the remaining provincial day-*idâdî*s, only those students who were natives of the school's town were able to attend. Graduates of the more remote *kazâ rüşdiyye* schools could not join the *idâdî* schools, an unjust situation, since the *idâdî* schools were financed mainly by the EdC collected from the whole provincial population. Therefore an imperial decree was issued in 1892 which approved the addition of boarding facilities to those provincial *idâdî* schools located at the *vilâyet*-centers to serve students from distant *kazâ*s.[107]

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[103] Kodaman, 119.

[104] Kodaman, 119.

[105] BOA MVM Nr. 48, p. 61 (8 Ra 1307/3 November 1889); MVM Nr. 49, p. 17 (4 R 1307/28 November 1889); MVM Nr. 53, p. 22 (19 Ş 1307/10 April 1890); MVM Nr. 53, p. 24 (23 Ş 1307/14 April 1890); MVM Nr. 53, p. 26 (23 Ş 1307/14 April 1890); MVM Nr. 58, p. 10 (13 S 1308/28 September 1890).

[106] Cabinet report, dated 24 M 1310/17–18 August 1892, in BOA İrâde Maârif ("Imperial Decree for Educational Issues," hence IM) 7–224–7 (25 M 310).

[107] Decree, dated 25 M 1310/19–20 August 1892, in BOA IM 7–224–7 (25 M 310).

With the exception of those provinces where the annual EdC was either too limited or was not collected, it became a principle that the *vilâyet*-center *idâdî* schools would be boarding schools with a period of seven years of education, while the *idâdî* schools at the *sancak*-centers would be day schools with a period of five years of instruction. Since the provinces of Kosovo and İşkodra were not able to raise sufficient EdC funds, the *idâdî* schools of the *vilâyet*-centers Skopje and Shkodër remained day schools. Students with modest family backgrounds from these provinces were provided the opportunity to enter the boarding *idâdî* school in Salonica. The same situation was true also for the day *idâdî* schools of the *vilâyet*-centers of Mamuretülaziz, Van and Bitlis, where able but poor students could continue their education at the boarding *idâdî* school in Erzurum. Since the *vilâyet*s of the Hijaz, Tripolitany and Yemen were *de facto* exempted from the collection of the EdC due to weak administrative presence, these provinces were never considered for the setting up of boarding *idâdî* schools.[108] Though Baghdad, Basra and Mosul were subjected to the EdC, the meagre amount of funds made the Sublime Porte reluctant about the foundation of boarding *idâdî* schools in these provinces.[109] Two years later, in 1894, the day schools of Baghdad, Mamuretülaziz and Skopje were converted into boarding schools. Since these provinces could not yield sufficient annual EdC, the construction expenses were met by the budget of the MPE.[110]

It is apparent that the Ottoman government paid considerable importance for these institutions, which were considered as a means for raising in a relatively short period fairly well educated civil personnel for the growing Ottoman bureaucracy, which increasingly expanded at the level of provincial administration. Another significance of provincial *idâdî* schools was their function to raise a local elite familiarized with Ottoman cultural values and with the modernistic notions of order and material progress.

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[108] Compare 152 below.

[109] See the report of the MPE, in BOA IM 7–224–7 (25 M 310/19 August 1892).

[110] BOA IM 102–472–3 (4 Ra 312/5 September 1894).

State of Primary School Teachers

Traditionally primary school instructors were lower level Muslim clerics such as *imâm*s or *hoca*s, who were independent of state supervision and were mostly connected to pious foundations. The *tanzîmât*-period witnessed attempts to reform the Quran schools and provide additional training for the traditional instructors. Attempts to reform the *sıbyân* schools situated outside of İstanbul included the policy of Safvet Pasha, the Minister of Public Education in 1868–1869, to send temporary instructors to provincial Quran schools for training local instructors modern teaching methods.[111] But such attempts rendered seldom success, and the RPE recognized the futility to reform these institutions by designing state-founded primary schools. In this context the RPE specified that all *sıbyân* school instructors were to acquire a diploma from the Teachers' Seminary for *Sıbyân* Schools. Teachers of *sıbyân* schools were exempted from military service after passing a qualifying examination.[112] During the Hamidian period a "Special Instruction for the *İbtidâî* Schools in İstanbul" (*Dersaâdet Mekâtib-i İbtidâiyyesi İçün Talimât-ı Mahsûse*) was issued, which was compiled probably during the first years of the office of Zühdü Pasha, Minister of Public Education.[113] It stated that *sıbyân* schoolteachers were expected to have a diploma from the Teachers' Seminary for *Sıbyân* Schools. Those candidates without any diploma could only be appointed as instructors after passing a proficiency examination.[114]

In spite of these stipulations concerning the professional qualification of the instructors it is unlikely that qualified teachers held positions at the existing *ibtidâî* schools. In cases of shortage of qualified instructors teaching positions went to non-professionals. A Bingâzi administrator complained about the shortage to the Sublime Porte.[115]

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[111] M. Cevâd, 122.

[112] Art 178 and 179, in M. Cevâd, 505.

[113] M. Cevâd, 267, 269, 315. Ahmed Zühdü Pasha (1834–1902) with his authoritarian measures between 1891 and 1902 was a representative of the autocratic traits of the Hamidian regime in the realm of education. For more detail about his life, see Atilla Çetin, "Maarif Nazırı Ahmed Zühdü Paşa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluşu'ndaki Yabancı Okullar Hakkında Raporu," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 10–11 (1983), 189–191. See also Ahmet Nuri Sinaplı, *Devlete, millete kıymetli hizmetlerde bulunan Maliyye ve Maarif Nazırı Ahmet Zühtü Paşa* (İstanbul: Lebib Yalkım, n.d.). I am grateful to Ms. Leyla Şen for informing me about this source.

[114] Art 4, in M. Cevâd, 315.

[115] BOA YMTV 60/31 (11 Ş 1309/11 February 1892).

Another problem was that professional teachers, appointed to those *ibtidâî*s and *rüşdiyye* schools situated in non-Turkish-speaking regions of the Empire, were trained chiefly for the instruction of Turkish students. The shortage of appropriate teaching staff for non-Turkish provinces was something to be expected, given the facts that there were no government teachers' seminaries designed specifically for non-Turkish-speaking regions as well as the lack of official acknowledgment of cultural diversity at the provincial level. Though attempts were made around 1868 to offer intensive Arabic courses in the Teachers' Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* Schools for those instructors to be appointed to Arabic provinces, nothing concrete was done.[116] Such a situation eventually led to communication difficulties between teachers and pupils in schools in non-Turkish regions. The governor of the *sancak* of Bingâzi told the Sublime Porte that in Arabic-speaking regions the government should appoint *rüşdiyye* teachers from İstanbul, Anatolia or Balkans only for Turkish- and Persian-courses or for teaching subjects such as Mathematics, but not to instruct Arabic grammar (*sarf*). It was underlined that the local pupils were in any case Arabs and it was strange to be taught Arabic grammar by an instructor whose Arabic could in most cases not be better than the Arabic native speakers themselves. The governor proposed that the government appoint instructors from Aleppo, Damascus or from Egypt as teachers for Arabic grammar for Arabic-speaking regions with the rank of secondary teacher.[117]

Only out of political necessity did the MPE appoint teachers who were ethnically related to the local population and well informed about the local culture.[118] The lack of local instructors was true particularly for *ibtidâî* schools. However it may be presumed that the gradual expansion of the provincial teachers' seminaries throughout the Empire in the course of the Hamidian era led to the partial compensation of this lack of local teaching staff by the new graduates

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[116] Ergin, Vol. 1–2, 572–573.

[117] BOA YMTV 60/31 (11 Ş 1309/11 February 1892). For more details concerning the teaching of Turkish language in Ottoman Libya, see Nesimi Yazıcı, "Osmanlı Son Döneminde Libya'da Türk Dilinin Öğretimi Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler," *Belleten* 59 (1995), 121–132.

[118] For the educational policies toward the populations who were not integrated into the Ottoman political structure, such as tribal populations or non-Sunni Islamic communities, see 219–238 below.

of the provincial seminaries.[119] In the case of *rüşdiyye* schools it was possible to remedy this lack through the appointment of secondary teachers, who were in most cases natives of the respective location.[120]

Concerning the professional qualification of *rüşdiyye* teachers, the RPE stressed that this entire category of instructors had to be graduates of the Teachers' Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* Schools. Preference went to graduates with good behavior and no criminal record.[121] The Teachers' Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* Schools could not keep pace with the opening of *rüşdiyye* schools in the provinces. In the beginning of 1870 the newly founded provincial *rüşdiyye* schools needed 30 new schoolmasters and teachers, but all of the graduates from the Seminary were previously appointed to other provincial *rüşdiyye*s. To prevent closure of the new schools secondary teachers (*muallim-i sânî*) were selected either among those who studied but did not graduate from the Teachers' Seminary, or among the local *ulemâ* in the provinces with a certain degree of teaching abilities. Since the first two years (of the four years) of the *rüşdiyye*-education was normally provided by secondary teachers, it was expected that meanwhile the needed schoolmasters would graduate from the Seminary to staff the newly founded institutions.[122]

The above-mentioned practice continued to be applied throughout the Hamidian period. In those provincial *rüşdiyye* schools with a teaching staff of more than one instructor, the schoolmasters particularly during the earlier years of the Hamidian era mostly came from İstanbul, while the secondary teachers were selected and appointed among candidates from the native population.[123]

In 1896 the professional status of the provincial *rüşdiyye* instructors were made to a great extent dependent on the administrative decisions of the DE. The IDE in fact provided the DE considerable legal competence over the instructors. Accordingly, the teachers were forbidden to correspond directly with the MPE. All petitions and requests were to be addressed to the DE. The DE had the responsibity to

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[119] Concerning the provincial teachers' seminaries, compare 129 ff. below.

[120] Kodaman, 106.

[121] Art 181, in M. Cevâd, 505, 506.

[122] Report from Safvet Pasha, to the grand vizier, dated 27 L 1286/30 January 1870, and the decree, dated 7 Za 1286/8 February 1870, in BOA ID 42265–1–6 Za 1286.

[123] See this policy-statement in BOA AD Nr. 1420, p. 161 (13 N 1298/9 August 1881); Kodaman, 106.

instill proper behavior and a sense of duty in the provincial teacher.[124] The DEs had the power to dismiss instructors under their own responsibility, but were expected to inform the governor as well as the MPE about the dismissal and the reasons of this act.[125]

Parallel to the administrative measures of control to which the instructors of public schools were increasingly subjected, correspondences show that the educational personnel, ranging from *rüşdiyye*-instructor to lecturers at professional schools as well as high-ranking officials such as the DEs themselves, were regarded by the government with suspicion. Those teachers and officials who diverged from the prescribed course subjects during the lecture or displayed an attitude different from the conservative ideology of the Hamidian regime were considered either as individuals "corrupting the morality" (*ifsâd-ı ahlâk*) or "agitating innocent minds" (*ezhân-ı masûmeyi tehyîc*) or also expressing "harmful insults" (*tefevvühât-ı muzırra*).[126] An 1899 letter sent by Zühdü Pasha to the Sublime Porte manifested openly the deep mistrust of the Hamidian regime toward the teaching profession. Here it was stated that those individuals showing an attitude hostile to religion and the state were found mostly among the teachers who were interpreting the course subjects in a way leading to the corruption of the morality of the students.[127] It underlined the necessity to "reform" the profession of teacher.[128] This document made clear that those instructors manifesting a conviction harmful to religion as well as to the state and these being detected after investigations around these years were dismissed from their position.[129] This

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[124] See art 2 and 3, in *Salnâme Maârif. Sene 1316* (1898–1899), 136–137.

[125] Art 4, in *Salnâme Maârif. Sene 1316* (1898–1899), 137.

[126] BOA AD Nr. 1418, p. 180 (24 Ca 1297/4 May 1880); AD Nr. 1419, p. 66 (26 N 1297/1 September 1880); AD Nr. 1422, p. 107 (25 Teşrin I. 1305/6 November 1889); AD Nr. 1422, p. 515 (5 R 1308/18 November 1890); AD Nr. 1422, p. 297 (1 N 1307/21 April 1890).

[127] *İçimizde bulunan ve din ve devletimizin düşmânı olan eşhasın ekserisi hocalık vazîfesiyle mükellef olub tedrîs etdikleri mevaddın tefsîr ve tarifinde muzırr şeyler irâdıyle ahlâk-ı etfâli ifsâd eyliyeceklerinde şübhe olmadığından*, in BOA YMTV 189/184 (30 Z 1316/11 May 1899). I want to express my gratitude to Dr. Selim Deringil, who drew my attention to this document.

[128] *Hulkları ve fikirleri bozulmuş adamların yerlerine iyü adamlar yetişdirilmesi . . . muallimîn hakkında da icâb eden ıslahâtın icrâsıyle*, in BOA YMTV 189/184 (30 Z 1316/11 Mai 1899).

[129] *Teftişât-ı vâkıa esnâsında şân-ı ubûdiyyet ve sadâkate mugâyır fikr ü hâli besleyen muallim görülecek olur ise hemen hizmetlerinden çıkarılmasına*, in BOA YMTV 189/184 (30 Z 1316/11 Mai 1899).

letter shows that the supervision of instructors went on efficiently in most provinces with the exception of Baghdad, Basra, Diyarbekir, Mosul, Tripolis and Yemen.[130] These excepted provinces were known as places where political opponents were exiled. It seems probable that those teachers practising their profession in these remote *vilâyet*s were already politically suspect individuals banned to these regions. Therefore the Hamidian regime did not need to show interest to these instructors distant from the main centers of the Empire. The Hamidian attitude toward the instructors displays the dilemma of an authoritarian modernist regime dependent on the one hand on the intelligentsia for educational development, and worrying about its capability of inculcating oppositional values among generations of pupils on the other.

Ethnic Characteristics of Teachers and Educational Officials

It can be safely assumed that prior to the expansion of provincial teachers' seminaries within the Empire, i.e. during the *tanzîmât*-period and during the first years of the Hamidian era, those teachers with professional training were in general ethnic Turks, educated in the teachers' seminaries of İstanbul. On the other hand, a number of Albanian and Armenian teachers and educational administrators are known who were active in the Ottoman provinces during the *tanzîmât*- and the Hamidian years.

Let us look at some examples of Albanians. Davud Şükrü Efendi or Daut Boriçi (1825–1896) was a member of the *ulemâ*, instructor and educational administrator. Born in Shkodër, he travelled to İstanbul and studied at *medrese*s, continuing his studies at the recently founded Teachers' Seminary. After graduating from the seminary, he returned to Shkodër in 1858 and worked as a schoolmaster at the local *rüşdiyye* school. While in this office, Davud Efendi compiled around 1861 an Albanian primer basing on Arabic letters and prepared texts for the teaching of Albanian at primary schools. He was

[130] *Dersaâdete baîd mesâfesi olan Yemen ve Bağdad ve Trablusgarb ve Basra ve Musul ve Diyarbekir misillü mahallerden maâda vilâyât-ı sâire mektebleri heyyât-ı talîmiyyesi meyânında da öyle hâli ve şânı dâi-i şübhe ve tereddüd kimseler olmayub cümlesinin matlûb-ı âlî dâiresinde ifâ-yı vazîfeye devâm ve ihtimâm etdikleri dahî mahalleriyle cereyân eden muhaberâtdan anlaşılmışdır*, in BOA YMTV 189/184 (30 Z 1316/11 Mai 1899).

appointed, still before the Hamidian period, as Inspector for Primary Schools of the *vilâyet* of İşkodra. During the period of the League of Prizren Davud Efendi founded and directed the local league committee of İşkodra, which demanded the complete independence of Albania.[131] Davud Efendi was brought, presumably by compulsion, to İstanbul in 1880. From official correspondences, however, it becomes apparent that toward the turn of 1882–1883 the MPE, basing on a project prepared by Davud Efendi, proposed the Sublime Porte the introduction of (probably his) Albanian primer as well as school texts in Albanian language to the government schools in Albania. Around 1888 Davud Efendi became the DE of the *vilâyet* of İşkodra.[132] The traveller H.F.M. Lynch, who visited eastern Anatolia for the first time in 1894, provides another example. He describes the DE of the *vilâyet* of Van as a hard-working Albanian with good linguistic abilities in French. According to this author the local *idâdî* school as well as a number of other schools in Van were set up as a result of his efforts.[133]

Bayram ("Bajo") Topulli (1869–1930), the well-known Albanian nationalist and one of the organizers of the Albanian resistance in Macedonia around 1905, was professionally active as teacher for chemistry and cosmography in the government *idâdî* schools of Trabzon and Salonica. Finally he was promoted to the position of Acting Director of the *idâdî* school of Monastir.[134] Shahin Kolonja, an Albanian political writer and publisher of the nationalist newspaper *Drita* in Sofia from 1901 onwards, graduated from the School of the Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) and worked as instructor and subsequently as director at different *idâdî* schools.[135]

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[131] Compare 209–211 ff. below.

[132] Peter Bartl, *Die albanischen Muslime zur Zeit der nationalen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung (1878–1912)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 142; Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir, 13–20.* Edited by Cavid Baysun. 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986), 185; Johannes Faensen, *Die albanische Nationalbewegung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), 88–90.

[133] H.F.B. Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies II: The Turkish Provinces* (London: Longmans and Co., 1901), 99, 100.

[134] Shukri Rahimi, "Formiranjeto na komitetot za sloboda na Albanija vo Bitola 1905 godina i negovata dejnost," *Glasnik na Institutot za Nacionalna Istorija* (Skopje) 20–3 (1976), 105.

[135] Stavro Skendi, *The Albanian National Awakening 1878–1912* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 155; Bojka Sokolova, "Les institutions d'instruction étrangères et la formation de l'intelligentsia albanaise à l'epoque de la Renaissance," *Études Balkaniques* (Sofia), 19–4 (1983), 20.

The Armenians constituted another ethnic group, which were often represented at public schools among the members of the teaching staff. The Armenian author M. Krikorian provides detailed information concerning the professional activities of some of the Armenian schoolteachers in central and eastern Anatolia. Those teachers, whom Krikorian reports, were active at the *rüşdiyye* schools of the towns of Adana, Diyarbekir, Malatya, Mamuretülaziz, Tokat and Urfa. Armenian instructors also taught at the *idâdî* school of Aleppo or at the industrial schools of Adana and Urfa.[136]

Mihran Boyacıyan, who was acting as the History and Geography teacher at the *idâdî* school of Beirut, sent to the Yıldız Palace around 1891 a report concerning the foreign schools, where he drew attention to the harmful cultural influences of these institutions on the local population and stressed among other measures the need to put more weight on Turkish-courses at the local schools.[137] The Armenian notable from Urfa, Karabet Imirzian (Emrazyan?) (? –1915), who was a merchant as well as a landowner possessing villages, became from 1895 onwards member of the local administrative council, and after 1903 was appointed judge. At the same time, Imirzian was active at the school board of the *rüşdiyye* school of Urfa.[138]

Armenian teachers probably also served in other *rüşdiyye* schools and *idâdî* schools of Anatolia, Arabic-speaking regions as well as the Balkans. This strong Armenian presence in Ottoman public schools may be explained by the fact that the relatively well educated Armenians of the Ottoman Empire constituted in a sense a reserve group for Turkish speaking qualified instructors in the face of the limited number of qualified Muslim teaching staff.

Teachers' Seminaries

The modernization of public school system could be achieved by the training of professionally educated instructors, and this goal could

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[136] Mesrob K. Krikorian, *Armenians in the Service of the Ottoman Empire, 1860–1908* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), 24, 60, 67, 76–78, 87–89; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet Haleb. Sene 1326* (Aleppo, 1326/1908), 136.

[137] Atilla Çetin, "II. Abdülhamid'e sunulmuş Beyrut vilâyetindeki yabancı okullara dair bir rapor," *Türk Kültürü* 22/253 (1984), 317, 321. Compare also Martin Strohmeier, "Muslim education in the vilâyet of Beirut, 1880–1918." Unpublished article, 6–7.

[138] Krikorian, 87, 89; *Salnâme Haleb*, 395.

be reached by the foundation of teachers' seminaries. Thus, the quality and the efficiency of these institutions were determining for the future developments in educational modernization. In broad terms, the teachers' seminary of İstanbul could develop into a fairly sufficient institution only toward the end of the century, whereas the provincial seminaries for *ibtidâî* schools remained mostly insufficient which produced instructors capable only to provide basic literacy.

Until 1868 the issue of raising professional teaching staff for public schools was considered mainly for the *rüşdiyye* schools. In fact the first Teachers' Seminary designed for public schools was founded in 1848 in İstanbul with the aim to train *rüşdiyye*-instructors. Twenty years following this the Teachers' Seminary for *Sıbyân* Schools was set up, but due to its closing down shortly afterwards and its reopening in 1872 as well as the frequent changes in the curriculum, this seminary in fact displayed little institutional consistency until 1877–1878.[139] The main reason for the rather "belated" opening of a Teachers' Seminary for *Sıbyân* Schools and its institutional instability until the beginning of the Hamidian period seems to be closely connected with the slow change of the concept of the status of primary education, previously considered within the realm of religious instruction.

The RPE formulated the first comprehensive legal approach pertaining to teacher training. Here the teachers' seminaries were classified under the category of "colleges" (*Mekâtib-i Âliyye*). The RPE planned to establish a Great Seminary in İstanbul, which would consist of three departments; each divided into two sections (*sınıf*) for humanities (*edebiyât*) and for sciences (*ulûm ve fünûn*). These three departments were assigned for the training of *rüşdiyye-*, *idâdî-* and *sultânî*-instructors. The department for *rüşdiyye* schools would have subdivisions for Muslim and for non-Muslim schools. The teaching period at the *rüşdiyye*-department was three years, and two at the *idâdî*-department.[140] Looking at the Teachers' Seminary for *Sıbyân* Schools, the RPE included this institution in the Great Seminary. The graduates of the Seminary for *Sıbyân* Schools were to be given preference at the appointment to teaching positions. On the other hand there were no detailed settlements in the RPE concerning the courses to be

[139] Berker, 93–96.
[140] Art 51 and 52, in M. Cevâd, 482, 483.

taught in this institution.[141] Only from an official announcement, dated 23 M 1291/ 12 March 1874 it is possible to have information about the subjects being taught there.[142] This design of a Great Seminary to raise instructors for *sıbyân-*, *rüşdiyye-*, *idâdî-* and *sultânî-*level schools signified an ambitious project of a radical educational reform, where well-trained instructors would be raised to staff all levels of public schools. But as will be seen below, it would take years to establish it.

Even though designed during the *tanzîmât*-period, the Great Seminary was found in its final form only around 1889–1890. Inaugurated in 1870, the department for *rüşdiyye* schools probably absorbed former Teachers' Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* Schools. The first attempt to set an *idâdî*-department and a *Sıbyân* Seminary—later named the *ibtidâî*-department—followed in 1874.[143] The first *idâdî*-department apparently failed, since it was reopened in 1877, closed in 1880, and permanently re-opened nine years later. Only then, in 1891–1892, was the "Great Teachers' Seminary" (*Dârülmuallimîn-i Âliyye*) fully operational.[144]

The curricula offered at the first teacher's seminaries for *rüşdiyye* schools and *sıbyân* schools seemed to be rather insufficient for the professional training of a prospective instructor. The sporadic existence of a vitally important course such as the Methodology of Teaching, or Pedagogy at the curricula of the seminaries until 1889, with the exception of the *sıbyân*-department between 1874 and 1877, and with the possible exception the Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* Schools in 1851, indicated the "mechanical" character of the Ottoman outlook on training instructors. Even in the RPE where the curriculum of the Great Seminary was designed in an ideal form, all kinds of teaching subjects but Pedagogy were included. The quantity as well as the quality of the courses, taught at the seminaries prior to the 1880s displayed in general the educational level of an average *rüşdiyye* school. The issue of course on Pedagogy was insofar important as to raise a new generation of instructors "freed" from scholasticist approach in education.

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[141] Art 63 and 66, in M. Cevâd, 484.

[142] M. Cevâd, 135, 136; Özcan, 453.

[143] Özcan, 455, cited from BOA ISD 476.

[144] Berker, 138; Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Öğretmen Yetiştirme Problemi (1848–1967)* (Ankara: Yargıçoğlu, 1967), 28; Özcan, 455. About details concerning the three departments during the period of 1877–1880, see Koçer, 28–31. Concerning the

After a short-lasting attempt between 1882 and 1885 to change the status of the *sıbyân*-department into a kind of fast course for teacher training (*Dârülameliyât*) with the aim to raise a high number of instructors within a short time,[145] the Great Teachers' Seminary in İstanbul gradually became institutionally stabilized after 1889. After this date was it possible to observe the emergence of new generations of instructors who were professionally trained in the capital.

The expansion of public schools in the provinces necessitated the setting up of provincial teachers' seminaries. Though government schools began to expand in the provinces from 1849 onwards, the actual foundation of teachers' seminaries outside İstanbul was to some extent achieved during the Hamidian period. Before 1875 İstanbul housed the Empire's three teachers' seminaries for *sıbyân* schools and for male and female *rüşdiyye* schools. The first two of them were departments of the Great Seminary, notwithstanding the attempt to establish an *idâdî*-department in 1874. In 1875, teachers' seminaries appeared in Bosnia, Crete and Konya. The provincial yearbook of Konya provides us details concerning the strikingly rich curriculum of its Teachers' Seminary for *Sıbyân* Instructors. But we do not have closer information about the seminaries in Bosnia and Crete.[146]

The state adopted a systematic policy to establish provincial seminaries only from 1882 onwards. The MPE declared on 25 B 1299/23 June 1882 that it would found seminaries in some of the provinces in order to train competent teachers for the reformed *sıbyân* schools. Since a number of provincial *sıbyân* schools, already being reformed into *ibtidâî* schools, lacked proficient instructors, the state appointed the graduates of the fast course for teacher training (*Dârülameliyât*) as teachers to the provincial *ibtidâî* schools. This institution accepted applicants who could read and write Turkish and had sufficient knowledge in orthography, arithmetic and basic information in Arabic grammar, and preferred *medrese* students. Here the participants were trained the "new method" of teaching (*usûl-ı cedîd*)[147] in the short time of two or three months. After graduating from this fast course

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curriculum of the *ibtidâî*-section of the Great Teachers' Seminary toward the end of the Hamidian era, see Appendix 9.

[145] Ergin, Vol. 1–2, 583, based on the information given by Muallim M. Cevdet, in *Tedrisât Mecmuası* (1332), Nr. 32, 192. See also the following paragraphs below.

[146] *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Konya.* Defa 10, Sene 1294 (Konya, 1294/1877), 106; Berker, 115; M. Cevâd, 159, 160. For the courses in the seminary in Konya, see Appendix 8.

[147] Concerning the notion of *usûl-i cedîd*, see 169 ff. below.

the participants were appointed to provincial *ibtidâî* schools.[148] When the Quran schools in the province of Janina were slated for reform between 1882 and 1885, candidates for the *Dârülameliyât* were expected to have proficiency in Albanian or Greek in addition to the requirements mentioned above.[149] The shortage of trained instructors was worked out in the early Hamidian years by the short-term solution of this fast course for teacher training. The significance of this policy rests on the fact that many of the provincial *ibtidâî* instructors, graduated from the *Dârülameliyât*, were former *medrese* students. Their earlier religious formation must have had a certain cultural imprint on the provincial *ibtidâî* schools, a fact confirmed to some extent by school impressions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[150] On the other hand, the requirement to know local languages such as Albanian or Greek shows a degree of sensitivity of the government towards local cultural circumstances in these years, which later disappeared.

In 1882 the state ordered teachers' seminaries in the *vilâyet* capital of Sivas, in the *sancak*-center of Amasya (*vilâyet* of Sivas), and in the *vilâyet*s of Bursa and Kastamoni. Shortly afterwards it was decided to establish one seminary in Erzurum, and another in Mosul. These were followed by the decision around 1885–1886 to found a seminary in Jerusalem.[151] From 1890 onwards the Ottoman government began to reform village Quran schools by increasing the number of provincial seminaries. In 1891 the MPE telegrammed the provincial

[148] Ergin, Vol. 3–4, 1148–1150; M. Cevâd, 214–217, 219, 220, 225, 226. According to a report, submitted by the MPE to the Grand Vizierate in early 1883 the number of students in the *Dârülameliyât* was forty five in total. See BOA Yıldız Sadaret Hususi Maruzat ("Special Reports Submitted from the Grand Vizierate to the Yıldız Palace," hence YSHM) 172–118–10–4–300. Considering the period of this fast course as three months, i.e. offering four educational periods per year, one may assume that during the three years of its existence the *Dârülameliyât* might have trained a total of twelve generations of course participants. In regard to the student number of forty five per generation of participants, it seems that for the total of twelve generations a number of at least four hundred students later became *ibtidâî* instructors and were sent to provincial schools.

[149] Ergin, *ibid.*; M. Cevâd, *ibid.* Compare also the report, submitted by the MPE to the Grand Vizierate in early 1883, where it was again underlined that the reform of the traditional *sıbyân* schools in the provinces was dependent on the educational level of the instructors, therefore the need to found provincial teachers' seminaries in some of the *vilâyet*-centers, in BOA YSHM 172–118–10–4–300.

[150] For the presence of the *ulemâ* at *ibtidâî*- and *rüşdiyye*-level schools, see 257 ff. below.

[151] M. Cevâd, 234–236, 256, 258.

administrations of *vilâyet*s and *sancak*s that teachers' seminaries should be created in every *sancak*-center to enable reform of Quran schools and to establish new *ibtidâî* schools in the villages. The prospective instructors of these reformed schools would be the village *imâm*s.[152] Probably, the state planned to train the village *imâm*s in the new method of teaching in the newly founded seminaries at the *sancak*-centers, a policy resembling the educational measures directed toward the Anatolian Alevi villages.[153]

Around 1905–1906, with the exception of Basra, the Hijaz and İşkodra every *vilâyet*-center had a teachers' seminary.[154] In addition, seminaries were founded in *sancak*-centers such as Antalya, Bingâzi, Hakkâri, Isparta, Jerusalem, Karahisar-ı Sahib (Afyon), Niğde, Prizren, İştib and Zor.[155] The Hijaz and Basra waited until 1908 for seminaries.[156] It must be kept in mind that most of this information is based on official yearbooks and one might assume that some of the seminaries existed only on paper, as was the case of the teachers' seminary in Hakkâri. Around 1900 this seminary, situated in Başkale, did not have any single student, while its instructor, belonging to the local influential family of the Arvas, was continuing to receive salary. It seems to be doubtful that this "instructor" himself did receive any formal education.[157]

All of the provincial seminaries were designed to train *ibtidâî* schoolteachers with the sole exception of the teachers' seminary in Bursa, which contained a separate department to educate instructors for *rüşdiyye* schools.[158] Despite the attempts to raise the number of com-

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[152] Berker, 117, 118; M. Cevâd, 269.

[153] Compare 221 below.

[154] Lisa Anderson, "Nineteenth-Century Reform in Ottoman Libya," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 16–3 (1984), 332; Kāmil al-Ġazzī, *Nahr ad-Dahab fī Tārīhi Halab*. Vol. 1 (Aleppo, 1342/1923–24), 315; Koçer, *Öğretmen*, 32; Kodaman, 153. See also the register, prepared by the Account Office of the MPE, dated 27 Temmuz 1308/8 August 1892, where it was stated that provincial seminaries were existing in the *vilâyet*-centers of Edirne, Salonica, Bursa, Trabzon, Erzurum, Beirut, Damascus, Konya, Kastamoni, Sivas, Ankara, Aleppo, Adana, Diyarbekir and Rhodes, in BOA IM 7–224–7 (25 M 310).

[155] Kodaman, 153; *Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti Salnâmesi* (Hicri 1325/1907), 515.

[156] Abd ar-Razzāq al-Hilālī, *Tārīh at-Taʿlīm fī-l-ʿIrāq fī-l-ʿAhd al-ʿUthmānī* (Baġdād, 1959), 18–19, 20; Muhammad Abd ar-Rahman aš-Šāmikh, *At-Taʿlīm fī Makka wa-l-Madīna Ākhir al-ʿAhd al-ʿUthmānī* (Ar-Riyādh, 1973), 77.

[157] Ertur, 55.

[158] Kodaman, 153. For the curriculum of the provincial seminaries, see Appendix 10.

petent teachers in the provinces, the sum total of the graduates of the seminaries remained rather low in relation to the actual demand for *ibtidâî* and *rüşdiyye* instructors in the whole Empire.[159]

Looking at the curriculum, the provincial seminaries for *ibtidâî* schools seem to have been at a comparable level as the *ibtidâî* schools in the towns. The only qualification, expected from the applicants to the provincial seminaries was the ability to read and write in Turkish language. Another indication concerning the educational level of these institutions was the number of the instructors employed in each of the seminary. Around 1900 only the seminaries in Baghdad, Salonica and San'a' employed at least four instructors. In the remaining provincial seminaries the number of instructors never exceeded two.[160] These facts indicate the primitive character of educational modernization in the provinces. Conditions such as the vastness of the Empire, the urgency to expand education and the lack of adequate resources forced the Sublime Porte to contend with minimum requirements and expectations from the trained instructors, which subsequently resulted in low quality of education in provincial seminaries.

The Educational Administration and other Government Institutions in the Provinces

From 1857 onwards the government educational administration became organized as a separate ministry, and the minister of public

[159] In 1897 the total number of provincial *ibtidâî* schools, including private schools and traditional *sıbyân* schools, was 28 351, with a total student body of 835 129. In the same year the total number of provincial teachers' seminaries did not exceed 14, with a total student body of 277 students. The ratio of the number of *ibtidâî* schools to the number of seminary students would be around 102 schools for 1 student. The ratio of the number of *ibtidâî* school pupils to the number of seminary students would be, in a similar way, 1 seminary student for 3014 pupils. Toward the end of the Hamidian period, in 1905–1906, the number of provincial teachers' seminaries reached the number of 32, with a total of around 1000 seminary students. In the same period the total number of male and co-educational government *ibtidâî* schools in the provinces was 7881. See the *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı 1897*. Edited by Tevfik Güran. Tarihi İstatistikler Dizisi, Vol. 5 (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1997), 106, 110; *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Âliyye-i Osmâniyye*. 1328 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsus (İstanbul, 1328/1910) 335–398; Kodaman, 153, 154.

[160] Berker, 141, 142, cited from *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye. Sene 1319* (İstanbul, 1319/1901–1902); Kodaman, 154.

education became a member of the cabinet. But the MPE functioned more as an instrument of educational policies settled at higher levels than as an autonomous policy-making institution. The grand vizier or other cabinet officers not only made general educational policy, but also devised rather concrete and detailed procedures such as the mailing of textbooks.[161] When the Jesuit priests tried to found a school in 1881 in Amasya (*vilâyet* of Sivas), the provincial administration of the *vilâyet* in question instead of asking the MPE turned to the Sublime Porte for the necessary instructions. Only after the Sublime Porte sent the required instructions to the provincial administration, did they inform the MPE. When the MPE had to ask the grand vizier for permission to oversee the creation of private schools funded by private donations, a right the MPE already possessed, it underscored the MPE's lack of "ministerial sovereignty."[162]

Also the educational administration at the provincial level had a weaker position even among other local government administrative units. For example, in 1880 the MPE could not obtain the provincial salary registers pertaining to educational officials for the year 1296/1878–1879 and for 1294/1877 and 1295/1878, despite repeated dispatches sent to all of the provinces. Since the Exchequer and Audit Department (*Divân-ı Muhâsebât*) in the capital had to correct and improve the salary register for the year 1296 on the basis of the requested provincial salaries, this lack of the required provincial registers made it impossible for that department to proceed with the work. The MPE was forced to send new dispatches to provincial administrations. The blame for this negligence at the provincial level was put on the local officials responsible for financial issues "who did not attribute any importance to this matter."[163] This would not have happened if provincial educational administrations could exert

[161] See BOA AD Nr. 1418, p. 136 (29 Mart 1296/10 April 1880); AD Nr. 1418, p. 180 (22 Nisan 1296/4 May 1880); AD Nr. 1420, p. 21 (28 Kanun I. 1296/9 January 1881); AD Nr. 1242, p. 109 (24 Ağustos 1299/5 September 1883); AD Nr. 1242, p. 189 (26 Ağustos 1299/7 September 1883); AD Nr. 1244, p. 47 (2 Ağustos 1300/14 August 1884); AD Nr. 1422, p. 61 (20 Eylül 1305/2 October 1889); AD Nr. 1423, pp. 35–36 (16 Ş 1308/28 March 1891). Concerning the sending of books, see AD Nr. 1420, p. 21 (28 Kanun I. 1296/9 January 1881); AD Nr. 1243, p. 76 (20 Kanun I. 1299/1 January 1884).

[162] BOA AD Nr. 1420, 201 (29 Za 1298/23 October 1881); BOA AD Nr. 1242, p. 217 (27 Z 1300/29 October 1883).

[163] BOA AD Nr. 1419, p. 78 (20 L 1297/25 September 1880).

pressure on other local administrative units or if they would have been generally considered as respectable institutions vital for the development of Ottoman public education at the provincial level. Educational provincial expenditures were in fact not spent for educational aims, and instead spent in two improper ways. On the one hand, the Sublime Porte itself transferred the whole allotment, originally assigned for the provincial education, to the Public Treasury,[164] and on the other local administrative units spent the allotment of the EdC, assigned for the educational expenditures in the provinces for improper aims without informing the Sublime Porte, a problem addressed in the Sublime Porte's regulation to secure the allocation of the EdC for educational purposes (*Maârif Hisse-i İânesinin ma vaz'ı lehine sarfını temin içün görülen lüzûma mebnî kaleme alınan nizamnâme lâyihâsı*).[165] All this information indicates that the MPE was not in complete control of its financial resources.

Another interesting feature concerning the relationship between the MPE and the provincial educational administrations was the fact that at least during the first years of the Hamidian period the ECs could close down foreign schools on their own initiative. The MPE could ask the local ECs about the necessary information only following the execution of the decision concerning the schools or concerning the reasons of their closure.[166] This suggests that the MPE was possibly not in full control of the ECs.

An 1891 letter exemplified weakness of the educational administration in the provinces and the MPE's ineffectiveness vis-à-vis other state agencies. Accordingly the Fourth Army Corps seized the school-building in the *kazâ* of Bayburd (*vilâyet* of Erzurum), and converted it into a military barrack with the approval of the *vilâyet*-administration. The content of the correspondence shows that the MPE was informed about the affair only after the conversion had taken place. The Fourth Army Corps, now after spending more than 200.000 *kuruş* for buying and renovating, was not ready to return the building to the MPE.[167] The weakness and the lack of "institutional self-confidence" of educational administrations both in the capital and in the provinces stemmed

[164] Compare 144 below.
[165] BOA MVM Nr. 31, p. 9 (4 Ş 1305/16 April 1888).
[166] BOA YMTV 27/46 (17 Zilkade 1304), dated 14 Za 1304/4 August 1887.
[167] BOA AD Nr. 1423, p. 230 (17 Za 1308/24 June 1891).

to some extent from weak popular support, but also from the insufficient awareness of considering education as a public service, which traditionally was considered within the realm of religious and private ventures.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS: TAXATION MEASURES, LOCAL RESISTANCE AGAINST TAXATION, LOCAL RESOURCES, SALARIES (1869–1908)

The financing of schools remained one of the main weaknesses of the public primary education until the end of the Hamidian period. Since half of the only reliable financial resource for education, i.e. the educational contribution-tax (EdC), was transferred to İstanbul from the end of the 1880s onwards and the remaining half directed mainly to the expenses of provincial *idâdî* schools, institutions such as *ibtidâî* schools and *rüşdiyye* schools became dependent mostly on unstable and weak resources, such as incomes from *münderise*-foundations, local donations or obsolete tax-resources dating back to the pre-*tanzîmât*-period such as the *avârız*-tax. But the incorporation of *rüşdiyye* schools into *idâdî* schools in *vilâyet*- and *sancak*-centers provided *ibtidâî* schools with those financial resources formerly assigned to *rüşdiyye* schools.

The inclusion of the notables into provincial educational administrations was inevitable, if local resources were to be exploited and schools be effectively set up within the provinces. Their participation in educational issues could also, as the example from Syria shows, provide the controlling of the proper financing of schools as well as the appropriate expenditure of the EdC.

The effective expansion of public schools in the provinces, especially of secondary schools, became financially possible by the introduction of the EdC; a tax based mainly on the agricultural yield. This extra taxation, an addition made on the tithe, was not readily accepted by local populations. Especially those regions with weak Ottoman administrative presence and predominant tribal structures showed resistance against the EdC. As a consequence, this tax could be applied in the provinces at varying times and effectiveness, while some remote provinces remained exempted from the EdC.

It is to be noted that *idâdî* schools were financed by the EdC, a resource with a broad basis and collective character, whereas expenses both of *ibtidâî* schools and *rüşdiyye* schools were covered by restricted resources such as incomes from small foundations or donations, which

displayed a very local and indeed an individual character. Therefore it is possible to argue that the degree of the expansion of primary schools, the *ibtidâî*s in particular, depended heavily on the attitude of the local population. During the Hamidian period the Ottoman state left, at least in the field of financing, the expansion of government primary education to the initiative of the local population. Only when conditions appeared where the direct government support seemed to be a necessity due to political reasons, did the central administration take over the financing of the *ibtidâî*s and the teachers' salaries.

The considerable difference in salaries between individual categories of *rüşdiyye* teachers was noteworthy. The schoolmasters and the French language instructors, as higher qualified teaching staff, were sometimes paid twice the salary of a secondary or a writing instructor, while the salary of the latter were comparable to those of a field labourer or an artisan of the same period. In contrast, the DE of a *vilâyet*, if there were no financial straits, could receive twice the salary of the schoolmaster of a *rüşdiyye* school. But even the full salary of a DE remained modest in comparison to the payment of a district governor (*kaymakam*). The salaries of the educational personnel altogether belonged to the lowest paid among the late nineteenth century Ottoman class of government officials, which indeed showed the unwillingness of the Sublime Porte to allocate substantial funds for education.

Financial Conditions Between 1869 and 1876

The effective expansion of government schools within the Empire as well as the reforming of Quran schools were dependent on the existence of established financial resources. The financing of traditional Islamic education came from pious foundations that was, however, unable in the nineteenth century to meet the expenses even of the existing traditional institutions. Toward the end of the *tanzîmât*-period the state budget could fund only with great difficulties the newly founded *rüşdiyye* schools. As the number of government schools increased, it became more difficult to meet the educational expenses only by means of government expenditures, themselves restricted due to financial crisis.[1] Before the promulgation of the RPE, policies of

[1] Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*. 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 221.

a mainly provisional nature existed for the financing of provincial public schools. Some local authorities like Midhat Pasha in the *vilâyet* of Danube established local financial sources. For funding schools, he used financial means such as revenues from local pious foundations; incomes of the *avârız* foundations, called the *avârız akçesi*;[2] additions to the tithe (*öşür*); *fitre*, i.e alms donated at the close of the religious Ramazan-festival; skin of the religious sacrifice (*kurban derisi*); and local donations.[3]

The RPE provided the first systematic, legal policies for financing provincial schools. These policies included allocations from the budget (*tahsîsât-ı miriyye*); donations from the local population; assignment from the revenues of endowments (*tahsîsât-ı vakfiyye*); diverse donations (*iânât-ı müteferrika*); fees to be collected from secondary- and high school students; and fines.[4] But these in fact rather unstable sources were, however, specified only for the expenses of *rüşdiyye* schools and high schools. The financing of the projected lower level primary schools, i.e. the *sıbyân* schools, was left completely to the support of the local population. At the time of the promulgation of the RPE *ibtidâî* schools were still non-existent. Even the financing of İstanbul schools was not put on secure foundations. The budget of the *rüşdiyye* schools and the *idâdî* schools of İstanbul as well as the budget of the CE were, after the determination of the necessary amounts by the MPE, to be ratified by the Council of State (*Şûrâ-i Devlet*) and following the decree of the sultan to be met through donations by the population of İstanbul.[5]

Since it was clearly impossible to establish an extensive network of public schools without a settled and secure financial basis, the

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[2] Prior to the *tanzîmât*-period, in order to be able to pay the extraodinary *avârız*-taxes, the provincial population established the so-called *avârız*-foundations (*avârız vakfı*). During the period of the *tanzîmât*, the revenues of these foundations, namely the *avârız akçesi*, were largely spent to local public needs after these institutions lost their primary aims and functions. See Halil İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire," idem, *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), 283–337; Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Ömer Lütfü Barkan, "Avarız," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (*IA*) (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi); H. Bowen, "'Avarıd," *Encyclopedia of Islam. New Edition* (*EI*[2]) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986).

[3] Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Mektebleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısiyle Türkiye Maarif Tarihi.* 2d ed. Vol. 1–2 (İstanbul: Eser Kültür, 1977), 466.

[4] Art 192, in Mahmûd Cevâd ibn üş-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrâât* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920), 508.

[5] Art 193, in M. Cevâd, 508.

decision was taken in 1872 to finance provincial schools by the collection of an additional amount, added to the tithe, according to the ratio of "one tenth of the tithe" (*öşr ül-öşr*). This amount was to be transferred to the "country funds" (*memleket sandukları*).[6] This tax income was, however, spent for needs other than education. Even though spent later for educational needs, this money was confined to the *idâdî* schools. The Sublime Porte decided in the same year to assign the incomes of the *avârız*-foundations, which were hitherto used for local public works, to the MPE for the financing of provincial schools, but this practice was abandoned in 1875, probably due to the financial crisis forcing the administration to direct all financial resources to the state budget.[7]

From 1871 onwards the educational budget of the MPE was reduced from yearly 100.000 Liras to 50.000 Liras.[8] After the death of Âlî Pasha in 1871 signs of institutional disintegration began to appear at every level of the state apparatus. Nothing was invested any more for primary schools in the provinces. In 1875 the Ottoman Empire declared its inability to pay the foreign debts.

The period between 1869 and 1876 had two aspects; on the one hand, the RPE of 1869 settled definite guidelines for the financing of public education. But the period following the death of the leading *tanzîmât*-reformers signified a period of political instability, combined

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[6] During the governorship of the *sancak* of Niş, Midhat Pasha founded in Şehirköy (Pirot) in 1863 a financial body in order to prevent the indebtedness of the peasants to usurers. This body acquired in 1867 an official character under the name "country funds" (*memleket sandukları*). Toward 1883 the name was changed into "funds for public works" (*menâfi sandukları*), and finally the Bank of Agriculture (*Ziraât Bankası*) was established in 1888 basing on these local funds. Between 1867 and 1888 the funds expanded throughout the empire. The object of investment of the accumulated capital in the funds was determined by the heads of the local funds. These bodies, on the other hand, could not develop into autonomous financial institutions and were confiscated by the Ottoman state probably in the 1870s. At the beginning fund incomes were specified as the equivalent of those agrarian products produced by collective peasant work (*imece*). Later, a half-kilogram of cereals from each yoke of oxen was collected. Finally "one tenth of the tithe" (*öşr ül-öşr*) became the source of fund revenue. See İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra Mahalli Idareler* (Ankara: TODAİE, 1974), 46, 47; Arslan Yüzgün, "İktisadî Yapı-Ziraat Bankası," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 1985), III, 771–772; Mevhibe Pınar Emiralioğlu, "Ottoman State Intervention in Agriculture: Beginnings of Credit Banking within the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire." (Master's thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara 1997).

[7] Aziz Berker, *Türkiye'de İlk Öğrenim I: 1839–1908* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945), 110, 121, 124; Kodaman, 65, 157.

[8] Kodaman, 157.

with increasing economic crisis and internal disorders. Though taxation measures were introduced such as the *öşr ül-öşr*, which was improved during the Hamidian era into EdC, this tax income was not spent for education. Thus, the years before 1876 represented a period of financial failure.

The Educational Contribution-Tax (Maârif Hisse-i İânesi) and its Application in the Provinces (1877–1908)

When Abdülhamid II acceded to the throne in 1876 there was shortage of money in the state treasury even for covering the current expenditures. The financial crisis of the Ottoman state was in an acute stage and led shortly afterwards to the financial control of Egypt by Great Britain and eventually to British occupation of this country. The Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878, resulting in Ottoman defeat and the consequent heavy war indemnity constituted an additional burden. The annual state revenues were insignificant in comparison to foreign debts. Since the Sublime Porte was unable to meet its international debt services, a "Public Debt Administration" (*Düyûn-ı Umûmiyye İdâresi*) was established in 1881 which as the representative of the foreign creditors took over and collected certain parts of the Ottoman state revenues and transferred these to Europe. The "Society for Tobacco Monopoly" (*Tütün Rejisi Şirketi*) was another institution based on foreign capital, a portion of whose yearly profit was transferred to Europe for the repayment of foreign debts.[9] The "Ottoman Imperial Bank" (*Bank-ı Osmânî*), an institution based on foreign capital, together with the Public Debt Administration were controlling in increasing portions the state revenues. This situation exacerbated the already dire straits of imperial finance. Even though agricultural production increased throughout the late nineteenth century, the decline of world food prices and the narrowness of the Ottoman internal market prevented a considerable improvement in the financial circumstances of the Ottoman state.[10] Under such conditions it was

[9] Feroz Ahmad,"State and Intervention in Turkey," *Turcica. Revue d'études turques* 16(1984), 58–59; İnalcık with Quataert (eds.), *An Economic*, 764, 773, 829, 840, 856, 878, 910; Kodaman, 157, 158; Şevket Pamuk, *100 Soruda Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadî Tarihi 1500–1914* (İstanbul: Gerçek, 1988), 208, 209.

[10] Engin D. Akarlı, "The Problems of External Pressures, Power Struggles, and

impossible for the Sublime Porte to allocate sufficient sums of money to the MPE, and it was not very easy to establish schools in geographically remote provinces solely by means of assignments from the state budget.

Particularly during the first years of the 1880s the consequences of financial crisis were strongly felt at the level of provincial educational administration. We learn from a report sent by the MPE to the Sublime Porte in 1881 that the Sublime Porte decreased the salaries of the writing teachers and porters of the provincial *rüşdiyye* schools by one fifth. As a result a significant part of the writing instructors (*yazu muallimi*) resigned and the vacant posts could not be filled due to the low level of salaries. In May 1881 the minister of public education asked the grand vizier to restore the salaries to their former level.[11] In connection with this financial crisis, the *vilâyet*-administrations around 1880–1881 either were not paying the salaries of *rüşdiyye* instructors, or only in an irregular way. The Sublime Porte, on the other hand, warned provincial administrations at *vilâyet*- and *sancak*-level in March 1881, and again in January 1882, to pay teachers' salaries, as other government officials continued to be paid. After a six-month delay, at the beginning of 1882 the salary payments of *rüşdiyye* instructors and provincial educational officials for the year of 1881 began to be made.[12] These events show the financial desperation of the Ottoman central and provincial administration in the early 1880s, where the Sublime Porte aimed to "economize" from teachers' salaries to the utmost limits, and provincial administrations even did not pay the salaries.

In 1877, in the face of growing financial difficulties possibly due to war preparations, the Sublime Porte asked to fund and build schools with the revenues of local pious foundations, originally created to fund public works such as the renovation of mosques, *medreses*, fountains and bridges. Only the remaining amount of income, after

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Budgetary Deficits in Ottoman Politics under Abdulhamid II (1876–1909): Origins and Solutions." (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1976), 216, 217.

[11] BOA BEO AD Nr. 1420, p. 109 (6 C 1298/6 May 1881). Concerning the salaries of other categories of instructors as well as the general level of income, see 162 ff. below

[12] BOA AD Nr. 1420, p. 61 (6 R 1298/8 March 1881); AD Nr. 1420, p. 67 (for the *vilâyet* of Syria) (8 R 1298/10 March 1881); AD Nr. 1420, p. 71 (for the *vilâyet* of Erzurum) (14 R 1298/16 March 1881); AD Nr. 1420, p. 293, (5 Ra 1299/28 January 1882).

being spent for public works, was to be assigned for educational goals. Since the revenues of numerous endowments of this kind were insufficient, such a financial resource had limited value.[13]

The need for a solid financial basis for the development of education increased even more, when from 1882 onwards those stipulations of the RPE began to be realized concerning the establishment of provincial educational administrations, i.e. the setting up of the EC, headed by the DE.[14] The new policy to set up *idâdî* schools in the provinces required additional financial resources. In order to free the government educational system at least partially from the direct effects of the financial crisis, the governor of the *vilâyet* of Sivas and the later grand vizier, Halil Rifat Pasha (1827–1901) submitted in November 1882 an experimental project to the MPE, which it approved for Sivas. Accordingly the provincial administration was required to borrow 20 *okka*[15] of wheat from each of the total of 98.200 pair of oxen within the province, each pair considered as an agricultural unit of production. The borrowed wheat would be planted in a field, rented by the administration. Following the harvest the borrowed wheat as well as the rent were to be paid back, the excess product to be sold and the income transferred to the local "educational fund" (*maârif sandığı*). If this procedure would be continued for five years, according to the calculations of Halil Rifat Pasha a capital of nearly 29,5 millions of *kuruş* would be accumulated at the educational fund, and with one percent interest a yield of nearly 2,9 millions of *kuruş* [290.000?—A.S.] would be secured. Such an arrangement would make it possible on the one hand to lend farmers credit with low interest rate, and at the same time to finance local educational expenditures.[16] There is no information as to how far this project was put into practice. Only with the introduction of a special educational tax, the "educational contribution-tax" (*maârif hisse-i iânesi*, EdC) it became possible to secure a relatively continuous

[13] Berker, 122–123; Kodaman, 158; M. Cevâd, 220–221.

[14] BOA BEO AD Nr. 1420, p. 311 (27 Ra 1299/16 February 1882); AD Nr. 1420, p. 377 (30 Ca 1299/19 April 1882).

[15] *Okka*, a traditional Turkish unit of weight (400 *dirhem*, 1283 gram, 2.8 lb), was adopted in 1869 into the decimal weight system, now named as the "decimal *okka*" (*vakıyye-i â'şâri*, equal to 1 kilogram). See art 1–6, in the "Code for the New Measures of Surfaces, Weights and Cereal Amounts" (*Mesâhât ve Evzân ve Ekyâl-ı Cedîdeye Dâir Kanûnnâme*), dated 20 C 1286/27 September 1869, in *Düstûr. Birinci Tertîb* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289/1872–1873), 744. Compare also E. Ashtor, "Makâyil," *EI*[2].

[16] Kodaman, 159–160.

financial source for the expansion of public education. The assignment of the *münderise*-foundation incomes only for education and the introduction of the EdC both signified the increasing "self-sufficiency" of provincial education and its lesser dependence on direct budgetary allocations. In the light of the acute financial crisis of the Ottoman state, the Sublime Porte supported this tendency.

With the initiative of the Grand Vizier Mehmed Said Pasha the EdC was introduced at the beginning of the financial year of 1300 (1 March 1884). The state targeted this money for the projected *idâdî* schools. The amount of the tax was fixed in proportion with the local quantity of the tithe. Originally the EdC was calculated on the basis of a unit of tithe to which 1/7 + (1/4 of 1/7) was to be added and from the resulting amount of addition 1/3 assigned to education (i.e. EdC, 5.3% of the total tithe) and 2/3 to public works ("share for public works," *menâfi hissesi*, 10.6% of the total tithe).[17] But since this calculation method proved to be impractical, it was decided at the beginning of the financial year of 1303 (1 March 1887) to collect 11.5% from each *kile*[18] of the annual agricultural yield, of which 10% was to be assigned as the tithe to the state treasury, while from the remaining amount 1% assigned to local public works, and 0.5% constituting the EdC. Concerning the non-cultivators, the ratio of 6% based on the tax on house property was now decreased to 5%.[19]

Formed in 1888, the Bank of Agriculture (*Ziraat Bankası*) made its local branch banks collection points for the EdC and dispersal points for teacher salaries and administrative costs.[20] Some years later this arrangement changed. The local educational funds (*maârif sandığı*) took over responsibility to accumulate the necessary funds, consisting

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[17] BOA AD Nr. 1241, p. 88 (18 R 1301/16 February 1884); AD Nr. 1243, p. 286 (13 Ş 1301/8 June 1884). See also Kodaman, 158–159 and M. Cevâd, 236–238.

[18] *Kile* or *keyl*, a traditional Turkish cereal weight (1 bushel, 28 or 35 or 36,5 kilograms according to locality), was adopted in 1869 into the decimal weight system, now named as the "decimal keyl" (*keyl-i a'şârî*, equal to 100 kilograms). See the art 1–6, in the "Code for the New Measures of Surfaces, Weights and Cereal Amounts," *Düstur. Birinci Tertib*, 744. Compare also Vedat Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 37; E.V. Zambaur, "Keyl," *İA*.

[19] Kodaman, 158–159.

[20] Report of the Cabinet of Ministers (10 N 1308/19 April 1891), BOA Meclis-i Vükela Mazbatası ("Report of the Council of Ministers," hence MV) 64–32 (308 N 10).

mainly of the local EdC, for covering the local educational expenses. As it has been specified in the IDE, the DE was given the main responsibility for the transfer of the EdC to the educational fund at the *vilâyet*-center. The 0.5% of each *kile*, taken from the agricultural yield began to be transferred from 1888 onwards from the *sancak*- and *kazâ*-branches of the Agricultural Bank to the educational fund at the *vilâyet*-center. In a similar way, the 5% property tax on non-cultivators was transferred from the local financial offices (*mal sandığı*) to the educational fund. For this transfer of the EdC local *idâdî*-directors were responsible at the level of *sancak*s, and schoolmasters or secondary instructors of local *rüşdiyye*s were responsible at the *kazâ*-level.[21] With the introduction of the EdC those taxes, formerly assigned for local educational expenses, such as the "one tenth of the tithe" (*öşr ül-öşr*) as well as the "levy on a pair of oxen" (*çift başına teklifi*) were abolished.[22] These bureaucratic arrangements concerning the transfer of the EdC amounts to the educational funds were significant insofar as other government agencies had now lesser abilities to seize the educational funds and use these for other purposes, as had been done previously.

The EdC was to be paid by Muslims as well as by non-Muslims and even by those foreigners possessing real estate, a rule that angered non-Muslims, when the EdC paid by them were spent on government schools attended predominantly by Muslim students. For example, in 1891 non-Muslims in Sivas complained about this problem, while a commission appointed by the sultan advised shifting funds to non-Muslim schools. It is unknown if this advice was carried out.[23] Another problem emerged when the Society for Tobacco Monopoly, a foreign-capital company, insisted that no further taxes could be raised from the tobacco fields except for the tithe. Only after negotiations

[21] *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye. Sene 1316/1898–1899* (İstanbul, 1316/1898–1899), 142, art 20 of the IDE.

[22] It is unclear whether the "levy on a pair of oxen" is in fact related to the above-mentioned project of Halil Rıfat Pasha in Sivas or to the perhaps still existing remnants of the ancient *çift*-tax (*çift resmi*) stemming from the previous centuries. See the correspondence, dated 23 B 1301/19 May 1884, and sent by the Directory of Agricultural Taxes at the Ministry of Finances (*Maliyye Nezareti Âşâr ve Ağnam Emâneti Dâiresi*) to the Administration of the Privy Purse (*Hazîne-i Hassa Nezâreti*), in BOA YMTV 11/73 (7 Ş 1300). Concerning the *çift*-tax, see Halil İnalcık, "Çift-Resmi," *EI*[2]; same author, "Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rüsumu," *Belleten* 23 (1959), 575–610.

[23] BOA YMTV 53/108 (27 M 1309/2 September 1891).

between the Ministry of the Interior and the Directorate of the Society for Tobacco Monopoly, it became possible to collect the EdC as well as the share for public works from tobacco fields.[24] These events show on the one hand the determination of the Ottoman state to collect the EdC as a general tax from all residents of the Empire, and at the same time its unwillingness to apportion the funds also among non-Muslim schools. As will be seen in the following, the collection of a tax without its proper allocation to the publicly declared purpose was considered as an eventuality by the population and led to resistance against new taxes.

Locals resisted the EdC in nearly all of the provinces. Though the EdC and the share for public works were formally promulgated in 1884, documentary evidence suggests that the effective attempt to apply these taxes to peripheral regions began after 1886.

There emerged resistance based on two different motives; the one was based on popular distrust to the Sublime Porte concerning the proper spending of the EdC for educational needs. The inhabitants of the island of Mytilene (*vilâyet* of Archipelago) sent numerous petitions to the Sublime Porte asking for the assignment of the locally collected taxes as a whole only for the local needs of the island, to be spent for public works as well as for local education.[25] In the *vilâyet* of Syria regular EdC collection waited three years after its introduction, because local notables opposed a tax that they thought transferred power to İstanbul. The governor had first to clarify and to assure the notables that the collected EdC and the share for public works would not be transferred to the state treasury. Instead, the collected sums would be spent for regional needs, like public works and farm loans in addition to creating a solid financial resource for the setting up of *idâdî* schools in the *sancak*-centers and providing education for all subjects without any discrimination and for the interest of the local population.[26] When the EdC and the share for public works were introduced in 1887 to the *vilâyet* of Kosovo, notables of the northern parts of this province (*Malisa ve İpek rüesâsı*) came together in Skopje and demanded the assignment of the EdC, collected from the *sancak*s of Taşlıca and Yeni Pazar (Novi Pazar) as well as from the villages located around Priştine and Prizren, solely for the foundation of *ibtidâî* schools. They also demanded the com-

[24] BOA MV Nr. 41, p. 17 (10 B 1306/12 March 1889).
[25] BOA MV Nr. 19, p. 8/1, 8/2 (16 B 1304/10 April 1887).
[26] BOA YMTV 29/48 (29 Ra 1305), dated 28 Ra 1305/14 December 1888.

plete annulment of the share for public works.[27] Their resistance stalled tax collection until 1310/1892–1893 in the *sancak*s of Yeni Pazar and Taşlıca. The result of the first five years of the collection of the EdC was the establishment of fifty-seven boys' and girls' schools in Taşlıca, and the construction of numerous schools in Yeni Pazar.[28] This particular example shows the power of local notables to block central authority and the successful canalizing of the tax funds for education.

A different motive for resistance against the EdC and the share for public works stemmed from the lack of a cultural horizon that would consider education and public works as a basic necessity. Tribal populations living in peripheral regions of the Empire, and those localities where Ottoman civil administration did not take firm roots resisted the collection of the EdC. The population of the *kazâ*s of Debre-i Bâlâ (Debar), of Debre-i Zîr as well as of Rakalar (Rekanska), all of these within the *sancak* of Debar, *vilâyet* of Monastir in the present western FYR of Macedonia, locations where Albanian tribes were not under firm administrative control, objected to pay the EdC and the share for public works. Since these taxes, especially during the first years following their introduction, were spent mainly for the investments within the regions of their collection, the cabinet members in İstanbul could not understand the objection. The government eventually yielded to this resistance by arguing that "this year again the share for public works and the EdC are not considered to be collected due to the harshness of temperament (*huşûneti mizâc*) of the population in question, but the remaining taxes be collected by the application of prudent measures (*tedâbîr-i hakîmâne*)." Comparable resistances could also be observed in the *kazâ*s of Priştine, Vulçitrin and Derince, all in the *vilâyet* of Kosovo.[29] Also the bedouins of the *kazâ* of Gaza within the separate *sancak* of Jerusalem opposed these new taxes. The government had to yield to this resistance against the EdC, since "from the [administrative] viewpoint as well as in view of the affairs it is not free of dangers to collect the EdC of one seventh and one fourth," but the government insisted on the collection of the share for public works from this population group.[30]

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[27] BOA MV Nr. 23, p. 6 (27 Za 1304/17 August 1887).
[28] BOA IM 318–2549–1 (7 Za 316/19 March 1899).
[29] BOA MV Nr. 23, p. 43 (2 Z 1304/22 August 1887); MV Nr. 24, p. 67 (17 M 1305/5 October 1887); MV Nr. 34, p. 22 (13 Za 1305/22 July 1888).
[30] BOA MV Nr. 8, p. 64 (18 C 1303/24 March 1886).

The *vilâyet*-administration of Basra informed the Sublime Porte that it could not raise the EdC in the *sancak* of Najd. Because during the incorporation of this desert region into the Ottoman realm, Midhat Pasha, then governor of the province of Baghdad, guaranteed the local notables a complete exemption from taxation with the exception of the Islamic annual alms (*zekât*). Taking also into consideration that the local population was living in complete poverty, the cabinet decided to tolerate this situation "only for the present time" with the future aim to raise the EdC in Najd "at a convenient time."[31] Peripheral regions such as Tripolitany (western Libya) or the *vilâyet* of Yemen were other examples of "problematic" provinces. Since the Ottoman government did not apply any regular taxation in the *vilâyet* of Tripolitany at the end of the nineteenth century, it was very difficult to introduce the EdC.[32] These examples were from regions where a settled and urban culture was very weak or non-existent, and Ottoman administrative practices were not strongly experienced. Also, the foundation of schools in these localities would mean the beginning of Ottoman institutional presence, which was not welcomed.[33]

It has also to be reminded that the EdC was introduced during a period of agricultural crisis and rural famines, which began in 1873 and continued throughout the 1880s. At a period where peasants resisted tax-collecting officials, it seems to be expectable that the rural communities did not welcome the EdC.[34]

When the EdC was introduced, it was planned to transfer one quarter of the collected amount to the MPE for funding higher educational institutions in the capital and leave the remaining three-quarters for the educational expenditures in the provinces, to finance the *idâdî* schools in particular. This arrangement, however, changed in 1890, and the amount of the sum transferred to the MPE increased from one quarter to one half.[35] From an *arz tezkeresi* ("note submitted

[31] BOA MV Nr. 23, p. 28 (27 Za 1304/17 August 1887).

[32] BOA AD Nr. 1243, p. 224 (10 B 1301/6 Mai 1884); AD Nr. 1244, p. 111 (28 Z 1301/19 October 1884).

[33] See 233 below.

[34] Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms," in Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert (eds.), *An Economic*, 876.

[35] Concerning the change of this arrangement, Kodaman gives the year 1889, basing on the decree dated 8 C 1307 (BOA İrâde Meclis-i Mahsûs 4704) ("Imperial Decree Concerning the Decisions of the Council of Ministers"), which actually corresponds to 30 January1890. See Kodaman, 101–102,159 ; Berker, 122.

for consideration") of the then Grand Vizier Mehmed Kamil Pasha (1832–1913) it becomes clear that this shift was undertaken due to financial difficulties of the state treasury.[36] Even before the arrangement of 1890 the central government in an arbitrary way was able to transfer in some cases the whole amount of the EdC income of a province to the state treasury, which impeded the development of education or made it impossible to keep running the existing public schools.

The reduction of the portion of the EdC assigned for the provinces from three-quarters down to one half meant in fact a considerable blow on the financial basis of the expansion of the provincial public schools. Though the EdC itself was designed mainly for the financing of the *idâdî* schools in the provinces, it had still been possible to cover a greater part of the *rüşdiyye* teachers' salaries by the then assigned portion of the EdC. Now this restricted amount of resource was sufficient only for the establishment and keeping of *idâdî* schools, which led to complaints of provincial administrations concerning the difficulty to develop primary-level schools under these conditions.[37]

From a report from Sivas, dated September 1891, it becomes clear that at that time not even the half of the EdC was left to this province. While the compiler of this report, General Inspector Derviş Pasha underlined the need for the setting up of schools for the conversion of the Alevis (*Kızılbaş*) to Sunni Islam, he at the same time stressed the fact that for the payment of the primary school teachers' salaries "at least the half of the EdC should be left to the locality."[38] In December 1888, the governor of Syria complained that during the first two years following the introduction of the EdC the whole collected amount was transferred to the state treasury and thus this financial resource was spent for purposes other than originally intended. According to the governor this transfer stagnated provincial education, prevented the founding of new *idâdî* schools in the *sancak*-centers, and made it hard to maintain the existing secondary schools in Damascus and Beirut, so much so that the *Medrese-i Sultâniyye* of Beirut last year came to the point of closure because of the lack of financial means. The governor warned that the local

[36] Ergin, Vol. 3–4, 927–928.

[37] See the complaint from the *vilâyet* of Basra, 113, above. Compare also Kodaman, 101–102,159.

[38] BOA YMTV 53/108 (27 M 1309/2 September 1891).

Islamic population was beginning to display its discontent (*ahâli-i İslâmiyye esbâb-ı terbiyyeden mahrûm kaldıklarından dolayı izhâr-ı inkisâra başladı*). While the foreigners were doing everything to found schools, the *Medrese-i Sultâniyye* in Beirut, in contrast, decayed. Such a government financial policy would lead to much greater moral harm (*mazarrat-ı maneviyye*). The discontent of the population would continue to increase which in turn would be the reason for the failure of any educational effort and initiative in the future.[39] The governor asked in this correspondence to leave at least the three-quarters of the collected EdC to the province.

The reduction of the share of the EdC-income assigned to provincial education from three quarters to one half, or even the transfer of the whole amount to İstanbul made it increasingly difficult for a number of *vilâyet*s to found *idâdî* schools or to maintain even the existing public schools. The decrease in the provincial funds strengthened the tendency to close down the *rüşdiyye* schools in *vilâyet-* and *sancak*-centers and to incorporate the classes into the existing *idâdî* schools.[40] In general, the introduction of the EdC provided a potentiality for the development of Ottoman secondary education in the provinces, which but became limited due to the increasing amounts of EdC-income transfers to the capital. On the other hand, the population of the core provinces of Anatolia and the Balkans as well as Syria displayed strong distrust concerning the proper allocation of the EdC incomes, and this distrust in fact proved to be true. In the peripheral regions, the government could not collect the EdC due to the lack of the integration of local population into the Ottoman administrative system. All of these circumstances combined, the EdC emerged as an unpopular tax, which in addition was not always used in an effective way for the promotion of public education.

Local Financial Resources

The EdC was mainly assigned for *idâdî* schools, and the transfer of increasing ratios of EdC funds to the capital rendered primary education with its *ibtidâî* schools and *rüşdiyye* schools even more dependent

[39] BOA YMTV 29/48 (29 Rebiyülevvel 1305), dated 28 Ra 1305/14 December 1888.

[40] Ergin, Vol. 3–4, 928; Kodaman, 101–102,106–107.

on locally based financial resources. In fact, the ancient tradition of basing the finances of primary schools on local foundations and private donations was continued from the beginning of educational reform steps onwards.

In harmony with this tradition, the RPE stipulated that the expenses of the public primary schools together with the teachers' salaries were to be met completely by local resources as well as by subsidies provided from the local community (*cemâât*).[41] This policy continued to be pursued until 1908 without major changes. A major problem in this policy was that most of the local resources were too diverse in terms of financial yield and continuity.

Among them the most important one were the *münderise*-foundations. A decree in 1881 ordered *münderise*-foundations to assign the complete income only for the promotion of primary education.[42] Until the end of the Hamidian period the incomes of the *münderise*-foundations have constituted one of the main local financial sources for the promotion of provincial primary education. Though these were not always sufficient in financial income, the MPE and local educational administrations continuously searched for the revenues of these foundations.[43] Many people earned livelihood, legally or not, by the incomes of these foundations until the Hamidian period. Complaints arose when the MPE took over such foundations. One document from the *kazâ* of Edremid, *sancak* of Biga, *vilâyet* of Karesi, reports of complaints from those who claimed that the seized olive groves of a *münderise*-foundation were in fact not a part of a foundation but were private properties and so demanded justice.[44]

Also the incomes of some of the foundations not belonging to the category of *münderise*, such as foundations attached to dervish convents (*zâviye*), could be subjected to government seizure for educational purposes. An example may be the dervish convent *Hamza Baba Zâviyesi*

[41] Art 4 and 198, in M. Cevâd, 470.

[42] Report of Mehmed Ziya Bey, dated 17 January 1915, in Binark, 484.

[43] For the search after the incomes of *münderise*-foundations in the *sancak* of Amasya, see BOA AD Nr. 1242, p. 97 (29 L 1300/2 September 1883); for the *vilâyet* of Hüdâvendigâr, AD Nr. 1242, p. 111 (4 Za 1300/6 September 1883); for the *vilâyet* of Ankara, AD Nr. 1243, p. 24 (28 M 1301/29 November 1883) and p. 42 (14 1301/25 December 1883); for the *vilâyet* of Kastamoni, AD Nr. 1418, p. 70 (6 Ra 1297/17 February 1880); for the *vilâyet* of Aleppo, AD Nr. 1419, p. 88 (29 N 1297 /4 September 1880); for the *vilâyet* of Archipelago, AD Nr. 1419, p. 120 (25 L 1297/30 September 1880) and AD Nr. 1420, p. 139 (2 L 1298 /28 August 1881).

[44] BOA AD Nr. 1242, p. 105 (1 Za 1300/3 September 1883).

in the village of Şeyhlü, *sancak* of İzmir. When the keeper (*zâviyedâr*) of this convent died, the Ministry of Pious Foundations informed the Sublime Porte that the son of the deceased keeper was appointed to his father's position. The Grand Vizierate, however, added that the foundation attached to the convent had an annual tithe tax income of nearly 25.000 *kuruş*. Since the possessions of that foundation were previously assigned by the state to the founder of this convent (*tahsîsât kabilinden*), it was in harmony with Art 192 of the RPE to seize the income of the convent for educational purposes.[45]

In order to find sufficient financial means for the setting up of *ibtidâî* schools, local civil as well as provincial administrations employed methods varying according to regions or population groups. The former DE of the *vilâyet* of Archipelago, Mustafa Bey (bin Mollazade Hüsrev Radovişî) compiled toward 1886 a memorandum concerning the northern *kazâ*s of the *vilâyet* of Salonica, himself formerly being active as the DE of the same *vilâyet*. In this memorandum Mustafa Bey reported how he in the *kazâ* of Tikveş tried, together with the district governor (*kaymakam*) and the local Islamic acting judge (*nâib*) to find the necessary financial resources for the expansion of schools. As a result of this search, the DE with the support of the district governor was able to confiscate the ferries connecting the shores of the rivers Vardar and Karasu in the name of educational administration and to manage these on behalf of the latter body. These ferries were previously under the control of some local notables, who received annual incomes of between 30.000 to 40.000 *kuruş*. Since the right to manage river ferries was in fact within the area of competence of the state, representatives of the local population were brought together at a general meeting where the administrators asked the local notables to surrender the revenues of the ferries in favor of education. When the majority of the notables refused this demand, the administrative council of the *kazâ* of Tikveş together with the local ECo confiscated the ferries and their incomes began to be spent for local educational expenditures.[46]

In 1891 the *vilâyet* governor of Sivas, Mehmed Memduh Bey, reported on the miserable conditions of the Muslim as well as Christian primary schools. After the governor stressed the need to combat the

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[45] BOA AD Nr. 1243, p. 110 (5 R 1301/3 February 1884).
[46] BOA YMTV 37/56 (1 C 1306), dated 22 B 1303/26 April 1886.

local Islamic heterodoxy (Alevis) and to support native Christian schools against the competition of foreign missionary schools, he urged the Sublime Porte to raise 20 *para* from individuals who were paying annually 50 *kuruş* of real estate tax, and 40 *para* from those paying 100 *kuruş*. These additional tax revenues were to be spent only for the expenses of primary education, without discrimination of religious community.[47]

A different way to find local financial resources could be observed in the *kazâ* of Ana, *vilâyet* of Baghdad. The position of *medrese* professor (*medrese müderrisliği*) which remained vacant for a time was dissolved and the monthly salary of 200 *kuruş* assigned for the teacher of the recently founded local *ibtidâî* school.[48] When *ibtidâî* schools were going to be set up for the mountain tribes of Sason and Mutki, living in the *vilâyet* of Bitlis, the *vilâyet*-administration considered it indispensable to provide the necessary construction materials (stone, timber etc.) and their transportation by the members of these tribes free of charge. The cabinet approved this proposition of the *vilâyet*-administration.[49] It was also possible for local municipalities to pay *ibtidâî* teachers and other school-employees, as was the case of the *ibtidâî* school in San'a', the *vilâyet*-center of Yemen. In this case, however, this municipality financed only half of the real amount of the salaries.[50]

In general, the local financial resources lacked the necessary stability and continuity to establish a materially secure and institutionally steady primary school system in the provinces. Each region possessed varying financial resources and a successful mobilization of local resources depended on the attitude of the local population toward education. Local educational administrations or—if there was not yet any local educational administration established—the heads of local civil administrative units responsible for exploring material resources were confronted with varying material and cultural conditions according to region or population group. Such variations in turn constituted a serious obstacle for the establishment of a uniform and standardized school system in the Ottoman provinces.

[47] BOA YMTV 53/108 (27 Muharrem 1309), dated 26 Z 1308/2 August 1891.
[48] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 201 (20 Ca 1307/12 January 1890).
[49] BOA MV Nr. 54, p. 17 (10 L 1307/30 May 1890).
[50] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 255 (15 B 1307/7 March 1890).

Schools Financed by the State Budget

Sıbyân schools and *ibtidâî*s were in principle financed by local resources. Thus in locations where sufficient local funds could not be secured emerged the difficulty to develop primary education. Under certain conditions the central government provided limited financial support to meet the teachers' salaries or a part of the construction expenses. On the other hand, situations emerged where the Sublime Porte due to political reasons found it necessary to found primary schools. Such circumstances led the Ottoman state to set up a number of government schools in a certain locality, where construction expenses, the maintenance of the institutions and personnel salary were met by the state budget.

It occurred rather often that local populations simply lacked the resources to meet the teachers' salaries and thus turned to the Ottoman state. For example, the parents of the pupils of the local *ibtidâî* school from the village of Kilid el-Bahir at the Dardanelles petitioned the sultan for government support. This petition proved to be successful, which provided a monthly salary of 400 *kuruş* for the instructor to be paid by the MPE.[51] The local population from the *nahiyye* of Tavşanlı, *sancak* of Kütahya, *vilâyet* of Hüdâvendigâr, though able to meet the construction expenses of the *ibtidâî* school, were unable to finance the salary of the instructor and therefore asked the Ottoman state for help.[52] The administrative council of the *vilâyet* of Basra stated to the Sublime Porte that the local income from the EdC was spent completely for the *idâdî* school, making the four *rüşdiyye* schools and "eight to ten" *ibtidâî* schools totally dependent on the insignificant revenues from the local *münderise*-foundations, a reason for the stagnation of the primary education in the *vilâyet* of Basra that blocked creation of more *ibtidâî* schools. The administrative council requested the assignment of a part of the EdC to meet the expenses of *ibtidâî* schools and *rüşdiyye* schools.[53]

The Ottoman state provided full financial support for the development of *ibtidâî* schools among a certain population group mainly within the following contexts. One type of a necessity emerged in

[51] BOA AD Nr. 1421, p. 24 (3 Ş 1299/20 June 1882).
[52] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 273 (2 Ş 1307/24 March 1890).
[53] BOA AD Nr. 1423, p. 182 (26 L 1308/4 June 1891).

the case of Muslim migrants from Russia, who were settled in Ottoman territories and were not integrated into the Ottoman society. Another situation was the need to strengthen political and cultural ties to the Ottoman society among populations located in strategic regions. A third type of concern emerged due to Protestant missionary activities among the Alevi populations of the Empire or in the case of the Crypto-Christians.

In the course of the nineteenth century a considerable number of Circassians emigrated from the Caucasus into the Ottoman lands where they were settled in diverse parts of the Empire. Since tribal structures continued to be predominant among the Circassians, it was not possible for decades to establish an efficient civil administration among them. During the first years of their settlement administrative issues were solved mainly by the "General Inspectorate for Immigrants" (*Umûm Muhacirîn Müfettişliği*). When the Circassian population of the newly founded immigrant village of Hamidiyye, *kazâ* of Balıkesri, *vilâyet* of Karesi, requested from the inspectorate a teacher for the village *ibtidâî* school, the government appointed a teacher with a salary of 400 *kuruş* which was covered by the budget of the MPE.[54]

Following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878 Albanians emerged as the main Muslim population of the Ottoman Balkans. The northern Albanians of İşkodra and Kosovo, living under conditions of tribalism, were difficult to be controlled by the Sublime Porte. At the same time, powers such as Austria-Hungary and Italy considered these regions as their sphere of influence. Due to these political conditions the Ottoman state provided full financial support for the development of primary education in the provinces of Kosovo and İşkodra with the aim to strengthen the values of loyalty to the state and the sultan. It should be noted that these populations were seldom ready to provide local funds for the development of education.[55]

[54] BOA BEO AD Nr. 1243, p. 172 (1 C 1301/29 March 1884).

[55] Order sent by the Sublime Porte to the MPE and an official letter to the Ministry of Finances informing about the memorandum of the Administrative Council of the *vilâyet* of Kosovo and the need of the payment of the salaries of the village instructors, in BOA AD Nr. 1243, p. 280 (8 Ş 1301/4 April 1884). The villages in question were Raka, Resedjnik and Čarvika, located in the *kazâ* of Gilan (Gnilanje). For İşkodra, see BOA MV Nr. 14, p. 29 (23 S 1304/29 October 1888). Compare Johannes Faensen, *Die albanische Nationalbewegung* (Wiesbaden: Otto-Harrassowitz, 1980); Stavro Skendi, *The Albanian National Awakening, 1878–1912* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

The Ottoman Empire, led by the Sultan-Caliph as monarch, could not consider holders of non-Sunni Muslim belief systems such as the population groups of the Twelver Shia or the Alevis as separate religious communities with legal rights of their own. Even if mentioned in official documents, such groups were mostly attributed with the quality of being in a state of "ignorance" (*cehâlet*). It was mainly in cases where foreign activities emerged among these population groups that the Sublime Porte displayed greater interest toward the Alevi- or Twelver Shia-populations. When for example Protestant missionaries tried to convert non-Sunni communities into Christianity by setting up primary schools, the government founded *ibtidâî* schools and tried to convert members of these communities into Sunni Islam. In such cases the construction expenses as well as the teachers' salaries of the *ibtidâî* schools were met by the budget of the MPE. When American Protestant missionaries attempted to convert into Christianity the Nusairis,[56] located in the *sancak* of Latakia, the *vilâyet* of Beirut, the MPE rapidly set up eight *ibtidâî* schools by covering all of the expenses from its budget and even assigning the complete EdC of this *sancak* for meeting the construction expenses and the teachers' salaries.[57]

Crypto-Christians were communities who due to various historical circumstances were officially registered as Muslims, while in their private lives observed Christianity. As a consequence of the activities of Catholic priests the Crypto-Christian inhabitants of two villages of the *nahiyye* of Eşbât, *sancak* of Elbasan, *vilâyet* of Monastir, declared themselves openly as Christians and refused to perform military service. The government decided, in addition to police measures, to set up schools in these villages in order to reconvert the population into Islam. The instructors selected for these schools were members of the local *ulemâ* who were natives of the region, and appointed by the Office of the *Şeyhülislâm* instead by the MPE. The school expenses as well as the teachers' salaries, determined as monthly 500 *kuruş*, were to be paid by the MPE.[58]

The position of the bedouins of Arabia seemed to be comparable to those population groups with heterodox beliefs. Because many bedouins had only a superficial knowledge of Islam, Christian missionaries found a fruitful area for conversion. The activities of British

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[56] See 222–223 below.
[57] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 121 (29 Ra 1307/23 November 1889).
[58] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 155 (1 Ca 1307/24 December 1889).

Protestant missionaries among the bedouins of the *sancak* of Maan, *vilâyet* of Syria, led the MPE to found *ibtidâî* schools in 1894 in Kerak, Tafila and Maan. The expenses of this project were to be met by the budget of the ministry.[59]

In certain cases the Privy Purse (sultanic budget) met school expenses as well as teachers' salaries. This was especially true for those primary schools located within the imperial estates. These included the villages situated in the imperial estates of Bosna, Kılınch and Gelveri, *sancak* of Kayseri, *vilâyet* of Ankara, and where immigrants from Bulgaria were settled down. In 1883 *ibtidâî* schools were established in these villages.[60] Another example could be given from the Ottoman Balkans. A petition was sent in 1888 from the village headman (*muhtâr*) and from the Council of Elders (*ihtiyâr meclisi*) of Aziziyye, connected to the village of Manıka-i Kebir, *kazâ* of Çorlu, to the "Commission for the Imperial Estates of Edirne" (*Edirne Emlak-i Hümâyûn Komisyonu*), complaining that for five years the village boys had to receive primary education within the village mosque due to the absence of a school-building. The petitioners asked the sultan to build a school and appoint a graduate of the Teachers' Seminary of Edirne, to the position of primary school instructor. The sultan accepted these requests, a school-building was erected and a primary school instructor appointed.[61] The Privy Purse also met the expenses of schools set up for Kurdish tribes. In order to counterbalance Armenian nationalism in eastern Anatolia, the Sublime Porte and the Yıldız Palace formed the so-called "Hamidiye Cavalry Regiments" (*Hamidiyye Süvâri Alayları*) who were recruited from the Kurdish tribes. For these the establishment of mosques and schools were planned toward 1892 in the tribal areas of the cavalry regiments. The construction expenses were to be met by the Privy Purse.[62]

The meeting of the primary school expenses and teachers' salaries was left as a principle to local communities, and the transfer of budgetary funds for this aim was mainly an exceptional implementation. But the increasing involvement of certain peripheral population groups in international politics by means of educational ventures backed by

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[59] BOA IM (12 M 1312/16 July 1894) 1–96–2685.

[60] BOA YMTV 11/77 (27 Şaban 1300), dated 26 Ş 1300/2 July 1883.

[61] BOA YMTV 33/59 (23 Ramazan 1305), dated 6 N 1305/17 May 1888.

[62] BOA YMTV 65/68 (17 Muharrem 1310), dated 17 M 1310/11 August 1892. See also Bayram Kodaman, *Sultan II.Abdülhamid Devri Doğu Anadolu Politikası* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1987), 33, 91.

foreign powers, or by missionary activities forced the Sublime Porte to invest for primary schools to counteract these developments. Thus, in the course of time the number of provincial primary schools supported by the state budget tended to increase constantly, which mostly were located in the peripheral regions of the Empire, whereas the relatively wealthy regions of the core provinces in Anatolia and the Balkans mosly lacked state-supported schools.

The Problem of Rüşdiyye Schools and Local Educational Administrations

The *rüşdiyye*s belonged to the earliest category of modern schools set up in the provinces. This category of schools became a source of ambiguity for the MPE as much as their original function of being institutions for secondary education became uncertain in terms of educational and financial status. This ambiguity increased with the expansion of the clearly defined primary schools such as the *ibtidâî*s or the *idâdî* secondary schools. Though the RPE considered the *rüşdiyye*s as primary schools, their source of funding remained unclear until the end of the Hamidian period.

The RPE determined that the construction expenses, teachers' salaries as well as management expenditures of *rüşdiyye* schools would be met by the "fund of educational administration of the *vilâyet*" (*vilâyet maârif idâresi sandığı*), which in the 1880 became the educational fund (*maârif sandığı*). The educational fund would be supplied within a certain limit by budgetary sources, and the remaining deficit covered by the local communities and donations.[63] These stipulations of the RPE show that in 1869 the idea still existed to fund at least a portion of the provincial *rüşdiyye* schools from the state treasury. This attitude underwent considerable change during the early years of the Hamidian period.

When acting as the governor of the *vilâyet* of Hüdâvendigâr in 1878, Mehmed Said Pasha, later grand vizier, observed that though the Ottoman administration paid every effort and spent substantial money to found *rüşdiyye* schools in each *kazâ* of this province, the local population did not give any support to these efforts and did

[63] Art 19, 22, 196 and 197, in M. Cevâd, 473, 474, 508, 509. See also Kodaman, *Eğitim Sistemi*, 93.

not sent their children to schools, so that courses had to be cancelled in some of the *rüşdiyye*s due to the lack of pupils. Said Pasha lobbied the Sublime Porte to leave the costs as well as the management of *rüşdiyye* schools to local communities, with the state covering only those expenses that could not be met by the community.[64] Said Pasha hoped to cut central state costs while developing local responsibility for education.

Though Kodaman claims that this proposition of Said Pasha was never put into practice and the Ottoman state officially took over the financing of *rüşdiyye* schools including teachers' salaries,[65] there are a number of cases from the 1880s indicating that Said Pasha's proposal concerning the financing of *rüşdiyye* schools by local resources was in fact applied.

An 1884 letter shows how the Ottoman state tried to locally finance *rüşdiyye* teachers' salaries. The salaries of the newly founded *rüşdiyye*s were covered by the incomes of the local *münderise*-foundations, similar to *ibtidâî* schools. Though eight *rüşdiyye* schools could be set up in seven *vilâyet*s by local donations, it was not possible to meet the teachers' salaries of these schools by local resources. The annual *rüşdiyye* personnel budget of 52.000 *kuruş* had to be covered from the budget of the MPE.[66] Other examples from provinces also show that the financing of *rüşdiyye* schools did not display uniform patterns.[67] In some cases municipalities financed the salaries of *rüşdiyye*-instructors as well as of the servants, employed in *rüşdiyye*s, partially or completely. On the other hand, it did not last long when, as it happened in Damascus, the municipality ceased to pay the teachers' salaries, and the *rüşdiyye*-teachers complained to the MPE.[68]

A similar ambiguity comparable to *rüşdiyye* schools existed also for the financing of the local ECs. Although the RPE made no specific stipulation concerning the financial basis of provincial educational administrations, it implied a regular financial basis, connected possibly either to the state budget or to a regular tax-basis.[69] But after 1880 they depended mainly on local resources rather than regular

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[64] [Küçük] Mehmed Said Paşa, *Said Paşanın Hâtırâtı*. Vol. 1 (Dersaâdet: Sabâh, 1328/1910), 387–388, 393, 395.
[65] Kodaman, *Eğitim Sistemi*, 108.
[66] BOA AD Nr. 1243, p. 288 (12 Ş 1301/7 June 1884).
[67] Compare 113. above.
[68] BOA AD Nr. 1421, p. 80 (20 L 1299/4 September 1882).
[69] See 92–93 above.

taxes such as the EdC. For example, the newly founded educational administration of Monastir in 1883 was to be financed by the incomes of the local *münderise*-foundations. The tax collected from the fair of Yapraklı in the *kazâ* of Kengiri (Çankırı) met the expenses of the salaries of the DE of the *vilâyet* of Kastamoni, the inspectors, the instructors of the Teachers' Seminary of Kastamoni as well as other expenses of this institution.[70] It should be noted that dependency on only one definite financial source risked disaster if the state later redirected that source to another purpose.

Salaries

Salary amounts are informative in terms of the social and the economic status of school instructors and also as indicators for government policies to promote education in regions that deemed to be in the interest of the central authority. As shown earlier, Ottoman public education in the provinces suffered the general problem of funding. This crisis reflected itself also in the salaries of instructors. It can be safely said that the salaries of instructors belonged among the lower within the class of Ottoman government officials. This tells us about the status of instructors as government officials. Instructors belonged to the lower 70% group of civil servants from the total of 63.000 who received salaries ranging between 80 and 500 *kuruş*.[71] The currency of *kuruş* ("piaster") was based on silver standard and preserved its value until the end of the Empire.[72] Therefore the data concerning teachers' salaries from different dates are comparable with each other.

There was no legal settlement concerning the salaries of *ibtidâî*-instructors due to the fact that their salaries originally were to be covered principally by local financial resources and donations. Therefore it is difficult to find official correspondences indicating the salary-amount of a regular *ibtidâî* teacher. But in those peripheral regions where primary schools were funded by the state, the Sublime Porte paid the instructors. Only within this limit is it possible to find few

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[70] BOA İrâde Meclis-i Mahsûs 1304, Nr. 3720, 27 B 1303/1 May 1886.
[71] Eldem, 98.
[72] 1 silver *kuruş* was equal to 40 *para*. On the other hand, 100 silver *kuruş* had

data concerning salaries of instructors. On the other hand, they are not representative for the general body of *ibtidâî* instructors due to the special conditions for the foundation of these schools in the selected localities. The salaries of the government-supported schools in Eşbât, central Albania, and in Gilan, *vilâyet* of Kosovo are monthly 400 and 500 *kuruş* respectively, which are high even in terms of *rüşdiyye* instructor salaries. These amounts are only indicative about the government preference for educational development in these regions.[73]

For those *rüşdiyye* schools funded by the ministerial budget are the data for instructor salaries available. Stipulation concerning *rüşdiyye* salaries was made in the RPE in 1869, where the schoolmaster (*muallim-i evvel*) was assigned 800, the secondary teacher (*muallim-i sânî*) 500, the usher (*mubassır*) 250, and the porter (*bevvâb*) 150 *kuruş*.[74] These rather "generous" amounts of salaries were mostly never realized. From the limited data of the 1880s and 1890s appears a picture of a progressive decline of the amount of salaries, which was true for nearly every category of instructor. Schoolmasters' payments declined from 800 to 500, the secondary teachers from 400 to 200, and the salary of a writing teacher varied between 80 and 100 *kuruş*.[75]

Examining these numbers in terms of purchasing power and comparing them with the salaries of other professions of the time, the salaries of secondary teachers and writing teachers in particular emerge as payments of "modesty." The governor of a *sancak* received monthly around 20.000, a *kaymakam* of a *kazâ* between 1500 and

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the value of 1 gold *lira*. 1 gold *lira* was convertible to 1.10 British pound sterling in 1850 and 1914, 0.0433 French franc in 1850 and 0.044 in 1914, and 0.229 U.S. dollar in 1850 and 1914. See Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire," Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert (eds.), *An Economic*, 971, 972.

[73] BOA AD Nr. 1421, p. 24 (3 Ş 1299/20 June 1882); AD Nr. 1243, p. 172 (1 C 1301/29 March 1884); AD Nr. 1243, p. 280 (8 Ş 1301/4 April 1884); AD Nr. 1422, p. 155 (1 Ca 1307/24 December 1889); AD Nr. 1422, p. 201 (20 Ca 1307/12 January 1890); BOA YMTV 33/59 (23 Ramazan 1305), dated 6 N 1305/17 May 1888.

[74] Art 22, in M. Cevâd, 474; Kodaman, *Eğitim Sistemi*, 93.

[75] BOA AD Nr. 1243, p. 394 (14 L 1301/7 August 1884); Nr. 1244, p. 91 (13 Za 1301/4 September 1884); AD Nr. 1243, p. 232 (15 B 1301/11 May 1884); AD Nr. 1418, p. 136 (29 R 1297/10 April 1880); AD Nr. 1420, p. 161 (13 N 1298/9 August 1881); AD Nr. 1420, p. 1 (2 M 1298/5 December 1880); AD Nr. 1420, p. 299 (11 Ra 1299/31 January 1882); AD Nr. 1422, p. 595 (2 C 1308/13 January 1891); AD Nr. 1423, pp. 7–8 (5 Ş 1308/16 March 1891); BOA MV Nr. 54, p. 43 (17 L 1307/6 June 1890); BOA IM 156–345–7 (24 S 313); IM 183–1373–2 (6 B 313). See also the salary-table in Appendix 16.

2000, and a doctor of a quarantine service 1000 *kuruş*. An unskilled worker in Ankara earned in 1878 7,5 *kuruş* daily wage, which would make monthly more than 200 *kuruş*, and a skilled worker 9,5 *kuruş*, in terms of monthly total more than 250 *kuruş*. On the other hand, a field labourer in Edirne earned in 1886 daily 5 *kuruş*, as a monthly total nearly 150 *kuruş*.[76] These wage comparisons tell us to some extent the salary-level of public school instructors. Looking at the food prices in the mid-nineteenth century northern Anatolia for some selected items, bread was available for 1 *kuruş* 20 *para*, rice for 1 *kuruş* 3 *para* per *okka* (1,283 kg), *kaşar* cheese for 12 *kuruş* (9.35 *kuruş* per kg), yoghurt and apple 1.5 (1.16), olives and figs 4 (3.11), honey 8 (6.23), onion 2 (1.55), sheep meat 4 (3.11), beef 2, 5 (1.94), sausage (*sucuk*) 12 (9.35) and coffee 9 (7.01).[77] Even if assuming that these prices did not rise radically in the early twentieth century, they would allow a secondary teacher to live only a modest standard of life, whereas a writing teacher certainly would not survive it. It is possible that the profession of "writing instructor" was performed as a second job.

İdâdî school directors and provincial educational officials received the highest salary among provincial educational staff. But there existed considerable fluctuactions of salary-amount among individual *idâdî*-directors. Considering the eastern Anatolian *idâdî* schools in 1896–1897, the boarding *idâdî* school director of Sivas was receiving monthly 1500 *kuruş*, the director of a similar institution in Erzurum 1000 *kuruş*, whereas the boarding *idâdî* school directors of Diyarbekir and Mamuretülaziz were paid 750 *kuruş* monthly.[78] On the other hand, the director of the *idâdî* school of Tripolis, *vilâyet* of Tripolitany, received in 1905 a salary of 1500 *kuruş*.[79] These differences of the level of salary are probably more related to the administrative rank of individual directors than to the type of the institution (day- or boarding-*idâdî*) they were attached or to the location of the schools.

For the period 1896–1897 the monthly salaries of the members of the provincial educational bureaucracy of some of the eastern

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[76] Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800–1914* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 42–43; M. Emin Yolalıcı, *XIX. Yüzyılda Canik (Samsun) Sancağı'nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), 107–108, 142.

[77] Yolalıcı, 96–97.

[78] BOA YEE A–21/III–21–131 (Şâkir Paşa Evrâkı).

[79] BOA IH 19 (8 R 1323), dated 12 June 1905.

Anatolian provinces were the following: the DE of Mamuretülaziz 2500 *kuruş*, 2000 *kuruş* for the DE of Diyarbekir and Sivas, 1700 *kuruş* for the DE of Erzurum. The accountants (*muhâsebe memuru*) of the educational administrations of Bitlis, Erzurum, Sivas and Van were receiving 1000 *kuruş*, in Diyarbekir 900 *kuruş*, and 800 in Mamuretülaziz. Looking at the secretary (*maârif kâtibi*), we see for Diyarbekir, Mamuretülaziz and Sivas 500 *kuruş*, and 400 for Erzurum. The cashier, on the other hand, was receiving in Erzurum 250 *kuruş*, 200 in Bitlis and Diyarbekir, 150 in Sivas, and 100 *kuruş* in Mamuretülaziz and Van.[80]

As for concluding remark, the RPE originally had designed the class of teachers as a professional group with medium level of salaries. During the Hamidian period *rüşdiyye* instructors in particular became increasingly impoverished, and received salaries at the level of lower government officials. One should add that even the assigned salaries were not always paid in a regular way. It may be assumed that the decline of the teachers' salaries throughout the Hamidian period and the irregularities in payment may have affected the teaching quality in an adverse way, and possibly led to discontent. This was certainly not the case for those primary schools set up by government funding in peripheral regions, where instructor salaries exceeded even those of *rüşdiyye* instructors. The suspicion expressed by Zühdü Pasha about the whole body of instructors in regard to their loyalty to the state might be connected with these deteriorating conditions of payment. *İdâdî* school instructors, the DE and higher educational officials, on the other hand, belonged to medium level of civil servants in terms of payment. These differences in salaries in fact reflected the priorities given by the MPE to different types of schools.

[80] BOA YEE A–21/III–21–131 (Şâkir Paşa Evrâkı).

CHAPTER FIVE

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS OR PUBLIC EDUCATION: CURRICULAR ISSUES

The financial weakness of the Ottoman state as well as the scarcity of professionally trained teaching staff made it impossible to meet the simultaneous needs for establishing the necessary number of differentiated institutions like primary schools, secondary institutions and higher schools. This scarcity eventually led to the pragmatic attitude of focusing the existing means and sources on the expansion of *idâdî* schools, which offered a mixed education of higher primary school and secondary instruction together with courses on professional subjects. At the same time great effort was spent on the expansion of *ibtidâî* schools and the reformation of traditional *sıbyân* schools. Although there existed approaches to introduce a more practical oriented educational philosophy toward the teaching of trade, commerce or agriculture into public schools, those institutions under the jurisdiction of the MPE essentially remained a network for the raising of future civil servants.

This professional orientation of Ottoman public schools reflected itself in institutional terms in the jurisdictional division of government schools between the MPE and the Ministry of Trade and Public Works, which controlled the agricultural, commercial and industrial schools. Also other ministries had their own professional schools, where each administrative authority determined the curricula.[1] Such an institutional and administrative state of fragmentation of government education in general reflected the persistent status-differences within the Ottoman society, where Muslims in general were expected to enter civil service, and disdained other productive professions. This trend seems to be related to the lack of the acceptance of "equal citizenship" among the Ottoman ruling circles, which would require the planning and the implementation of comprehensive educational policies for the society as a whole. The Ottoman government school

[1] Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Mektebleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısiyle Türkiye Maarif Tarihi.* 2d ed. Vol. 3–4 (İstanbul: Eser Kültür, 1977), *passim.*

system in its rather professional orientation and fragmented state could be hardly understood as a public school system in the modern sense.

The curricular content of the Hamidian school system was marked by its strong emphasis on religious and authoritarian values.[2] The loss of an important part of the non-Muslim population after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878, the impossibility of obstructing nationalist currents among the non-Muslim as well as non-Turkish Muslim populations like the Albanians or the Arabs drove the Sublime Porte to emphasize Islamic and authoritarian values as a source of ideological unity. Freethinking attitudes among the government-school teachers were not tolerated, and the political ideal of loyalty toward the sultan, the Ottoman state as well as a kind of a dynastic and Islamic patriotism was promoted. The main watershed in the intensification of the Hamidian autocracy occurred in 1891 and 1892. Before, these political values received relatively moderate emphasis, whereas after 1891 loyalty toward the Sultan-Caliph was promoted in excess in combination with measures of surveillance in government schools.

However, the utilization of religion for political object did not bring a return to an antipositivistic traditionalism. The tension between practical and bureaucratic needs in the educational content manifested itself in the modernist tendencies within the educational structure. It might be even claimed that the utilization of Islam remained mainly within the realm of political utility and formality, whereas the developments in curricular content in general followed non-Islamic lines. Not only the encouragement of translations of natural scientific texts, but also the establishment of the School of Fine Arts (*Sanâyi-i Nefise Mektebi*) in 1884 and the enlargement of the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümâyûn*), containing sculptures from the classical antiquity, demonstrate this tendency. Furthermore, students supported by government scholarships were sent to Paris to learn the art of sculpture.[3]

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[2] For a thorough examination of the Hamidian ideology, see Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909* (London; New York: Tauris, 1998).

[3] BOA BEO AD Nr. 1424, pp. 113–114 (19 B 1309/18 February 1892). See also Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 66–67, and Ahmet Yaşar Oçak, "Abdülhamid Dönemi İslamcılığının Tarihi Arka Planı: Klasik Dönem Osmanlı İslamı'na Genel Bir Bakış," *Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve Devri Semineri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1994), 123.

Selim Sâbit Efendi's educational model of *usûl-i cedîd* ("new method") determined the archetype of a modern *ibtidâî* school. This model attempted to combine the positive aspects of tutorial, class and monitorial systems. The *usûl-i cedîd* contained both modern aspects of scientific education and the tradition of social disciplining. Although this model of primary schools could not be fully realized due to financial constraints, it constituted the basic understanding of modern primary education throughout the Hamidian period.

Another Hamidian educational trend was the promotion of Ottoman Turkish as a teaching subject at the public schools, located in non-Turkish regions such as Albania and Kurdistan. Remarkably, the public schools of the Arabic-speaking areas were not included in plans for Turkish language instruction.

Looking at the textbooks, the Hamidian regime, though paying a considerable emphasis on the centralistic control over the compilation of textbooks, in fact did not realize a complete uniforming of these. Even those symbolic issues such as praising the sultan or, including the religious formula *besmele* at the beginning of books were more or less left to the initiative of the individual authors. The content of the textbooks clearly displayed a tendency toward the promotion of authoritarian and religious values such as the loyalty towards the sultan and the Ottoman state, the belief in God, Messenger Muhammad and Islam. In textbooks on Morality medieval scholastic approaches to human being and social life were repeated which were hardly suitable to the contemporary needs and aspirations of the Ottoman state. In contrast to this attitude most of the History textbooks regarded the modernizing reforms of the *tanzîmât*-period as a kind of a rebirth of the Ottoman Empire and its strength. In harmony with this latter view the sultan was often described as an enlightened monarch who devoted himself for the material progress of his empire. In view of this discrepancy of the promotion of traditional religious values as a means of political control on the one hand and of the stress on modernization and material progress on the other, one could argue that the Hamidian regime in the course of more than thirty years seems to have been unable to create a kind of a synthesis of these different sets of values, this inability in turn reflecting itself in the ideological inconsistency of the Hamidian textbooks.

Late Tanzîmât Educational Policies and the Usûl-i Cedîd (1869–1876)

Indicative of the educational designs of the later *tanzîmât*-period, the RPE designated transmission of positive knowledge as the main aim of education. At the same time, courses on religious subjects in Muslim schools were to be controlled by the state, i.e. the influence of the *ulemâ* on Muslim education were to be put within certain limits. In the official justification of the RPE the "community of civilization," namely the contemporary European countries appeared as the main model of progress. At the same time *sıbyân* schools were criticized for imparting only religious knowledge. The Ottomanist attitude toward non-Muslim communities within the Empire was stressed in particular by pointing to the need of mixed education. The late *tanzîmât* reformist elite by these measures aimed at a radical change in the existing educational structure, eliminating the cultural compartments imposed by traditional religious divisions and secularizing government schools.

In harmony with the concept of Ottomanism, which envisaged the formation of a new nation made of Muslims and non-Muslims and basing on a sultan- and state-oriented patriotism, the RPE stipulated the setting up of *sıbyân* schools for non-Muslims as well as for Muslims. Though these schools were to function separately along the community lines, common courses were to constitute the majority of their curricula. *Sıbyân* schools would differ in teaching language and religion. For example, courses such as "Introduction into Ottoman History" and "Introduction into Geography" would be taught in non-Muslim classes in the language of the community, and religious subjects taught according to directions of religious heads of the non-Muslim communities. A similar arrangement was made for Muslim and non-Muslim *rüşdiyye* schools.[4] The RPE stressed a further point, namely the introduction of the teaching mode of the "new method" (*usûl-i cedîd* or *tertîb-i cedîd*, NEM) to the reformed *sıbyân* schools and to the *rüşdiyye* schools.[5]

[4] Art 3–26, in Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târîhce-i Teşkilât ve İcrâât* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920), 470–475.

[5] The term *usûl-i cedîd* had been used in the official documentation already in 1868. But there is no evidence that this term was applied, in 1868 and in the RPE, in the sense of Selim Sâbit Efendi's pedagogical approach. Interestingly, this term was later adopted by İsmail Gaspıralı, the Crimean Tatar cultural reformer and educator, for the new method applied in modern Tatar schools. See Hakan Kırımlı, *National Movements and National Identity among the Crimean Tatars (1905–1916)* (Leiden;

The term NEM is often associated with Selim Sâbit Efendi (1829–1910), the first modern pedagogue of Turkish educational history. Originally a member of the *ulemâ*, S. Sâbit studied at the newly established Teachers' Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* instructors, and after graduation in 1855 went to Paris, where he studied mathematics and natural sciences. After his return to İstanbul S. Sâbit became the second director of the elite high school *Mekteb-i Sultânî*, instructor of Turkish and Literature at the short-lived *Dârülfünûn* ("University," 1870–1871), member and chairman of the Council of Education at the MPE as well as the head of the "Directorate of *Rüşdiyye* Schools" (*Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyye İdâresi*) within the same ministry. Starting in 1889, S. Sâbit taught courses such as Psychology (*ilm-i ahvâl-i rûh*), Ethics, Method of Instruction (*usûl-i tedrîs*) and Pedagogy (*terbiyye-i beşer*) at the Great Teachers' Seminary of İstanbul. He compiled a number of textbooks on Arabic grammar, Logics, Mathematics, Geography and History. In the early 1890s S. Sâbit came under suspicion by the Hamidian regime due to his intellectually independent attitude, and had to spend most of his remaining life under police surveillance.[6] S. Sâbit was as a pedagogue and educational administrator who with a broad cultural view due to his many-sided educational experiences combined modern trends with traditional educational policy and emerged as the architect of Ottoman educational modernization after 1869.

Upon the decisions of the Council of Education in 1287/April–May 1870, S. Sâbit published the *Rehnümâ-yı Muallimîn* ("Guidebook for Instructors"), to be applied at the reformed *sıbyân* schools.[7] In 1871 the MPE officially accepted the *Guidebook for Instructors* as a basis for modelling government primary schools. The first *ibtidâî* schools, founded in İstanbul from 1872 onwards were based mainly on this guidebook.[8]

New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1996), 46. Compare also Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi (Başlangıçtan 1999'a)*. Revised 7th ed. (İstanbul: Alfa, 1999), 180–183.

[6] For a detailed information about Selim Sâbit Efendi, see Akyüz, *Eğitim Tarihi*, 176–180; Nafi Atuf, *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi (Bir Deneme)*. Vol. 1 (İstanbul: A. Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931–1932), 94–97; Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773–1923)* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1970), 97–101.

[7] Koçer, 97, 100.

[8] Aziz Berker, *Türkiye'de İlk Öğrenim I:1839–1908* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945), 86, 103; Koçer, 97, 100; M. Cevâd, 116.

In the *Guidebook for Instructors* S. Sâbit discussed the NEM and the qualities of an *ibtidâî* school, functioning in harmony with this method. In the introductory pages he dealt with the "science of instruction" (*usûl-i talîmiyye fenni*) and explained the three main methods of instruction and showed their shortcomings.[9] The method of tutorial instruction (*usûl-i infirâdiyye*), which gave importance to the individual characteristics of children, though useful for a small number of pupils, was not applicable for a large class. Conversely, the method of instruction in assembly (*usûl-i ictimâiyye*) was practical for a greater number of students, but neglected the different abilities of pupils. The monitorial system (*usûl-i mütekabile*), which gave responsibility to older students for providing instruction to students of lower grades, was inconvenient because it limited the role of the actual teacher, and students from the higher grades lacked sufficient knowledge to act as instructors. S. Sâbit then proposed the NEM, which combined aspects of these three methods. Students were to be divided into classes (*sınıf*) in harmony with educational years; these located in different classrooms. Each class, in turn, was divided into branches (*şube*). That consisted of at most eight pupils who were equal in terms of age and ability. Each class had a responsible (*sınıf başı*), who enforced order and silence, discussants (*müzâkereci*), who were better branch students or from advanced classes. The discussants assisted in preparing the courses in each branch, and the instructor subsequently taught the courses himself at the class.

Looking at the instructors, S. Sâbit specified that teachers should be able to read Turkish correctly and express their ideas in an orthographically accurate way.[10] In addition they were expected to have sufficient knowledge in Arabic and Persian languages as well as in Geography. Their age should not be less than twenty-five, and also possess decent character and being mature. Education in such an *ibtidâî* school should last four years in total.[11] In this document specifications pertaining to a regular and organized primary school were made for the first time, including the health of children, the

[9] Selim Sâbit, *Rehnümâ-yı Muallimîn. Sıbyân Mekteblerine Mahsûs Usûl-i Tedrîsiyye* (no place and date of publication), 4–8.

[10] Since the vowel-rich Turkish language was written with Arabic letters, consisting mainly of consonants, the reading of Ottoman texts sometimes was difficult, even for educated Turks.

[11] *Rehnümâ*, 7–8, 26–28.

relationship between teacher, student and parents, educational devices and school library, school reports and marking, class books, methods of examination, and hygienic conditions. S. Sâbit Efendi proposed in this treatise also courses and a curriculum for *ibtidâî* schools.[12] These specifications displayed the modernistic aspects of the NEM.

The *Guidebook for Instructors*, together with these modern designs for primary education, continued the policy of social disciplining. Learning the alphabet was immediately to be followed by the memorization of the Quran and by reading texts on morality. After class instructors showed pupils the correct methods of ritual ablution (*abdest*) and prayer (*namaz*).[13] Among the expected qualities of the instructors was their behavioral attitude toward the pupils like acting as being their "father" (*peder*). The pupils, in turn, were required to show absolute obedience to instructors and all other elders, and to maintain cleanliness and tidiness. The *Guidebook* stressed that pupils of a class, gathered together, were to walk in a military order and discipline. S. Sâbit, on the other hand, was clearly against excessive corporal punishments such as the *falaka* (bastinado). Disciplinary measures proposed in the *Guidebook*, included, in increasing order, warning, reprimand, sending the pupil to a bench separated from others, separating the pupil from his *şube* and requiring him to do additional course-work, requiring the pupil to remain standing, keeping the pupil in the classroom during break- or lunch-times, and removal from school for a certain time.[14]

In addition to the above-mentioned points, other important characteristics of educational modernization were: 1. the instruction of classical Islamic languages like Arabic and Persian by the employment of textbooks written in Ottoman Turkish instead of the direct use of Arabic and Persian reading texts, as it had been in *medrese*s, and 2. the wearing of European-style uniforms by students and thus their distinction from the common people.[15]

These measures for the reform of the traditional *sıbyân* schools, which at the same time served as the model for the newly planned

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[12] *Rehnümâ*, 10, 28–40. Compare also Berker, 87–89; N. Atuf, 162–165; Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Ottoman Islamic Education in the Balkans in the Nineteenth Century," *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), 36:2, 3(1997), 446.

[13] *Rehnümâ*, 10, 17–19.

[14] *Rehnümâ*, 26–31.

[15] Ergin, vol. 1–2, 309, 311.

ibtidâî schools, were in fact introduced nearly more than two decades later than those at the *rüşdiyye* schools. Similar to the *rüşdiyye*s this reorganization increased discipline in Ottoman primary education. From the middle of the 1870s onwards standardization, tight order and linear type of educational promotion gradually began to expand among primary schools.

After 1868, the emphasis on natural scientific and utilitarian subjects increased and the stress on moral education decreased. This trend was stronger at higher levels of education, as evidenced in the foundation of the *Mekteb-i Sultânî* in İstanbul and the *idâdî* schools. At the same time, standardization emerged at the primary school-level with the introduction of the NEM and the setting up of government *ibtidâî* schools. As will be seen below, the Hamidian period witnessed the revitalization of the old tradition of social disciplining while the process of standardization began to expand throughout the Empire in harmony with a shift in the curricula toward natural scientific and practical subjects.[16]

A Hamidian Dilemma: The Question of Practical Education versus Education for Raising Civil Servants

Before the 1880s *ibtidâî*s and *idâdî* schools were founded mainly in İstanbul. With the consolidation of the Hamidian regime these schools began to appear at the provincial level. This expansion was, in contrast to the *tanzîmât*-period, not confined with *vilâyet*- and *sancak*-centers, and educational modernization reached the level of *kazâ*s and sometimes even *nahiyye*s. This development was due to the increasing participation of the local ECs and the ECos in finding local resources and as a result of the collection of the EdC-tax. Primary schools in peripheral regions were often funded by state budget.

While primary schools were expanding in the *vilâyet*s during the early years of the Hamidian regime there was a lack of consensus among the Ottoman bureaucratic elite concerning the function of public schools controlled by the MPE. The financial bankruptcy of 1875–1876, the economic dependency of the Empire to the industrial

[16] Concerning the concrete outcome of the standardization process, see Chapter VII, 256 ff. below.

West and the emergence of a successful non-Muslim commercial middle class who played a major role in Ottoman economic life created a strong sense of Muslim inferiority among the ruling elite. It was felt that even though the state apparatus was in Muslim hands, the domestic and international economic and social developments were marginalizing the Muslim population and the Ottoman state. In correlation with such sentiments, there was a strong tendency in the early 1880s for the inclusion of a number of professional courses in the primary and secondary school curricula. These courses imparted practical knowledge and aimed at developing industry and trade particularly among Muslims. A contributing factor to this development was article 61 of the Congress of Berlin, where the reforming of public education toward mixed instruction was stipulated. This meant that public schools were to be reshaped for meeting the educational demands of Muslims as well as non-Muslims, and therefore they would cease to function as institutions for raising civil servants.

Mehmed Said Pasha (1838–1914), who was appointed several times to the Office of the Grand Vizierate, aimed to shape the schools directed by the MPE into a more general system transferring humanistic as well as practical knowledge.[17] Marshal Müşir Fuad Pasha, an influential military bureaucrat during the early years of the Hamidian period, submitted in 1879 a report to the Yıldız Palace where he, similar to Said Pasha, underlined the importance of an education with a practical orientation for the development of arts and industry in order to overcome the economic dependence of the Empire from foreign countries. Fuad Pasha proposed the foundation of a solid financial basis for industrial schools (*mekteb-i sanâyi*) and he wanted industrial schools to have the necessary prestige and attraction with the aim of encouraging not only orphans but also children of wealthy families who later would establish business using their own capital. Instructors and masters for such industrial schools should be brought from Europe. Graduates of these institutions should be granted a capital for the start of their own business, and industrial schools should be founded in all *vilâyet-* and *sancak*-centers. Finally Fuad Pasha recommended that Muslim students at industrial schools

[17] Said Paşa, *Said Paşanın Hâtırâtı.* Vol. 1 (Dersaadet: Sabâh, 1328/1910), 173, 204, 393, 577. For the life and actions of M. Said Pasha, called also Küçük Said Pasha ("the little"), see İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar.* 3d ed. Vols. 2–3 (İstanbul: Dergâh, 1982), 989–1263.

be exempted from military service and non-Muslim students have their military exemption-tax decreased.[18] In 1879 a cabinet report dealing with the issue of educational reform in the context of the decisions of the Congress of Berlin stressed that in *rüşdiyye* schools not only general knowledge pertaining to civil official career should be taught, but also knowledge about trade, agriculture and industry as well as French language.[19] In fact the RPE already had introduced French as an elective course in *rüşdiyye* schools, but only for those institutions located in the main trade towns of the Empire. French was a crucial subject since it provided students the tool to go further in practical sciences and commercial life. Shortly after M. Said Pasha became grand vizier in early 1880 French was introduced as an obligatory course at certain *rüşdiyye* schools. The aim was to provide students the opportunity to acquire up-to-date information on commerce, agriculture, industry, and on civil service. In 1880 French language-instructors were appointed to the *rüşdiyye* schools of those provincial centers which were at the same time significant commercial towns, such as Monastir, Edirne, Bursa, İzmir, Trabzon, Damascus and Beirut.[20] Similar considerations were effective when in 1884 the Ministry of Trade proposed the Sublime Porte to establish special classes for the teaching of the profession of navigation (*kapudanlık fenni*) at those *rüşdiyye* schools situated in appropriate Black Sea towns or to provide other opportunities for the acquisition of this profession.[21] These developments clearly show us the concern among a group of Sublime Porte bureaucrats in the early 1880s for reforming government education with the aim to raise economically productive individuals.

An all-comprehensive approach for reforming government education in a practical line came from M. Said Pasha in his memorandum

[18] BOA YEE 31–323–108–80. See also the "Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeniler," III, Nr. 42–1879 (unpublished, located in the catalogue collection of the BOA).

[19] *Ve efrâd-ı tebaanın gerek devlet memûriyyetlerine ve gerek ticâret ve zirâat ve sanata iktizâ eden malûmatı iktisâb eylemeleri husûslarıyle mekâtib-i rüşdiyyede Fransız lisânı dahî tedrîsi*, in "Islâhâta Dâir Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbatası Sûreti" (the dates are given as 22 Za 1296 and 10 Teşrin I.1295 ["Financial Year"] which, however, do not conform with each other. While the hijra date corresponds to 7 November 1879, the financial date is equal to 23 October 1879. Quoted from Said Paşa, vol. 1, 395,397.

[20] BOA AD Nr. 1418, p. 136 (29 R 1297/10 April 1880). See also Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*. 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 110.

[21] BOA AD Nr. 1244, p. 47 (21 L 1301/14 August 1884).

of 1888.[22] He pointed out in this document that Ottoman public education did not address the vital needs of the Empire such as the raising of technically skilled personnel. Said Pasha criticized the lack of harmony between the curricula of the different types of public schools and drew attention to the low status of the public school instructors. He offered as a reform measure the adoption of the German school structure basing on two parallel educational lines, consisting of three and four stages respectively. The first line, oriented toward more humanistic education, was to consist of the educational stages of kindergarten (*çocuk bağçesi*), primary schools (*mekâtib-i sıbyâniyye*) and grammar school ("gymnasium," *mekteb-i sultânî*). The second line, on the other hand, would consist of preparatory school for technical instruction (*mekteb-i rüşdiyye*), industrial secondary schools (*sanâyi mekâtib-i idâdiyyesi*), industrial high school (*sanâyi mekteb-i âlîsi*) and professional schools ("realschule," *ulûm-ı maddiye mekâtibi*). Though the German educational model emphasized practical instruction, it is conspicuous that this dual structure in a sense also fit to the Ottoman need to raise high-qualified civil officials, which would be realized in the grammar school. It is striking that M. Said Pasha applied the term *rüşdiyye* school not in the conventional sense denoting an institution between *ibtidâî-* and *idâdî*-levels, but as a preparatory school for technical instruction. However, this usage remained only on the pages of this memorandum.

The tendency among a group of Ottoman bureaucrats toward the promotion of school curricula with a greater practical content was counterbalanced by the older attitude of considering the government schools mainly as means for raising civil servants. Toward 1882 criticisms of modern curricula became apparent within the Sublime Porte, for example against the instruction of French in *rüşdiyye* schools: the report of Damad Mahmud Pasha, former Minister of Justice, considered the instruction of foreign language and the acquisition of sciences as different issues, to be handled separately. The state, it was admitted, needed officials with a proficiency in French, but since the need for such officials was limited, it was unnecessary to teach French in all public schools. Against the argument of the French language being a medium for the adoption of modern sciences and

[22] BOA YEE 31–1937–45–82. I owe gratitude to Dr.med.Rüştü Ergun who provided me a photocopy of this memorandum.

technology, Damad Mahmud Pasha put forward that books should be translated into the Ottoman language even for the natural science courses of the *Mekteb-i Sultânî* in İstanbul. For those officials with a need to learn French, a separate language school should be opened. In the same document the proposal was also made for the foundation of agricultural, industrial and commercial schools, but with more weight on courses with religious and moral content. The students should be inculcated the conviction that "the Islamic civilization is not an obstacle for the material progress but perhaps the most convenient [religion]" (*medeniyyet-i İslâmiyyenin terakkiyât-ı maddiyeye mâni değil, belki en ziyâde müsâidd olduğu itikadını yerleştirecek*).[23] One may see at this point an apparent clash between the aim of educational modernization in the shape of promoting practical education and the tradition of social disciplining. But for traditionalists of the late nineteenth century the issue of social disciplining would never be understood in terms of a dominating quality in education, but more as a complementary feature in educational modernization.

In correspondence with the traditionalist critics, the weight of religious and moral courses were increased in public schools after 1882, while French as a course was still maintained in *rüşdiyye* schools. After 1892, the state did away with French courses in *rüşdiyye*s.[24]

These critics saw public schools as official-raising institutions and this attitude could be observed in relation to *idâdî* schools. Also the division of the different categories of government schools itself displays this implicit viewpoint. The government agricultural, commercial and industrial schools were, in contrast to the *ibtidâî*s, the *rüşdiyye*s, the *idâdî*s and the *sultânî* schools, not under the jurisdiction of the MPE, but directed by the Ministry of Trade and Public Works (*Ticâret ve Nâfia Nezâreti*).[25] This kind of an administrative division among the government schools in fact displayed the tendency to consider public education as a system for raising individuals who were expected to become else than economic producers.

The Sublime Porte put a great importance on the existence and development of *idâdî* schools. The assignment of the provincial share

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[23] Report of Damad Mahmud Pasha (19 Ca 1299/8 April 1882), in BOA YEE 31–1374–115–84. Compare Kodaman, 110–111.

[24] Kodaman, 111–113.

[25] BOA Yıldız Sadaret Hususi Maruzat (hence YSHM) 172–118–10.4.300 (18 February 1883); BOA MV Nr. 23, p. 58 (9 Z 1304/29 August 1887).

of the EdC mainly for the expenses of *idâdî* schools is an unmistakable indicator. For example, in 1889 the Sublime Porte refused the request of the administrative council of the *sancak* of Gelibolu (*vilâyet* of Edirne), to dissolve the local *idâdî* school and instead establish a model farm (*nümûne çiftliği*) by using the resources assigned originally to the *idâdî* school, which probably would have been more reasonable for the regional economic development.[26]

This dominant view of public education basically as a means for raising civil servants changed toward the end of the Hamidian period. After 1900, new efforts were made to introduce practical subjects into the curricula of MPE-directed schools The increasing Armenian political activities within the Empire, followed by waves of violence and the ensuing diplomatic interventions by the great powers on behalf of the Armenians led the Sublime Porte to make further considerations about the existing school curricula. The state hoped that professional and practical education would redress the inferiority of Ottoman Muslims to Christians in the fields of commerce and industry, particularly in central and eastern Anatolia. This argument appears in the reports of Marshal Şâkir Pasha on educational conditions of eastern and central Anatolia.[27] Also Şâkir Pasha tried to attract Armenian pupils from their community schools and from foreign missionary schools into Ottoman government schools where the communal distance and coolness between non-Muslims and Muslims would be overcome.[28] These Ottomanist arguments of Şâkir Pasha contrasted with the intensifying Islamistic attitude of the late 1890s and early 1900s. The policies of Zühdü Pasha to intensify the Islamic content in education and the reform of 1904 clearly manifest the ineffectiveness of Şâkir Pasha's Ottomanist arguments among the ruling circles.[29] But the traditionalist circles increasingly came to consider moralistic stress in education as compatible with the natural scientific and practical content of course subjects. This differentiated outlook emerges in a 1904 MPE-report, which shows that in that

[26] BOA MV Nr. 41, p. 13 (10 B 1306/12 March 1889).

[27] See BOA YEE A–24/X–24–132 (Şâkir Paşa Evrakı), document dated 4 Kanun I 1314/16 December1898 and YEE A–21/III–21–131 (Şâkir Paşa Evrakı), document dated 8 Kanun I 1898/20 December 1898.

[28] See YEE A–24/X–24–132 (Şâkir Paşa Evrakı), document dated 4 Kanun I 1314/16 December 1898 and YEE A–21/III–21–131 (Şâkir Paşa Evrakı), document dated 8 Kanun I 1898/20 December 1898.

[29] Compare below 183–184.

year new courses pertaining to agriculture, industry and trade were included into the curricula of the *ibtidâî*s, the *rüşdiyye*s and the *idâdî* schools. According to this report "nearly all of the graduates of government schools enter into civil service, and since only a small minority decide to be engaged in productive branches such as agriculture, industry and trade, the economic development of the Empire cannot reach the desired level due to the lack of interest on the part of those sufficiently educated."[30] On the basis of this report the cabinet decided to increase the number of the schools in civil engineering, commerce and industry in the *vilâyet*s. As a part of these efforts one might also include the introduction of courses on agricultural knowledge together with Morality and Geography to the village *ibtidâî* schools after 1904.[31]

Looking at the issues of practical versus Islamic-based education or the controversy of raising productive individuals or civil servants, these cleavages of the early 1880s developed toward the end of the Hamidian period into a line where the need for practical education merged with the policy of social disciplining, and government schools at the end ceased to function as solely civil official-raising institutions. Though in the end effect government schools still did not loose their main character of official-raising institutions, the discussions of the 1880s and 1900s led to curricular developments which raised the educational level of the Hamidian schools to a considerable extent while its Islamic content became even more stressed.

The Hamidian Policy of Social Disciplining

After the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878, the political concept of Ottomanism lost its strength. Not only was the vitality of nationalist currents among the Christian communities evident enough, but there emerged new nationalist trends among non-Turkish Muslims of the Empire such as Albanians or Syrian Arabs, from 1877 until 1881.[32]

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[30] Quoted from Berker, 160. See also BOA IM 1322 Ca 7–1–896 (649).

[31] *Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. Sene 1325* (Bursa, 1325/1907), 333.

[32] For Albanian nationalism, compare 209 ff. below. For Arab nationalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see *Intellectual Life in the Arab East, 1890–1939*. Edited by Marwan Buheiry (Beirut: Centre for Arab and Middle East Studies, AUB, 1981); Youssef M. Choueiri, *Arab History and the Nation State* (London, 1980); Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939*, (reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Beginning with the consolidation of the Hamidian regime in 1880, the state tried to combat nationalist secessionism by stressing religious and authoritarian values in education. This development showed the increasing predominance of the educational tradition of social disciplining, now being used by the Sublime Porte to strengthen the ideological basis of the Ottoman state among the Muslim population. Whereas in the previous decades the main stress was put on the inculcation of the more general Islamic precepts such as the instruction of the rules of prayer, or ethics based on traditional attitudes, the Hamidian period in addition emphasized both the Sultan-Caliph as the main source of political and religious loyalty and the Islamic community as the only social unit of political and religious identity. The shaping of the public school curricula along these lines developed according to the reforms of 1880, 1891–1892, 1901 and 1904.

Around 1880 the curricula of public schools were reshaped for the first time since the *Guidebook for Instructors* in 1870–71 toward a more religious-moralistic direction. The sultan ordered the CE to investigate the curriculum and the schoolbooks of the *Mekteb-i Sultânî*. Books pertaining to natural sciences were exempted with the argument that "these [books on natural sciences] were not containing anything, which possibly could be in opposition to the principles of Islam." On the other hand, the CE found several evaluations concerning World History, the "Islamic communities" (*milel-i İslâmiyye*) as well as on the Ottoman state which "do not correspond in any way with the facts," which were subsequently corrected. It was decided by the CE, in addition, to introduce new courses to the *Mekteb-i Sultânî* concerning the History of Islamic Communities and the Ottoman state, these to be taught in Ottoman Turkish basing on books compiled in Turkish and dealing with these topics in a detailed way.[33]

On the request of the sultan in 1887, a commission headed by the *Şeyhülislâm* Ahmed Esad Efendi and consisting of the members of the Office of the *Mufti* (*Bâb-ı Fetvâ*) and MPE officials including the vice-director of the School of the Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) proposed strengthening student's religious beliefs by revising the curricula of the ministry schools. Since this commission included members of the higher *ulemâ*, the proposals probably reflected their ideas.

[33] BOA BEO AD Nr. 1419, p. 112 (28 Za 1297/1 November 1880).

The commission proposed giving more weight to religious courses and Arabic lessons, and to increase the educational period of *ibtidâî* schools and *rüşdiyye* schools in order to accommodate this increase in instruction. This commission in addition thought it necessary to leave out European writers from the curriculum of the *Mekteb-i Sultânî*, and to replace subjects such as Latin and Philosophy with religious ones. The commission advised eliminating the use of a European language as the language of instruction in Islamic schools. A permanent committee would translate European works. Those books translated into Ottoman should be used as textbooks in public schools. For *ibtidâî* schools located in Arabia, Albania and Kurdistan the commission recommended additional Ottoman Turkish grammatical texts for a more effective dissemination of Ottoman Turkish. It asked to abolish the French courses, which were offered in some of the *rüşdiyye* schools.[34] Some of these propositions were in fact realized in the later years. During the reorganization of the curricula of the *ibtidâî* schools and the *rüşdiyye* schools around 1891–1892 the course hours of religious courses were increased and the French course in *rüşdiyye* schools dissolved. At the same time the number of courses pertaining to Ottoman Turkish in *ibtidâî*s and *rüşdiyye* schools increased.[35] The later curricula of the *Mekteb-i Sultânî* lacked Latin.[36]

The early 1890s of the Hamidian regime became more autocratic. The main factor in this development was the Armenian nationalist movement, segments of which took up armed resistance.[37] Growing international concern about Armenian revolutionary activities and foreign pleas for the liberalization of the present regime or even for the restoration of the constitutional system alarmed the Yıldız Palace.[38] These developments together with the diplomatic shift from liberal

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[34] BOA YMTV 25/52 (6 B 1304/29 February 1887).

[35] Kodaman, 112–113; BOA YSHM 252/73 (1309), dated 18 Ra 1309/22 October 1891. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Selim Deringil who drew my attention to this document.

[36] *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye. Sene 1321* (Dersaâdet, 1321/1903), 108–115. Compare also Kodaman, 142.

[37] Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi.* 3d ed. Vol. 1–1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983), 66–67.

[38] Concerning the Hamidian argument that the introduction of the constitutional system would eventually lead to the complete disintegration of the Empire and leave the Turks only the area around Konya, see the minutes (dated 5 Mart 1307/17 March 1891) expressing the thoughts of Abdülhamid II on Lord Salisbury's reply to a British MP pertaining to the Armenian question, quoted in İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, vol. 3, 1458–1465.

Britain to autocratic Russia around 1891–1892[39] intensified Hamidian autocracy, a trend expressed by the inculcation of more authoritarian and religious values at government schools.

The more Islamic curriculum introduced in 1891–1892 found a superficial pretext in the complaints raised against History instructor Midhat Bey who was lecturing at the School of the Civil Service. Allegedly Midhat Bey was not using the textbook determined by the school administration due to its shortness as he claimed, but instead dictating the students the History of Ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans and forcing them to write the dictated drafts into fair copies. While Midhat Bey told about the Greek deities he mocked the Islamic creed, the morality of some of the Biblical prophets and the four Islamic law schools and attacked Christianity. In addition he "unnecessarily" wasted time by making meaningless talks and was behaving frivolously. In this document it was pointed out that instructors always had to preserve their personal dignity and honor. The main duty of the instructor was not to waste time with useless themes that are not to be found in textbooks, but to improve the religious beliefs of students and to strengthen their moral attitudes. Therefore, it was not possible to permit the continuation of Midhat Bey's teaching activities. According to this document the most important function of Islamic schools was to fortify the Islamic principles of belief. Together with this argument, the sultan decreed the reform of the curricula of all of the public schools, including the *Mekteb-i Sultânî*, in harmony with these viewpoints.[40]

In connection with this change, an 1892 "Special Instruction for the *İbtidâî* schools of İstanbul" (*Dersaâdet Mekâtib-i İbtidâiyyesi İçün Talimât-ı Mahsûse*) stipulated that the teacher was not only expected to teach students the required subjects, but also had to be an example for the pupils in his behavior, i.e. he had to perform the ritual prayers five times a day, encourage his students to observe the religious duties as well as inducing them to assimilate the religious acts of the prophet (*Sünen-i Seniyye*).[41] The teacher had to make clear to his students to obey and to respect, in the order of precedence, "our majestic ruler and his exalted state," own parents, relatives, teachers and aged persons. Furthermore, students had to learn to help fellow

[39] İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, vol. 3, 1365–1367.
[40] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 297 (29 Ş 1307/20 April 1890).
[41] Art 25, in M. Cevâd, 319. See also 267, 269, 315.

Muslims and people and to love their fatherland (*vatan ve memlekete . . . muhabbet*).[42] Each day, before the termination of the last course, students were to read the Quranic surah *Alif Lam Mim Tarkif* from the beginning to the *Fatiha* and after ten times of ritual calling of God's benediction on the Prophet (*Salât ü Selâm*) they were to pray for the sultan, the state, the Ottomans and the Islamic community in particular (*Zât-ı Hazreti Pâdişâhi ve devlet ve millet ve ale'l-husûs ümmet-i Muhammed hakkında bir duâ*).[43]

Four years later, the IDE subjected instructors to strict control measures, and intensified ideological supervision over the schools. The educational ideas of the Hamidian regime were concisely stated in a document, dated 11 May 1899 and submitted by Zühdü Pasha, the Minister of Education, to Yıldız Palace. He stressed the need to become educated "while preserving the religion and the national customs" (*dîn ve âdâb-ı mahsûsasını muhâfaza ederek kesb-i maârif etmek*). An educational program with an opposite character would spoil even those students strongly attached to their religion, fatherland and state. People should be raised who would find the realization of their self in the "eternal" existence of the Ottoman state and in the steadiness of "religious firmness" (*salâbet-i dîniyye*) and "patriotic zeal" (*hamiyyet-i milliye*), and would be useful for their state and serving it in a creative way.[44]

The document reported that a commission had been formed for the revision of the curricula with the objective of doubling the number of courses on religion and morality from the second year of the *ibtidâî* schools up to the level of the School of the Civil Service. The schoolbooks were to be reshaped while reducing "superfluous" subjects.[45] These changes went into effect in 1901, which can be followed in the curricular changes.[46]

An additional reform of the curricula was undertaken in 1904. The sultan created a commission within the MPE to further increase the courses pertaining to religion and morality and build more industrial schools in the provinces. The cabinet decided to intensify the religious

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[42] Art 26, in *Ibid.*

[43] Art 27, in *Ibid.*

[44] BOA YMTV 189/184 (30 Z 1316/11 May 1899).

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] BOA İrâde Maârif (IM) 1322 Ca 7–1–896 (649); *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maarif-i Umumiye, 1318 Sene-i Hicriyyesi* (Darü'l-Hilafetü'l-Aliyye, 1900–1901), 220. See also Berker, 143.

and moralistic education of schoolchildren by barring attendance of Muslim students at Christian schools. It decided to increase the number of *ibtidâî* schools and intensify Turkish language instruction in regions such as Kurdistan, the Archipelago, the Balkans and Albania in particular. In addition it prohibited the printing and publication of novels translated from foreign languages that did not conform to "community morality" (*ahlâk-ı milliye*) and "Islamic customs" (*âdâb-ı İslâmiyye*), but encouraged the translation of useful scientific texts. Furthermore, the cabinet planned to investigate the convictions of teachers and to substitute those teachers "lacking sound opinion and conscience" (*selâmetü fikr ü vicdâna mâlik olmayan*) with instructors possessing these properties. Finally it was stressed that able and trustworthy persons should inspect the schools.[47] This reform signified the increasing mergence of the educational trends of promoting practical education and social disciplining, while more emphasis was given on promoting Turkish language in non-Turkish regions.

The reform of 1904 was undertaken during the administration of Haşim Pasha, the last Minister of Public Education of the Hamidian regime (1903–1908).[48] In a report, dated 1905, Haşim Pasha explains the reform of 1904.[49] He first informs that the number of courses on religion and morality were increased due to the insufficiency of the existing public schools (*mekâtib-i İslâmiyye*) to raise students with the necessary religious and moral qualities. In addition the rule was introduced to appoint certain members of the *ulemâ* as vice directors to higher educational institutions and *idâdî* schools to supervise religious and moral education. Haşim Pasha considered the "still prevailing" French cultural influence from the late 1860s as the reason for the inability to raise students with a strong religious devotion. For him the foundation of the *Mekteb-i Sultânî* and the assignment of the administration of this school to people with doubtful loyalties to

[47] Berker, 161–162.

[48] About Haşim Pasha's role as minister of public education, see Yahya Akyüz, "Maarif Nazırı Haşim Paşa ile ilgili orijinal bir belge ve bazı eğitimsel görüşler, sorunlar," *Belleten* 45 (1981), 205–213.

[49] The original document is reproduced in Akyüz, "Maarif Nazırı Haşim Paşa," 213. Unfortunately the collection and file number of this document at the BOA is not provided in the mentioned article. Akyüz erroneously gives the date of this correspondence as 20 Haziran (June) 1322 (1906), which should be probably 20 Zilkade 1322/14 January 1905.

the sultan opened a dangerous trend that continued until the present time.

An additional basis of the policy of social disciplining was the promotion of female education. When the issue of modern schools for girls were discussed in the 1840s and 1850s, the main arguments supporting female education underlined the function of women at keeping a well-ordered and decent home and their role in raising young generations with the necessary religious and moral upbringing.[50] The expansion of female schools in the provinces, both *ibtidâî*s and *rüşdiyye* schools, was strongly promoted during the Hamidian period, even though traditional circles did not always approve it. For example, the *ulemâ*-circle around *Şeyhülislâm* Ahmed Esad Efendi and some officials from the MPE proposed in 1887 to replace the *ibtidâî*s and the *rüşdiyye* schools for girls with four years' girls' schools for students between six and nine years of age. Education would end at age nine, because according to the Islamic canonical law girls would attain puberty (*müştehâ olma*) at that age.[51] The Hamidian administration ignored this traditionalist proposition, considering the promotion of female education as crucial for raising future potential mothers capable of bringing up children with sound religious and moral views, and inculcating them with patriotic values. This policy was a kind of a long-term investment for the increase of imperial subjects obedient and loyal to the state. In fact impressions of early childhood (compare Chapter VII, 246–252) reveal the degree to which mothers and other female members of the household used to exert traditional Islamic cultural influences on children, though these remained within the sphere of the women's quarters.

The policy of social disciplining, though applied with increasing concentration throughout the Hamidian period, did not seem to have raised the expected generations of loyal and pious individuals. In fact, the complaints concerning the insufficient piety and morality of the pupils and the constant increase of the number of religious courses constitutes an evidence for itself. Already Cevdet Pasha (1822–1895), the conservative reformist statesman, criticized the inefficiency of Hamidian public education. One of his memorandums stated that

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[50] Ergin, vols. 1–2, 458; M. Cevâd, 74–75; Rıfat Paşa, "Ahlâk Risâlesinin Zeyli," *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr*, vol. 7 (Istanbul: Ali Bey Matbaası, 1293/1876), 18.

[51] BOA YMTV 25/52 (6 Receb 1304), 29 February 1887.

frequent curricular changes weakened students' religious faith.[52] Since Islam was the basis of the Ottoman state, this tendency endangered the state. Cevdet Pasha proposed teaching at least one book on religion at each educational level. Whereas at the level of *ibtidâî* education the instruction of the catechism together with some useful phrases on morality would suffice, the level of *rüşdiyye*s and *idâdî* schools would necessitate the usage of more elaborate works on religious precepts and introductory books on canonical jurisprudence (*fıkıh*). He stated that such works had to be compiled anew, in harmony with the present time, and warned that changes in curricula should be undertaken only very carefully. He complained that at present the curricula of government schools were overloaded with courses, a number of which were useless, and the pupils did not have enough time to comprehend the subjects. Cevdet Pasha's criticism reflected the failure of the religious courses to have the intended spiritual impact on students, this overload of courses perhaps reducing the content of the courses into a mere formalism.

Much later, at the end of the Second Constitutional Period the conservative Ottoman pedagogue Muallim Cevdet (İnançalp) severely criticized government education for neglecting and discarding ceremonies and forms of "oriental" (*şarkî*) morals, traditions and behavior in schools.[53] He wanted to instill religious and national enthusiasm among the students.[54] Though the period pertaining to this criticism is not directly related to the Hamidian period, problems similar to the Hamidian period displayed continuity into the Second Constitutional Period. Further showing the failure of Hamidian religious indoctrination, a considerable group of the outstanding individuals

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[52] BOA YEE Cevdet Paşa Evrağı 18–553/587–93–38. The exact date of the memorandum is not given, but since the educational reformer and the former minister of public education, Kemal Ahmed Pasha (compare 40–41 ff. above) was mentioned in the document as "the late Kemal Pasha," it is almost certain that the memorandum was prepared not earlier than 1886, and not after the death of the compiler in 1895.

[53] About the life and activities of Muallim Mehmet Cevdet (1883–1935), see Osman Nuri Ergin, *Muallim M. Cevdetin hayatı, eserleri ve kütüphanesi* (İstanbul 1937); Erdoğan Güz, "Muallim Mehmet Cevdet'in Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Eserleri," in *Muallim Cevdet, Mektep ve Medrese.* Edited by Erdoğan Güz (İstanbul: Çınar,1978), 7–18; Mahmut Şakiroğlu, "Ölümünün 50. Yılında M. Cevdet İnançalp," *Tarih ve Toplum* 23 (Kasım 1985), 21–27.

[54] Muallim Cevdet, "Cemaat mekteplerimize bir bakış ve terbiyemizdeki buhran," *Tedrisat Mecmuası* (Eylül 1919), cited from *Muallim Cevdet, Mektep,* 100–101.

of the Second Constitutional Period, who underwent Hamidian education during their childhood and youth, displayed a clearly positivist cultural attitude and were partisans of European Enlightenment, while considering Islamic Eastern culture with mere contempt.[55]

Schoolbooks and the Hamidian Ideology

The curricular content of an educational system reflects itself to a considerable extent in textbooks required by a centrally organized educational administration. It is an accepted fact that textbooks "transmit culture, reflect values, and serve as springboards for the intellectual development of individuals and the nation," and political regimes try either to create their legitimation, or strengthen the legitimacy of their political systems often by means of interventions at the shaping of textbooks.[56] From the *tanzîmât*-period onwards textbooks were determined mainly by the relevant government bodies for the curricula of public schools.[57] During the Hamidian period, when free opinion in education was not tolerated, the adherence to officially prescribed schoolbooks became particularly pronounced. Thus one could assume that schoolbooks of the Hamidian period were more or less mirroring the official ideology. In this chapter the weight will be given more on textbooks on history, considering that historical outlook of the past of a country might provide some clues in connection with the political attitude of the period in question.[58]

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[55] Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın, *Edebî Hatıralar* (İstanbul: Akşam Kitaphanesi, 1935, 32. Compare also 267–270 below.

[56] See "Education, sociology of," *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*. Edited by Gordon Marshall (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 142–143; "History as Subject Matter," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*. Edited by Harold E. Mitzel. 5th ed. Vol. 2 (New York, London: Free Press, 1982), 803–808; "Textbooks," *Educational Research*, vol. 4, 1933–1936; "Textbooks," *The International Encyclopedia of Education*. Edited by Torsten Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite. Vol. 11 (Oxford: Pergamon, 1994), 6366–6370; David Easton and Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969).

[57] According to the third paragraph of the "Regulation of Printing Press" (*Matbaa Nizâmnâmesi*, dated 20 C 1273/15 February 1857), the publication of any book or pamphlet was to be allowed only after the examination by the CE of its content for passages harmful to the dominion and the state. See *Düstûr Cüzü Sânî* (Dersaâdet: Matbaa-i Âmire 1289), 227–228.

[58] A study of this kind has been published (Nuri Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme [1876–1918]* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 1994) [Primary and Secondary School Textbooks and Socialization]), where the main stress is put on

Prior to the *tanzîmât*-period there were no school textbooks in the modern sense.[59] In the Quran schools the main texts for the pupils were parts from the Quran, the traditional *Elifbâ Cüzü* (primer for Arabic letters)[60] and also the widely used primer of Birgivî Mehmed Efendi (1520–1573). The first printed texts used for purposes of education were either small Persian-Ottoman and Arabic-Ottoman dictionaries, grammar-books and catechisms, or technical books, some of them translated from foreign languages and used in military professional schools such as the Naval Engineering School or the Military Academy.[61] From the *tanzîmât*-period onwards textbooks began to appear specially designed for civil educational institutions.[62] The RPE

primers and textbooks concerning Composition, Morality and Geography. For these topics this work will be referred to in this chapter.

[59] Klaus Kreiser, "Das türkische Schulbuch vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart," in *Turquie. Livres d'hier. Livres d'aujourd'hui.* Edited by Paul Dumont (Strasbourg; İstanbul: Editions ISIS, 1992), 54–58.

[60] The *Elifbâ Cüzü*, a booklet supposedly originating from the classical Islamic periods, was designed mainly for the exercise of Arabic sounds, where those letters specific for Persian and Turkish vowels and consonants were not presented. Since the Arabic letters were mostly not taught by reading exercises of sentences, but mainly by the mechanical spelling of syllables, the pupils, in spite of their memorization of the letters, often were unable to read even simple Turkish words. See Akyüz, *Eğitim Tarihi*, 183; Fuat Baymur, *İlk Okuma ve Yazma Öğretimi* (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka, 1962), 26–33.

[61] See Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim.* 4th ed. (İstanbul: Remzi, 1982), 184–185; İbrahim Hakkı Akyol, "Tanzimat Devrinde Bizde Coğrafya ve Jeoloji," *Tanzimat I. Yüzüncü Yıl Münasebetile* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 558–559; Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 59 fn. 9, 118–120; Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane, Mühendishane Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776–1826)* (İstanbul: Eren, 1995), 34, 66; Ergin, vols. 1–2, 319–322, 327, 330–331; Mustafa Ergün and Tayyip Duman, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Askerî Okullarının Ders Programları ve Ders Kitapları," *Yeni Türkiye.* Eğitim Özel Sayısı. Ocak-Şubat 1996, 494–511; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı," *150. Yılında Tanzimat.* Edited by Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 335–395.

[62] Sadık Rifat Pasha's *Ahlâk Risâlesi* (İstanbul, 1847), a booklet on morality, designed for Quran school pupils, is probably the first textbook written for Ottoman civil schools. Compare 61–64 above. Another noteworthy compilation is the *Nuhbet ül-Etfâl* ("The best for the pupils") of Dr. Mehmed Rüşdi ("Kayserili"). This primer, designed for the Quran schools in 1853, was the first of its kind in considering spoken and written Ottoman Turkish pronunciation at the instruction of Arabic letters. In comparison to the ancient *Elifbâ Cüzü*, Dr. Mehmed Rüşdi's *Nuhbet ül-Etfâl* appeared to be a revolutionary step by not only presenting the letters specific for Persian and Turkish vowels and consonants, but also by providing pupils the opportunity to perform simple reading exercises in Ottoman Turkish as well as introducing the four main writing styles (*nesih, talik, divani* and *rika*). See BOA IMVL 10938. Compare also Akyüz, *Eğitim Tarihi*, 183–187; S. Celal Antel, "Tanzimat

and particularly the "Regulation for Writing and Translation [of Books]" (*Telif ve Tercüme Nizâmnâmesi*) of 1870 were decisive factors in the increase of the compilation of textbooks in the modern sense or translations from European languages.[63] On the other hand, traditional texts continued to be used side by side with modern textbooks well toward the end of the 1870s.[64]

During the Hamidian period all levels of schools as well as most of the curricula were covered by regular textbooks, signifying the settlement of this practice. In fact the tendency of the Hamidian regime to establish efficient control of course content at all levels of educational institutions within the Ottoman borders accelerated the promotion of textbooks. It even became an obligation for the instructors to repeat exactly the content of textbooks, while any derivation from the content would be suspected as a criticism of the regime. This period witnessed changes within the organization of the MPE, where the function of the organ of state censorship, already assigned to the educational bureaucracy from 1864 onwards, became even more pronounced. In harmony with this development special commissions for the inspection of texts, such as the *Encümen-i Teftîş ve Muâyene* and the *Tedkîk-i Müellefât Komisyonu* as well as a special body for the inspection of religious and canonical books (*Kütüb-i Diniyye ve Şeriyye Tedkîk Heyeti*) were formed.[65] It became impossible for textbooks to be used at schools without the approval of these commissions, which was indicated by means of a seal on the textbook cover. Taking these conditions into consideration, the role attributed by the Hamidian state on the socializing role of school textbooks becomes more striking. Within this historical frame it is necessary to look at the value-content of textbooks. At first findings of N. Doğan concerning primers

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Maarifi," *Tanzimat I.* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 461; Baymur, 33–43; Osman Kafadar, *Türk Eğitim Düşüncesinde Batılılaşma* (Ankara; Konya: Vadi, 1997), 184.

[63] In this regulation from 12 S 1287/14 May 1870, the necessary conditions and characteristics of the following textbooks were specified: Primer (*Elifbâ*), Morality (*Ahlâk Risâlesi*), Virtuous Behavior (*Fazâili Füiliyye Risâlesi*), Turkish Grammar (*Kavâidu Türkiyye*), Geography (*Coğrafya*), Ottoman History (*Târîh-i Osmânî*), Literary Composition (*İnşâ Risâlesi*), Poetry (*Edebiyât-i Manzûme*), Irregularities of Orthography (*Şavâzu Imlâtin*), Useful Knowledge (*Malûmât-ı Nâfia*) and Writing Style (*Meşk Mecmûası*). See *Düstûr Cüzü Sânî* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289/1872), 231–244; Antel, 450; M. Cevâd, 123.

[64] As Berkes also states, Birgivî's works continued to be taught at public schools until the 1870's. See Berkes, 176.

[65] Compare 91–92 above.

and school-books on Composition, Morality and Geography will be evaluated, followed by an analysis of History textbooks.

In one of the widely used primers for the teaching of Ottoman letters at the *ibtidâî*-level, the first texts to be read by the pupils emphasized religious values, especially the need first to pray always to God, second to believe in the messenger Muhammad, and third to obey to the sultan.[66] The stress on this threefold need could also be observed in textbooks on Morality as well as on Orthography.[67] A textbook introducing preliminary information on natural sciences underlined that to be in conformity with the Sharia, i.e. Islamic canonical law meant the obedience to God and the messenger Muhammad, and then to be obedient to the Sultan, the Caliph of the Messenger.[68]

In harmony with this book, religiosity was strongly encouraged in textbooks on Morality, reaching as far as stating piety as a basic condition of being human. One book argued that an illiterate person with strong moral feelings would be preferable to an irreligious scholar with immoral habits.[69] In another work the fact was underlined that those scholars lacking a proper upbringing would inflict a far greater damage on the society than thousands of ignorant people.[70] A more advanced-level textbook for *idâdî* schools stated that the sources of proper upbringing were the orders of the Messenger and the ethics of Islam.[71] It is striking that for those issues that could be articulated by means of rational evidence the preference was toward a religious explanation. The example of cleanliness illustrates this tendency. It was pointed out that according to the prophetic tradition "cleanliness comes from belief [in the religion of Islam];"[72] therefore God would not like those people who do not care for their cleanliness, which in turn would create a deep pain among these people.[73] These examples clearly show the strong emphasis on religious values and

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[66] Abdi Kâmil, *Elifbâ* (Dersaâdet 1302/1885–1886), cited from N. Doğan, 34.

[67] Ali İrfan Eğriboz, *Çocuklara Talîmu Fezâili Ahlâk* (İstanbul 1312/1894–1895), 70, and Ateşîzâde M. Bedreddin, *Risâle-i İmlâ* (İstanbul 1309/1891–1892), 9, in N. Doğan, 36–37.

[68] Mehmed Ârif, *Küçük Kıraatı Fenniye* (İstanbul 1323/1905), 81–82, in N. Doğan, 54.

[69] Abdurrahman Şeref, *İlm-i Ahlâk* (İstanbul 1316/1898–1899), 14, in N. Doğan, 35.

[70] Ayşe Sıdıka, *Usûli Talîm ve Terbiyye* (İstanbul 1313/1895–1896), 24, in N. Doğan, 47.

[71] Mehmed Saîd, *Ahlâk-ı Hamîde* (İstanbul 1299/1882), 1–2. Other editions appeared in 1317/1899–1900 and 1322/1904.

[72] *An-nazafatu min al-Iman.*

[73] Eğriboz, 14–15, in N. Doğan, 37–38.

morality reaching to the point of preference of religion and moral values over education and reason.

M. Said's *Ahlâk-ı Hamîde* ("The Praiseworthy Ethics"), a textbook for fifth-year *idâdî*-classes throughout the Hamidian period, conformed to this outlook. Based mainly on Imâm Abu Hamid Ghazali's (d. 1111) *Ihyâu Ulûm ad-Din*, this compilation of classical Islamic ideas on ethics first deals in a detailed way with individual virtues and defects, and then treats the structure of family and the patterns of relationship among its members. In the first pages the main stress is on the assumption that the soul is superior to the body. Concentrating on one of the aspects of the soul, the temper (*huy*), the author argues that though impossible to change the body, it is possible to correct the temper. Otherwise those Islamic commands to improve morality would have been invalid. The human soul has three potentialities (*kuvâ*): knowledge (*kuvve-i ilmiyye*), wrath (*kuvve-i gazab*) and sensuality (*kuvve-i şehvet*). All of these three potentialities have to be kept at a moderate level (*itidâl*), which are termed "wisdom" (*hikmet*) for knowledge, "bravery" (*şecâat*) for wrath and "chastity" (*iffet*) for sensuality. In this context M. Said denounces pursuit of material gain as one of the most undesirable types of behavior, essentially a "base" (*rezîl*) attitude equal to rebelliousness. The latter part of this textbook argues that the human being due to its nature and disposition cannot live in a primitive way, but can only survive within a social environment. Thus stating the need for a family or community, M. Said stresses that each family needs a head who could keep the family members in order and also pay regard to the rights of each individual. This head (*reis*), the father of children, ought to be like a physician trying to keep the different organs of the body in balance. In the case of sickness of some of the organs, the head has to give the necessary medicine to cure them, but if one of the sick organs would not answer to the treatment and begin to poison the rest of the body, the head would have the right to correct and punish and perhaps even expel that organ in order to save the rest of the body. Since women, according to M. Said, are intellectually inferior to men,[74] families have to be headed by men without displaying too

[74] *Kadın kısmının aklı kasır ve zaîf idüğünden*, in M. Said, 91. N. Doğan observed similar attitudes (41–44) concerning women in the textbooks written by the following authors: A. Rıza, *Kızlara Mahsûs Hıfzıssıha* (İstanbul, 1312/1894–1895) ("Hygiene for Girls"), 38; A. Rıza, Kızlara *Mahsûs İdâre-i Beytiyye. B.2, Kitab 2* (İstanbul 1315/

much love toward their wives, avoiding consultation with them and hiding the real amount of their wealth. If a household should be considered analog to a human being, then the husband would be the soul, whereas the wife the body, and the servants the organs.[75] This perception of family by M. Said in fact was an allegory of the ideal political system, with the sultan providing justice by means of establishing harmony among the different layers of the society.[76]

Though claimed as an intellectually representative work of late nineteenth century Ottoman socio-political thought,[77] M. Said's textbook in fact hardly reflected the actual social realities and developments within the Empire. Being a compilation basing on certain Islamic scholastic ideas belonging to several centuries earlier, it probably could not fulfill the function of a handbook reflecting the socio-economic policies of the Hamidian regime. The evaluation of crafts and industry from the narrow viewpoint of Islamic medieval writers instead of supporting the contemporary efforts of the Sublime Porte to develop and expand crafts and industry within the country, or the concentration only on the *zekât* (alms prescribed by Islam) as a form of taxation to be paid without mentioning those contemporary taxes which the government strove to collect from the population show that it did not synthesize traditional Islamic ideology and the present material needs.[78] At the same time, this discrepancy displayed the dilemma of an autocracy excessively promoting conservative religious values as a means of political control while pursuing policies for the material progress of the Empire which were hardly compatible with medieval Islamic way of thinking.

Concerning the propagandistic praise of Sultan Abdülhamid II in textbooks between 1880 and 1908, there was not a uniform phenomenon of praise or flattery of the sultan. Instead it seemingly

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1897–1898) ("Home Management for Girls"), 35; Abdurrahman Şeref, *İlm-i Ahlâk.* (İstanbul, 1316/1898–1899) ("Morality"), 86, 89; Behram Münir, *Muhtasar İdâre-i Beytiyye* (İstanbul, 1321/1903) ("Concise Home Management"), 45–46. In contrast, Ayşe Sıdıka in her *Usûl-i Talîm ve Terbiyye* (İstanbul, 1315/1897–1898) ("Methods of Pedagogy"), 3, stressed that women during the heyday of the Islamic civilization could receive education, and insisted that the development of any civilization was dependent on the full education of women. For more information about Ayşe Sıdıka Hanım, see Emine Kocamanoğlu, "Eğitim Hakkında Görüşleri ve Ayşe Sıdıka Hanım," *Tarih ve Toplum* 189 (1999), 51–55.

[75] M. Said, 2d ed. (1317/1899–1900), 7–17, 82–83, 90–92.

[76] See also Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Kimliği.* 2d ed. (İstanbul: Hil, 1994), 87–88.

[77] *Ibid.*, 87.

[78] M. Said, 84–90.

depended on the individual author to put paragraphs of praise or flattery or to leave it. The same attitude was true also for the inclusion of the religious formula *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* ("In the name of God who is merciful and compassionate," called also *besmele*) at the beginning of the textbooks. In contrast to the traditional Islamic practice of beginning any text with this formula, there existed numerous textbooks without the *besmele* at the top of the first page. These two observations show the absence of an overly strict attitude towards the uniformity of textbook ideology. Returning to the issue of the praise of Abdülhamid II, in those textbooks with paragraphs of praise the sultan was mainly provided the image, even though by employing traditional formula of flattery, of a monarch paying care for the development of education and industry; an innovator and a progressive ruler, i.e. an enlightened sultan devoting himself for the material progress of his empire.[79]

According to N. Doğan only one textbook from the Hamidian period dealt with political regimes. In a textbook on Geography from 1887/88, three forms of governments were introduced to readers.[80] The first was the absolutist form of government (*hükûmet-i mutlaka* or *hükûmet-i müstakille*) where the officials, charged with the administration of the affairs of the population, were elected and appointed by the monarch without any intervention from the side of the population, such as the government of Russia. The second was the constitutional form of government (*hükûmet-i meşrûta* or *hükûmet-i gayrı müstakille*) where the monarch was subject to the laws issued by the assembly (*heyet*) and was not independent in his vote, like in most of the European states. The third was the republican form of government (*hükûmet-i cumhûriyye*) where the country was governed by an elected assembly and the head of the government temporarily elected by the population until a new election, like the French and the Swiss governments. It is remarkable that there was no identification of the Ottoman government with any of the first two forms of governments. One also could not find any comparison between these regimes. It might be possible to think of the Ottoman state as an Islamic form of government, with the institution of the caliphate at the head of the state being immune from such comparisons.

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[79] N. Doğan, 27–28, 31.

[80] Ali Tevfik, *Yeni Coğrafya* (İstanbul, 1305) ("New Geography"), 17–18, in N. Doğan, 49–50.

Assuming that the historical outlook concerning the past of a country at the textbooks shows the official political attitude of the period in question, the following passages will discuss history textbooks of the Hamidian period. Textbooks published between 1881–1908 display an excessive government intervention in the representation of Ottoman history. This appears especially when comparing textbooks prior to 1881 with those after this date.[81]

Ahmed Vefik Pasha compiled the first history work designed as a textbook for *rüşdiyye* schools during the period of Sultan Abdülaziz.[82] This first attempt of a history textbook lacked the textual simplicity and pedagogical clearness necessary for pupils. From this viewpoint S. Sâbit Efendi's compilation for primary schools, where the educational level of the users was taken into consideration, may be regarded as the first history textbook in the modern sense.[83] After 1880 it is possible to observe an increasing differentiation of textbooks in regard to the level of schools (*ibtidâî*s, *rüşdiyye*s and *idâdî*s) and in terms of their subjects, i.e. textbooks on Ottoman History, on Islamic or on World History (*Târîh-i Umûmî*, "General History"). A common aspect

[81] Though Ali Akyıldız (*Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Reform (1836–1856)* (İstanbul: Eren, 1993, 228)), Antel, 448, Berkes, 106, Andreas M. Kazamias (*Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966, 59)) and İhsan Sungu ("Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliyyenin Tesisi," *Tarih Vesikaları* I, No. 3 (1941), 212–225), referring to H.A. Ubicini's *Letters from Turkey: An Account of the Religious, Political, Social, and Commercial Condition of the Ottoman Empire* (translated by Lady Easthope. London 1856, 197–198) or the same author's *Türkiye 1850*. I (translated into Turkish by Cemal Karaağaçlı, n.d., 197) state that History as a regular course was taught already in the *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye* from 1839 onwards, or began to be instructed in the *rüşdiyye* schools as early as in the beginning of the 1850s, this information seems to be rather doubtful due to several reasons. Though Ergin, 398–399, confirms the existence of a History course at one curriculum-proposal for this school, the curriculum of the Teacher's Seminary for *Rüşdiyye* Schools in the same period consisted only of Arabic, Persian and Mathematics, without any subject such as History. When the *Dârülmaârif* was founded in İstanbul in 1849 with the aim to prepare students graduated from *rüşdiyye* schools to the projected *Dârülfünûn*, this higher institution of education offered a number of courses except for History (M. Cevâd, 40–44; Ergin, 449–450). On the other hand there were no printed textbooks designed for History courses at the level of primary and secondary schools until the early 1870s.

[82] *Fezleke-i Târîh-i Osmânî* (İstanbul, 1287/1870) ("Résumé of Ottoman History"). At least ten impressions of this work are known. See Kreiser,"Schulbuch," 69, and Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, "Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete Kadar Bizde Tarihçilik," *Tanzimat I.*, 577.

[83] Selim Sâbit, *Muhtasar Târîh-i Osmânî* (Sıbyân mekteblerine mahsûsdur) (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1291/1874). Later editions appeared in 1295/1878, 1299/1882, 1301/1884 and 1305 (Mecca, 1888).

of History textbooks, published from 1870 onwards, is their tendency toward a state-centered understanding of Ottoman history, which continued after 1908. Connected to this aspect is the notion of territorial gains and losses as an absolute measure for the rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire. Textbooks designed for the level of primary schools displayed these qualities at the crudest degree. Another characteristic of Ottoman history textbooks is the division of historical periods in harmony with the ruling periods of individual sultans. Until 1908 history textbooks lacked any critical attitude toward the Ottoman sultans. It is appropriate to consider the textbooks of the period of 1870–1881 separately, and then to deal with those compilations pertaining to the Hamidian period.

A. Vefik Pasha and S. Sâbit Efendi begin their Ottoman history with the Turkish and Central Asian origins of the Ottoman dynasty, who were forced to migrate from Khorasan to Anatolia due to the pressures of the Mongols in the early thirteenth century.[84] A. Vefik Pasha ends with the dissolution of the Janissaries in 1826. The first edition of S. Sâbit Efendi's textbook goes up to the period of Abdülaziz (1861–1876),[85] while the edition of 1878 includes even more recent events including Abdülaziz's suicide,[86] the accession of Abdülhamid II in 1876 and the opening of the first Ottoman parliament.[87] Between 1881–1908, on the other hand, history textbooks stopped after the death of Sultan Abdülmecid I in 1861. Between 1870 and 1881, historical information concerning the Ottoman sultans was presented with a moderate degree of censorship. Events such as the deposition and murder of sultans, not too infrequent from the seventeenth century onwards, could be found in the textbooks compiled by A. Vefik Pasha and S. Sâbit Efendi.[88] The unbalanced character of some of the sultans, such as Mustafa I. (1617–1618; 1622–1623), İbrahim I. (1640–1648) or Murad V. (1876), on the other hand, were either not mentioned, or, for the case of Mustafa I., dismissed as "lacking reason" (*şuûrsuz*).[89] But as will be seen below for the

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[84] Ahmed Vefik, *Fezleke*, 1287/1870 and 1298/1881, 1–2; Selim Sâbit, *Muhtasar*, 1291/1874 and 1295/1878, 2.

[85] S. Sâbit, *Muhtasar* (İstanbul 1291/1874), 38.

[86] *Abdülaziz evâhiri saltanatlarında umûrı idâreye bazı mertebe sekte geldiğinden müşârünileyh hal olunub ve bir ay sonra Abdülaziz kendi kendüsini telef etmiş.* See S. Sâbit (1295/1878), 37.

[87] S. Sâbit, 1295/1878, 38.

[88] A. Vefik (1287/1870), 102, 147; S. Sâbit (1291/1874, 1295/1878), 18, 21, 22, 31.

[89] S. Sâbit (1291/1874; 1295/1878), 19.

Hamidian period, textbook information about incapable sultans came to be considered as a danger for the dignity and authority of the contemporary ruler and the state.

The history textbooks of the Hamidian period present historical information concerning individual Ottoman sultans in accordance with the level of students they address and differing in the scope of information. The "classical" primary-level textbook of the Hamidian period, compiled by Ali Nâzima and printed several times represents a typical product of Hamidian censorship concerning Ottoman sultans.[90] There does not exist any information about the dethronement or murder of the relevant Ottoman sultans, thus omitting the events concerning Osman II (1618–1622), Mustafa I, İbrahim, Mehmed IV (1648–1687), Mustafa II (1695–1703), Ahmed III (1703–1730), Selim III (1789–1807) and Mustafa IV (1807–1808). Also the pathological mental conditions of Mustafa I and İbrahim are not mentioned. Looking at the more detailed *rüşdiyye*-level textbooks, there seems to be a lessening of censoring in the compilations. Reşad's textbook refers to violent death of some of the Ottoman sultans as "martyrdom" (*şehâdet*), such as Osman II and İbrahim, without mentioning the circumstances of these events. For the mental insufficiency of Mustafa I the term "bodily incapability" (*bünyece iktidarsızlık*) is employed.[91] Examining Ali Cevâd's *rüşdiyye*-level textbook for Islamic History, one may even find unexpected details concerning the murder of Osman II by the mutineering Janissaries or allusions to the arbitrary rule of İbrahim.[92] As for *idâdî*-level textbooks, Abdurrahman Şeref's more comprehensive compilation displays only minor cases of censorship such as the omission of information about the mental state of Mustafa I, or İbrahim.[93] The textbooks of Nâzima, Reşâd, Cevâd and Şeref, belonging to different school-levels, demonstrate

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[90] *Târîh-i Nâzima. Küçük Târîh-i Osmânîdir.* (Tedrisât-ı İbtidâiyye Kütübhânesi). (Dersaâdet: Kasbar Matbaası 1309/1891–92) ("The Nazima-History. A Short Ottoman History"), 67 p.

[91] Reşâd, *Muhtasar Osmanlı Târîhi* (Mekteb-i Asır Rüşdiyye Kısmı) (İstanbul, 1309/1891–92) ("Abridged Ottoman History"), 116 p.

[92] Ali Cevâd, *Muhtasar Târîh-i İslâm* (Tedrisât-ı Rüşdiyye Kütübhanesi) (İstanbul 1308/1890–91) ("Abridged Islamic History"), 205 p. The first part of this compilation (1–102) deals with the Islamic history beginning with Muhammad until the Ottomans, while the latter part (103–205) concentrates on Ottoman history.

[93] Abdurrahman Şeref, *Fezleke-i Târîh-i Devlet-i Osmâniyye* (İdâdî Mektebleri için) (İstanbul, 1310/1892–93), 191 p.

parallels in their general approach of state- and sultan-centrism and their stress on the gains or losses of territories.

Chronologically these compilations begin with the origins of the Ottoman dynasty. All of them point to the Turkish or Turkmen and Central Asian origin of the *Kayı Han* tribe, which migrated from Khorasan to Arab and Kurdish areas, and then moved to Anatolia or *Diyâr-ı Rûm*. This migration was a consequence of the Mongol or Tatar invasion in Central Asia and oppressions of Djingiz Khan in Khorasan.[94] These books criticize Mongols and Tatars in connection with the historical origins of the Ottoman dynasty, a point revived while narrating the period of Bayezid I (1389–1402), when this sultan was defeated by Timur. Here Timur is depicted as a Mongol or Tatar Khan who with his hordes pillaged the whole Anatolia and committed massacres against the civil population.[95]

The majority of the examined textbooks as a significant or epoch-making event does not deal with the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II the Conqueror (1444–1446; 1451–1481). Only Reşad mentions that this conquest meant Mehmed II's succession to the "Eastern Roman Empire" and the perception of this event by European historiography as a termination of the Middle Ages and beginning of the New Age.[96] In fact it is hard to understand this lack of emphasis on this historical event in the textbooks. With the exception of Nâzima, all of the examined textbooks relate the Shiite revolt of Şahkulu in western Anatolia instigated by the Safavids in Iran (1502) and Selim I the Grim's (1512–1520) policy of the extermination of tens of thousands of militant Shiites in Anatolia. There is a general tendency in these textbooks to approve the violent measures applied by the Ottoman state against the Shiites.[97] A similar attitude may also be observed among some of the textbooks concerning the steps of terror taken by Kuyucu Murad Pasha against the Celâli-rebels in Anatolia (1606–1611).[98] The textbooks unanimously agree on two achievements of Selim I, namely the conquest of Kurdistan following the defeat of the Safavids in Çaldıran (1514) and second, the acquisition of the titles of Caliph and "Servant of the Two Sacred

[94] Şeref, 3; Cevâd, 103; Nâzima, 3; Reşâd, 7.
[95] Şeref, 16–18; Cevâd, 80–81.
[96] Reşâd, 37.
[97] Şeref, 38–39; Cevâd, 135; Reşâd, 43.
[98] Şeref, 83; Cevâd, 153.

Places [Mecca and Medina]" (*Hâdim ul-Haremeyn üş-Şerîfeyn*) following the defeat of the Mamluk Sultanate and the conquest of Syria and Egypt (1517).[99]

Most of the textbooks consider the period of Murad III (1574–1595) and particularly the murder of the Grand Vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha in 1579 as the beginning of the internal decay of the Ottoman Empire.[100] The debacle of Vienna in 1683, the following defeats in the hands of the Holy League and the subsequent Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 are mostly dealt in a relatively detailed way, relating to the territorial losses due to the Treaty of Karlowitz.[101] Beginning with the topic of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774, all of the Ottoman defeats in face of European powers as well as internal problems are attributed either to the disobedience and decadence of the Janissaries or to the provincial landlords, treacherous and disloyal to the state, while the Sultans Selim III (1789–1807) and Mahmud II (1808–1839) emerge as reforming, modernist and progressive. As an example of disloyalty the revolt of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Egypt (1805–1849) is stressed in particular.[102]

The final common aspect among the examined textbooks is the strong emphasis on the historical importance of the declaration of the Imperial Rescript of Gülhâne in 1839 and its results. There is a clear consensus that the *tanzîmât*-reforms constitute the basis of the modern and reformed Ottoman Empire. Most of the textbooks state the equality of Muslims and non-Muslims before the law as the main achievement of the Rescript.[103]

Beyond these shared themes the textbooks differ. Nâzima's booklet for *ibtidâî* schools borders on a heroic work where the main Ottoman conquests and successes are related, but the crises and defeats after the seventeenth century are completely omitted. The other textbooks of Cevâd, Şeref and Reşâd, on the other hand, clearly do not display such a narrow and distorted historiographical attitude.

The *rüşdiyye*-textbook of Reşâd contains a three-page introductory chapter under the title "Geographical Conditions of the Exalted Ottoman State in Summary" (*Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyyenin Hulâsa-i*

[99] Şeref, 43, 46–47; Cevâd, 136–138; Nâzima, 23–24; Reşâd, 44–45.
[100] Şeref, 58; Cevâd, 150; Nâzima, 29.
[101] Şeref, 116; Cevâd, 173; Nâzima, 46–47.
[102] Şeref, 140–175; Cevâd, 180–188; Nâzima, 53–61; Reşâd, 101–113.
[103] Şeref, 179, 187–189; Cevâd, 190; Nâzima, 63–64; Reşâd, 114–115.

Ahvâl-ı Coğrafiyyesi), where the geographical location and characteristics of the Ottoman Empire as well as the peculiarities of its population are discussed. Here the Ottoman Empire is presented as the third largest country in the world after China and Russia, but ignoring the USA, British and French colonial empires or Brazil. The author claims Algeria, Tunisia, Rumania as parts of the Ottoman Empire. Relating the diversities of climates, ranging from cold areas to extreme hot regions as well as the variety of flora, fauna and minerals, Reşâd states that the geographic scientists consider the Ottoman territories with the degree of importance as a separate world for itself.[104] The reader of this passage does get the feeling of the territorial greatness of the Ottoman Empire. Following this description, Reşâd provides an account on the population of the Empire. Accordingly, the Ottoman population consists of the "twelve main Muslim nationalities" (*başlıca on iki Müslüman kavim*) of Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Lazes, Bosnians, Pomaks, Çıtaks (Anatolian Turkmens?), Albanians, Circassians, Tatars, Mongays (Nogays?), Georgians as well as eight non-Muslim nationalities of Arabs, Georgians, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Wlachs and Jews. The author stresses that all of these nationalities are united and living together under the illustrious name of the Ottomans.[105] Reşâd classifies the population groups according to their more secular nationalities instead of presenting them according to religious communities, which was in fact the official way of classifying the imperial population. This different way of classification signifies the absence of a government policy of strict uniformity among textbooks. Here, the author mentions these different Muslim and non-Muslim nationalities within the framework of "Ottomans." Reşâd then stresses that in spite of these differences, the Ottoman language, belonging to the family of Turkic group, is the language of the public life (*lisân-ı umûmi*) within the Empire,[106] while the religion of Islam and the Hanafite legal doctrine in particular is legally effective among the majority of the population.[107] Finally he argues that the ruler of the state is the *pâdişâh* and *sultân* of all of the Ottomans as well as the holy authority over the

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[104] Reşâd, ج and د (paged in Arabic letters).

[105] *Bunların cümlesi (Osmanlı) nâm-ı celîli altında müttehid ve müteayyişdirler.* See Reşâd, و.

[106] *An-asıl elsine-i Türkiyyeden madûd olan (Osmanlı) lisânı*, in Reşâd, و.

[107] *İslâmiyyet ve o meyânda mezheb-i celîl-i (Hanefi) ekseriyyet üzere hükmü câri olan diyânet ve mezhebdir*, in Reşâd, و.

two hundred million world Muslims due to the institutions of caliphate and imamate.[108]

With the exception of A. Vefik Pasha's work, Şeref's *idâdî*-level book is the only examined compilation where institutional and intellectual developments are considered together with political events. This textbook is organized in ten main parts, with chapters on socio-economic conditions, institutional changes and historical analysis of the relevant periods. Though censored, Şeref's textbook provides a relatively consistent account of the Ottoman history. The evaluation of Şeref of the reform period of the *tanzîmât* recognizes the Imperial Rescript of Gülhâne as a document changing the old order and putting forward the principles for the new reforms. After stating the introduced principles of the equality of all of the Ottoman subjects before the law, guarantee of life, property and honour, the principle of justice in the collection of taxes and the reorganization of the military service, Şeref claims that security, welfare and peace among the subjects became more general, while the state treasury, army and navy forces could gain strength. The provinces were bound to the center more closely, and a general material and spiritual progress could be observed.[109] The *tanzîmât* meant the abolition of the "ancien régime" (*usûl-i atîka*) and the introduction of new ways (*yeni çığırlar açılması*) and new laws, "in short the institutions and reforms necessitated by the civilization, by the new politics and by the century were taken pains to be imposed and established."[110] Şeref puts a particular emphasis on the Treaty of Paris following the Crimean War (1856) and stresses the importance for the Ottoman Empire to become regarded as one among the great European powers.[111]

In the textbooks compiled by Nâzima, Cevâd, Şeref and Reşâd there is, with the exception of the stress on the Turkish origin of the Ottoman ruling house, neither a decidedly Turkish nationalist nor an Islamist emphasis, but a state-centered and dynasty-oriented patriotic approach. A stronger emphasis on Turkish nationality and

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[108] *Fermân-fermâ-yı hükûmet olan zât-ı Şevketsimât umûm Osmanlıların Pâdişâhı ve Sultânı olduğu gibi Hilâfet ve İmâmet-i celîle hasebiyle bütün dünyâ yüzünde bulunan iki yüz milyon kadar ehli İslâmın mercii mukaddesidir.* See Reşâd, 3.

[109] Şeref, 179–181.

[110] *Velhâsıl medeniyyet ve siyâset-i cedîdenin ve ihtiyâcât-ı asrın icâb eylediği tesîsât ve ıslâhâtın vaz ve istihsâline ihtimâm*, in Şeref, 187.

[111] *Devlet-i Osmâniyye Avrupa Düvel-i Muazzaması meyânına dâhil olub*, in Şeref, 186.

a manifestation of Turkish nationalism can be found in the works of Hasan Sırrı's *idâdî*-level world history and Selânikli Tevfik's *rüşdiyye*-level Ottoman history.[112] The first volume of Sırrı's textbook on World History contains the early history of humanity from its creation by God (*hilkat, inzâl-ı beşer*) to the emergence of Ancient Oriental civilizations such as eastern Asia, Egypt, the Chaldeans and the Assyrians, Israelites, the classical civilizations of Greece, Macedonia and Rome and the Medieval civilizations of Arabs, Franks and the "Crusaders" (*Ehli Salîb*). In the second chapter on eastern Asia, the early historical conditions in China, India and Turkestan are related. When dealing with Turkestan, it is emphasized that in very ancient times Turks founded great empires in Central Asia, underlining the historical importance of Oğuz Khan and the Huns as Turks. The author finally states that in the present time Turks are living in Anatolia and in southeast Europe.[113] Tevfik's *rüşdiyye*-level compilation, otherwise displaying no particular difference in dealing with Ottoman history compared to Nâzima's, Şeref's or Reşâd's above-mentioned works, becomes striking at the page where the origins of the Ottoman dynasty are explained. Here Tevfik not only states the Turkish origin of the Ottoman dynasty, but also emphasizes the greatness of the Turkish people. Accordingly, the ancestors of the present sultan as well as the ancestors of the "servants" [*kul*] of the sultan belonged to a glorious nation called "Turks." This Turkish nation emerged close to the Altun Range in the central parts (Altai) of the Asian continent. The Turkish nation became known for its courage, good temper and beauty. The famous Oğuz Khan was the most prominent ruler of this nation. From the time of Oğuz Khan onwards the reputation of the Turkish nation began to spread to other places.[114]

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[112] Hasan Sırrı, *Târîh-i Umûmî* (Vilâyât-ı Şâhânedeki Mekâtib-i İdâdiyyenin 1310 Senesinde Maârif Nezâret-i Celîlesince Tadilen Tanzîm Olunan Programlarına Tevfikan Tertîb Olunmuşdur). Cild-i evvel (Dersaâdet: Karabet Matbaası, 1310/1892–93), 272 p.; Selânikli Tevfik, *Muhtasar Târîh-i Osmânî* (Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyye Programına Tevfikan Tahrîr Olunmuşdur) (Dersaâdet: Matbaa-i Kütübhâne-i Cihân, N 1322/November 1904), 120 p.

[113] Sırrı, 25.

[114] *Sevgili, büyük Pâdişâhımızın cedd-i âlâları ve Pâdişâhın bizim gibi kulu olanların büyük babaları "Türk" nâmı verilen bir şanlı kavme mensûbdurlar. Bu Türk kavmi Asya kıtasının orta cihetlerinde (Altay) Altun dağları civârında zuhûr etmişler. Türk kavmi diğer kavimler arasında yiğitlik, güzel huyluluk, güzellik ile şöhret almışdır; Meşhûr Oğuz Han bu kavmin en meşhûr hükümdârıdır. Oğuz Han zamânından itibâren Türk kavminin nâmı etrâfa yayılmağa başladı,* in Tevfik, 3.

These two examples of an emphasis on the importance of Turks in world history are exceptions, though one might say that considering the tight censorship during the period of publication as well as the approval of these works as schoolbooks to be used in government schools, the Hamidian regime at least tolerated this stress on Turks in history textbooks.

The textbooks of the Hamidian period displayed an emphasis on religious and authoritarian social values on the one hand, and worldly and progressive notions on the other. The former appeared mainly in *ibtidâî*-level textbooks such as primers, books on morality or orthography, whereas the latter came into view particularly in history textbooks of all levels. In this way the dual nature of Ottoman public education, i.e. social disciplining and modernism, manifested itself in schoolbooks. While the educational aims of social disciplining and modernism coexisted within the curricular structure particularly after the reform of 1904, the Hamidian administration remained unable to synthesize these aims into a coherent ideology. This inability emerged as a major structural weakness of the Hamidian school system, which displayed itself in the inconsistencies in the textbook contents and led to the superficiality in instruction.

Foreign Schools and the Hamidian Education

A powerful factor of educational modernization in the provinces was the existence of foreign schools, mostly missionary institutions located in different parts of the Empire. The higher quality of instruction and the teaching of foreign languages in particular attracted local children, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, to these schools. This trend was stronger in those regions where public schools were non-existent or very few. The Hamidian regime, with its monopolizing attitude in educational policy, was highly concerned about this situation, which was an additional reason for the state to increase the number of schools in the *vilâyet*s.

In 1881, the MPE argued that neglect of provincial education promoted foreign educational institutions that instructed and raised young Ottoman subjects in accordance with their interests and designs. The activities of the foreign schools in the provinces were one of the main reasons for the Ottoman government to hurry at the beginning of the 1880s to establish educational administrations at the

provincial level.[115] In 1883 the Grand Vizierate told the MPE that the general scarcity and in certain regions even the complete absence of government schools contrasted with the expansion of foreign schools in nearly every corner of the Empire. Here it was underlined that the want of government schools was forcing Muslim parents to send their children to foreign schools. The "various inconveniences" (*envâı mahâzîr*) to which the Muslim students were exposed at the foreign institutions was put forward as the main reason for the necessity of a consistent educational policy on the part of the Ottoman state.[116] In a cabinet report five years later it was stressed that the only way to prevent the "destructive" effects of the missionary schools would be to establish "sufficient number" of public schools.[117]

The foundation of public schools in a certain locality or the raising of the educational quality of a government institution was often contingent on the positive inclination of the local Muslim population in question toward foreign institutions. The setting up of public schools among the Nusairi population in the *sancak* of Latakia (*vilâyet* of Beirut) commenced only after American missionaries began to be active among the local population. The absence of Muslim *rüşdiyye*s and *ibtidâî* schools in Nazareth (*vilâyet* of Beirut) forced Muslim parents to send their children to missionary schools. After this tendency was reported to the capital, the Sublime Porte decided to found a *rüşdiyye* school and an *ibtidâî* school in Nazareth and three *ibtidâî*s in the surrounding villages.[118] Although the MPE originally did not plan to establish an *idâdî* school in Shkodër due to the meager amount of the provincial EdC, the correspondences with the *vilâyet*-administration concerning the educational activities of the Jesuit priests led the government to reconsider.[119] The people of Adana increasingly sent their children to the missionary schools, prompting the provincial administration to ask for an increase of the local EdC assigned to the local educational expenditures in order to set up new public schools. The cabinet confirmed that the ten *ibtidâî* schools in the *vilâyet* of Adana were too few to keep the Muslim

[115] Berker, 128; Kodaman, 45–46.
[116] BOA AD Nr. 1243, p. 56 (21 S 1301/22 December 1883).
[117] BOA MV Nr. 35, p. 49 (25 Z 1305/2 September 1888).
[118] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 77 (22 S 1307/18 October 1889). Compare also BOA MV Nr. 54, p. 43 (17 L 1307/6 June 1890).
[119] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 57 (5 S 1307/1 October 1889).

population away from foreign schools. Eventually, the state planned to establish fifty-six additional *ibtidâî* schools within this province. The expenses of construction as well as maintenance, on the other hand, were to be met, as usual, by local resources.[120] Also for the *vilâyet* of Van, the foundation of an *idâdî* school with boarding facilities was planned in addition to the expansion of local *ibtidâî*s and *rüşdiyye* schools in order to weaken the demand for foreign schools.[121] When the Muslim parents of Nablus (*vilâyet* of Syria) took their children away from the local *rüşdiyye* school and sent them to the Latin school due to the French courses offered in the latter institution, the Ottoman state was forced to appoint an instructor for French language to this *rüşdiyye* school.[122]

It appears that the factor of foreign schools gave additional impetus to the Sublime Porte to found government schools and to increase the quality of the existing institutions. In this sense foreign schools "forced" the Ottoman state to modernize its educational system in the *vilâyet*s. The final aim of the MPE was to leave no Muslim pupil in foreign schools. Despite the efforts to reach this goal, the Sublime Porte was unable to win back all of the Muslim students to government institutions. Until the end of the Hamidian period there always existed a small number of Muslim students attending missionary schools. These students mostly were either members of local notable families or sons and daughters of Turkish government officials.[123]

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[120] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 569 (12 Ca 1308/24 December 1890).
[121] BOA AD Nr. 1423, pp. 267–268 (29 Za 1308/6 July 1891).
[122] BOA AD Nr. 1420, p. 299 (11 Ra 1299/31 January1882).
[123] See Betül Başaran, "Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820–1908)." (Master's thesis, Bilkent University, 1997), 68–73.

CHAPTER SIX

ETHNIC ASPECTS: DIFFICULTIES OF INTEGRATION

The Ottoman educational policy toward provincial populations imposed a uniform system of instruction and curricula, which disregarded local conditions and peculiarities. Only among those population groups which were not integrated into the Ottoman political structure or where the Ottoman civil administration was not able to take firm root, did the state employ *ad hoc* educational policies in harmony with local circumstances. Thus, with the exception of politically and culturally more marginal communities, the curricula of the public schools, situated in non-Turkish areas of the Empire, were essentially the same as those in İstanbul. In a similar manner, instructors appointed to non-Turkish localities were trained in principle to teach Turkish-speaking students. With the gradual establishment of provincial teachers' seminaries in a number of *vilâyet*-centers, instructors of local origin, who had graduated from the seminaries, softened this gap between norms and the circumstances in provincial *ibtidâî* schools. In *rüşdiyye* schools, on the other hand, the second instructors were as a rule natives of the locality.

This policy of uniformity could sometimes lead to complaints on behalf of local administrators. It was mentioned earlier that the governor of the separate *sancak* of Bingâzi (Libya) complained about those instructors from İstanbul who taught Arabic Grammar to native Arab pupils. Instead, they should merely teach subjects like Turkish and Persian Grammar, Mathematics, Geography etc., but never Arabic Grammar, since the local students knew the language better than the teacher did. An important aspect of this policy was the promotion of Turkish language in non-Turkish regions. It was aimed to establish Turkish as the exclusive language of instruction in Albania and Kurdistan, which was one of the objectives of the educational reform of 1904.

Following the border readjustments at the Congress of Berlin, there remained, except for the Turks, three main types of Islamic populations: Sunni Muslims like Albanians, Arabs or Pomaks; non-Sunni Islamic populations; tribal populations. Among these the first category

was integrated into the Ottoman administrative structure. The other two, in contrast, were peripheral groups which stood outside of the Ottoman political and administrative frame.

Albanians and Arabs posed a problem for the Sublime Porte particularly after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–78, when the Empire was at the edge of disintegration, and separatist movements emerged among these two populations. During the Hamidian period the main government policy toward the Albanians and the Arabs was the inculcation of Islamic values and the notion of Sultan-Caliph as the head of the Islamic community with the aim to weaken nationalist sentiments. An additional feature of this policy was the promotion of Turkish language among Albanians and Pomaks. The Albanians in particular resisted against the Ottoman policy of cultural repression by forming cultural societies in neighboring Balkan countries and setting up secret schools for providing primary education in Albanian language.

The Ottoman state with its Sunni Islamic identity had the difficulty to approach non-Sunni Islamic populations within the ideological frame of Sunni Islam. This became even more impossible during the reign of Abdülhamid II, when the policy of social disciplining was intensified. Communities such as the Alevis or the Crypto-Christians were officially described as population groups who were in deep ignorance, under the domination of superstition, and therefore needed correct education to enter the path of civilization. But Ottoman concern for these populations became intense when Christian missionaries tried to proselytize Alevis and when priests encouraged Crypto-Christians to resist military service. In these cases special educational policies were adopted to minimize the effects of Christian missionaries. Special teaching personnel were assigned for Crypto-Christians in Albania who were ethnically related to the population group in question, well informed about the regional conditions and also about local traditions. The Twelver Shiites, located mainly in the *vilâyet*s of Baghdad and Basra, formed a community with ancient established culture and scholastic educational traditions. Their rejection of the Ottoman caliphate and sympathy towards neighboring Iran rendered this population group suspect in the eyes of the central authority. The Sublime Porte refused to admit Shiite children to public schools, fearing that graduates would infiltrate into the Sunni administrative and military institutions. The success in missionary activities of Shiite clergymen (*âhund*) among local bedouin tribes forced the Ottoman state to adopt counter-measures such as sending Sunni *ulemâ* as mobile

instructors among the "endangered" bedouins or providing scholarships to sons of Shiite clergy to inculcate Sunni Islamic doctrines at the *medreses* of İstanbul and raise them as propagandists of Sunni Islam. Most of these policies toward non-Sunni populations remained unsuccessful either due to the lack of funds or teaching personnel.

Tribal and nomadic populations, trying to preserve tribal autonomy, resisted administrative routines of the central authority such as tax-collection, population census or conscription. The Sublime Porte considered education as one of the main means of introducing tribal populations the concepts of central authority, order and material progress. Schools, funded by the state budget, were set up in tribal regions, and mobile instructors were sent among bedouins. In addition, a secondary school, called "School for Tribes" (*Aşîret Mektebi*), was founded in İstanbul to raise a tribal elite imbued with Ottoman Islamic *and* modernist values who would integrate their tribes into the Ottoman administrative structure. The latter project was successful to a certain level, and sons of tribal chieftains, who graduated from the School of Tribes, formed an educated elite of Ottoman tribal administrators. But Ottoman education did not prevent tribal leaders to revolt against the Ottoman Empire, as it is known from the example of Sharif Hussain of Mecca.

Non-Turkish Sunni Muslims

Albanians-Tosks

In 1878 the Ottoman Balkan territories were delimited to the regions of Kosovo, present-day Albania, northern Epirus, Macedonia, western and eastern Thrace. This decline in territories led ethnic Albanians to become the most important Muslim ethnic group in the Ottoman Balkans, which as a consequence gave Albanians a special political weight.[1]

[1] Peter Bartl, *Die albanischen Muslime zur Zeit der nationalen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung (1878–1912)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), passim; Nuray Bozbora, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Arnavutluk ve Arnavut Ulusçuluğu'nun Gelişimi* (İstanbul: Boyut Kitapları, 1997), 207–264; Halil İnalcık, "Arnawutluk," *Encyclopedia of Islam.* New Edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, hence *EI*[2]); Basil Kondis, *Greece and Albania 1908–1914* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1976), 22; Süleyman Külçe, *Osmanlı devrinde Arnavutluk* (İzmir, 1944), passim; Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Ottoman Islamic Education in the

Albanians were composed of two main entities, i.e. the Tosks and the Ghegs, having their own dialects. The Tosks, located in the south (present-day southern Albania and northern Greece), continued to lead a settled life for centuries and being subjected to direct Ottoman civil administration for a longer period. In contrast to the Ghegs, urban life was more widespread among the Tosks. In connection with these circumstances, certain cultural differences could also be noticed between the Tosks and the Ghegs. In the religious plane the Bektashis, a non-Orthodox Muslim order widespread particularly among the Tosks, displayed certain tendencies of liberal attitude toward life and religion. The prominent Ottoman illuminator, encyclopaedist and lexicographer Şemseddin Sami Bey Frashëri (1850–1904) was a Tosk, and had been influenced by the Bektashi culture in his native village. An additional cultural factor in southern Albania were Greek schools, being attended also by Muslim Albanians such as Ş.S. Frashëri or İsmail Kemal Bey, the prominent Young Turk and Albanian nationalist. According to B. Sokolova the majority of the more than forty distinguished Albanian intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were of southern Albanian origin and presumably Tosks.[2]

The first half of the nineteenth century was characterized by the Ottoman attempts to get hold over Albania and terminate the autonomous position of local Albanian lords vis-à-vis the Sublime Porte. Powerful landlords like Buşatlı Mustafa Pasha or Tepedelenli Ali Pasha reacted strongly against the policy of centralization and reforms taken by the central government during the period of 1820–1850.[3]

Balkans in the Nineteenth Century," *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad) 36:2,3 (1997), 450–451; Karl Süssheim, "Arnavutluk," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, hence *İA*), 577–578.

[2] Bartl, 87–111; H.N. Brailsford, *Macedonia* (London, 1906), 86–87, 248–252; Johannes Faensen, *Die albanische Nationalbewegung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), 21–22; K. Frasheri, "Şemseddin Sami Frashëri. Idéologie du mouvement national albanais," *Actes I. Cong. intern. ét. balkan. et sud-est europ.* IV (1969), 817–818; George Walter Gawrych, "Ottoman Administration and the Albanians, 1908–1913" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1980), 3; Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600.* 2d ed. (New Rochelle; New York: Orpheus Publishing, 1989), 194–199; H.T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans. Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World* (London: Hurst & Company, 1993), 89–100,161–195; Somel, 451; Süssheim, 576–577; Bojka Sokolova, "Origine sociale de l'intelligentsia albanaise à l'époque de la Renaissance," *Études Balkaniques* (Sofia), 18–1 (1982), 123.

[3] Stefanaq Pollo-Arben Puto, *Histoire de l'Albanie des origines à nos jours* (Roanne, 1974), passim; Stavro Skendi, *The Albanian National Awakening, 1878–1912* (Princeton:

Even after their power was crushed, local unrest did not end until 1844. Local feudal *sipahis* and traditional guild masters were deprived of their former privileges, and formerly autonomous mountaineers demanded the reinstitution of their full autonomy based on feudal mountain laws. On the other hand, the peasantry was now liable to compulsory military service and intensified taxation. These measures constituted an unprecedented presence of the central authority in Albanian regions. Thus for the majority of the population Ottoman reforms equalled foreign occupation.[4]

During this same period of resistance against centralizing reforms the first determinate attempts were made toward the development of national Albanian culture. Naum Veqilharxhi, an Orthodox Albanian intellectual and a former supporter of Hellenic ideals, designed in 1844 the first Albanian national alphabet. In the 1850s, Albanians of İstanbul formed an association to publish books in their language and to set up Albanian schools.[5]

We do not know about the attitude of the Ottoman government concerning this association. But there are indications that during the *tanzîmât*-period Ottoman official disposition toward publications in the Albanian language or toward Albanian cultural activities was not categorically hostile. At least in the early 1870s two pages of the official *vilâyet* gazette of Janina appeared in Albanian.[6]

The increasing weakening of Ottoman presence in the Balkans led to the progressive emergence of Albanian political nationalism. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian revolts of 1875, the Bulgarian insurrection of 1876 and the following Balkan-crisis resulting with the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–78 facilitated the first public manifestation of Albanian nationalism. Since the dissolution of Ottoman territorial unity in the Balkans would lead to a possible partition of the Albanian regions among the neighboring Balkan monarchies, a group of Albanian

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Princeton University Press, 1967), passim; Ekrem Bey Vlora, *Lebenserinnerungen. (1885–1912)*. Edited by Mathias Bernath. Vol. 1 (München: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1968), passim; Süssheim, 577–578.

[4] Pollo-Puto, 127; Skendi, *Albanian National*, 20–27; Vlora, 27.

[5] A. Buda, "Albanien und die Balkankrise der Jahre 1878–1881," *Actes I. Cong. intern. ét. balkan. et sud-est europ.*, IV (1969), 123; Faensen, 22–30, 45; Bojka Sokolova, "Charakterni čerti na albanskoto văzraždane v kraja na XIX v.," *Studia Balcanica* (Sofia), 12 (1976), 170; Sokolova, "Origine," 23–24; Somel, 452; Vlora, 130.

[6] Hasan Kaleshi & Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf, "Das Wilajet Prizren. Beitrag zur Geschichte der türkischen Staatsreform auf dem Balkan im 19. Jahrhundert," *Südost-forschungen* (München) XXVI (1967), 233; Somel, 452.

notables met at spring 1877 in Janina and sent a memorandum to the Sublime Porte, where they demanded among other points for the first time the establishment of schools with Albanian as medium. The Sublime Porte did not display any reaction, probably because the Russo-Ottoman War began in these same days.[7] Albanian notables from south as well as from north formed in July 1878 the "League of Prizren" (*Lidhja e Prizrendit, Arnaudluk İttihâdı*). This organization appealed for the administrative unification of the Albanian *vilâyet*s into a single province, the introduction of Albanian as an official language in Albanian regions and the foundation of Albanian schools. Muslim and Christian members of the League of Prizren declared that religious factors played no role, underscoring that members were above everything "Albanians."[8]

This declaration implicitly rejected the Islamic legitimization of Ottoman domination in the western Balkans. It is almost certain that any potent Ottoman government would not have tolerated this phenomenon, since the emergence of a national and secular cultural development among Muslim Albanians would create commonality with Christian Albanians and as a consequence the emergence of a separate national interest. On the other hand, at a time when the Congress of Berlin was acting and the political future of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans was still uncertain, the Sublime Porte was forced to tolerate the League of Prizren due to its function as a political factor in the western Balkans resisting the territorial aspirations of Greeks and Serbs.[9]

In 1880, the Grand Vizier Safvet Pasha told the sultan that the Albanians formed the backbone of Ottoman political presence in the region, and he urged the state to promote material progress among the Albanians and in particular to set up schools in villages and administrative centers.[10] Safvet Pasha's advice had some impact. At

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[7] Buda, 126–127; Skendi, *Albanian National*, 88.

[8] Bartl, 126; Buda, 121–130; Evangelos Kofos, "Greek Reaction to the Developments Leading to the Albanian League of Prizren," *Balkan Studies* 23–2 (1982), 349–362; Külçe, 250–268; Stephanos J. Papadopoulos, "Écoles et associations Grecques dans la Macédoine du nord durant le dernier siècle de la domination turque," *Balkan Studies* 3 (1962), 397–442; Skendi, *Albanian National*, 31–108; Somel, 452; Vlora, 136–148.

[9] Brailsford, 255–256; Gawrych, 1, 2; Külçe, 249; Sokolova, "Charakterni," 169; Somel, 452.

[10] BOA YEE 31–1138–41–79. See also Gawrych, 42–44; Somel, 452–453.

the turn of 1881–1882, when the League of Prizren had already been suppressed, the MPE proposed to the Sublime Porte, on the initiative of Davud Şükrü Efendi [Boriçi], to print Albanian primers and grammatical textbooks compiled in Arabic script and to distribute these among public schools in the Albanian regions.[11] Davud Efendi, at that time inspector for *rüşdiyye* schools (*mekâtib-i rüşdiyye müfettişi*) was probably the author of these books.[12] The outcome of this proposition is not clear, but even if it had been accepted, it seems certain that such a policy could last only for a short period. While the political activities of the League of Prizren were continuing, Albanian intellectuals and nationalists in İstanbul, among them also Ş.S. Frashëri, formed in October 1879 the "Society for the Printing of Albanian Texts." This body proposed to set up Albanian schools, while compiling Albanian primers and textbooks for Grammar and Geography in Latin script. The government in 1884 dissolved this society.[13]

Considering that this year of dissolution was a rather late date vis-à-vis the consolidation of the Hamidian regime in the capital as well as in the Balkans toward 1881, one may suspect whether Safvet Pasha's previous report of 1880 had perhaps been influential in permitting its survival. After the dissolution of this society, Albanian cultural activities continued abroad. In Bucharest exile associations such as *Drita* ("Light"), *Dituria* ("Knowledge") and *Shpresa* ("Hope") tried to provide material support to secret Albanian educational activities in the Ottoman provinces.[14]

The increasing resistance of the League of Prizren against the consolidation of Ottoman administration in the region led to its suppression in 1881.[15] It has been asserted that the destruction of the League of Prizren was followed by a policy of prohibition of the

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[11] BOA BEO AD Nr. 1420, p. 277 (16 S 1299/7 January 1882); Somel, 453.

[12] About D. Şükrü Boriçi, see 127–128 above.

[13] Faensen, 43–44; Somel, 453.

[14] BOA AD Nr. 1420, p. 277 (16 S 1299/7 January 1882); Bartl, 136–137; Faensen, 45, 49–50, 109; Skendi, *Albanian National*, 146–150, 277, 358–360; Kristo Frashëri, "Le centenaire de la premiére école élémentaire albanaise de Korça," *Les Lettres Albanaises* (Tirana), 9–2 (1987), 152–153; Somel, 453.

[15] BOA YEE 36–968–146–XV; YEE 18–553/105–93–34; BOA Yıldız Sadaret Hususî Maruzat ("Special Reports Submitted from the Grand Vizierate to the Yıldız Place, YSHM) 163–43–27.1.297–3; BOA Yıldız Sadaret Resmi Maruzat Evrakı ("Official Reports Submitted from the Grand Vizierate to the Yıldız Palace," YSRM) 5–67–1297.6.13–4 [4.4vr]; 9–24–1298.2.1–6; YSRM 9–41–1298.2.9–1; Somel, 453.

teaching of Albanian in public schools as well as the use of the same language in official correspondence.[16] Considering the possible impact of the report of Safvet Pasha mentioned earlier, it seems to be more sound to offer the date of the dissolution of the "Society for the Printing of Albanian Texts" as a clear beginning point of this suppressive cultural policy. The Ottoman government did its best to prevent the schools from using the Albanian language. This policy became more pronounced during the last decade of the century and particularly after 1902. Even translations of the Friday *hutbe*s (sermons) from Arabic into Albanian in the mosques of Shkodër could provoke official investigation. Before 1908 any private correspondence in Albanian as well as the possession of books compiled in this language were considered illegal.[17]

Disregarding the Austrian Catholic schools, all of these being under the protection of Austria-Hungary,[18] one might conjecture that Muslim Albanians could receive education in their native tongue only either by attending the circle of the local religious instructor (*hoca*) or perhaps by joining the non-Sunni Bektashi convents (*tekie*), numerous in southern Albania. According to B. Sokolova a considerable number of Tosk intellectuals before attending a regular Ottoman public school, a Greek-Orthodox-institution or a *medrese*, first received education by a local *hoca* or went to the Bektashi convents.[19] Ş.S. Frashëri studied in his native village, located in the *sancak* of Ergiri, *vilâyet* of Janina, at a "primary school," where he acquired preliminary information on Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages.[20] Examining the term "primary school" closely, the problem arises that whereas in Quran schools the curriculum consisted mainly of the

[16] Gawrych, 13, 14.

[17] BOA YEE 36–368–141–XIII (draft of an irâde, 30 Ca 1308/11 January 1891); BOA YMTV 53/15, 4 M 1309/10 August 1891; BOA İrâde-i Husûsiye (IH) 13 (5 C 1323/7 August 1905); IH 43 (20 N 1325/27 October 1907). See also Bartl, 148; Charles Jelavich and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920* (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 1977), 227; Skendi, *Albanian National*, 132–133, 142, 144; Somel, 453; Vlora, 128–129, 145–146.

[18] Concerning the so-called "Kultusprotektorat" claimed by the Habsburgs on the Albanian Catholics, see Skendi, *Albanian National*, 272; Jelavich, 226–227; Bojka Sokolova, "Les institutions d'instruction étrangères et la formation de l'intelligentsia albanaise à l'époque de la Renaissance," *Études Balkaniques* (Sofia) 19–4 (1983), 26.

[19] Sokolova, "Les institutions," 19.

[20] *C'est a l'ecole elementaire de son village natal que lui furent donnees les premieres notions de turc, d'arabe et de persan*, in Frashëri, "Şemseddin Sami," 817–818.

recitation and memorization of the Quran, in *ibtidâî* schools neither Arabic, except for the instruction of the Quran, nor Persian, were taught. Furthermore, government primary schools in the modern sense were not designed before the early 1870s, which clearly could not correspond to the childhood period of Ş.S. Frashëri (late 1850s and early 1860s). Therefore the "primary school" in his native village might have been in fact a Bektashi convent where as a part of religious culture not only Arabic, as the language of Islam, but also Persian and Turkish as languages of Bektashi culture could have been taught, while the language of instruction itself would have been Albanian.

Quite a few of the notable Albanian intellectuals and politicians, including Ş.S. Frashëri, İsmail Kemal Bey, Avlonyalı Ferid Pasha who became grand vizier toward the end of the Hamidian period, or also Davud Şükrü Efendi attended Greek schools, which were widespread in the *vilâyet*s of Janina and Monastir. Among these institutions the *Zosimaia-Skhole* High School in Janina was noteworthy.[21] The Grand Vizier Safvet Pasha, in his aforementioned memorandum from 1880, stressed also the enormous educational influence of Greeks over the Albanians and the need to found a government high school (Safvet Pasha called this a *mekteb-i fünûn*) in Janina in order to balance the cultural weight of the *Zosimaia* High School over the local Muslims. It is striking that already in 1882 an *idâdî* school was started in Janina, while with the exception of the government secondary school in Beirut *idâdî* schools were not begun to be founded in the remaining provinces before 1885.[22]

The last decade of the century witnessed an ever-increasing demand for administrative autonomy and national schools by local Albanian notables. Such Albanian activities became in particular more intensive when the intercommunal troubles in Crete of 1896–1897 resulted in an Ottoman-Greek confrontation. During this period, the Ottoman domination in the Balkans seemed to be threatened by a possible alliance of neighboring Balkan states. In 1896 meetings were held in Monastir and Elbasan, in 1897 and 1898 in İpek and in Debre, where the need for schools using the Albanian language was again expressed. At the same time an "Albanian Committee," headed by

[21] Sokolova, "Les institutions," 20.

[22] BOA AD Nr. 1421, p. 70 (5 L 1299/20 August 1882); BOA YEE 31–1138–41–79; Gawrych, 44.

Ş.S. Frashëri was founded in 1897 in İstanbul and stressed the same demands. The Ottoman administration reacted against these activities and demands by an even greater suppression of any Albanian cultural movement until 1908.[23]

These increasingly nationalistic developments among the Albanians led the Sublime Porte to take more active measures. In 1898 officials from the MPE as well as members of the *ulemâ*, selected by the Office of the *Şeyhülislâm*, were sent to the *vilâyet*s of Janina, Kosovo, Monastir and İşkodra to establish new schools.[24] The fact that the *ulemâ* in particular joined this undertaking indicates that religious instruction as a means of "denationalization" or perhaps as a vehicle for the transmission of Islamic feelings of loyalty to the Ottoman state had an important place in this project.

The suppression of the Bulgaro-Macedonian St. Elias uprising in July 1903 led European great powers to force the Sublime Porte from October 1903 onwards to introduce reform steps in the Balkan provinces under the inspection of European officials (*Mürzsteg-Program*).[25] Among other conditions the gendarme was to be restructured by European officers, a new administrative division based on nationality to be introduced, judicial organization to be reformed according to local needs, the Christian population to be paid an indemnity for their material losses resulting from the St. Elias Uprising, as well as the reconstruction of Christian villages, churches and schools.[26] Such conditions, violating Ottoman sovereignty in the Balkans, accelerated the feeling of insecurity among the Albanians and strengthened their

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[23] Bartl, 147–152; Faensen, 132–133; Stephen Fischer-Galati and Dimitrie Djordjevic, *The Balkan revolutionary tradition* (New York; Guilford: Columbia University Press, 1981), 169; Jelavich, 227; Kristaq Prifti, "La ligue albanaise de Pejë (1899–1909)," *Studia Albanica* (Tirana) 19–1 (1982), 138, 142–144, 149–150; Skendi, *Albanian National*, 131, 135, 142, 144, 194; Somel, 454; Vlora, 128/129, 145, 146.

[24] Bartl, 147; Somel, 454.

[25] For the Bulgaro-Macedonian organization IMRO ("Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization") and the St. Elias Uprising, see Fikret Adanır, *Die makedonische Frage. Ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung bis 1908* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979), 135, 136; Brailsford, 156–159; Fischer-Galati, 178–192; Mahir Aydın, "Arşiv belgeleriyle Makedonya'da Bulgar çete faaliyetleri," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* (İstanbul) 9 (1989), 209–223; L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1958), 519–521; Gül Tokay, *Makedonya Sorunu: Jön Türk İhtilalinin Kökenleri, 1903–1908* (İstanbul: Afa, 1995), passim.

[26] See Kemal Beydilli, "II. Abdülhamid devrinde Makedonya mes'elesi'ne dair," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 9 (1989), 93–96; Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897–1913* (Thessaloniki, 1966), 86–91, 112–116.

fear that a possible termination of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans in the near future would lead to their possible partition by Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia. Consequently they demanded the exemption of those regions with Albanian population from reform measures.[27] This situation of incapacity to take any counter-measure against these increasingly threatening developments led a group of Ottoman officials of Albanian origin as well as some Albanian notables in Monastir to found a secret committee, the "Committee for the Liberation of Albania," in 1905. One of the founders of this committee, Bayram (Bajo) Topulli was an instructor and the acting director of the *idâdî* school of Monastir. This committee stressed, among other political objectives, the introduction of Albanian as the language of instruction in the western Balkan provinces, and local sub-committees would provide education to Albanian peasantry. Topulli and two of his *idâdî*-students left Monastir in 1906 in order to organize a guerilla unit. Wandering through villages within the *vilâyet* of Monastir, they distributed books and newspapers to Albanian peasants while propagating nationalist ideals.[28] The "Committee for the Liberation of Albania" seems to have been considerably successful in the countryside. A report of the Austro-Hungarian Consul in Skopje, dated May 1906, informed that this committee began to undertake propaganda activities in the *vilâyet* of Kosovo, and local public school instructors joined it. In the *rüşdiyye* school of Yakova Albanian instead of Ottoman Turkish began to be used as the medium of instruction.[29] These developments clearly show that though the Sublime Porte and the MPE imposed educational uniformity and ban over instruction in Albanian, the increasing political tensions in the western Balkans and the inability of the Ottoman state to counter interventions of the great powers led to its loss of control over the Albanian population and public instruction in the region.

Cultural and educational restrictions on Albanians were lifted only with the restoration of the constitutional regime in July 1908. Even though a more liberal regime was instituted, Albanian nationalism

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[27] Beydilli, 93.

[28] Bartl, 151–152; Faensen, 63–64; Šukri Rahimi, "Formiranjeto na komitetot za sloboda na Albanija vo Bitola 1905 godina i negovata dejnost," *Glasnik na Institutot za Nacionalna Istorija* (Skopje) 20–3 (1976), 105–108, 113; Skendi, *Albanian National*, 207–208, 210; Vlora, 147–148.

[29] Rahimi, 108, 111; Somel, 455.

became even more pronounced between 1908 and 1912, which led to new conflicts with the Sublime Porte and eventually resulted in further insurrections. Finally the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 terminated the Ottoman presence in the Albanian regions. Greece and Serbia annexed the greater part of these, including the Epirus-region and Kosovo, while the remaining portions parallel to the Adriatic coast constituted independent Albania.

Observations by the Ottoman staff officer İsmail Hakkı (Okday) as well as by the Ottoman author Ömer Seyfeddin during his military service in southern Albania in 1912 reveal that the great majority of Albanian soldiers could not speak Turkish, an indication that public education towards the end of the Ottoman domination did not effectively penetrate into the countryside of the western Balkans.[30] The Albanian national movement, which from 1878 onwards increasingly acquired vigor, was basing mainly on the Muslim landowning stratum. The greater part of the Albanian intellectuals themselves had their origins in similar social backgrounds and most of them had visited Ottoman public schools.[31] These facts show that Ottoman education was not very successful in inculcating in students an Ottoman political identity or at least strong feelings of Ottoman patriotism and loyalty toward the state. Perhaps, the political crisis and constraints in the Balkans left Albanians defenseless vis-à-vis their expansionist neighbors and rendered any political inculcation on behalf of the Ottoman state meaningless.

Pomaks and Muslim Wlachs

Although there is no direct information concerning Ottoman educational policies toward Pomaks and Muslim Wlachs, who were scattered throughout the central and the western Balkans,[32] three reports compiled in 1886 by the DE of the *vilâyet* of Archipelago and submitted to the Sublime Porte note the existence of Bulgarian-, Wlach-, and Greek-speaking village communities in the *kazâ*s and *nahiyye*s of

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[30] Ömer Seyfeddin, "Ruzname," *Mahçupluk İmtihanı*. Edited by K. Demiray (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka, 1977), 56, 62; İsmail Hakkı Okday, *Yanya'dan Ankara'ya* (İstanbul: Sebil, 1975), 54. Compare also Gawrych, 21.

[31] Sokolova, "Charakterni," 168; idem, "Les institutions," 20.

[32] For Pomaks, see F. Bajraktarević and A. Popović, "Pomaks," *EI*^{2}; A. Cevat Eren,"Pomaklar," *İA*; Ş. Sami, "Bulgar," *Kamûsu'l-Âlâm*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1306), 1343.

Tikveş, Gevgili, Yenice-i Vardar, Vodina, Nevrekob, Kesendire and Razlık.[33] The virtual lack of knowledge of Ottoman Turkish among these peasants was considered by the author as a "weakness" of Islam in the region, which could lead to material as well as spiritual harm among the local Muslims. Regarding this situation as incompatible with the policies of an Islamic country, the DE proposed the expansion of public primary schools in the region, which also would promote the usage of Ottoman Turkish among the Muslim peasantry. After learning Turkish, it should be "completely forbidden for the students to talk in Bulgarian in these schools" (*ve mekteblerde Bulgarca tekellüm külliyyen yasakedilmek*) and thus "to complete the requisites for the familiarization to Turkish language" (*böylelikle Türkce lisâna da alışdırılmaları esbâbı istikmâl kılınmak*).[34]

It does not seem very likely that the Sublime Porte reacted immediately upon the reports of Mustafa Bey. One should consider that the Ottoman state, already under heavy financial burdens, would be rather reluctant to spend considerable sums for the foundation of *ibtidâî* schools in each village of the region. The official provincial yearbooks of Salonica do not display any data confirming dramatic increases of schools. But a Bulgarian observer, J. Ivanoff, noted that toward 1908 the previously Bulgarian-speaking Pomaks especially of the region of Kavala adopted Ottoman Turkish in public conduct due to the activities of Ottoman schoolteachers, while Bulgarian still continued to be used in the private sphere.[35]

Sunni Arabs

While during the Hamidian period propositions were made for the promotion of the Ottoman-Turkish language in the public schools and its unconditional usage in those non-Turkish regions like Albania or Kurdistan, Arabic-speaking provinces were seldom mentioned.[36]

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[33] BOA YMTV 37/56 (1 C 1306), dated 14 Nisan 1302/26 April 1886, 18 Nisan 1302/30 April 1886 and 21 Kanun II 1304/2 February 1889. The author of these reports was Mustafa bin Mollazade Hüsrev Radovişî. See also Somel, 456.

[34] Somel, 456.

[35] J. Ivanoff, *La Région de Cavala* (Berne, 1918), 20–21; Somel, 456.

[36] For a detailed account on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman education in Damascus, see Randi Deguilhem, "State Civil Education in Late Ottoman Damascus: A Unifying or a Separating Force?," in *The Syrian Land. Processes of Integration and Fragmentation in Bilād al-Shām from the 18th to the 20th Century.*

It may be assumed that since Arabic was the language of the Quran as well as of the Islamic culture, it consequently was playing a special role as the means of communication among the multi-ethnic Muslim population of the Empire, especially between non-Arabs and Arabs.[37] Also the fact of the Islamic identity of the Ottoman state, headed by the sultan as the Caliph of all of the Muslims, and bearing the title "servant of the two sacred places" (*Hâdimu Haremeyn üş-Şerîfeyn*) gave the Arabic language not only a religious and cultural, but also a political weight.

In a period where Sunni Islam was employed as an instrument for the integration of the different Muslim populations into the Ottoman political system, a prohibitive language policy toward the Arabs comparable to the policy applied to Albanians, would have been very difficult, if not impossible. Only from 1908 onwards, after the restoration of the constitutional regime, did the Committee of Union and Progress pursue a stricter language policy toward the Arabs.[38]

The primary object of the Ottoman language policy toward the Arabs during the Hamidian period was to expand the command on Ottoman Turkish as the official language rather than to restrict the Arabic language. At the same time different attitudes existed concerning the language of instruction among public schools of different Arabic regions. In greater Syria, where Arabic national consciousness began to manifest itself already in the 1870s, Ottoman Turkish could not be applied as the sole language of instruction in government schools. When the Syrian publicist and nationalist Muhammad Kurd Ali, himself graduate of a *rüşdiyye* school during the Hamidian period, describes the public schools in Damascus, he mentions that teachers tried to Ottomanize students in language, but does not say anything about the restriction of Arabic language.[39] In Iraq, on the other hand, we learn from A. al-Hilali that those instructors appointed

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Edited by Thomas Philipp and Birgit Schaebler (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998), 221–250.

[37] Sabine Prätor, "Sprache der Religion und Wissenschaft-Anmerkungen zum Arabischlernen im spätosmanischen Istanbul." Unpublished article.

[38] Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798–1839*. 3d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 282; Rashid Khalidi, "Arab Nationalism in Syria. The Formative Years, 1908–1914," in *Nationalism in a Non-National State. The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire*. Edited by William W. Haddad and William Ochsenwald (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977), 213.

[39] Muhammad Kurd ʿAlī, *Khitat aš-Šām*. Vol. 4 (Damascus, 1926), 82.

to the public schools of Baghdad were not able to teach in languages other than Turkish, a policy that changed when a teachers' seminary was established in Baghdad and native teachers began to teach in local government schools.[40]

One may assume that the fact of the differing attitudes concerning the language of instruction in Arabic-speaking regions was based more on the inadequacies of the instructors than on a kind of deliberate policy. In an 1891 report, the administrative council of the *vilâyet* of Basra considered founding *ibtidâî* schools with the aim to educate local peasants and bedouins. The period of education should last one year longer than the ordinary *ibtidâî* schools in order to teach the students intensive Ottoman Turkish. The aim was to expand the Ottoman Turkish language as fast as possible among the rural population of the *vilâyet* of Basra.[41]

Non-Sunni Populations

Those non-Sunni Islamic populations within the Empire, which were not acknowledged by the Sunni Ottoman state as separate communities and therefore could not be integrated into the political system, were officially characterized as in a state of "ignorance" (*cehâlet*) or practicing "corrupt beliefs" (*akaid-i fâside*). The former attribute was more applied in the case of the less institutionalized belief systems such as of the Alevis, and the latter mainly in the case of the more sophisticated belief of the Twelver Shia in Iraq. One may say that in the Ottoman bureaucratic language of the Hamidian period "to civilize" was probably equal to the "correction of the faith" (*tashîh-i itikad*) into Sunni belief, the inculcation of the notion of loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph and thus the acknowledgment of the Ottoman central power, and finally, the learning of the Ottoman Turkish language.[42] While the Sublime Porte pursued in matters of belief a

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[40] *Abd ar-Razzāq al-Hilālī, Tārīh at-Taʿlīm fī-l-ʿIrāq fī-l-ahd al-ʿUthmānī* (Baghdad, 1959), 233–234.

[41] BOA AD Nr. 1423, p. 182 (26 L 1308/4 June 1891).

[42] BOA AD 1243, p. 38 (29 Teşrin I. 1299/11 December 1883); AD 1420, p. 99 (18 Nisan 1297/30 March 1881); AD 1420, p. 341 (20 Mart 1298/1 April 1882); AD 1422, p. 639 (19 Şubat 1306/3 March 1891); AD 1422, p. 649 (25 Şubat 1306/9 March 1891); AD 1423, pp. 21–22 (11 Mart 1307/23 March 1891); AD 1423, pp. 171–172 (24 L 1308/1 May 1891); YMTV 72/43 (22 Ca 1310), dated

non-compromising policy toward these population groups, it had a more flexible attitude towards issues such as local languages or usages. One can notice this from the fact that special instructors, who were familiar with their language and culture, were sometimes appointed to these population groups.

The non-Sunni Islamic communities mostly are not mentioned in the documents by name, since the government did officially not acknowledge them. Instead the "ignorance" of a regional population is described and the strengthening of the Islamic precepts among them is proposed by means of the foundation of public schools. The groups are only named in times of crises, for example when the establishment of foreign missionary schools among them raised the possibility of Christianization.

Since most of such communities are not mentioned by their names, it is difficult to determine to what kind of a religious community these groups actually belonged, although conjectures can be made based on historical information related to the geographical dissemination of non-Sunni Islam in the Empire. A correspondence from the Sublime Porte to the MPE may be given as an example concerning the *vilâyet* of Sivas in 1890.[43] Here a petition was mentioned, sealed by the head (*postnişîn*) of the dervish convent of *Şemseddîn Sivâsî Hazretleri Dergâh-ı Şerîfi*, Ahmed Efendi, as well as by local heads of religious orders (*meşâyih*), members of the *ulemâ* and other "tomb keepers" (*makberân*). Accordingly these petitioners informed the Sublime Porte about the increase of "ignorance" within this province due to the insufficient number of schools and asked for the setting up of institutions especially in those villages and *nahiyye*s where the need was great in order to prevent "the serious consequences" (*netîce-i vahîme*) of "ignorance." The petitioners asked the Sublime Porte to leave the complete sum of the EdC for local educational expenses. Although no description is made about the nature of this "ignorance," they probably referred to the Alevis, widespread in the rural areas of Sivas.

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20 R 1310/11 November 1892. Compare also Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1998), 49.

[43] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 261 (26 B 1307/18 March 1890).

Alevis

The general name Alevi is mainly applied to those populations in Anatolia and Syria who displayed a strong religious devotion to the fourth Caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661) at least as strong as to the Messenger Muhammad. The Alevis, similar to the Twelver Shia and the Zaydis, rejected the political and religious legitimacy of the first three caliphs and condemned the Sunni Islamic historical periods of the Umayyad and the Abbasid Caliphates. Aside of these common points, the different Alevi communities throughout Anatolia and Syria displayed varieties of belief and tradition that manifested the characteristics of rural folklore and the non-existence of institutionalized scholastic education. The Anatolian Alevi communities, referred in the Ottoman documents often as *Kızılbaş*, were to an important extent Turkish-speaking, and some communities were either Kurdish or Zaza-speaking. On the other hand the Syrian Alevis, called also Nusairis, spoke mainly Arabic.[44]

The few official documents mentioning the Alevis by name reveal the isolated position of these population groups within the Ottoman political system. The government distrusted the loyalty of the Alevis of central Anatolia and Sivas. The increasing Armenian revolutionary activities in Anatolia and Protestant missionary attempts to proselytize central Anatolian Alevis induced the Sublime Porte to undertake special educational policies with the aim to "sunnify" these Alevis. In the *sancak* of Tokat (*vilâyet* of Sivas), a number of schools were founded in 1891 for the conversion of the Kızılbaş into the Sunni belief. The village *imâms*, which were to act as teachers, were compelled to attend *rüşdiyye* schools in the *kazâ-* and *sancak*-centers for their training in the NEM. For the conversion of the population of the *kazâ* of Mihalıççık (*vilâyet* of Ankara) to Sunni Islam, five Muslim scholars were appointed in 1899 with a monthly salary of 1000 *kuruş*.[45] This high amount of salary for instructors shows the concern of the government to convert central Anatolian Alevis into Sunni Islam.

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[44] See Altan Gökalp, "Les alevi," in *Les Turcs. Orient et Occident, islam et laïcité.* Edited by Stéphane Yerasimos (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1994), 112–125; H. Halm, "Nusayriyya," *EI*^{2}; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Türkiye'de tarihin saptırılması sürecinde Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1996), 191–258.

[45] BOA YTMV 53/108 (27 Muharrem 1309), dated 2 Za 1308/9 June 1891; BOA YTMV 189/165 (27 Z 1316/8 Mai 1899). See also Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 82–83.

Zaza- and Kurdish-speaking Alevis populated the mountainous region of Dersim in eastern Anatolia. Here central administration was not established. The inability to collect taxes and to recruit soldiers from this region as well as frequent rebellions against the Ottoman state led the Sublime Porte to pursue a long-term policy to proselytize the Dersim Alevis in order to gain their loyalty. As a part of this policy free Qurans and Sunni catechisms were distributed in the 1880s and 1890s. In the 1900s the government sought to found primary schools in the region.[46]

Similar to Dersim Alevis, the Nusairis of the *sancak* of Latakia (*vilâyet* of Beirut) formed an isolated population group, which were segregated by the Ottoman state not only because of their non-Sunni belief, but also due to their resistance to Ottoman civil administration. The Nusairis, similar to the Twelver Shiites in Iraq, were not allowed to pursue civil bureaucratic or military careers.[47] The increasing inclination of the Nusairis toward Iran during the 1880s and the activities of the American Protestant missionaries among this population group in particular forced the Ottoman state from 1889 onwards to pay more attention to them. In order to turn them away from Christianity and win them over to Sunni Islam, the Sublime Porte planned to set up a number of *ibtidâî* schools in Nusairi villages, and indeed ten schools were completed in 1891, of which three functioned. These schools were not to be inspected by the regular MPE inspectors, but by certain members of the *ulemâ*, selected and appointed by the Office of the *Şeyhülislâm*. In order to meet the construction expenses and the teachers' salaries of these *ibtidâî*s, the complete income of the EdC of the *sancak* of Latakia was assigned to this project. It was planned in 1891 to set up an additional seventy schools and mosques in the coastal villages and in particular in the *kazâ* of Sahyun.[48] The government activities for converting Nusairis into

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[46] BOA YEE A/24–XI/24/132 (Şâkir Paşa Evrakı). See also Ali Karaca, *Anadolu Islahatı ve Ahmet Şakir Paşa* (İstanbul: Eren, 1993), 77, 128.

[47] Max L. Gross, "Ottoman Rule in the Province of Damascus, 1860–1909" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1979); S.H. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958); Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840–1861* (Oxford; London: Clarendon Press, 1968); Yūsuf al-Hakīm, *Dhikrayāt. Sāriya wa-l-ahd al-ʿUthmānī*. 2d ed. Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dar an-Nahar, 1980), 70.

[48] BOA AD Nr. 1423, p. 288 (2 Z 1308/9 July 1891). Compare also AD Nr. 1422, p. 91 (3 Ra 1307/28 October 1889); AD Nr. 1422, p. 121 (29 Ra 1307/23

Sunni Islam seem to have been successful to a certain extent in Antakya (*vilâyet* of Aleppo). Marshal Şâkir Pasha, the General Inspector of Anatolia, found out in 1898 that the converted former Nusairis were not accepted by the local *mufti* and the local landlords as Sunni Muslims. Previously landowners forced Nusairis to work like slaves, which was now difficult to do so with the converted Nusairis. Şâkir Pasha considered as an absolute necessity to induce the local Sunni notables to accept the fact of the conversion.[49]

Crypto-Christians

Crypto-Christians were those, who despite of their outward and official Islamization continued to exercise secretly their former Christian rituals within their communities. When regions with a predominantly Christian population were conquered by the Ottomans, a part of the native population accepted the religion of the conquerors, and in the process of time they also identified themselves with this religion. On the other hand, there were other populations, who outwardly accepted Islam in spite of their inner devotion to Christianity either because of compulsion to accept Islam, or due to economic reasons, such as tax-advantages, or social motives, like the preservation of social status.[50] The Crypto-Christians were classified officially as Muslims and were not paying the canonical poll tax (*cizye*) obligatory for non-Muslims before the period of *tanzîmât*, and were recruited

November 1889); AD Nr. 1422, p. 257 (17 B 1307/9 March 1890); AD Nr. 1422, p. 377 (16 Z 1307/3 August 1890); AD Nr. 1422, p. 457 (12 S 1308/27 September 1890; AD Nr. 1422, p. 633 (12 B 1308/21 February 1891); AD Nr. 1423, p. 21/22 (12 Ş 1308/23 March 1891). Also see Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 83, and Al-Hakīm, 70,71.

[49] Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 83–84.

[50] Concerning the phenomenon of Crypto-Christianity, see Georgios Andreadis, *The Crypto-Christians* (Thessaloniki, 1995); Peter Bartl, "Kryptochristentum und Formen des religiösen Synkretismus in Albanien," in *Grazer und Münchener balkanologische Studien* (München: Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des nahen Orients, 1967); Anthony Bryer, "The Crypto-Christians of the Pontos and Consul William Giffold Palgave of Trebizond," *Peoples and Settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus, 800–1900* (London: Variorum, 1988), XVII, 13–68; R.M. Dawkins, "The Crypto-Christians of Turkey," *Byzantion 8* (1933), 247–275; İlber Ortaylı, "Tanzimat Döneminde Tanassur ve Din Değiştirme Olayları," *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yildönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu* (Ankara: 31 Ekim-3 Kasım 1989) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 481–487; Stavro Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans," *Slawic Review* 2 (26) (1967), 227–246.

for military service like other Muslims. Although using officially and publicly Muslim names, they addressed each other among themselves with a second Christian name. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to discern from official documents such communities. It might be conjectured that Crypto-Christian communities existed only in those regions where Islamization was completed only few generations ago and where Christian communities were still living nearby. The principal areas of Crypto-Christians in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire seems to have been Albania, the Aegean Islands, Crete, Cyprus, Pontus and Cappadocia. One year after the proclamation of the Reform Edict of 1856 the Crypto-Christians of Pontus, called *İstavri* (Stavriotes), applied to the embassies of Britain, France, Austria, Russia and Greece, asking for support in their official registration as Christians. The Ottoman government only with some hesitation consented in the registration of these Crypto-Christians as "apostate Muslims" into the tax-registers. In 1910, following the Young Turk Revolution the Sublime Porte officially acknowledged the existence of such a population group.[51]

Some of these İstavri were residing in Akdağ Madeni (*sancak* of Yozgad, *vilâyet* of Ankara). When they openly declared their Christian faith in 1879 and applied for the exemption from military service, this emerged as a serious problem for the Sublime Porte. In 1897–98 Marshal Şâkir Pasha found it necessary to set up village schools in the region to regain the İstavri to İslam.[52]

Descriptions could be found in some Ottoman official documents about certain Muslim villages in the Balkans, the Aegean Islands or the Pontus region, where expressions similar to those used for Alevis were encountered, such as for example "darkness of ignorance and lack of education" (*zulmet-i cehlü nâdânî*), but names of sects or communities were never mentioned. Those population groups in question were, as far as could be discerned from the documents, sedentary farmers. A particular point in these documents was the constant stress on the need of the "preservation of Islamic religion" (*muhâfaza-i şeâîr-i dîniyye*). These were most likely Crypto-Christians.

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[51] Richard Clogg, "The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire," *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society.* Edited by Benjamin Braude-Bernard Lewis. Vol. 1 (New York-London: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 186.

[52] Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 78–81.

The administrative council of the island of Rhodes (*vilâyet* of Archipelago) sent a report to the Sublime Porte, complaining that the Muslim population of the villages Uzgur, Salakos, Kandilli (Kalìthie?), Katariye (Kattavìa?) and Lindos remained in the "darkness of ignorance" due to the lack of instructors who ought to teach religious knowledge and the precepts of Islam to the local Muslims. The governor urged the Sublime Porte to appoint and pay teachers "in order to preserve Islam."[53] A similar case was reported from the *vilâyet*-center of Trabzon and its immediate environment, where again the need was stressed for the establishment of a sufficient number of *ibtidâî*s and *rüşdiyye* schools due to the "darkness of ignorance" prevailing in this region.[54]

The governor of the *vilâyet* of İşkodra, İbrahim Pasha, reported that the population of the villages of Kastrat, Luha, İşkral, Koplik, Postriba, Reç, Suma, İbriyil, Garife, Gölkenarı, Cillik and Tuz[55] were "at the abyss of ignorance inclined to every kind of base temptations" (*vâdî-i cehâletde kalarak her türlü iğfâlât-ı sefîlâneye müstâidd oldukları*) and in addition nearly 2000 old and young Muslims were not even circumcized. Although vague, "base temptations" almost definitely meant behavior opposing Islamic morality and precepts. One could conjecture that the source of temptation would aim to distract the peasants from Islamic religion, but considering that traditional or convinced believers in any religion are difficult to distract from their beliefs, it can be assumed that the population group in question were attached to Islam in a rather superficial way, even if they were not Crypto-Christians. The document tells us that the *vilâyet*-administration began to provide the necessary means for the setting up more than a hundred schools to instruct the local population in the basics of Islamic belief. In addition a commission was formed, consisting of local *ulemâ* and pious Muslims, which organized a campaign for the circumcision of the male population. The Privy Purse financed this extensive project.[56]

In one case Crypto-Christians were mentioned openly. The Albanian

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[53] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 639 (22 B 1308/2 March 1891).

[54] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 639 (22 B 1308/2 March 1891).

[55] For these place names, compare Cevdet Paşa's *Tezâkir, 13–20.* Edited by Cavid Baysun. 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986), 202–205, 209–211.

[56] BOA YMTV 62/121 (29 L 1309/27 May 1892). I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Selim Deringil who draw my attention to this document.

population of two villages of the *nahiyye* of Eşbât (Shpat), located within the *sancak* of Elbasan (*vilâyet* of Monastir) refused in 1889 to serve in the Ottoman army, since they, although nominally Muslim and being recruited for twenty-five years, were attending Christian services conducted secretly by clergymen and finally were converted to Christianity due to the "temptations" (*iğfâlât*) of the Latin priests. The Sublime Porte interpreted this attitude of the population as the result of "ignorance." The government, fearing that this ignorant attitude and "inclination" (*istidâd*) could spread to the remaining population of the *nahiyye*, decided to appoint new *nahiyye*-directors to Eşbât and to the neighboring *nahiyye* of Cermanika. It was also decided to found schools in the region in order to re-islamize the population. Muslim *hoca*s, acquainted with the local language and customs were to be appointed as teachers to the projected schools.[57] According to Skendi, seventeen government schools were founded ten years later in the area of Eşbât. Though the *sancak* governor of Elbasan did his best to provide the Islamization of the Crypto-Christians of Eşbât, this policy remained unsuccessful.[58]

Twelver Shia

The majority of the Muslims of the *vilâyet* of Baghdad and Basra belonged to the religious community of the Twelver Shia. The most important religious and cultural centers of this community, like Karbala, Najaf, and also Kazimiya and Samarra were located within the boundaries of the *vilâyet* of Baghdad. Since the Shiites did not acknowledge the Ottoman sultan as the Islamic Caliph due to religious and historical reasons, and since a significant part of this population were feeling strong sympathy toward the neighboring Shiite Iran, the Ottoman state regarded them with considerable suspicion. The expansion of the Shia in Baghdad and Basra in the course of the nineteenth century formed an additional challenge for the Ottoman

[57] BOA MV Nr. 48, p. 66 (15 Ra 1307/9 November 1889); BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 115 (25 Ra 1307/19 November 1889); AD Nr. 1422, p. 155 (1 Ca 1307/24 December 1889); AD Nr. 1422, p. 559 (3 Ca 1308/ 15 December 1890).

[58] Skendi, *Albanian National*, 296–300. For a more detailed account about the phenomenon of Shpat, see Selçuk Akşin Somel, "The problem of Crypto-Christianity in Albania during the Hamidian period" in *South East Europe in History: The Past, the Present and the Problems of Balkanology* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi D.T.C.F., 1999), 117–125.

state, which worried about the progressive weakening of the Sunni presence in the region.[59]

Apart from the *vilâyet*s of Baghdad and Basra, another Twelver Shia community was living in the mountainous region of Jabal Amil, located within the *kazâ*s of Marjayun, Saida and Sur within the main *sancak* of Beirut. This community, called the *Mutevâlî*, was rather isolated from its Sunni, Druze and Christian neighbors and held close cultural and educational ties with Karbala and Najaf in Iraq as well as with Iran. The existing public schools in this region were visited seldom by the children of the *Mutevâlî*s.[60] But the main portion of the Ottoman Twelver Shia community was located in Iraq.

Though there were proposals for the application of the policy of religious uniformity to impose official religious norms in Iraq, as has been suggested by Süleyman Hüsnü Pasha (1838–1892), the prominent Young Ottoman soldier-intellectual who was banished by the Hamidian regime to Baghdad, the Sublime Porte in the main remained at a defensive position in the face of the Shiite missionary activities.[61] In order to prevent the expansion of the Shiite belief, a plan was developed in 1891 to bring young Shiite students to İstanbul and instruct them in the *medrese*s the Sunni doctrine in a thorough way. These students would return to their country as convinced Sunnis and act as missionaries among the population, and receive a salary from the government. According to a correspondence from the Office of the *Şeyhülislâm* twelve boys were brought from Baghdad to İstanbul and provided accommodation at the *Veli Efendi Medresesi*, located within the *medrese* complex of Fatih. These boys mostly belonged to

[59] For the issue of the Shia in the nineteenth century Ottoman Iraq, see Ghassan R. Attiyah, *Iraq, 1908–1921. A Socio-Political Study* (Beirut: Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, 1973); Gökhan Çetinsaya, "Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890–1908," (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 1994), 222–280; Selim Deringil, "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdülhamid II (1876–1908)," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 23 (1991), 347; Maurice Sawdayee, "The Impact of Western European Education on the Jewish Millet of Bagdad, 1860–1950," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1977), 9; Joyce N. Wiley, *The Islamic Movement of Shi'as* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992).

[60] Concerning the Shiite population in Jabal Amil, see Dr. Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui. Voyages dans la Phénicie, le Liban et la Judée 1875–1880* (Paris, 1884); Muhammad Kāzim Makkī, *Al-Haraka al-fikriyya wa-l-adabiyya fi Jabal 'Āmil* (Beirut, 1963); Mehmed Refik—Mehmed Behcet, *Beyrut Vilâyeti. Cenûb Kısmı* (Beirut, 1335/1917), 300.

[61] BOA YEE 14/1188/126/9 (9 N 1309/8 April 1892), cited from Selim Deringil, "The Struggle Against Shiism in Hamidian Iraq. A Study in Ottoman Counter-Propaganda," *Die Welt des Islams* 30 (1990), 53.

notable families of Baghdad and were to be treated with preference.[62] We do not know about the outcome of this undertaking. Even if they returned as missionaries of the Sunni creed, the influence of these twelve individuals in Iraq probably should have remained negligible.

The propaganda activities of the Shiite clergymen (*âhund*) among the non-Shiite bedouins of Baghdad forced the provincial administration in 1892 to ask İstanbul to appoint Sunni *ulemâ* for a counter-propaganda offensive, which was to be financed by the MPE.[63] Though the outcome of this request is not clear, it is interesting that the MPE, which emerged during the *tanzîmât*-period as a secular institution for the direction of public schools, could now be considered as an agency to finance *ulemâ*-activities.

In 1894, the Ottoman ambassador to Teheran, Ali Galib Bey, proposed four measures against the expansion of the Shiite belief. First of all, the travels of the Shiite clergy from Iran within the Ottoman territories including Mecca and Medina should be restricted, and they should be forbidden from travelling to rural areas and to nomadic tribes where they instigated unrest. Secondly, the Shiite *ulemâ* would gradually prevented from entering Ottoman territories altogether and teaching religious subjects by foreigners would be prohibited. An additional measure was to expel those Shiite individuals who entered Ottoman territories to instigate religious separatism. Galib Bey also underlined the necessity to appoint qualified Sunni instructors who would inculcate in the regional population the values of loyalty and obedience toward the Sultan-Caliph.[64]

Among those measures proposed by the Ottoman government to keep back the expansion of the Shia, educational precautions were regarded at least equally important as security measures. Alûsîzâde Ahmed Şâkir, a notable Sunni scholar from Baghdad, who toward the end of the Hamidian period became a member of the CE at the MPE, proposed in a report, dated August 1907, the establishment of "mobile *medreses*" (*seyyâr medrese*) and to equip these with

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[62] BOA YMTV 54/82 (22 S 1309/27 September 1891); YMTV 57/61 (23 Ca 1309/25 December 1891).

[63] BOA YMTV 59/41 (19 B 1309/18 February 1892); YMTV 65/92 (21 M 1310/15 August 1892).

[64] BOA YEE 14/1623/126/10 (11 S 1312/15 August 1894), Ali Galib Bey to the court chamberlain Mehmed Arif Bey. Cited from Deringil, "Legitimacy," 348.

Sunni scholars prepared specially for this undertaking.[65] These *ulemâ* would live together with the nomads, while sending regular reports to the administration concerning the conditions of these bedouins. Mobile primary and secondary schools would support the mobile *medrese*s and thus the local population still in their youth would have the opportunity to know the official belief system. In addition to this, the most capable Sunni students would be selected by means of examinations and admitted to Sunni *medrese*s. These "official students" (*muvazzaf talebe*) were to complete a three-year education, where they would learn how to raise objections to the Shiite belief and to prove its invalidity, while during the summer months live among sedentary as well as bedouin tribes and preach in line with the official belief. Finally A. Şâkir stressed the need to examine these students annually by a committee composed of the highest local officials and to offer the most competent and promising among them scholarships. According to this official such a protection and support of religious education would not only strengthen the relationship between the local population and the central administration and increase the loyalty of the regional population toward the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph, but would in addition also render the intrigues of foreign powers among the local population ineffective.[66] This proposition was prepared toward the end of the Hamidian period. Even if accepted, the Young Turk Revolution would have stopped its application. The new regime did not pursue a policy of Sunni Islamism.

It seems to be almost certain that those Sunni instructors, who were sent to Iraq toward the end of the Hamidian regime to combat the Shia, were not very successful. In August 1905, *Şeyhülislâm* Mehmed Cemaleddin Efendi told the Sublime Porte that the five instructors, who were sent from İstanbul to the region to inspect the local schools and *medrese*s and to examine their instructors, failed to accomplish their duty. Though these instructors were expected to speak fluently Arabic, to be well-informed about the local customs and in particular possessed a high level of knowledge in Islamic sciences, the fact

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[65] For Alûsîzâde Şâkir Bey, see Sadık Albayrak, *Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması. İlmiye Ricalinin Teracim-i Ahvali.* Vol. 1 (İstanbul: *Medrese* Yayınevi, 1980), 221–222; Abbas Azzavi, "Alusi," *İslam-Türk Ansiklopedisi.* Vol. 1 (İstanbul, 1941), 334–337.

[66] This report (13 Ağustos 1323/26 August 1907) was sent, together with the decrees of the sultan, to Baghdad. See Deringil, "Legitimacy," 349; idem, "Struggle," 52; Çetinsaya, 278–279.

that their salaries were paid irregularly seemed to be one of the main reasons of their low performance.[67] Indeed the continuing financial problems of the Ottoman state more than often resulted with delays of salary payments for civil and military officers.

Prior to the Second Constitutional Period children belonging to the Shiite community were mostly not admitted to those Ottoman public schools, located in the *vilâyet*s of Baghdad and Basra. The main reason for this policy seemed to prevent Shiites the opportunity to enter civil service or military career, and thus to hinder their penetration into the higher echelons of the local administration. The Shiites of these provinces, on the other hand, had little inclination to send their children to government schools because they feared official proselytizing. As a consequence the expansion of the Ottoman public school system in Iraq remained mostly limited to its Sunnis.[68]

Yezidis

Organized in tribal structures in northern Mesopotamia, members of this religious community were often persecuted by their Muslim neighbors, accused of being "worshipers of the Devil."[69] Though this community was mainly Kurdish-speaking, some Yezidi tribes in the Sinjar-area, located within the *vilâyet* of Mosul, used also Arabic. The Yezidis were able to preserve their independence from the neighboring Muslim Kurdish tribes until the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time Yezidis were already a minority in the region. When, however, the local Kurdish tribes were united by the powerful Kurdish bey of Rawanduz in 1832, the Yezidis became vic-

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[67] BOA BEO 272681 (1 C 1323/3 August 1905), Bâb-ı Fetvâ No. 56. Cited from Deringil, "Struggle," 55. See also Çetinsaya, 276.

[68] See the memoir of ʿAbd ar-Razzāq ʿAbd al-Darrājī, *Jaʿfar Abū-t-Timman wa dawruhū fi-l-harakati-l-watanīya fi-l-ʿIrāq* (Baghdad, 1978), 31; Atiyyah, 98; ʿAbd ar-Razzāq al-Hilālī, *Tārīh at-taʿlīm fi-l-ʿIraq fī ʿahd al-ihtilāl al-Brītānī, 1914–1921* (Baghdad, 1957), 17.

[69] Concerning the Yesidis within the Ottoman Empire, see Ralph H.W. Empson, *The Cult of the Peacock Angel. A Short Account of the Yezîdî Tribes of Kurdistân* (London, 1928); J. Jarry, "La Yazidiyyah: un vernis d'Islam sur une hérésie gnostique," *Annales Islamologiques* 7 (1967), 1–20; P.G. Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism. Its Background, Observances and Textual Tradition* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995); Rev. W.A. Wigram-Edgar T.A. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind. Life in Eastern Kurdistan* (London 1914); Nelida Fuccaro, "Ethnicity, State Formation, and Conscription in Post-colonial Iraq: The Case of the Yazidi Kurds of Jabal Sinjar," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 29 (1997), 559–580.

tims of persecution. Until 1844 Ottoman troops exerted pressure on the Yezidis, who refused to be conscribed to the Ottoman army. When in 1847 the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Stratford Canning, intervened on behalf of the Yezidis, the Ottoman government decided to exempt them from military service. Another incident of persecution happened in 1892, when the Ferik Ömer Pasha attempted to Islamize the Yezidis by the use of military force.[70]

We learn from S. Deringil that Ferik Ömer Pasha also planned to found seven schools in Yezidi villages with the object to convert them to Islam. Though instructors arrived in September 1892 to village schools, Yezidis resisted attempts of Islamization. In order to escape coercive measures of Ferik Ömer Pasha, the Yezidis applied to the French consul in Mosul, and applied for protection, declaring their willingness to accept Christianity.[71]

Aside of the information provided by Deringil, one encounters only sporadic documents pertaining to educational policies concerning Yezidis. According to a cabinet report from 1887 the village of Batıryan, located in the *kazâ* of Gazran (*vilâyet* of Bitlis), and its population originally consisting of Yezidis, informed the *vilâyet*-administration about their conversion to Islam and asked for the erection of a mosque as well as the establishment of a school. The cabinet approved this request.[72] In order to familiarize the Yezidis within the *vilâyet* of Mosul and the *sancak* of Hakkâri (*vilâyet* of Van) gradually to military service, the Sublime Porte decided on the petition sent by the Aide-de-Camp of the sultan, Şâkir Pasha together with Marshal Şâkir Pasha to establish special schools for the Yezidis in the *sancak* of Dersim (*vilâyet* of Mamuretülaziz). The Yezidi students in these schools were to be "taught higher ideals" (*bazı mertebe gâyâta mazhar edilerek*) and develop the desire for military service.[73] One might assume that these students were sons of Yezidi notables, who after their education would be expected to return to their tribes in Mosul and Hakkâri, and subsequently assist the Ottoman authorities in the performance of conscription. The governor of the *vilâyet* of Mosul, reporting the conversion of a number of tribes of Yezidi origin to Sunni Islamic

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[70] Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 69–73; Empson, 24–25, 89–91; Fuccaro, 567; A.H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London, 1853), 4.

[71] Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 71.

[72] BOA MV Nr. 26, p. 2 (23 S 1305/10 November 1887).

[73] BOA AD Nr. 1424, p. 262 (5 L 1309/3 May 1892).

belief, requested the assignment of the total amount of the EdC raised from the area to this province for a few years in order to found *ibtidâî* schools at the village-level. This report also proposed the conversion of the "*Medrese* of Sheikh Adî," i.e. the sacred place of the Yezidi community, into a teachers" seminary, which, according to another correspondence from the capital, was accepted by the Sublime Porte. This project was eventually realized, and the shrine of Sheikh Adî functioned as a teachers' seminary until 1914.[74]

Despite the application of military force and educational means, Ottomans were unable to convert the majority of the Yezidis to Islam and to integrate them into the Ottoman political structure.[75] The Yezidis were a marginal group even in eastern Anatolia and Mesopotamia. The Ottoman concern to integrate this population group into the Ottoman administrative system stemmed probably from the worry that these could be easily manipulated by foreign powers as pawns of a possible diplomatic intervention.

Zaydis

It is difficult to find concrete facts concerning the educational policy of the Ottoman state toward the Shiite sect of the Zaydis, who mainly lived in the central highlands of Yemen.[76] One cabinet protocol from the year 1887 discussed military operations against the "pretender" (*müddeî*) Şaraf ad-Dīn, a Zaydi *imâm*, in the area of the town of Sa'ada in the northern parts of Yemen. This protocol also emphasized the necessity to establish *medreses* in the *kazâ*-centers of the *sancak* of Ta'izz. Although the result of this consideration is not known, this project probably manifested the Ottoman plans to combat the political and religious influence of the Zaydis by means of the *ulemâ* who in the future would consist of the graduates of those Sunni *medreses* established in the highlands of Yemen.[77] In 1898 the

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[74] BOA YMTV 72/43 (22 Ca 1310), dated 20 R 1310/11 November 1892; Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 71–72, 73. Kudret Emiroğlu was kind enough to inform me about the outcome of the Sheikh Adî project.

[75] Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 74–75.

[76] For the late Ottoman Yemen, see İhsan Süreyya Sırma, *Osmanlı Devletinin Yıkılışında Yemen İsyanları* (İstanbul: Düşünce, 1980); Paul Dresch, *Tribes, Government and History in Yemen* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); William Harold Ingrams, *The Yemen. Imams, Rulers and Revolutions* (New York: Praeger, 1963).

[77] BOA MV Nr. 27, p. 8 (3 R 1305/19 December 1887).

Zaydi *ulemâ* requested from the governor of Yemen for the construction of a Sunni *medrese* in San'a', which was accepted by the government.[78]

Tribal Populations

People in mountainous regions or desert areas of the Empire at the end of the nineteenth century still retained their social integrity and tradition of political autonomy despite increasing administrative penetration of the Ottoman state to remote localities. The efforts of the Sublime Porte to raise taxes and to regularize conscription were mostly not welcomed by the tribal populations. Attempts to set up civil administration in tribal regions often led to rebellions instigated by tribal notables.[79] The Ottoman bureaucracy, on the other hand, considered those peripheral populations where the state could not establish permanent civil administration as groups which because of their uncivilized, "savage" (*vahşî*) way of life needed to be "directed to the area of civilization and to the privileged society of humanity" (*meydân-ı medeniyyet ve cemiyyet-i mümtâze-i beşerîye îsâl*).[80] A document from 1891 on Kosovo provides us an example of the Ottoman policy to integrate peripheral populations into the Ottoman political system. Accordingly, the state included public schools as one of the keys to preserving security and order in the *vilâyet* of Kosovo along with stationing a military unit and building roads.[81] It becomes apparent, therefore, that government education tried to be utilized as a means for the political integration of peripheral areas where civil administrative institutions could not take root.

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[78] Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 76.

[79] About this issue, see Gabriel Baer, "Landlord, Peasant, and the Government in the Arab Provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries," in *Économie et sociétés dans l'Empire ottoman (fin du XVIII–XX^e siècle)*. Edited by Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Paul Dumont (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1983), 261–274; Fuccaro, 559–580; Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery Relations, a Key to Turkish Politics?" *Daedalus* (1973), 169–190.

[80] BOA YMTV 72/43 (22 Ca 1310), dated 20 R 1310/11 November 1892. See also Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 41–42.

[81] BOA AD Nr. 1423, pp. 416–418 (2 S 1309/7 September 1891).

Albanians-Ghegs

The Ghegs, a tribal society within the Albanian population, situated in the northern parts of the province of İşkodra and in the western half of the *vilâyet* of Kosovo, were beyond the reach of regular civil administration until the end of the Ottoman rule. Süleyman Külçe, a former Ottoman military officer who served in Albania during the last two decades of Ottoman rule, believed that in Kosovo and İşkodra even in the early twentieth century the authority of the Ottoman sultan could not exceed that of local tribal chiefs. Ottoman civil laws were not influential, and in a number of places regular courts did not exist. Around İpek and Yakova only the Islamic rules of the Sharia were valid, while outside the *vilâyet*-center of İşkodra not even Islamic laws were respected and instead archaic tribal traditions based on vendetta were in full force. Due to the lack of a regular civil administration in parts of the *vilâyet*s of Kosovo and İşkodra, the Ottomans could not undertake censuses and tax-registrations, so that in official yearbooks of the *vilâyet*s of Kosovo and İşkodra statistical information for whole *sancak*s was missing.[82] The late-nineteenth century Ottoman administration regarded it as its mission to obliterate these tribal traditions among northern Albanians by promoting state-centered Sunni-Islamic orthodoxy and by founding schools. When the "School for Tribes" (*Aşîret Mektebi*) was founded in 1892 in İstanbul for the education of the sons of the tribal chieftains living in remote parts of the Empire, children of some Albanian clan chiefs attended this institution.[83]

After the promulgation of the Regulation of *Vilâyet*s in 1867 the *vilâyet* of Prizren was founded in 1871, where a great part of the Ghegs lived. The *vilâyet*-administration tried to establish civil administrative units at the local level, enforce regular conscription and taxation and strengthen respect toward central authority. The establishment of primary schools would further these ends.[84] The culmination of

[82] Bartl, 97; Brailsford, 262–265; Kurt Hassert, "Streifzüge in Ober-Albanien," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 24–10 (1897), 531–541; Külçe, 205–206; Süssheim, 577–578.

[83] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 649 (25 Şubat 1306/9 March 1891); BOA İrâde Maârif (hence IM) 542–1159–4–20 C 320–2 (20 C 1320/24 September 1902). See also Somel, 451.

[84] Kaleshi-Kornrumpf, 231, cited from the main article of the first issue of the official *vilâyet* gazette *Prizren*, dated 14.8.1871.

the financial crisis after 1871, however, prevented the Sublime Porte from carrying out this educational project.

In the early 1890s the state argued that building public schools would combat local "barbaric customs" (*âdât-ı vahşîyâne*) like vendetta in Prizren.[85] Toward the end of the Hamidian period the province of Kosovo belonged to those regions in the Ottoman Balkans where government-funded primary schools were among the highest in terms of the number of schools for each *kazâ*.[86]

Bedouins

The Ottoman state considered the bedouin tribes of the Syrian Desert as Muslims whose ties to Islam were basing merely on tradition and their religious devotion rather superficial.[87] Thus, when Christian missionaries and particularly the Jesuits strengthened their activities among Syria's bedouin tribes, the Ottoman authorities were alarmed. In order to prevent bedouin conversion to Christianity, viewed by the Sublime Porte as the consequence of their "ignorance," the state decided in 1885 to send fifteen to twenty instructors to promote the Sunni belief among the bedouins of the region and establish *ibtidâî* schools. The problem did not go away. Fifteen years later the Sublime Porte complained that these "wild peoples of bedouins" (*akvâm-ı müte-vahhîşe-i bedeviyye*) in the *sancak*s of Kerak and Hawran were following the missionaries "just because of their greed for money."[88]

A number of *ibtidâî* schools were founded in the *kazâ*s of the *sancak* of Hawran toward the end of the 1880s and the early 1890s. Among their aims, these schools would strengthen Sunni belief among the different population groups of the region such as the native bedouins

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[85] BOA AD Nr. 1422, p. 649 (25 Şubat 1306/9 March 1891).

[86] See Appendix 11.

[87] About the Bedouins and Ottoman policies toward them, see Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskan Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991); Norman N. Lewis, *Nomads and settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretlerin İskanı* (İstanbul: Eren, 1987); Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1939, 1943; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1952, 1967).

[88] BOA AD Nr. 1420, p. 341 (12 Ca 1299/1 March 1882); BOA MV Nr. 4, p. 96 (26 Za 1302/6 September 1885); BOA YMTV 189/106 (14 Z 1316/25 April 1899).

and the Druzes as well as the recently settled Circassians and Daghestanis from Caucasus.[89]

Government policy for the strengthening of Sunni belief among the bedouins could also be observed for the *vilâyet*s of Baghdad and Basra. Two members of the *ulemâ* were appointed around 1881, with unusual high monthly salaries of 1000 and 1250 *kuruş* to be met by the MPE, to convert the probably Shiite bedouins in Rezaza, located within the *sancak* of Kerbela as well as within Samarra (*vilâyet* of Baghdad), to Sunni belief.[90] It was considered around 1891 to open mobile *ibtidâî* schools (*seyyâr mekâtib-i ibtidâiyye*) for the bedouins of the *vilâyet* of Basra.[91]

The bedouins, on the other hand, perceived schools as centralist threats to their autonomy and resisted them. Bedouins of the *vilâyet* of the Hijaz, for instance, were unwilling to deliver their children to public schools not only because of Ottoman Turkish as the language of education, but also fearing that the registered children sooner or later would be conscribed to military service.[92]

A further group of populations sharing the nomadic form of life were the Turkmen tribes of eastern Anatolia and the *vilâyet* of Aleppo. Since it is not possible to find a single document indicating any educational policy of the Sublime Porte toward the Turkmens, one is inclined to ask whether the Turkmens were considered as "secure" by the Ottoman state in terms of political loyalty due to their ethnic characteristics, and thus no special educational measures were taken. If this reasoning is correct, it then shows ironically that politically loyal groups could receive less government support than those considered as untrustworthy. This attitude correlates with the financial policy of the MPE to fund those schools without local financial support due to lack of local interest or deliberate resistance to government education. On the other hand, those communities interested in education were left alone to secure the local resources for founding primary schools.

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[89] BOA YMTV 46/140 (28 R 1308/11 December 1890).

[90] BOA AD Nr. 1420, p. 99 (1 C 1298/30 March 1881).

[91] BOA AD Nr. 1423, p. 182 (26 L 1308/4 June 1891).

[92] Jamal Alami, "Education in the Hijaz under Turkish and Sharifian Rule," *Islamic Quarterly* (London) 1–2 (19) (1975), 43; Muhammad ʿAbd ar-Rahman aš-Šāmikh, *At-Taʿlīm fī Makka wa-l-Madīna Ākhir al-ʿAhd al-ʿUthmānī* (Ar-Riyādh, 1973), 33, 35.

Circassians

In the course of the nineteenth century numerous Circassian tribes migrated from Caucasus into the Ottoman Empire, where they were settled in different parts of the Empire and particularly in Anatolia.[93] The Ottoman civil administration could be established among the Circassians' tribal social structure only gradually. During the first years after their settlement administrative issues were solved mainly by the "General Inspectorate for Immigrants" (*Umûm Muhacirîn Müfettişliği*). For the Hamidian period we know of only one document concerning the educational policy toward the Circassian immigrants. The Circassian inhabitants of the newly founded village Hamidiyye of the *nahiyye* of Fart (*kazâ* of Balıkesri, *vilâyet* of Karesi), sent a report to the inspectorate in 1884, where they requested a primary school instructor capable to teach in Circassian language as well as modern sciences to students. The Ottoman government approved this request and decided to send an instructor with these qualities, the salary expenses to be met by the budget of the MPE.[94]

Kurds

The Kurdish population, mostly located in the eastern regions of the Ottoman Empire (eastern Anatolia, northern Mesopotamia), was characterized, like the Albanian Ghegs or the Circassians, by tribal structures and many of them led a nomadic way of life. Nomadism, tribal structures and mountainous terrain prevented the Sublime Porte from establishing a civil administrative network among the Kurds that went beyond the administrative centers in the late nineteenth century. Given Kurdish autonomy and isolation from Ottoman cultural and political influence, their feeling of being a part of a greater political entity was weak.[95]

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[93] About the migrations from Caucasus to the Ottoman Empire in the course of the nineteenth century, see W.E.D. Allen, *Caucasian battlefield: a history of the wars on the Turco-Caucasian border 1828–1921* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1953); Hayati Bice, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1991); Charles Allen Burney, *The peoples of the hills: ancient Ararat and Caucasus* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1971); Süleyman Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya göçleri (1878–1908): Tatarlar, Çerkesler, Abhazlar, Gürcüler, Ahıskalılar, Dağıstanlılar, Çeçenler, diğerleri* (Trabzon: K.T.Ü. Kafkasya ve Orta Asya Ülkeleri Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, 1996).

[94] BOA AD Nr. 1243, p. 172 (1 C 1301/29 March 1884).

[95] About the Kurds, see Ewald Banse, *Auf den Spuren der Bagdadbahn* (Weimar,

H.F.B. Lynch, who visited eastern Anatolia in 1893 and 1894, reported the construction of a primary school in the *nahiyye*-center of Patnos (*sancak* of Bayezid, *vilâyet* of Erzurum). The government met the building expenses, while the object was to provide elementary education for the Kurds. The chieftain of the local Kurdish tribe of Haydaranlı, Hüseyin Pasha outwardly supported the establishment of this school, but was actually not pleased about this development. The Kurds regarded this institution as a symbol of the presence of the Ottoman foreign domination.[96]

The establishment of public schools in regions inhabited by Kurdish tribes often could be commenced only after the pacification of the area. After the Kurdish mountain tribes of Sason and Mutki in the *vilâyet* of Bitlis were subordinated by the Ottoman government around 1890, the *vilâyet*-administration set up five *ibtidâî* schools and five mosques with the object to "civilize" these tribes and strengthen the Sunni belief among them.[97]

The Aşîret Mektebi

A special educational institution in İstanbul designed for the abovementioned population groups was the Imperial School for Tribes (*Aşîret Mektebi*), established in 1892. This school was originally designed as the first example, to be followed by other similar "Schools for Tribes." The initial aim of this institution was to integrate tribal populations in the Arabic provinces into the Ottoman political system by providing Ottoman education to sons of selected tribal notable families and shaping them into Ottoman loyalists.[98]

1913); Joyce Blau, *Le problème kurde: essai sociologique et historique* (Bruxelles: Publications du Centre pour l'Etude des Problèmes du Monde Musulman Contemporain, 1963); Derk Kinnane, *The Kurds and Kurdistan* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Basile Nikitine, *Les kurdes, étude sociologique et historique* (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1956); Robert Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism 1880–1925* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1991); Earl Percy, *Highlands of Asiatic Turkey* (London, 1901); Arshag Safrasian, *Kurds and Kurdistan* (London, 1948); E.B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise* (2nd edition, London, 1926); Martin van Bruinessen, *Agha, shaikh, and state: the social and political structures of Kurdistan* (London; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books, 1992).

[96] H.F.B. Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies II: The Turkish Provinces* (London: Longmans, 1901), 20.

[97] BOA MV Nr. 54, p. 17 (10 L 1307/30 May 1890).

[98] For detailed examination of this institution, see Alişan Akpınar, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Aşiret Mektebi* (İstanbul: Göçebe, 1997); Deringil, *Well-Protected*, 101–104; Eugene

Four boys, belonging to aristocratic tribal families from each of the *vilâyet*s of Aleppo, Syria, Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, Diyarbekir, Tripolitany and from the separate *sancak*s of Bingâzi, Jerusalem and Zor as well as five boys from each of the *vilâyet*s of the Hijaz and Yemen were selected by the local authorities and brought to İstanbul. These boys were to be educated in this school "in order to save them from the darkness of ignorance and from the abyss of barbarism" and "to let them participate at the light of knowledge and education as well as at the fruits of civilization."[99]

Though originally founded with the purpose of educating boys from Arabic tribes, the *Aşîret Mektebi* after a short period accepted also pupils from Albanian and Kurdish tribes. Applications for this school came even from the tribes of Mount Lebanon. In 1898 such an application reached the Sublime Porte, signed by a Muhammad ʿĀrif bin Hālid and his friends, which was approved by the central government. In 1907 two persons, already in İstanbul, a Muhyī ad-Dīn and Yūnus from the *kazâ* of Kura (Mount Lebanon), applied for the School for Tribes. After the Ministry of the Interior ascertained that these boys were belonging to the *al-Husn*, a tribe known for its loyalty to the Ottoman government, they were sent to one of the military schools in İstanbul, since at that time the School for Tribes was already closed down.[100]

The MPE supervised School for Tribes, while the spiritual head was the sultan. This institution with boarding facilities was expected to teach a total of 210 male students, aged 12 to 16 for five-year terms. The MPE proposed and the sultan appointed the director of this institution. The students were taught submission to God, to the

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Rogan, "Aşiret Mektebi: Abdülhamid II's School for Tribes (1892–1907)," *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 28 (1996), 83–107, and İbrahim Sivrikaya, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu İdaresindeki Aşiretlerin Eğitimi ve İlk Aşiret Mektebi," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, 11–63 (1972), 17–24. See also BOA YMTV 67/90 (27 Safer 1310), 15 M 1310/9 August 1892; BOA YMTV 68/41 (11 Ra 1310/3 October 1892); Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târihce-i Teşkilâtı ve İcrââtı* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920), 338; Engin D. Akarlı, "Abdülhamid II's Attempt to Integrate Arabs into the Ottoman System," in *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation.* Edited by David Kushner (Leiden; Jerusalem: E.J. Brill; Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1986), 80.

[99] BOA YMTV 67/90 (27 Safer 1310), dated 15 M 1310/9 August 1892; YMTV 68/41 (11 Ra 1310 /3 Oct.1892); M. Cevâd, 338.

[100] BOA BEO A.MTZ.CL 4–161 (1325.9.17) doc. 1, 7 M 1316/28 May 1898; doc. 2, 17 M 1316/7 June 1898; doc. 24, 12 N 1325/19 Oct. 1907; doc. 23, 17 N 1325/24 Oct. 1907.

Messenger Muhammad and to the Sultan-Caliph. After the students first learned Ottoman Turkish, all subsequent courses were delivered in that language. The curriculum was a mixture of *rüşdiyye-* and *idâdî-*courses. Graduates of the School for Tribes could, after completing the Imperial School of the Civil Service, return to their places of origin and either become an official in the local administration or act as a lower gendarme officer.[101]

According to Rogan the goal of attracting the sons of the more powerful tribal families to this institution failed, and it never filled its quota of 210 students. The rather limited and often hostile relationship between the central administration and the tribes at the periphery made the tribal notable often reluctant to send their sons to the distant capital.[102] Nevertheless, a tribal elite emerged toward the end of the Hamidian period that was imbued with Ottoman culture.

Though the School for Tribes was dissolved in 1907 according to Ergin as a result of a student rebellion against the school-administration for the improvement of the school meal, Rogan and others argue that the difficulty to attract the expected numbers of boys from notable families as well as the increasing expansion of public schools into more peripheral areas of the Empire made this institution obsolete.[103]

Non-Muslim Students in Public Schools

In connection with the reforms defined by the Congress of Berlin, that the Ottoman state acknowledge the principle of equality of all its subjects before the law, an 1879 cabinet protocol ordered that non-Muslims who applied to *rüşdiyye* schools were to be admitted.[104]

But in fact public institutions such as *ibtidâî* schools and the *rüşdiyye*s were not designed for a mixed education, as evidenced by Hamidian era increase in Islamic instruction. A few exceptions existed. For ex-

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[101] BOA YMTV 67/90 (27 Safer 1310), 15 M 1310/9 August 1892; BOA YMTV 73/99 (14 C 1310/30 December 1892); BOA IH 56 (12 R 1318/9 August 1900); BOA IH 19 (8 Ş 1320/10 November 1902); BOA IH 50 (13 L 1325/19 November 1907); Rogan, 92–93. For the courses, see Appendix 7.

[102] Rogan, 89–91.

[103] See Akpınar, 76–78; Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Mektebleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısiyle Türkiye Maarif Tarihi.* 2d ed. vol. 3–4 (İstanbul: Eser Kültür, 1977), 1180–1189; Rogan, 100; Sivrikaya, 23–24.

[104] "Islâhâta Dâir Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbatası Sûreti," in *Said Paşanın Hâtırâtı.* Vol. 1 (Dersaâdet: Sabâh, 1328/1910), 395, 397.

ample, some non-Muslims in Antalya attended the local government *ibtidâî*s and *rüşdiyye* schools. The governor of the *sancak* of Teke (*vilâyet* of Konya) reported to the Yıldız Palace in 1889 that after the establishment of regular *rüşdiyye*s and *ibtidâî* schools for boys and girls "Muslim as well as non-Muslim children of the country without exception" (*Müslim ve gayrı Müslim bilâ istisnâ evlâd-ı vatan*) were attending the same schools.[105] But these were exceptions to the norm of religious segregation. The increasing Islamic character of the *ibtidâî*- and *rüşdiyye*-curricula and the educational networks of non-Muslim communities worked against non-Muslim participation in government schools.

Nevertheless a number of non-Muslim students attended *idâdî* schools. The cabinet argued that since foreigners also shared in the EdC through the payment of the property tax, they had the right to send their children to *idâdî* schools.[106] The fact that several provincial administrations apparently made such an inquiry shows some foreign demand for access to these institutions. The Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1888 donated a piece of land where the *idâdî* school of Jerusalem was founded, further demonstrating their interconfessional character.[107] Despite this, in general non-Muslim students were only a minority among the general student body. The Greek-Orthodox Syrian Yūsuf al-Hakīm says that after the opening of the *idâdî* school in Latakia toward 1895 he and his brother were the only non-Muslims among the 250 students of this school.[108]

The political attitude of non-Muslims toward the Ottoman state seems to be have been a significant factor in their continuation at public schools. Members of the Armenian Gregorian community, who as a community entered into a situation of a latent or sometimes even open political conflict with the Ottoman state, only began to send their children to government schools after the restoration of the constitutional regime in 1908.[109] An intercommunal education in the real sense was realized during the Hamidian period at the *Mekteb-i Sultânî* in İstanbul and at the professional higher schools.[110]

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[105] BOA YMTV 38/46, (13 Ş 1306) (14 April 1889).
[106] BOA YMTV 29/11 (13 Ra 1305) (29 November 1887).
[107] BOA MV Nr. 36, p. 53 (11 S 1306/17 October 1888).
[108] Al-Hakīm, 99, 106.
[109] Ernst Sommer, "Das Werden der neuen Türkei. Blicke in das Schulwesen Anatoliens," *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, 11 (1914), 26.
[110] Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 245–246; Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*. 2d ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 139–140.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHILDREN'S IMPRESSIONS OF SCHOOL AND THE PROCESS OF EARLY SOCIALIZATION (1869–1908)

Information based primarily on official documentation bears the weakness of representing normative views. Even though official reports, criticising actual educational conditions, help to some extent to reach a more differentiated view of the actual conditions, the horizon remains mainly official and state centric. One possible way to evade this official bias seems to be a careful reading of contemporary memoirs. Here an attempt has been made to analyze the memoirs of individuals who spent their childhood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in different parts of the Empire, with the aim of "understanding" the conditions of early socialization and children's impressions of schools.

The use of memoirs carries with it certain methodological problems. The most obvious one is that memoirs are not based on diaries, but are mostly written during the later stages of life, in retrospect with a view conditioned by the experiences of later life. The memoirs examined in this chapter were all written during the early Republican period, a time when radical cultural changes were taking place, and in which the past emerged as a period of "backwardness." Another problem emerges from the fact that most Turkish memoirs do not belong to "ordinary" people, but to prominent personalities who played important roles in politics, military life, the arts and sciences. These individuals, independent of social and class origins, appear as extraordinary intelligent and gifted actors, who had distinguished themselves even during their school lives. The point is that their view of school experiences certainly would not represent those of more ordinary students who mostly have not left any written memoirs behind. Therefore, one could argue that the memoirs examined represent only the experiences of the authors, and even if any generalization were to be made, the above-mentioned methodological limitations have to be kept in mind.[1]

[1] For an evaluation of memoirs as a source for Ottoman history, see Suraiya

The examination of memoirs yields two sets of information: impressions of the state of formal education, and reminiscences concerning informal factors of socialization. Impressions concerning formal education provide some idea about the extent of the realization of the educational goals envisaged in İstanbul. In addition, students' impressions concerning the educational system can be obtained. On the other hand, memoirs provide a picture of the vital importance of informal cultural factors in determining the personalities of the young people.

Memoirs clearly indicate that the aim of the MPE, to realize compulsory schooling at the level of primary education, was not achieved. Whole town quarters, even in a major provincial capital such as Edirne, were not sending their children to any of the existing schools, including the Quran schools. Also, the other object of the MPE, to introduce *ibtidâî* schools as alternatives to Quran schools, seemed to be far from being reached toward the end of the nineteenth century. The examined memoirs indicate that families, showing interest in education, preferred to send their children to the Quran schools rather than the *ibtidâî* schools. This preference was at least partially due to the reluctance of the conservative Muslim population concerning this non-traditional institution. On the other hand, though *ibtidâî* schools were initially designed as embodiments of the "new method" (NEM, *usûl-i cedîd*), many of the provincial *ibtidâî*s did not seem to be too different from the Quran schools in terms of pedagogical approach. Though the corporal punishment of *falaka* (bastinado) was forbidden according to the NEM, it continued to be applied in the *ibtidâî*s as well as in the *rüşdiyye* schools. Private *ibtidâî* schools, on the other hand, came closer to the pedagogical and curricular norms set by the NEM.

The childhood impressions of the memoir authors show that provincial *rüşdiyye*s in fact acted as primary schools. Unless instructors were available to offer a more differentiated program, the actual provincial *rüşdiyye* curricula concentrated on subjects such as Arabic and Persian. Due to the different educational levels of the provincial *rüşdiyye*s and those of İstanbul, schools in the capital did not consider provincial *rüşdiyye* degrees as equivalent. Except for a few private

Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History. An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 163–167.

rüşdiyye schools, the educational approach at the *rüşdiyye*s, and at the *rüşdiyye*-level classes of the *idâdî* schools, was based on memorization.

It is striking that memoirs often describe the public *ibtidâî* and *rüşdiyye* instructors as turbaned, i.e. probably members of the *ulemâ*-class. The fact that the RPE and the NEM stressed the requirement to employ only graduates of the teachers' seminaries as instructors leaves the researcher with the following possible explanation: some of these turbaned instructors were graduates of the teachers' seminaries, while others were provincial members of the *ulemâ* who, due to the scarcity of instructors, were employed as secondary instructors. In terms of teaching quality, some memoirs provide a favorable impression concerning the teaching abilities of the turbaned instructors, particularly in literary fields. On the other hand, their presence in public schools is an indication of the still dominating presence of members of this religious class in nominally non-religious schools. This inevitably had its effects in the processing of the teaching material, as well as in the cultural outlook these teachers conveyed to students.

One noteworthy impression emerges from the memoirs: the general unhappiness of the students during their educational life, particularly at *rüşdiyye*- and *idâdî*-level schools. Instruction by rod, memorization of fixed textbooks and the atmosphere of intellectual bondage led the students to feel pessimistic and doomed in their lives. The young generation almost sensed a general distrust and hostility of the administration toward them, which in fact complemented the attitude of distrust of the minister of education, Zühdü Pasha, toward the instructors. These generations of Hamidian youth increasingly felt hatred toward the educational system and the state administration.

The reading of memoirs makes the researcher aware of cultural factors that, though outside of the public school system, nevertheless constituted an indispensable part in the shaping of the personality of the authors.[2] Popular tales, popularized epic stories which enriched

[2] For more detailed discussions on the issue of socialization and the development of personality, see William Damon, *Social and Personality Development: Infancy Through Adolescence* (New York; London: Norton, 1983); Kenneth J. Gergen and Keith E. Davis (eds.), *The Social Construction of the Person* (New York; Berlin; Heidelberg; Tokyo: Springer Verlag, 1985); Klaus Hurrelmann and Uwe Engel (eds.), *The Social World of Adolescents: International Perspectives* (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 1989); Ralph Lindon, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (London: Routledge, 1998); Gül Mijgar,

the fantasies of children, as well as novels and illegal publications, consumed during adolescence, formed some of these informal cultural agents. The influence of these cultural factors on the development of personality can be understood on two levels: on the first level, children from pre-school to primary school age became acquainted with popular Islamic epic tales and romances which probably provided the child with the sense of belonging to the Muslim community. The child associated himself with the hero, who by legendary deeds became victorious over the "infidels." The tragic romances, on the other hand, created the feeling that real love was mystical love, the love of God. The second level of informal cultural impact belonged especially to the age of adolescence, where the *rüşdiyye-* and *idâdî*-level student was introduced to the patriotic notions of *vatan* ("fatherland"), *millet* ("nation") and *hürriyet* ("liberty"). Young Ottoman writings and illegal Young Turk publications provided the political consciousness that the Empire was going to collapse, the inability of the administration to preserve imperial power, the heedlessness of the sultan, and the necessity to restore the constitutional regime. Since the administration was too corrupt, the country could be "saved" only by real patriots, i.e. by the Young Turks. A memoir author remembers that while he prayed in his provincial hometown to God to become a martyr for the sake of religion, this religious sentiment was transformed in İstanbul into a love of the motherland, and the feeling that a death for the sake of motherland was the highest level one could achieve in life.[3] Thus the love for religion turned into a patriotic fervor, which could be considered as a process leading toward the secularization of informal culture and of personality.

The process of socialization as a whole, including formal education and informal cultural factors, was mainly dependent on certain socio-economic, cultural and geographic conditions in which the child grew up. Based on these three parameters, one encounters the following three actualities at household-level: economic ability to afford child nurses and tutors; the degree of Western cultural influence; the

"Children's Picture Book and Fairy Tales in Turkey: a Study in Political Socialization," (Master's thesis, Bilkent University, 1990); Jack David Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: the Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization* (New York: Routledge, [1983]).

[3] Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk, *Vatan Hizmetinde* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yay., 1981), 27.

geographical situation of the hometown (border areas versus central parts of the Empire). Wealthy families often had nurses as member of the household, and employed tutors to educate primary school children at home. These children entered public schools only at the level of secondary education. On the other hand, increasing numbers of children in the course of the Hamidian period became familiar with Western culture to some extent at home, such as European furniture, contacts with non-Muslims, or Western-style literature. At the same time, traditional Islamic cultural atmosphere, such as ritual prayers, visits to the tombs of local mystics, visits to dervish convents, or stories with Islamic and mystic character, continued to exist side by side with the Western influence. The geographical location determined to an important extent the political consciousness of the adolescents concerning the uncertain future of the Empire. Border regions with considerable non-Muslim populations, guerilla activities and casualties among the civil population provided Muslim children with the notion of the non-Muslim "other," who constituted a threat to the well-being of the Muslim community. Also it seems that not an insignificant number of Muslim children used to attend neighboring non-Muslim schools, which constituted an additional factor for socialization.

Socialization at Pre-School Age

In terms of socialization, a child at pre-school age is more open to influences from the outside world. Thus, education at pre-school-level is very much dependent on the socio-economic, cultural and geographical conditions in which the child finds himself. Taking this argument into consideration, one could differentiate social environments such as wealthy-modest income, westernized-traditional, and imperial center-imperial periphery.

Looking at family wealth as a factor shaping pre-school age socialization, it becomes apparent that families, wealthy ones as well as those with a medium level of income, often raised their children by using wet-nurses (*sütanne*) and child's nurses (*dadı*). These mostly lacked any formal education and were illiterate. *Sütanne*s and *dadı*s were commonly servants brought up in the household, some of them of Black African origin, and had virtually become a part of the family. Children grew up under the protective care of these nurses. This

protection often prevented children from playing outside in the streets, as children from modest backgrounds did. The nurses used to tell a variety of fairy tales, which probably formed a rich fantasy world in the minds of the children. Another cultural influence of the nurses constituted the inculcation of a number of superstitious beliefs among the children. It is difficult to assess the later impact of these tales and superstitions in the intellectual development of the infants. Since this belonged to the rather early stage of childhood, memoir authors are barely able to relate clear memories concerning this age. It is notable however that all of those authors examined, who were raised by nurses, later became known as literary personalities.[4]

Those children from families, who either could not afford child nurses or simply did not have such household members, mostly spent their early childhood in the streets, playing with children from the neighboring houses. Such street games, especially the formation of small gangs, could sometimes involve violence. It seems that exposure to the outside world provided at least some of these boys with the opportunity to acquire a somehow dim awareness of the social conditions of the location in which they grew up, such as class differences, ethnic differences, or political discontent.[5]

Family environment in terms of everyday culture can be understood within the framework of a scale, ranging from a noticeable degree of Western culture to the presence of mainly traditional cultural items. Here, Western culture is understood mainly in terms of material culture, i.e. the existence of European furniture and daily objects at home, preference for Western arts and aesthetics, frequent contacts with non-Muslims and foreigners, and the conviction of at

[4] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev.* Edited by Mehmet Kalpaklı and Gülbin Türkgeldi (İstanbul: Özgür Yay., 1996), 10–86; Ali Ekrem Bolayır, *Ali Ekrem Bolayır*'ın Hâtıraları. Edited by Metîn Kayahan Özgül (Ankara, İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991), 3–40; Ahmet Rasim, *Falaka.* Edited by M. Sabri Koz. 3d ed. (İstanbul: Arba Yay., 1987), 21–65; Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl. Anılar.* Edited by Şemseddin Kutlu (İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1987), 22–32.

[5] Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam.* 8th ed. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1987), 9–10, 16; Ahmet Cevat Emre, *İki Neslin Tarihi. Mustafa Kemal Neler Yaptı* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1960), 5–11; Esat K. Ertur, *Tamu Yelleri (Emekli Yargıç Hüseyin Kâmil Ertur'un Anıları)* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., 1994), 5–6; Kâzım Karabekir, *Hayatım.* Edited by Faruk Özerengin (İstanbul: Emre Yay., 1995), 26–52, 71–76; Dr. Rıza Nur, *Hayat ve Hatıratım* (İstanbul: Altındağ Yayınevi, 1968), 62–70; Ebubekir Hâzim Tepeyran, *Hatıralar.* Edited by Faruk Ilıkan. 2d ed. (İstanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret A.Ş., 1998), 3–4, 10–12.

least some family members that Western civilization and its ways were superior to the traditional Ottoman Turkish one. But nearly all reminiscences reflect an intertwining, to a greater or lesser extent, of Western and traditional cultural items, and only a few memoirs relate a dominant traditional culture within family life.

In those households with a degree of Western culture the father emerged mainly as the representative of it, whereas the mother in most cases seemed to be at least indifferent. In contrast to fathers, most mothers were illiterate or had not received formal education, and thus were confined to traditional culture. Looking at the Islamic practice of the sexual separation of men and women in the Ottoman household in the form of *haremlik ve selâmlık*, the *selâmlık* compartment for men seems to have represented a more Western space, whereas the *haremlik* section for women was dominated by traditional culture. In more wealthy households, child nurses were an indispensable part of the *haremlik*. Even in those very few households, where the child's mother tended toward a Western style of life, the grandmother played the role of the transmitter of traditional culture. A child, spending his early childhood in a household with Western influence, would confront two different spaces. There would be first the masculine world of the *selâmlık*, where his father and grandfather would meet their friends and colleagues in an environment with European-style furnitures and open to the outside world, including non-Muslim and European circles. This world would represent to the child possibly dynamism, material developments, public life, politics, but perhaps also struggle, discomfort and worries. The father in most cases would keep some distance between himself and the child, and would not easily display his feelings of love toward him. A considerably different world would be the *haremlik*, where tradition and superstition prevailed. But this space, separated from the public life, would provide the child with the needed warmth, comfort and the feeling of being protected. This environment would occasionally witness women's meetings, some of them coming from other households, exchanging information on neighborhood and daily events. Women would sometimes meet with the aim of performing prayer or to recite the attributes of God (*zikir*). The child would acquire the basic and popular knowledge of religion mainly in the *haremlik* section of the household. It is difficult to assess the effects of this seemingly deep cultural division between these masculine and the feminine worlds on the child. What is clear is that the *haremlik*

formed an association of love, protection and the possibility of being spoiled, whereas the *selâmlık* created feelings of distance, discipline and authority. The child would somehow feel that the *selâmlık* was the more important and determining section of the household. At the same time, he would feel himself torn apart between these two worlds. The fact that there was often no meaningful communication between the father and the mother would perhaps create feelings of unhappiness in the child's soul.[6]

Households with more traditional characteristics do not seem to have displayed such a cultural division between the *haremlik* and the *selâmlık*. More modest households probably did not even have a clear spatial division of *haremlik* and *selâmlık*. In such environments children enjoyed more of a family life where father and mother spent their time together. But when the father was a minor civil servant or a low-ranking military officer, he did represent to some extent the culture of state-centered modernism, authority, and educational enlightenment. In such households popular didactic works of the conservative modernist Ahmed Midhat Efendi could be read aloud to the whole family, preferably the *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* (1875), *Hasan Mellâh* (1874) and *Hüseyin Fellâh* (1875), or popular translations from the French romantic authors Alexandre Dumas (*Le Comte de Monte-Cristo*, 1844) and his son "Dumas Fils" (*La Dame aux camélias*, 1848).[7] The mother, on the other hand, continued to embody traditional and Islamic culture. Though this cultural "role distribution" seems parallel to the wealthy and more Westernized households, the lack of child nurses prevented children from being exposed to superstitions.

If the father was a part of the traditional culture like the mother, the latter emerged as the determining cultural factor within the household. Being literate or illiterate, she would influence her children by her devotion to religion, and mystical practices would create at home an atmosphere of other-worldliness. If the mother were literate, she would teach her son in early childhood how to read.[8]

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[6] Adıvar, 68–75; Bolayır, 5–6, 18, 26–29; Yahya Kemal, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasî ve Edebî Hâtıralarım*. 2d ed. (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1976), 1–7; Rasim, 21–47; Uşaklıgil, 45–82.

[7] İlhan Selçuk (ed.), *Yüzbaşı Selahaddin'in Romanı*. Birinci Kitap. 4th ed. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1984), 15; Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Edebî Hatıralar* (İstanbul: Akşam Kitaphanesi, 1935), 7.

[8] Aydemir, 23–24; İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Hayatım*. Edited by Ali Y. Baltacıoğlu (İstanbul: Dünya Yay., 1998), 8–11; Ertur, 1–4, 5–6; Nur, 55–58; Tengirşenk, 7–10.

An important factor in Ottoman Turkish socialization seems to have been the reading or telling of popular Turkish-Islamic legends and stories. Based originally on oral traditions, these popular stories were written down in the nineteenth century and multiplied in a cheap way by means of lithography.[9] Children mostly began to hear these at the pre-school age, and read them during their primary school years. These stories and legends were widespread among Turkish families, irrespective or wealth, social status or geographical location. One type of the stories included different versions of the legends of Battal Gazi (*Battalnâme*) and the battles of Caliph Ali (*Hazret-i Ali'nin Cenkleri, Hayber Kalesi*) and Abu Muslim of Khorasan (*Ebû Müslîmnâme*). The common themes of these stories were the heroic battles of the legendary Islamic holy warriors against the infidels, mostly Byzantine Christians, where these warriors succeeded in defeating and killing superior infidel armies with the help of faith. These warriors also displayed the ability to perform wonders (*kerâmet*) as a sign of their holiness (*baba, eren*).[10] Another type of such popular stories consisted of the tragic romances of *Âşık Garîb, Âşık Kerem, Tâhir ile Zühre* and *Leylâ vü Mecnûn*. These depicted the passionate love between a young man and a young girl, which never reached fulfillment, with both suffering from the longing for each other. Their love is finally transformed into a mystical one and becomes a love for God. Memoir authors relate how especially female members of their families were full of tears when listening to these romances.[11] Families with a greater exposure to Western culture often included in the list of evening readings *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* for the heroic type of stories, and *La Dame aux camélias* for the romances.[12] There were also stories, which were confined to a specific locality, and corresponded to the above-mentioned types of legends. Ahmet Cevat Emre, who grew up in Crete, remembers how his mother used to tell him the

I would like to express my gratefulness to Oktay Özel, who informed me about the memoirs of Baltacıoğlu.

[9] Fahir İz, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nesir*. 2d ed. (Ankara: Akçağ Yay., 1996), 247–323, 403–421.

[10] Adıvar, 86–89; Aydemir, 23; Baltacıoğlu, 5; Bolayır, 49; Kemal, 17; Nur, 72–73; Tengirşenk, 14; Yalçın, 5–6.

[11] Adıvar, 95–96; Aydemir, 24; Baltacıoğlu, 5; Nur, 73–74; Tengirşenk, 14; Uşaklıgil, 45; Yalçın, 5.

[12] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Anamın Kitabı*. Edited by Atilla Özkırımlı. 4th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 1983), 132–133; Selçuk, 15; Yalçın, 7.

Erotokritos, a tragic romance similar to *Âşık Kerem* or *Tâhir ile Zühre*.[13]

Some memoir authors state the considerable impact that these popular stories exerted upon their young minds. For Şevket Süreyya Aydemir and Halide Edib Adıvar these stories helped to develop a sense of Islamic mysticism as a part of their early personality. Rıza Nur, on the other hand, developed a sentiment of heroism under the influence of the legends of Caliph Ali and Battal Gazi, and this led him to choose a military career in his later life. A similar feeling of heroism was aroused in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu when his mother read him the *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo*.[14] It seems to be that the legends of Battal Gazi and Caliph Ali were important means of socialization by creating among young children the notions of "us" as the Islamic community and the "other" as the adversary, infidel non-Muslims. The tragic romances of *Âşık Garîb, Âşık Kerem* and *Tâhir ile Zühre*, on the other hand, possibly strengthened the sense of the impossibility of attaining perfect love through a sensual relationship and perhaps reinforced feelings of mysticism and other-worldliness.

Another factor that affected pre-school socialization was the geographical location of the household. One could assume that Muslim children who grew up in the border regions of the Empire, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, felt the inability of the Ottoman state to provide security against non-Muslim separatist guerilla activities in the Balkans, in Crete or in eastern Anatolia. This was probably felt more strongly among those families who had recently emigrated from former Ottoman territories, which had become parts of Christian countries. Emre, who belonged to the Muslim population of Crete, relates how the local Muslims worried about Greek insurrections and lived in constant fear of violent acts expected from Cretan Greek nationalists. Aydemir, whose parents had migrated from northern Bulgaria to Edirne, remembers the general state of being dispirited in his social environment, the general distrust of the ability of the Ottoman state to preserve the current boundaries, and the general worry that the next war with a European power would lead to a new immigration. This state of worry affected pre-school children to the extent that the favorite game of street boys was to play guerilla war, where one group of

[13] Emre, 11–12.

[14] Adıvar, 86–89; Aydemir, 23–25; Karaosmanoğlu, 132–133; Nur, 73–74.

kids represented the Bulgarians, and the other the Ottomans. A consequence of this atmosphere was frequent gang fights between boys from Muslim quarters and boys from Christian sections of Edirne. Though not living in a border region, Rıza Nur also relates similar gang fights which could lead to serious injuries between Muslim and Christian boys in the northern Anatolian coastal town of Sinop. It seems that among those pre-school children of border regions these feelings of worry and immediate danger could strengthen the sense of ethnic identity, which possibly made them later more liable to patriotic and nationalistic sentiments. Kâzım Karabekir, on the other hand, tells us that while he spent his early childhood in the eastern Anatolian towns of Van and Harput (Elazığ), he established warm friendships with the local Armenian children. This last memory shows us that while tensions grew between religious communities in the last decades of the Empire, there were still friendships formed among children from different ethnic groups. A comparable reminiscence is Adıvar's brief stay at the Greek kindergarten at Beşiktaş, İstanbul, where she learned the Greek language and received compassion and love from the Greek mistress of the kindergarten.[15]

Primary Education

Though public *ibtidâî* schools increasingly expanded in the imperial capital and the provincial centers during the Hamidian period, the memoirs examined clearly show us that the educational role of traditional Quran schools did not diminish in Ottoman Turkish society. One could even claim that the more conservative Ottoman Turkish families often preferred the Quran school to the *ibtidâî* school for the education of their children. For those childhoods prior to 1880 there is no account of public or private primary schools. At that time Quran schools constituted a necessary educational level to be completed before entering *rüşdiyye* schools. Though from the 1880s onwards the number of government and private *ibtidâî* schools increased throughout the Empire, they could never form an effective alternative to the Quran schools. It was often the case that Ottoman Turkish

[15] Adıvar, 32–35; Aydemir, 16–18; Emre, 17–18; Karabekir, 38–39, 52; Kemal, 57–58; Nur, 69.

families sent the child first to the Quran school, and only afterwards to the *ibtidâî* school.

Since local pious foundations (*vakıf*) mostly maintained Quran schools, there was no settled or standardized rule concerning the minimum age of school attendance. In the same way, the period of education was not clearly defined, and depended mainly on the time needed to reach the ability to read the whole Quran. Also, while the RPE stipulated compulsory primary education, there were still considerable numbers of poor families who preferred to send their boys to a shop as apprentice and did not even send them to Quran schools. Aydemir remembers from his hometown Edirne that practically none of the families in his neighborhood sent their children to any school.[16] Therefore, though it was traditionally considered as desirable to send children to Quran schools for religious education, and in spite of the existence of Quran schools in nearly every town quarter, considerable sections of the urban Muslim population seem to have been outside any kind of school education.

The memoirs show a variety of ages for attending Quran schools. Though the age of 3, which was the age in Kâzım Karabekir's case, seems exceptionally low, it was traditionally normal that children between the ages of 4 and 6 were sent to Quran schools. The attendance at a Quran school was considered an important stage in the life of a child. When parents decided to send their child to a Quran school, a special ceremony was organized, called *âmin alayı* ("amen procession"). Rasim, who grew up in İstanbul, relates the details of this ceremony and his childhood feelings. When the decision was made to send him to the Quran school, Rasim felt an increase of his standing within the household. A few days before the ceremony, his mother bought him new clothes, a pair of galoshes and a new ornamented fez. When Rasim heard that he would ride a horse, he could not wait for the first school day. On the morning of the ceremony, a procession of Quran school pupils, all neatly dressed and consisting of hymn singers (*ilâhîciler*) and amen chanters (*âminciler*) came to Rasim's grandfather's house. By that time girls and women from the neighborhood had gathered around the procession, and listened to the hymns sung by the pupils. Then a pony was brought to the door of the house, and the assistant (*kalfa*) of the school instructor

[16] Aydemir, 30.

(*hoca*) helped Rasim to mount the pony. Riding a pony was an unforgettable event for Rasim. The *âmin alayı* moved slowly from his grandfather's house to his mother's home, and then toward the Quran school. The procession was led by two pupils, one of them carrying an ornamented leather bag containing a section of the Quran (*cüz kesesi*) and the traditional book for the Arabic alphabet (*Elifbâ Cüzü*), and the other pupil carrying on his head a cushion and a low reading desk (*rahle*), followed by the *kalfa*, Rasim riding the pony, and the singers who chanted songs. When the procession arrived at the school, the school *hoca*, wearing his best clothes, greeted Rasim, and the latter kissed his hand. For a new pupil the first school day consisted only of the symbolic repetition of the first three Arabic letters.[17]

Since there was not a fixed time in a year to enter Quran schools, the educational level of pupils varied to a considerable degree. There was no class system, and children of different ages were sat together in one room. If there were girls, they would sit separately at the other side of the room. Due to the different educational levels, the *kalfa* and sometimes an advanced pupil used to teach the beginners the alphabet and the basics of the Quran, while the *hoca* dealt with the more advanced pupils. The instruction at Quran schools consisted first of the memorization of the Arabic alphabet by using the *Elifbâ Cüzü*, followed by readings of the Quranic sections of *Âmme Cüzü*, i.e. from the 78th surah until the end of the Quran, and then the *Tebâreke Cüzü* (the 67th surah), to be concluded by the complete reading of the Quran (*hatim indirmek*).[18] The readings of the Quranic texts were performed by certain techniques of recitation, which sometimes could resemble a course for music. Rasim relates that the reading of religious hymns was a kind of music lesson.[19] It seems that in some Quran schools the complete reading of the Quran was celebrated in a similar way to the *âmin alayı*. Ragıp Bey from the central Anatolian town of Kayseri remembers that when a pupil reached

[17] Adıvar, 24–25; Aydemir, 30; Baltacıoğlu, 24; Bolayır, 17–18; Emre, 7–8; Ertur, 6; Mâhir İz, *Yılların İzi* (İstanbul: İrfan Yay., 1975), 25; Karabekir, 26–27; Kemal, 1–2, 21–22; Nur, 62–63; Ragıp Bey, *Tarih-i Hayatım. Kayserili Başkâtipzade Mülazım Ragıp Bey'in Tahsil-Harp-Esaret-Kurtuluş Anıları*. Edited by Ahmet Emin Güven and M. Bülent Varlık (Ankara: Kebikeç Yay., 1996), 11–12; Rasim, 33–34; Selçuk, 14; Tengirşenk, 10; Tepeyran, 3–4; Uşaklıgil, 27–28.

[18] Baltacıoğlu, 24–25; Emre, 7–8; Kemal, 21–29; Ragıp Bey, 11–12; Selçuk, 16–17; Uşaklıgil, 27–32.

[19] Rasim, 57.

that stage, the father of this pupil invited the relatives of the family to the school, where the fathers of other pupils were also present. The pupil completed the reading of the Quran (*hatm-ı şerîf*), and the prayer of the repetition of the whole Quran (*hatim duası*) followed this, read by the *hoca*, and everybody said *âmin* ("amen"). Afterwards the pupil's father distributed dried fruits and sweets to the pupils, the *hoca* and the invited guests. The school was closed for one or two days. Meanwhile this pupil was neatly dressed, and boys and girls from the school, also ornamented, formed a procession, headed by the *kalfa*, and marched through the streets of the town by chanting *âmin*, and visited other school *hoca*s. This ceremony was also called *âmin alayı*.[20]

The Quran school *hoca*s were mostly deeply respected by the traditional Muslim population. As religious persons who were inculcating holy knowledge to children, *hoca*s exerted a considerable influence over pious Muslim people. Many Muslim women believed in the healing powers of the *hoca*s.[21] Pious people trusted the *hoca*s to the extent that when they gave their child to the Quran school, they used to say to the *hoca* "his flesh is yours; his bones are mine" (*eti senin kemiği benim*), thus permitting the *hoca* to apply corporal punishments to the child.

Aside from the reading of the Quran, there was no established curriculum in the Quran schools, and the reading of additional textbooks depended on the educational attitude of the individual school *hoca*. We learn from some memoirs that books like *İlm-i Hâl* ("Catechism"), *Tecvîd-i Muhammediye* (a book on the method of reciting Quranic surahs), *Ahmediye* (a book on ethical behavior written in verse) or *Kısas-ı Enbiyâ* ("The History of the Prophets") were also read at some Quran schools. Emre, who grew up in Crete, relates that the *hoca* of his village Quran school led the pupils to read a simple Turkish textbook with pictures, with the title *Anahtar* ("Key").[22] It seems that writing exercises were performed only at a few Quran schools in Anatolia and the Balkans. Only Emre remembers that the school *hoca* taught them how to write.[23]

[20] Ragıp Bey, 13.
[21] Rasim, 112–114.
[22] Emre, 8; Ertur, 7; Karabekir, 35.
[23] Emre, 8–9.

The period of education depended on the ability of the pupil to master the Quran. Tengirşenk and Uşaklıgil relate how they in a short time learned the alphabet, were able to read the *Âmme Cüzü* and the *Tebâreke Cüzü*, and even read the whole Quran.[24] But it was often the case that pupils did not like the school they attended, and left it for another Quran school or perhaps for a public *ibtidâî* school. The majority of the memoirs clearly reflect the deep horror children experienced when they witnessed the excessive use of corporal punishment, ranging from boxing the ears up to the most severe forms of *falaka*. Though authors such as Baltacıoğlu, Emre and to some extent Tepeyran relate the gentleness of some Quran school *hoca*s, the remaining authors associate Quran school with beatings reaching the level of brutality. Thus a number of fresh Quran school pupils, shocked by the beatings, fled from the school to their homes to tell their mother about what they had seen. But the usual reaction of the mother was either indifference, or a defense of beatings as a necessary measure for education, stating that "a rose grows at the spot hit by the *hoca*" (*hocanın vurduğu yerde gül biter*).[25] But the terror was at such a level that Abdullah (later King of Transjordan), Adıvar, Karabekir and Tepeyran resisted continuing at Quran schools despite pressure from the parents.[26]

This atmosphere of terror seems to have been counterproductive in terms of instruction. Children developed feelings of hatred toward any kind of education, and quite a few remained often unable to learn the Arabic letters even after years of instruction.[27] Thus it happened that some of the Quran school pupils either searched for another Quran school, or if possible, went to the newly founded *ibtidâî* schools.

The parents usually made the transfer from the Quran school to an *ibtidâî* school, but in an exceptional case the child himself left the former and entered the latter. Uşaklıgil, who was unhappy in the Quran school in İstanbul, heard from one of his relatives about the existence of a new type of a primary school which had recently been founded.

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[24] Tengirşenk, 10; Uşaklıgil, 27–32.

[25] Baltacıoğlu, 26; Emre, 7–9; Rasim, 112–113; Tepeyran, 3–4, 6–7.

[26] Abdullah, *Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan*. Edited by Philip P. Graves (London: Jonathan Cape, 1950), 34; Adıvar, 24–25; Karabekir, 35–36; Tepeyran, 4, 9.

[27] Abdullah, 34; Kemal, 28–29; Rasim, 143; Tepeyran, 8.

Without asking his family, he went to this new school and entered the class, where pupils at that moment were receiving education. The instructor, a young man with a white turban, received Uşaklıgil with friendliness and allowed him to sit down. It was in the early 1870s when new types of schools had an insufficient number of pupils, thus seeking any additional pupil. Thus, Uşaklıgil was registered as a pupil of this school without being asked for consent from his parents, or for identity papers. But whereas it was the mothers and grandmothers who often took the initiative in sending their children to Quran schools, it was the fathers who mostly took the lead in registering their sons at *ibtidâî* schools.[28]

Modern primary schools as alternatives to the Quran schools were not always received positively by the Muslim population. When the first *ibtidâî* school (*Mekteb-i Edeb*) was opened in Skopje (Üsküb) in the early 1890s, the local Muslims considered this school as an attempt by the Jews to lead Muslim children to irreligion and to Judaism. This feeling was supported by the fact that this private school was located in the Jewish quarter of the town and directed by a Muslim from Salonica. Kemal remembers that when his father took him from the local Quran school and registered him at this new school, Kemal with his childish sentiments feared that he would lose his religion and become a *gâvur* ("unbeliever").[29] The fact that the first modern primary schools of İstanbul could not find sufficient pupils may also be indicative of the reluctance of the conservative Muslim population to send their children to these non-traditional institutions. One may also notice the impact of Islamic culture and identity on children, who feared to loose their belief. When Selahaddin's family moved from the Thracian town of Tekirdağı to İstanbul in 1901, his father, a military physician, aimed to register him at a British primary school. Selahaddin, who had previously gone to two Quran schools, resisted his father's decision, stating that "I won't become an unbeliever" (*gâvur olmam*). Since pressures from his father proved to be futile, Selahaddin was given to a private Muslim primary school (*Dârüttalîm ve İlim Mektebi*).[30] Though *ibtidâî* schools began to expand from the 1880s onwards, childhood memories from the

[28] Baltacıoğlu, 26; Karabekir, 26, 44–45; Kemal, 28; Nur, 63; Rasim, 24–32; Tepeyran, 3–4; Uşaklıgil, 30–32.
[29] Kemal, 28.
[30] Selçuk, 18.

late 1880s, 1890s and early 1900s show us that a number of Quran school pupils, after leaving the school, were directly registered at civil and military *rüşdiyye* schools, without attending the *ibtidâî* school.[31] Thus, *ibtidâî* schools as an alternative to Quran schools do not seem to have firmly taken root within Ottoman Turkish society.

The memoirs containing reminiscences of public *ibtidâî* schools, from different years and from varying parts of the Empire, clearly show the lack of an institutional standard in terms of curriculum or pedagogical approach, as well as physical environment. When Uşaklıgil attended one of the few *ibtidâî* schools of İstanbul in the early 1870s, the physical environment did not seem to be too different from Quran schools. Again, children were sitting on cushions on the floor, and the instructor was a religious person wearing a white turban. But Karaosmanoğlu relates that when he attended an *ibtidâî* school in the western Anatolian town of Manisa around 1896–1897, children were sitting on benches. Ragıb Bey, who remembers his *ibtidâî*-years between 1897–1901 in Kayseri, reports the well-organized atmosphere of the primary school.[32] Looking at the curriculum and pedagogical approach, Uşaklıgil remembers his primary school as a place where instruction was efficient. He states that he learned in this school reading and writing in the full sense within a short time. Another novelty was the teaching of Arithmetic. The instructor did not apply corporal punishment, and pupils did not experience any feeling of horror. Karaosmanoğlu, in contrast, states that the pedagogical approach at the *ibtidâî* school in Manisa (*Fevziyye Mekteb-i İbtidâîsi*) was not too different from the Quran schools, the application of corporal punishment, including the *falaka*, part of the daily order.[33]

The personal impressions of those authors who went to public *ibtidâî* schools inevitably bear certain subjective traits. When Karaosmanoğlu, who belonged to a notable family of western Anatolia, returned from a luxurious life in Cairo to the provincial surroundings of Manisa, he found the *ibtidâî* school of this town very dark, dirty and foul smelling. He remembers how he constantly felt nausea due to the bad smell, and was unable to eat anything during the lunch break. Ragıp Bey from Kayseri, in contrast, had positive

[31] Aydemir, 31–43; İz, 25–28; Karabekir, 35–45; Nur, 62–63; Tengirşenk, 10.
[32] Karaosmanoğlu, 28; Ragıp Bey, 13; Uşaklıgil, 30–32.
[33] Karaosmanoğlu, 125–127; Uşaklıgil, 30–32.

impressions concerning his *ibtidâî* school. This school seemed to be a clean place, functioned in an orderly way, and its instructors were well- trained people. On each Thursday evening, before leaving the school for the religious holiday of Friday, pupils were shouting, "long live the Sultan!" (*Padişahım Çok Yaşa!*). At the end of each educational year a reward ceremony was organized where all the notables of Kayseri, the *sancak* governor (*mutasarrıf*), members of the local *ulemâ* and a number of civil and military officials were present. The rewards, mostly books, were awarded by the governor and by the local *mufti* to the most successful pupils. Ragıp Bey remembers how these ceremonies raised the feeling of pride among the *ibtidâî* pupils. A different kind of an *ibtidâî* memory comes from Emre, who liked to examine the huge map of the Ottoman Empire, attached to one of the classroom walls. This map gave Emre an idea of the territorial greatness of the Ottoman Empire, and aroused in him feelings of pride and patriotism.[34]

Another category of primary schools constituted private *ibtidâî* schools. The two memoirs that describe these schools provide us—again—with some subjective impressions. Kemal states that his transfer from the Quran school in Skopje to the private school *Mekteb-i Edeb* was like a "passing from the Orient to Europe" (*Şark'dan Avrupa'ya geçişim*). Here Kemal was able to master reading and writing within two months, which he had not been able to do in the Quran school. Pupils were required to wear clean school uniforms, and were sitting on benches instead of on cushions on the floor. Baltacıoğlu remembers that the private *ibtidâî* school *Şems ül-Mekâtib*, located at Kabataş in İstanbul, offered courses such as Music, Drawing, Gymnastics, and the teaching of reading and writing was performed in harmony with the Turkish vowel system. Instructors acted mostly in a gentle and friendly way toward the pupils, but at the same time discipline was applied in a resolute manner. Pupils wore ornamented uniforms, and every evening, prior to leaving school, they shouted, "long live the Sultan." After one year of instruction in this institution, Baltacıoğlu attended two other private *ibtidâî* schools, the *Meşrik-i Füyûzât* and the *Kışlaarkası Mektebi.* He states that some instructors in these two institutions displayed pederast tendencies, which weakened the respect of the pupils toward them. Baltacıoğlu's impressions

[34] Emre, 14; Karaosmanoğlu, 28–29; Ragıp Bey, 13.

concerning these schools are mostly negative, except in the case of some instructors of the *Kışlaarkası Mektebi*, who influenced his intellectual development. He tells about the instructor of the courses on Quran reading and calligraphy, who inculcated Baltacıoğlu with the notions of aesthetics, cleanliness and accuracy. Another instructor, of music, created among the pupils a love of Anatolian rural culture and music, and children learned a number of Anatolian Turkish folk songs. In fact this music instructor was a military officer who was serving in the music band of Yıldız Palace.[35] If only considering these few impressions of private *ibtidâî* schools in terms of the number of courses offered, teaching efficiency and pedagogical approach, the private *ibtidâî* schools seem to have been superior to the public *ibtidâî* schools.

The RPE stipulated that all instructors of primary schools be graduates of teachers' seminaries. The examined memoirs agree that the schoolmasters (*muallim-i evvel*) of the public *ibtidâî* schools and most of the instructors were wearing white turbans, i.e. were probably members of the *ulemâ*. This was true even for some of the private *ibtidâî* schools. This proves the continuation of the considerable role of the *ulemâ* in Ottoman public education even during the final years of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries. Another indication of this finding may be that many of the graduates of the teachers' seminaries were *medrese* students.

Quran schools and *ibtidâî*s were not the only two possibilities for primary education. The practice of tutorial education at home, for example, seems to have been widespread among wealthy and notable families.[36] When Adıvar, at the age of 5, insisted of being educated, her father hired a tutor. A special ceremony was organized, where the father invited male neighbors and colleagues for a banquet. Adıvar wore a long, ornamented ceremonial dress, her head covered by a tulle, and her father took her to the hall where a young *hâfız* (one who knows the Quran by heart) was reciting parts of it. The guests were gathered in the hall. Adıvar knelt down in front of the *rahle* of the tutor, a turbaned *hoca efendi*, and repeated the first letters of the Arabic alphabet. This tutor was the instructor of an

[35] Baltacıoğlu, 26, 29–33; Kemal, 28–29.
[36] Uşaklıgil, 92–93.

ibtidâî school. While mastering the recitation of the Quran, Adıvar also learned reading. One of the first books she read was a travelogue on Africa (*Afrika Seyahatnâmesi*).[37]

A different account of tutorial education comes from Abdullah, son of the Meccan Sharif Hussein. After Abdullah fled from the Quran school in Mecca because of his terror of *falaka* punishments, his father arranged a tutor in the neighboring town of Ta'if, who acted in a mild and friendly way, and was able to create in Abdullah an interest for reading and writing. With this tutor, Abdullah memorized the whole Quran. For writing practice and calligraphy, there were three different tutors, one of them teaching the basics of writing, the second one exercising the calligraphic styles of *sülüs* and *nesih*, and the last one the calligraphic style of *rika*. Whereas the first two were locals of the Hijaz, the last was an Ottoman *efendi*. Abdullah's educational life changed in a radical way, when his family moved in 1891 to İstanbul. Abdullah and his brothers continued tutorial education at the mansion where they lived until 1908. During this period Sultan Abdülhamid appointed special tutors, who provided them with an Ottoman type of instruction. A young military officer from the War Academy taught the Turkish language, Turkish grammar, and reading Turkish aloud. It was forbidden to talk in Arabic during these sessions. These were followed by courses such as Geography, Arithmetic, Ottoman and Islamic history, all of them taught in Turkish. Tutors for Arabic and Calligraphy courses were native Arabs.[38]

Other possibilities of primary-level education were dependent on the social environment in which the child grew up. Neighborhoods with different ethnic or religious communities provided potential for the diversification of education. While Emre grew up in a village in Crete, his grandmother induced him to attend the Greek primary school of the village on Thursdays and Fridays, i.e. when the Quran school was closed. Thus Emre learned to read and write in Greek.[39] The presence of a fairly educated person in an environment without any higher level of educational institutions could offer opportunities for those who were ready to extend their knowledge. Again

[37] Adıvar, 68–75.
[38] Abdullah, 34, 38–40.
[39] Emre, 9.

Emre, at the age of seven, became a friend of the newly appointed customs house guard, who taught him to speak in Turkish and brought him textbooks in Ottoman Turkish. Among these were the classical textbook *Tuhfe-i Vehbî*, a Persian- Turkish dictionary written in rhyme for primary-level education. Emre remembers how the constant reading of the *Tuhfe-i Vehbî* made him gain the basics of the Ottoman Turkish literary language as well as providing him with the aesthetic notions of Ottoman court poetry and a sense of *Aruz Vezni* (Middle Eastern metrics).[40]

Rüşdiyye Schools, Secondary Education and Adolescence

Until the expansion of the *ibtidâî* and the secondary-level *idâdî* schools from the 1880s onwards, *rüşdiyye* schools represented the main class of modern public schools in the Empire. Therefore it was expected that graduates of Quran schools would continue their education at *rüşdiyye* schools. But the setting up of *ibtidâî* schools as an alternative to Quran schools did not alter this pattern, and the examined memoirs tell us that many pupils, after attending Quran school, still used to go directly to *rüşdiyye*s. Therefore, with very little education aside of Quranic knowledge, these pupils in fact needed to receive primary education in the modern sense, and *rüşdiyye* schools fulfilled this need. The impressions of the authors provide a concrete picture of this situation.

The reminiscences concerning *rüşdiyye* curricula, ranging from the 1870s until the early twentieth century, tell us that the main weight in these schools was placed on literary subjects, such as Arabic and the relevant grammar topics (*Emsile, Binâ, Avâmil, İzhâr*), literary Persian texts such as the *Pend-i Attâr* and Sâdi's *Gülistan*, and the *Tuhfe-i Vehbî* for initiating pupils in Ottoman and Persian literary culture. Other subjects commonly taught were Arithmetic, Geography and History. The existence of additional subjects depended mostly on the availability of the relevant instructors. Thus courses such as Algebra, French or Calligraphy were taught whenever instructors were available. But Karabekir remembers that the *rüşdiyye* school of Mecca did not employ a French instructor, since it was considered a sin to

[40] Emre, 10–11.

teach a Western language in the Holy Land. In the *rüşdiyye* of Resmo (Rethymnon, Crete) Greek was offered in addition to French.[41]

We learn from Uşaklıgil that the *rüşdiyye* of İzmir in the late 1870's did not have benches in the European sense, but students sat on cushions, similar to those at the Quran schools. When students entered the school- building, they had to take off their shoes and put them on to a "shoerack" (*ayakkabılık*). Some of the *rüşdiyye*s continued the application of corporal punishment as at the Quran schools. Karabekir and Nur relate that the *falaka* was applied to students sometimes in an arbitrary way. Nur remembers that when the schoolmaster one day became furious, he subjected one whole class of students to *falaka*. When he saw how the feet of his classmates were bleeding, Nur fled from the school and refused to go back for three days. Only after his father talked to the schoolmaster and was assured that this type of corporal punishment would not take place, was Nur able to attend the school again.[42]

It seems that not a few of the schoolmasters and instructors of *rüşdiyye* schools were members of the *ulemâ*-class. These were mostly in charge of literary subjects as well as Mathematics, whereas educated government officials and military officers often offered courses such as Geography or History. The latter, being non-professional instructors, tended to force students to memorize texts. If subjects like Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and Persian were dealt with by instructors from the *ulemâ* in a thorough way, students seemed to enjoy these courses much more than the others. But in general, memorization was the dominant educational approach.[43]

Nur and Yalçın remember how they were unable to understand the courses on Arabic and Persian languages, and were forced to memorize the textbooks in a mechanical way. Yalçın admits also that he could not enjoy classical Turkish literature. Similarly, Uşaklıgil relates how the French course consisted only of the memorization of the main conjugations, and Karabekir states that the instructor of the History course forced students to learn by heart the ruling periods of all Ottoman sultans, the dates of their births and deaths

[41] Baltacıoğlu, 34–40; Emre, 22–24; Ertur, 10; Karabekir, 68–70; Nur, 69–70; Tepeyran, 15; Uşaklıgil, 100.

[42] Karabekir, 70; Nur, 69–70; Uşaklıgil, 109.

[43] Baltacıoğlu, 37–40; Emre, 22–24; Ertur, 10,14; İz, 28; Karabekir, 70; Nur, 69; Uşaklıgil, 107–109.

in the form of day, month and year. These writers provide the reader with a general impression of a *rüşdiyye* education as intellectually unstimulating, dull and sometimes oppressive.[44]

Daytime *idâdî* schools, consisting of five school years, contained three *rüşdiyye*-level classes, and thus partially replaced separate *rüşdiyye* schools in cities and major towns. Though more differentiated in terms of subjects and putting more weight on natural sciences, the overall educational approach does not seem to have been radically different from those of the *rüşdiyye*s. But in terms of the impressions of students concerning four different *idâdî*-level schools, the accounts of Emre, Baltacıoğlu, Tengirşenk and Rasim will be examined.

One impression is of a provincial *idâdî* school, located in Kandiyye (Herakleion, Crete) from the middle of the 1880s. Emre remembers that nearly all of the instructors were turbaned, some of them probably members of the *ulemâ*. Except for one instructor, all were natives of Kandiyye. Emre's experience of his first day at school was the application of the *falaka* on himself. For him the toughest courses were Mathematics and Arabic. He remembers that the main reading text for the Persian course was Sadi's well-known poetic work *Bostan*. The instructor for the recitation of the Quran seems to have been a person with superstitious beliefs, since he forced students to open their mouths, into which he spat as a precondition for proper recitation. Those who resisted this act received a failing grade. This school offered also a Greek language course, which was provided by a Cretan Greek instructor. It was a period when Cretan Greek nationalist gangs were attacking Muslim villages. Emre, who outside of school hours took additional Greek lessons from the Greek instructor of the *idâdî* school, asked him why the Greeks were rebelling. When the instructor replied that Crete belonged to Greece and soon would be annexed, this to be followed soon by İzmir, Emre remembers how he felt a deep hatred toward Greeks, causing him to cease continuing his additional Greek lessons.[45]

Another impression is from a public *idâdî* school in İstanbul, the *Vefâ İdâdîsi*, from the first years of the 1900s. Baltacıoğlu remembers the mainly dull quality of his education in this school, which did not offer him any cultural or intellectual stimulation. He relates that

[44] Karabekir, 70; Nur, 69–70; Uşaklıgil, 110; Yalçın, 32–33.
[45] Emre, 15–16.

the main impact of the *idâdî* education on him was an all-embracing discipline in terms of formal uniformity, i.e. uniform clothing, memorization of standard texts from textbooks, and the discouragement of the development of individuality. What this education intended to create was a strong feeling of loyalty toward the personality of the sultan.[46]

A different type of reminiscence concerns a private *idâdî* school in İstanbul from the late 1880s, the *Nümûne-i Terakki*-School. Tengirşenk, who received his Quran school and *rüşdiyye* education in his hometown, Boyabad (northern Anatolia), went to İstanbul for higher-level education. But since *rüşdiyye* diplomas from provincial towns were not accepted as equivalent by the schools in İstanbul, Tengirşenk was forced to repeat the *rüşdiyye*-classes, which he did at the *Nümûne-i Terakki* School. As a newcomer to İstanbul, Tengirşenk was despised and discriminated against by his classmates due to his heavy Anatolian accent. He thus had to work hard to change his Anatolian accent into an İstanbul accent. But only when Tengirşenk distinguished himself by his academic performance and became the top student in his class, did the discriminatory attitudes of the students and instructors change. Continuing to be the best of his class in the following year earned him, as an honorary student, a tuition-waiver. Tengirşenk remembers that during the first year *rüşdiyye*-class, the instructor of the History course led the students to read the history works of Mizâncı Murad Bey, who later became well known as a Young Turk. It seems that non-standard readings of this kind provided Tengirşenk with a wider intellectual horizon. As introduction to the Persian language again the *Tuhfe-i Vehbî* was used. Tengirşenk states that the courses on Mathematics were taught in this school in an effective way. He also remembers the general attitude of gentleness and patience of most of the instructors of the *Nümûne-i Terakki* toward the students.[47]

A last example of memories of an *idâdî*-level school is Rasim's reminiscence on the famous boarding school for Muslim orphans in İstanbul, the *Dârüşşafaka*, which was run by an Islamic foundation. Rasim, after finishing Quran school education, entered around 1878 the *rüşdiyye*-level classes of this institution. *Dârüşşafaka* meant for him the entrance into a completely different educational universe. The

[46] Baltacıoğlu, 54.
[47] Tengirşenk, 18–25.

Quran school education with the *hoca* as the main figure, with his arbitrary application of corporal punishments, created only fear among the pupils, but no effective discipline. In contrast, the new school lacked the *falaka* and arbitrary punishments. But the strict functional organization of time and space for the activities of prayer, instruction, the rehearsing of lessons, nourishment and sleeping created in Rasim a deep sense of authority. Here, an attempt was made to realize discipline and moral education mainly by depriving students of high grades, tasty food or permission to leave the school once a month. Morality meant sitting at a fixed place, with a firm self-control of the body. If corporal punishment was employed, this was done in a formal manner by summoning all of the students to the meeting hall, reading aloud the name of the student, the reason of his punishment and the number of strokes required by the offense he had committted, and this was followed by the beating of that student in the presence of the school. Students were required to salute all of their seniors, i.e. students of higher classes, instructors and school officials. It was forbidden to do anything outside its specified hour. Clothes had to be always clean, and stains could lead to punishment. This school made boys feel a sense of privilege in belonging to this institution. Rasim remembers how they began to feel themselves different from those outside the walls of the school-building. The existence of this discipline was accompanied by the high quality of the instructors. But whereas natural scientific subjects were dealt with in a thorough way, courses such as History or Geography were based on mechanical memorization. Rasim concludes that when he graduated from the *Dârüşşafaka*, he had a great difficulty in understanding the content of political articles in Ottoman newspapers.[48]

Some of the best secondary and higher schools of the Empire were concentrated in İstanbul, the imperial capital. Consequently, a number of children, mostly graduates of provincial *rüşdiyye* schools, came to İstanbul to continue their education at higher-level institutions. Some of the memoirs clearly show the impact this city made on the newcomers from the provinces. Tengirşenk remembers that when he came from Boyabad to İstanbul, he still wore traditional peasant clothing, and his brother, living in the city for a longer time,

[48] Rasim, 127–141; Ahmed Râsim, *Matbûʿât Hâtıralarından: Muharrir, Şâʿir, Edîb* (İstanbul: Kanâʿat Kitâbhânesi, 1924), 6–66.

urged him to change these for more European ones; otherwise he would not be admitted to any school. Other authors relate the magnificent as well as chaotic impression they got of the city when they first arrived. İstanbul, at the same time, posed difficulties on provincials. The provincial *rüşdiyye*s were not considered as equivalent to those of the capital, and students from the provinces were mostly required to repeat some *rüşdiyye*-classes. Another issue was the social isolation and disadvantage of the students of provincial origins. Many of the students from the capital were from high-ranking bureaucratic families, and they were often treated better than the provincials. In addition, sons of the palace dignitaries, called *zâdegân*, received special attention. They wore special uniforms, and sat in a different part of the classroom, separated from the others. Some authors of provincial origins remember how they felt a deep hostility toward this type of student, and a sense of frustration due to the discrimination against these authors by instructors.[49]

The memoirs concerning secondary education display in general the overall weakness of the *rüşdiyye*s and *idâdî* schools in providing cultural and intellectual stimulation. On the other hand, students at the *rüşdiyye*- and *idâdî*-ages were inspired culturally and intellectually by certain sources that were not a part of formal education. These consisted of illegal Young Ottoman and Young Turk publications, which imprinted a deep mark on the mental development of generations of students between 1878 and 1908. Nearly all of the memoirs examined state the impact of these illegal books and newspapers on the development of the authors' political views. It would be difficult to form an idea concerning the mental world of the *rüşdiyye*- and the *idâdî*-students of the Hamidian period without considering this important factor of socialization.

The stabilization of the Hamidian autocracy after 1880 did not immediately create a Young Turk movement. It is even hardly possible to talk about a widespread opposition to the Hamidian regime before the end of the 1880s. What existed in terms of illegal activities was the secret reading of prohibited Young Ottoman works, especially those of Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha. In the early 1880s, students became aware of the existence of this kind of literature mostly by

[49] Abdullah, 40; Emre, 26–28; Ertur, 17; Karabekir, 127; Nur, 77–78; Tengirşenk, 16, 20.

means of their relatives, either their brothers or uncles, who held opposition views about the sultan. But when the even greater increase of authoritarian measures was accompanied by the development of an organized opposition, illegal publications began to reach higher and secondary school students via Young Turk networks. From the 1890s onwards, Young Turk students increasingly organized secret gatherings where illegal publications would be read collectively, or such publications would be lent to individual students.[50]

In order to understand the great appeal that the Young Ottoman and Young Turk publications exerted on the *rüşdiyye-* and the *idâdî-*students, one has to consider the common state of mind among Hamidian school youth. Yalçın, in his memoirs, provides a vivid description of the sentiments of this generation of students. It tells us of the deep sense of frustration the students felt at the mechanical approach in education, the lack of creativity, the extreme discipline, sometimes reaching the limits of brutality, and the prohibition of any kind of readings except for textbooks. The students were sensing an almost hostile attitude of the educational system and state administration toward the youth, considering them perhaps a potential threat to be kept within bounds. Under these conditions students felt the lack of any prospect for the development of individuality, and only a bleak future either as a civil servant or military officer, doomed to certain preordained social functions. Yalçın also draws attention to the general scarcity of social and cultural life aside of family, school, workplace and a limited circle of friends. This was especially true for the Muslim parts of İstanbul, where nobody remained in the streets after sunset.[51] One may also add the special circumstances of provincial students in İstanbul and their sense of being discriminated against.

The memoirs suggest that students mostly encountered at first the works of the Young Ottoman author Namık Kemal. The reading of his plays, poems and novels upset the minds of the young readers, since they became aware of certain notions and ideals which were

[50] For the history of the Young Turk movement, see Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks; the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish politics, 1908–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, c1969); M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); M. Naim Turfan, *Rise of the Young Turks: Politics, the Military and Ottoman Collapse* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000).

[51] Yalçın, 26–33.

hitherto virtually unknown to them, and constituted a challenge to the autocratic regime. Namık Kemal was a romantic agitator able to propagate patriotism by using emotional language. The readers met in his works the notions of *vatan* ("motherland"), *millet* ("nation") and *hürriyet* ("liberty") for the first time within the political context of patriotism. These notions created within the minds of the young people the romantic and "noble" ideal of protecting and saving the country. Memoirs indicate that the works of Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha and other Young Ottomans generated a sort of enthusiasm where the students went as far as being ready to sacrifice their lives for the *vatan*. The fact that Namık Kemal's works were illegal, and the author himself exiled, proved the non-existence of liberty in the country and the "despotic" character of the government.

Another factor that could create distrust among the more thoughtful students toward the government was the discrepancy between the glories of the past and the present state of the Empire. The History courses of *rüşdiyye*s and *idâdî* schools put a great stress on past Ottoman power, the early Ottoman expansion and the brilliant victories over the Christian powers. These accounts led among some students to questions as to why the Ottoman state was now unable to quell the Greek rebellions in Crete or to prevent Balkan irredentism. Also, the greater parts of army units sent to Albania or Yemen to put down insurrections never returned. Due to strict censorship of the press, news of humiliating diplomatic interventions by the great powers and the inability of the weak Ottoman state to respond to these pressures spread among the population in the form of rumors with some degree of exaggeration.[52] The lack of reliable information concerning the real situation of the Empire and conditions of strict censorship created an atmosphere of uncertainty that provided a fertile ground for Young Turk propaganda.

Illegal Young Turk newspapers from Paris were smuggled into *rüşdiyye*s and *idâdî* schools from the mid of the 1890s onwards. These newspapers propagated the inability of the present regime to preserve the imperial borders, the concessions given by the Sublime Porte to foreign powers and presented a picture of the sultan as putting his personal interests above the interests of the Empire. The solution was to be the overthrow of the present despotism and the

[52] Aydemir, 40–43; Emre, 29–31; Kemal, 58–64.

restoration of the Constitution of 1876. This kind of information, combined with the general uncertainty concerning the future of the Empire, led to the belief among students that Sultan Abdülhamid was a traitor. Anything connected with Abdülhamid and the Yıldız Palace circle was regarded, among a considerable part of the school youth, with a feeling of hostility. It is conspicuous that some of the authors, as students full of patriotic fervor, left civil schools for military ones in order to sacrifice themselves for the motherland.[53]

Another kind of illegal source, read by some *idâdî* students, were French newspapers smuggled from foreign postal agencies in İstanbul and other major provincial cities. The interest in Western cultural life and literature grew especially under the influence of the "New Literature" (*Edebiyât-ı Cedîde*) circle, which in the 1890's introduced literary developments and discussions in France to a wider audience. These discussions revealed to the younger generation the extent of the liberal atmosphere in Western Europe. Kemal and Yalçın remember that, in the general state of pessimism and dispiritedness, any different idea, any oppositional view constituted a great novelty, a window of light for them in this world of censorship and intellectual prohibitions. Those students who were able to follow French publications displayed a strong admiration for France, which appeared to them as the abode of freedom, in contrast to the Hamidian "despotism" at home. Whereas anything French became popular among this circle of *idâdî* students, a growing dislike emerged towards everything which was Oriental, ranging with it associations of corruption and backwardness.[54]

[53] Emre, 30–31; Karabekir, 147–150; Kemal, 58–64; Nur, 88–91; Tengirşenk, 25–27.

[54] Kemal, 74–75; Yalçın, 26–33.

CONCLUSION

Ottoman educational modernization of the nineteenth century has been an integral part of nineteenth century state reform. In this context, school reforms have been traditionally understood as a process of the Westernization of education. This is certainly true in terms of institutional and organizational developments. At the same time, one of the main drives of Ottoman educational reform was aimed at social disciplining, in other words raising hard-working subjects loyal to the state and the sultan by inculcating in students certain religious and authoritarian values. Here the stress was put on the sacredness of the sultan as the caliph of all Muslims, as well as on loyalty to the state as the protector of the Sunni Muslim community and the Ottoman lands. The tradition of social disciplining in the Ottoman Empire goes back to the sixteenth century, when the Ottoman state increasingly became "Sunnified" in the face of the Safavid threat. In the nineteenth century the mainly religious character of social disciplining included a new aspect, namely school discipline of the strictest sort. Formulated by Selim Sâbit Efendi under the label *usûl-i cedîd* ("new method", NEM), it identified certain behavioral standards, one of them being control over the body, namely a certain way of sitting and walking, and the prohibition of shouting or running. Other aspects of school discipline required neatness and cleanliness of the uniform, complete submission to instructors and to more senior students, and observation of the school hours as set by the management. The NEM, together with the religious aspects of social disciplining, formed the essence of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman public education.

Ottoman educational modernization faced two main challenges: the creation of a school system that would offer a curriculum with a practical and natural scientific content; and the expansion of public schools in the provinces. The first one comprised two different problems: the problem of reforming primary education; and the definition of the aims and functions of secondary education. Primary schools were traditionally considered within the religious realm, and were controlled by pious foundations. Attempts of reforming the Quran or the *sıbyân* schools by including practical courses, and by

providing *hoca*s trained in new educational methods, proved to be mostly unsuccessful. The alternative solution was to found government primary schools (*ibtidâî*s), from 1872 onwards. Though the number of these institutions increased after the 1880s, *ibtidâî* schools were not able to replace Quran schools in terms of numbers of schools as well as in popularity. The number of *ibtidâî*s remained limited due to insecure financial sources, and did not expand in all provinces. More importantly, *ibtidâî* schools were often not accepted by the Muslim population, whereas the traditional Quran schools, with the religious *hoca* as schoolmaster, continued to be respected by the people. Thus the modernization of primary education remained, until 1908, limited.

The problem of the modernization of school curricula was closely connected with the issue of the function of public secondary schools (*idâdî*s). Here, a split emerged between those dignitaries who stressed the function of *idâdî*s as schools for training civil servants, and those bureaucrats who believed in the need to include practical courses which would enable the *idâdî*-graduates to enter productive professions. Toward the end of the Hamidian period, these positions merged, with the *idâdî* school-curriculum containing subjects serving both educational aims.

The expansion of public schools in the provinces constituted a major challenge, which was not fully overcome until the end of the Empire. This venture harbored several problems: lack of funds; the need to set up local educational administration and inspection; the need for trained instructors; and the question of non-Turkish ethnic groups. Early secondary schools (*rüşdiyye*s) in the provinces were financed mostly from central budget. However, as the number of schools increased, their financing became a more difficult issue, as the economic situation of the Empire deteriorated in the course of the later nineteenth century. Finally, the first comprehensive law of Ottoman education, the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* of 1869 ("Regulation of Public Education", RPE), stipulated the financing of provincial primary and *rüşdiyye* schools by means of local resources. Meanwhile the expenses of *idâdî* schools were to be met by the state treasury. Ultimately the availability of local resources, depending on the economic productivity of the region as well as on the willingness of the local population to make donations, determined the degree of educational development of a locality. The expansion of *idâdî*s and local educational administrations, on the other hand, necessitated

additional financial resources, leading to the introduction of the *maârif hisse-i iânesi* ("educational contribution-tax", EdC) in 1884, based on an addition in kind to the annual tithe. This extra tax could be collected only in those localities where the Ottoman central administration had taken firm control and where agricultural production was adequate.

The allocation of local resources to provincial education could not be realized without the effective inclusion of notables into the administration of schools. Provincial educational administration bodies were mainly boards mostly consisting of local notables, and government officials appointed from İstanbul. The inclusion of local notables in these bodies guaranteed, to a considerable extent, the necessary financial means for the setting up of primary schools. The foundation of educational administration bodies, at the same time, provided an institutional basis for the inspection of provincial schools.

A major problem for the expansion of provincial education was the shortage of professionally trained instructors. Until the 1880s the seminaries in İstanbul, Crete, Bosnia and Konya were the only bodies for training teachers, and an insufficient number of students were graduating in contrast to the increasing number of schools. To address this matter, the Ministry of Education took five measures: the setting up of an intensive course in İstanbul where a large number of *medrese* students were trained in modern educational methods, and subsequently sent to provincial schools; the employment of civil and military officers as instructors in natural scientific fields; the foundation of provincial seminaries in major provincial centers; the training of village *imâm*s at the provincial seminaries in the basics of modern educational methods; and the appointment of Armenian instructors, who were well-versed in Ottoman Turkish. As a consequence, an important number of provincial public schools employed two types of instructors: main instructors, often of *ulemâ*-origin, and subsidiary teachers, mostly civil servants or military officers, as well as some Armenian instructors. Despite these measures, many provincial schools continued to lack instructors, and were not able to fully provide the curricula designed by the Ministry of Education.

The expansion of public schools in the provinces confronted the Ottoman government with the issue of non-Turkish ethnic groups in the Balkans, eastern Anatolia and the Arab lands. The Ottoman state with its Sunni identity considered all Muslims as one Sunni Islamic community, headed spiritually by the Sultan-Caliph. As a

part of the policy to legitimize central authority among peripheral populations by means of religion, educational policies were adopted for introducing Sunni belief. Thus non-Sunni populations of the more rural kind, such as the Alevis or the Crypto-Christians, were treated as people fallen into "deep ignorance" and "superstition", who needed to be led to the path of knowledge and culture, in other words Sunnification. The creed of the Twelver Shia in Iraq, on the other hand, was too much institutionalized and sophisticated to be treated in the same way. The Sublime Porte tried to win over some of the sons of the Shiite clergy to Sunni belief, intending to use them later as missionaries, or sent mobile instructors among Shiite tribes to Sunnify them. A similar attitude was adopted toward tribal populations of Albania, eastern Anatolia and Arabia, who were considered in want of education and civilization. The *Aşîret Mektebi* ("School for Tribes") in İstanbul functioned as an instrument for inculcating Ottoman culture to the sons of a number of tribal chiefs.

The issue of language was another aspect of the educational policy toward non-Turkish populations. Since Turkish language was one of the pillars of Ottoman bureaucracy, it has been regarded as a political necessity to diffuse the knowledge of this language among non-Turkish populations, particularly the Albanians and the Kurds. In this context, the curricula of schools located in non-Turkish-speaking regions were specified as being the same as those for Turkish-speaking provinces. In harmony with this attitude, teachers trained only for the instruction of Turkish pupils were appointed to these regions. Exceptions to these policies, i.e. approaches taking local conditions and cultures into consideration, emerged mainly in cases where political interests of the Sublime Porte were at stake. When educational activities of foreign missionaries among a non-Sunni population or a tribal group led to a weakening or disappearance of any connection to Islam, the Ministry of Education would hastily take measures by sending trained instructors to the locality in question, who knew well the language and the culture of the population, and whose aim was to establish Sunni Islamic faith among them.

It appears from this account that the Ottoman public educational system was clearly not designed with adaptability to local conditions and needs of a vast empire. It was a rigid system, which aimed at moulding individuals into politically loyal and obedient subjects. But asking about the actual outcome of the Hamidian school system, it

would be sufficient to look at the political developments within the Empire after 1908.

The Young Turks who forced Abdülhamid II to restore the constitutional regime after an autocracy of more than thirty years, originated mainly from the provincial areas of the Empire. Many of them had the typical quality in common of being educated in provincial government schools. After 1908 political power in the capital became concentrated in the hands of those who were graduates of public schools.

Looking at the generations raised by the public schools, the Hamidian education seems to be "unsuccessful" in producing loyal, pious and obedient individuals. The Hamidian bureaucrats perhaps were too optimistic in expecting positive results from public education. They were sufficiently enlightened-minded to believe that individuals could be moulded toward the desired ideological direction by applying rational devices. The nineteenth century Ottoman experiment of educational modernization and social disciplining seems to prove the contrary.

The obvious example for this "failure" is the Young Turk oppositional movement and the constitutional revolution. In the next ten years following the Young Turk Revolution the Empire disintegrated with an ever-increasing speed in its all parts, beginning with Albanian rebellions and the Balkan Wars, to be continued with the Arab decentralist demands prior to the First World War, the Arab Revolt in 1916, and Kurdish nationalist activities after the capitulation of 1918. Most of those involved in all these separatist movements were graduates of the Hamidian public schools. In other words, the Hamidian policy of social disciplining did not work.

This shows that formal educational institutions constitute only one factor among others in moulding generations, and education is doomed to remain within certain limitations imposed by additional cultural factors outside the school system. In this context, informal cultural agents such as popular stories and illegal publications, or certain political or ethnic affiliations are rarely entirely replaced by other social or political values imposed by the school system, as is seen in the examples of the Young Turks, Albanians, Arabs, and non-Sunni communities.

If the Hamidian schooling ever succeeded in producing certain outcomes, it appears that these bore more the characteristics of exter-

nal educational conditions and approaches than the content of instruction. One of these conditions was the application of strict school discipline, known as the NEM. Another approach was the practice of memorization, which did not stop with the Quran or with textbooks on History or Geography, but was applied even for natural science subjects. Memorization meant the continuation of the notion that information was provided by an authority, and was not to be questioned, in other words scholasticism. The institutional circumstances of a progressive class system based on age, educational level, and a uniform and objective system of examination, strengthened the concept of the measurability of achievement, progressive levels of merit and knowledge, and the "objectivity" of information. These conditions altogether shaped individuals who on the one hand were mostly positivists and modernists, and at the same time were authoritarian. It is rather difficult to find graduates of the Hamidian education who were consistent liberals and democrats. At the same time, the inability of the Hamidian regime to create an ideological synthesis of modernism and Islamism, combined with crude memorization of schoolbooks, rendered the educational content rather superficial, which reflected itself also in the quality of the graduates. Individuals emerged who possessed fair secular and scientific knowledge of an encyclopedic kind, but even those with an intellectual mind could not exceed the limits of pragmatism. In fact, Ottoman public schools have been successful in producing individuals who could best serve in the civil service.

One might question whether this pragmatism was mainly the outcome of Ottoman public school system. In fact, Şerif Mardin and Şükrü Hanioğlu have pointed out that traditional Ottoman intellectual outlook bore the characteristics of a "conservative bureaucratic worldview," which was focused on the issue of preserving the state power.[1] Within this traditional context it was the duty of the proficient ruling individuals to govern the state and the subjects in an appropriate way. The *idâdî*-textbook of M. Said, the *Ahlâk-ı Hamîde*, drew a similar schema of a patriarchal society where its ruler was like the head of a family, who had the duty to provide justice among its

[1] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981); Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895–1908*. 2d ed. (İstanbul: İletişim, 1983).

different parts. Mardin has stated that such a view of polity was static, ahistorical, lacking the notion of political evolution.[2] If such a conservative bureaucratic worldview existed as a tradition, Ottoman public education must have intensified the authoritarian aspect of this ideology among the younger generations. On the other hand, educational modernization with its progressive and objective class system provided students the notions of evolution and development. The outcome seems to have been a synthesis of authoritarian bureaucratic ideology and progressivist worldview among the graduates of the Hamidian schools.

As an outcome of this education individuals were formed obsessed by the notions of authority, progress, order and uniformity. In contrast to the *ad hoc* policies of the Hamidian regime toward different ethnic and peripheral groups, the Young Turks were impatient to put the Empire under rational law and order. When the Committee of Union and Progress came to power, their determination to impose uniform administration all over the Empire created discontent among the non-Turkish populations, which resulted in rebellions in nearly all peripheral provinces. This crisis aggravated the already weak political and military situation in the Empire, which was already shaken by external threats and partition schemes of the great powers. One might conclude that though the Empire was structurally doomed to disintegration sooner or later, the uniforming attitude of the Young Turks was certainly not helpful in slowing down this process. This was perhaps a tragic outcome of an educational system that was set up to raise individuals who would modernize and strengthen the administrative structure and secure the territorial integrity of the Empire.

Though unable to keep the Empire from disintegration, the Hamidian generation of students nevertheless were able to found the Turkish Republic. But their eagerness in order and uniformity continued to display itself in every aspect of the Republican reforms, where even the clothing of individuals became defined and ordered by the administration.

[2] Mardin, 17.

APPENDIX 1

THE FIRMAN OF 1240/1824–25[1]

[1] Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi. *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târîhce-i Teşkilât ve İcrââtı* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920), 1–3.

صورت فرمان

« جمله‌یه معلومدرکه امت محمددنم دیان کافهٔ اهل‌اسلامه کوره ابتدا شرائط اسلامیه‌یی وعقاید دینیه‌سنی اوکرنوب بیلمك بعده اکتساب معیشت ایچون قنفی درلکه سلوك ایده‌جك ایسه ایتمك والحاصل هربرشیدن اول ضروریات دینیه‌یی اوکرنمکلکی امور دنیویه‌نك جمله‌سنه تقدیم ایتمك لازم ایکن بر زماندنبرو اکثرناس آنالرینك و بابالرینك سیئه‌سی اولهرق کندولری قالدقلری مثللو اولادلرینك جاهل قالماسنی دوشنیه‌رك ورزاق عالم اولان حق سبحانه وتعالی حضرتلرینه عدم توکل ایله همان آنچه قزانمق داعیه‌سنه دوشه‌رك چوجقلری بش آلتی یاشنه واردیغی کبی مکتبدن آلوب اهل‌حرف یانه شاکردلکه ویردکلرندن اومقوله‌صبیلر کوچکدن جهالتله بیویوب صکره دخی اوقویوب اوکرنمکلکه هوس ایتمکدکلرینه بناءً وزر و وباللری آنالرینك وبابالرینك بوینه اولوب یوم قیامتده برطرفدن بونلر کرفتار مسئولیت وبر طرفدن کندولری دوچار خزی وندامت اولهجقلرندن بشقه معاذ الله تعالی زمانه‌یی جهالت استیعابله اکثر خلق دیانتدن بخبر اولدقلرندن بوکیفیت نصرتسزلکه سبب مستقل اولوب عصمنا الله تعالی بویله کیدرسه من‌قبل‌الرحمن تربیهٔ شدیده‌یی مستلزم اولهجنی ارباب بصیرته ظاهر وهویدا اولمقدنناشی عبادمسلمینی اومثللو دنیا وآخرت عقوبتندن تخلیص وصیانت لازم کلمکله ایمدی امردینده شرم وحیا جائز اولمدیغنه بناءً شمدیه قدر جاهل قالمش اولان کنج واختیار بالجمله‌امت محمد جاهللکك دارینده وخامتنی دوشنوب وبوبابده‌بربرندن اوتانیه‌رق عن‌حقدن اوتانوب کندولری بولندقلری کارکسب وصنعت وخدمتلری آره‌سنده بیلمدکلری مسائل دینیه وعقائد اسلامیه‌لرینی‌دخی اوکرنوب بیلمکلکه حسب‌الامکان سعی‌وغیرت واولوجهله کندولرینی دارین سلامتلکنه ایرکورمکلکه صرف وسع ومقدرت ایتلری فریضهٔ عهدهٔ دیانتلری اولدیغندن بشقه فیما بعد هرکس اولادلرینی مراهق درجه‌سنه‌وارمدنجه وعلی‌حال وشرائط اسلامیه‌سنی لایقیله تعلم‌ایتمدکجه مکتبدن آلوب اوسته‌یه ویرمك ومراهق اولوب اوسته‌یه ویرمك‌درجه‌سنه‌کلدکده آناسی‌وباباسی یوق ایسه سائر ولیسی‌اولان کسنه مراهق‌درجه‌سنده‌اولدیغی‌استانبول سکنه‌سندن ایسه استانبول قاضیسی‌اولان‌افندی‌طرفنه واکرایوب واسکدار وغلطه‌سکنه‌سندن ایسه‌لر قاضیلری افندیلر طرفلرینه مکتب خواجه‌سیله برابر واروب وچوجغی دخی کتوروب

كوستروب طرف شرعدن يدلرينه مهور اذن تذكره‌سى آلمق واذن تذكره‌سى
اولمادقجه اصناف طائفه‌سى شاكردلكه آلنمقلقده. اصناف
كتخدالرينك دخى رأى ومعرفتلرى منضم اولمق لازمه‌دن اولديغنه بناءً شايد
اصنافدن برى اومقوله تذكره‌سز جوجغى شاكردلكه آلور وباباسى ووالده‌سى ويرر
ايسه اوقودينى مكتبك خواجه‌سى وياخود محله‌سنك امامى طوغرى قاضى افنديلره
خبر ويرمك وقاضى افنديلر دخى بوكيفيت احياى دين مبين قضيه‌سنه مبنى اولديغندن
طرفلرندن تحرى اولنه‌رق اذن تذكره‌سى آلمقسزين صنعته ويرلمش صبى بولنور
ايسه آلانى وويرنى واول اصنافك كتخداسنى وخبر ويرمديكيچون مكتب
خواجه‌سنى لاجل التأديب باب عالى‌يه انها ايتمك وآناسز وباباسز يتيم چوجقلر
اولوبده كسنه‌سزلكى سبيله ضرورى براوسته يانندوياخود بركسنه‌نك تربيه‌سنده
بولنورايسه اوسته‌سى وكرك مربيسى اولان آدم صرف صنعت اوكرتمكله وخدمته
حصر ايتميه‌رك كوندده ايكى دفعه مكتبه كوندروب مراهق اولنجيه‌قدر اوقوتدرمق
وكذلك الحالة هذه اوسته‌لردده بولنان چوجقلر دخى بطبقها بو نظامه داخل
اولمه‌رق آناسى وباباسى وسائر وليسى اولانلر اوسته‌دن آلوب مكتبه ويرمك
وكيمسه‌سز اولنلرى دخى اوسته‌لرى مكتبه ويروب جاهل قالمامسنه دقت ايتمك
ومكتب خواجه‌لرى دخى مكتبلرده بولنان چوجقلرى كوزلجه اوقودوب قرآن
عظيم الشانى تعليم عقبنده هربرچوجغك حيثيت واستعدادينه كوره تجويد وعلم حال
مثللو رساله‌لرى اوقوده‌رق شرائط اسلاميه وعقائد دينيه‌لرينى اوكرتمكله سعى واقدام
ايتمك اوزره على العموم تنبيه وايقاظ اولنمسنه ارادة سنيه صدوريله كيفيت بلادتله
قاضيلرى افنديلره يازيلمقله بافرمان عالى تنبيه قلنمش اولمغله سزدخى آستانه‌ده
كائن باجمله محلات امامارينى ومكتب خواجه‌لرينى واصناف كتخدالرينى طرفكزه
جلب ايدرك تنبيهات مذكوره‌يى كوش هوشلرينه تلقين وتفهيم واشبو فرمان
عالينك برر مفادى صورتلرينى دخى بدلرينه اعطا برله امامار محله‌لرى اهاليلرينه
وكتخدالر دخى اصنافلرينه اوقويوب آكلاتمق ومكتب خواجه‌لرى دخى
بيلوب موجبيله عمل ايتمك اوزره جمله‌سنه كركى كبى تنبيه وتأكيده مبادرت
وبتوفيقه تعالى اشبو نظام وتنبيهاتك على الدوام اجرا واستقرارى وسائلنى استحصاله
طرفكزدن دخى بالذات اهتمام ودقت ايليه‌سز ديو بيورلدى ».

« تاريخ جودت »

APPENDIX 2

MEMORANDUM OF THE COUNCIL OF PUBLIC WORKS (1839)[1]

[1] Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi. *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târîhce-i Teşkilât ve İcrââtı* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920), 6–10.

مجلس امور نافعه نك لايحه سى

معلوم معالیلزوم عالی بیورلدیغی اوزره معارف وعلوم افرادانامه سرمایهٔ عز وسعادت ومدار مباهات ومفخرت وهرحالده منبع ثروت وغنا اولدیغی دلائل عقلیه ونقلیه ایله مثبت وموجود ومشهود اولان صنایع وحرف محضا علم ایله ظهوره کلدیکی وعلوم دینیه وسیلهٔ نجات آخرت اولدیغی مثللو فنون سائره دخی معاشرت نوع بنی آدمك کمالنه سبب اولهجغی وارستهٔ قید بیان واشارتدر . ازجمله علم هیئت تسهیل سیر سفاینه مداراولمغله امر تجارتك رواج وکثرتنه وعلوم ریاضیه امور حربیه وادارهٔ عسکریه‌نك حسن انتظامنه سبب اولدیغندن بشقه حیرتده حکمای اسلاف اولان وابور مثللو بونجه امور غریبه ونافعه بوجهتله میدانه چیقوب علوم موجوددنك توسع وانتشاری ویکیدن‌فنون کثیره‌نك ظهوری جهتیله صنایع وحرفك اعمالاتنده یسر وسهولت حاصل اولمغله مثلا بوزآدمك واسطه‌سیله کوریله‌جك ایش برکشیله اداره اولنمق اوزره نیجه آلات مهمه علم ایله میدانه چیقدیغی مشهود وروشنا وبالعکس اهالی جهل ونادانی ایله متصف اولدقلری حالده کاروکسبلرنده عسرت چکه‌جکلرندن بشقه عملاً تحصیل ایلدکلری صنایع اصلا ایلرولیه‌جکی وسایه‌سنده اولدقلری دولتك وحب وطن نه اولدیغنی بیلمیه‌جکلری مجزوم وهویدا وبهمه‌حال بر دولتده رواج علم وهنر اقدم مقاصد وآمال اولمق لازم کله‌جکی بدیهی وروشنا اولدیغنه مبنی دولت علیهٔ ابد مدت دخی ترویج علم ومعرفت نیت‌خیریه‌سیله نیجه‌مدارس ومکاتب انشا واحیا بیورمش اولهرق بونجه اصحاب علم وهنر پشمش وهربری فنون متنوعه‌ده نیجه کتب مدونه یادکار براقمش اولدقلرندن دولت‌علیهٔ عثمانیه معدن علم وهنردر دیو مشهور آفاق اولمش ایکن صکرەلری بعض مشاغل وغوائل بوخصوص نافعه‌یه حاجز وحائل اولهرق منسی ومترولك حکمنه کیرمش ایکن رب‌عز تعالی وتقدس حضرتلری توکسز عمر وعافیت احسانیله سایهٔ معدلتوایهٔ شاهانه‌لرین الی‌الابد مفارق بندکان اوزره برقرار بیورسون خصیصهٔ ذات ملکصفات حضرت ملوکانه اولان ظلیت صمدانیه اقتضاسنجه احیای دین وملت وتأیید بنیان ملك ودولته‌هم والانهم ظلیت پناهیلری مصروف بیورلمقده اولدیغندن بو خصوصی اقدم مقاصد آتخاذیله مساعیٔ جمیلهٔ شاهانه‌لرینه معین وظهیر اولان علوم‌ومعارفی ترویج نیت خیر غایتیله مکاتب ومدارس موجوددن

احیا ومعمور وطلبه ومعلمینك تسهیل امر انتعاشلرینه صرف احسان نامحصور بیورمش اولدقلرندن فضله عساکر نصرتمأثر شاهانه‌لرینك تربیه وتعلملریجون حربیه وبحریه وهندسه وطب فنلرینه مخصوص متعدد مکتبلرك مجدداً انشاسنه همت وهریرینه بونجه اموال ونقود بذل وعنایت بیورمشلر ایسه‌ده ذکر اولنان مکتبلره آلمان شاکردانك معلومات جزئیه‌لری یعنی یازوبازمغه وطوغریدن طوغری یه بر ترکی کتاب اوقومغه قدرتلری اولدیغندن بردن بره السنهٔ عربیه وفارسیه واجنبی اولان فرانسز لسانی وبولندقلری مکتبك مخصوص اولدیغی طریقك فنه متعلق بعض مقدمات تعلمنه مقتدر اوله‌مدقلری وبوصورت دخی اطفال ناسه تخصیص اولنمش اولان اوفق مکتبلرده درکار اولان قاریشقلق واصولسزلکدن نشأت ایتدیکی ظاهر اولوب نسویله‌که افراد اهل اسلامك من قبل‌الرحمن عطیهٔ ازلیه اولان استعداد مادرزادلری اقتضاسنجه تحصیل‌علم ومعارف ایتلری ایجابندن ایکن بالعکس اکثریسی علم وهنردن بی بهره قالملری مذکور مکتبلرده تعلیم وتعلمده برقاعده ونظام اولمیوب هیچ برطرفدن دخی لایقیله نظارت واقدام اولنمدیغندن معلمین بیلدکلری کبی اوقومقده وبووجهله موجود اولان صبیانك وقتلری فقط برقوری کورلدی ایله کچمکده اولدیغندن وبرسبی دخی بعض آدملر اولادنی بش آلتی یاشنه ایرشدکده مکتبه ویروب هنوز برشی تحصیل ایتمکسزین آخر صنعته ویرملرندن وبعضلری دخی فقرحالی جهتیله اولادینی هیچ مکتبه ویرمیوب وقتی ملعبه وحیلازلق ایله کچدیکندن نشأت ایلدیکی وبومقوله تحصیل علم ایتمکسزین آخر صنعته ویریلان صبیانك ولو اوصنعتی کمالیله تحصیل ایلسه بیله هرحالده لازم اولان سرمایهٔ علم ومعرفتدن بی بهره اولمق حسبیله اولدیغی صنعتده عملاً نه تحصیل ایده‌بیلمش ایسه آنك ایله قالوب اصلا ایلرولیه‌جکی بدیهی اولدیغندن بشقه جهلی جهتیله درتلك واول صورتله ناثل اولدیغی نعمتك قدرینی وحب وطنی وبلکه بونلرنه دیمك اولدیغنی بیلمیه‌رك کندوسنه وملتنه فائده‌سی اولیه‌جقی آنکار اولمغله بوخصوصلك دخی برحسن صورتله قونلمسی ملکاً وملتاً اهم وممالك محروسهٔ شاهانه‌ده امر زراعت وتجارت وصنایعك احیاسنه دائر مجلسجه مذاکره اولنمقده اولان هر بر شیئك اساسی بولنان علوم مفقود اولدقجه بریسی‌وجوده‌کلیه‌جکی امر غیر مبهم اولدیغندن علوم ومعارفك تحصیلنه مدار یسر وسهولت اولمق اوزره مکاتب موجوده‌یه بر نظام ویرلمك یعنی محلات آراسنده شواوفق مکتبلرده اولان شاکردانك تعلملرینه باقلمق اوزره اولا موجود اولان مکتب خواجه‌لرینك احوال ودرجهٔ

معلوماتلری مأمورلر تعیینیله تفتیش اولنوب درایت وقابلیتلری ظاهر وتربیهٔ اطفاله مقتدر اولنلری استخدام اولنمق وبرمکتبده شاکردانك آیری آیری درس اوقومه‌لری هم بیهوده تعطیل تعلملرینی وهمده معلملرینك اشتغالرینی موجب اولمغله مناسب اولدیغی تقدیرجه هر برمکتبده اولان شاکردان بشقه بشقه صنفلره تقسیم وهربرینه آیری درسلر تخصیص اولنوب برصنفك شاکردانه بردن درس ویرلمك وهرکس اولادنی وقت تمیز اولان دردت نهایت بش یاشنه بالغ اولدقده بای حال مکتبه ویروب برکسنه بو اصولك خلافنه حرکت ایدر ایسه معاتب اولهجغی بیلدیرلمك وبدر واقربالرینك فقر حاللری جهتیله تسلل وبعض صنایع رزیله ارتکاب ایدن صبیان وسائر بیکس قلان ایتام حقلرنده مشمول آفاق اولان رحم واشفاق شاهانه بیدریغ ومبذول بیوریله‌رق لیل ونهار اقامت ایلمك واتفاق اولنمق اوزره برایکی عدد فقرا مکتبلری تنظیم اولنوب اویله سوقاقلرده سرسری کزن اطفال مکاتب مذکوره‌یه آلنمق وبرده محلات آراسنده اولان صغیر مکتبلر فقط هجا وقرآن عظیم‌الشان تعلمنه تخصیص اولنوب سلاطین عظام حضراتنك وسائرلرنك جسیم مکتبلری بالتفریق آنلرده تمکن مرتبه قولاق طولغونلغی اولمق ایچون ترکی انشا وتحنه ونخبه وسبحهٔ صبیان مثللو لغات وبرکوی رساله‌سی وسائر اخلاق کتابلری وخط وکتابت تدریس وتعلیم اولنمق واشبو صنف ثانیده اولان مکتبلره برایکی ختم ایتمش وعلم حال اوقومش شاکردان انتخاب اولنه‌رق بونلرده دخی اول وجهله برمقدار شی تحصیل ایدن وارباب استعداد وقابلیتدن اولنلری قنی طریقه میل ایدر ایسه اول طریق ایچون تأسیس بیورلمش وبیورلمقده اولان مکاتب عالیه‌یه آلنمق وذکر اولنان ایکی صنف مکتبلرده اولان صورت محرره اوزره اوقیوب هنوز علم حالنی اوکرنمامش وکندو دفترینی اوقیوب یازمغه مقتدر اولهجق وجهله کسب قابلیت ایتمامش اولان صبیانك پدر واقربالری جوجقلرینی صنعته ویره‌جکم دیو مکتبدن آلمق ایسترلر ایسه اخراجلرینه رخصت ویرلمامك صورتلری اجرا اولندیغی حالده ذکر اولنان مکاتب عالیه‌یه علم اجمالی‌یی تحصیل ایتمش ورسم خطی اوکرنمش شاکردان داخل اولهرق هرقنی مکتبده بولنورایسه یالکز مربوط اولدیغی طریقك فنه جالشه‌رق اول وجهله آز وقتده خیلی آدم یتشه‌جکی وسائر صنایعه خواهشکر اولنلر دخی علم حالنی بیلهجك وکندو مصالحنی یازوب اوقویه جق قدر معلومات تحصیل ایدوجکی آشکار ایسه‌ده بو خصوص علم وعلمایه نظارت عامه وبو اموردہ معلومات تامه‌لری اولان ذات سماحتسمات فتوا پناهینك [1]

رأی و مطالعاتلرینه منوط اولمغله بنه تعالی بالجمله ممالك محروسهٔ شاهانه‌ده اجرا اولنمق اوزره اول امرده درسعادتده اولان مکاتب موجوده‌نك لایق ومناسب وجهله تنظیم واحیاسنه طرف مشارالیهدن صرف همت بیورلمق خصوصی امور نافعه مجلسی مأمورلری بنده‌لرینك تنسیب کرده‌لری اولدیغی قرین علم عالی بیورلدقده امر وفرمان حضرت من له الامر کدر » .

APPENDIX 3

OFFICIAL JUSTIFICATION TEXT FOR THE REGULATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION (1869)[1]

[1] Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi. *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti. Târîhce-i Teşkilât ve İcrâât* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338/1920), 102–109.

• تعریف وبیاندن آزاده اولدیغی اوزره عمران عالمك منبع اصلیسی فنون ومعارف اولوب آن بآن سمت کماله مائل نوع انسانك مدینجه مستعد اولدیغی ترقیاتی استحصال ایدوبیلمسی وحرف وصنایعه متعلق اختراعات وتأسیسات نافعه‌نی میدانه کتورمسی علم ومعرفه موقوفدر .

جونکه علم ومعارف حرف وصنایعك ابداعنه وحرف وصنایع دخی جمیت بشریه‌جه احتیاجات ضروریه‌یی تسهیل ایدوجك یولنجه وسایط وآثار نافعه‌نك اختراعنه مدار و دلیل اولدیغندن دائرهٔ مدنیته داخل اولان ملل واقوامك خزائن ثروت عالمدن حصه‌دار اولمقی تربیت انسانیه‌نك اسباب مکمله‌سنی استحصال ایتمکدن نشأت ایلدیکی بدیهی الثبوت اولان حالاتندندر .

اشته بو قاعدهٔ باهر الفائده‌نك حقایقی مطالعه و موازنه اولندقجه وصنوف تبعه‌نك مراتب استعدادی مشاهده قلندقجه ممالك دولت علیه‌ده فنون ومعارفك انتشاریله تربیت عامه‌نك مرکز کماله ایصالنده اولان اهمیت بداهةً ثابت اولور .

بناءً علیه سلطنت سنیه صنوف تبعه‌سنك علوم ومعارفدن اقتباس انوار مدنیت ایتلری ضمننده هر درلو مساعدهٔ تسهیلاتکاریی اجرایه بذل نقود مجهود ایلمش ویکرمی سنه‌دنبرو داخل ممالکده تعلیم وتربیت اطفال ایچون متعدد مکاتب رشدیه تأسیس وکشاد اولنمش ایسه‌ده بالاده ایراد وتمهید اولنان قواعد طبیعیه ایجابنجه عصر مزده حرف وصنایعك مرتبهٔ عال العاله وصولی عالمك قطعات متمدنه‌سنده نو بنو منتشر اولان علوم وفنون دقیقه‌نك وضع ایلدیکی برطاقم اصول واساسه مبتنیدرکه بونلر آثار صناعیه‌یی ملکهٔ عادیه ایله وجوده کتورمك قاعدهٔ قدیمه‌سنی بتون بتون ابطال ایدرك عملیاتك نظریات علمیه‌یه استنادینه دلالت ایلدکلری حالده ممالك دولت علیه‌ده موجود اولان مکاتبك انواع ودرجاتی تعمیم معارف مقصدینك اهمیت مشروحه‌سنه موافق اولمدقدن بشقه علوم عالیه‌نك لابقیله ثمراتنه دسترس اولمه‌یلسی مبادیٔ تحصیلك انتظامنه موقوف ایکن داخل ممالکده بولنان صبیان مکتبلرینك مقداری نفوس موجوده‌یه نسبتله مرتبهٔ اقلیده اولدیغی مثللو تحصیلات دخی بالکز مقدمات علوم دینیه‌یه منحصر اولوب اداره‌لری اهلیت و ماهیتی مجهول برطاقم خواجه‌لره تسلیم قلنمقده اولمسیله وبو صنف مکتبلرده اطفالك تحصیله میل و رغبتی تزید و استفاده‌لرینی تأیید ایدوجك اصول تعلیمیه وتصحیح و تهذیب مزاج و اخلاقه مدار اولمق قاعدهٔ تربیه

موجود اولمامسیله بونلره سنه‌لرجه دوام ایتمش اولان جوجقلرك تحصیلات واقعه‌سی درجهٔ مطلوبه‌ده اولمدیغی و رشدیه‌یه کیرنلر دخی زمان تحصیللرینك برجوغنی محله مکتبنده اوکرتلمسی لازم اولان درسلرك تکریر تحصیلیله اضاعه ایتمکده اولدقلری ومکاتب رشدیه‌نك دارالمعلمینی اولمق جهتیله اصول اداره وتدریسلری اولدقجه منتظم ایکن مبدأ تحصیلده اولان اصول تعلیمك یولسزلغی بالطبع بومکتبلره دخی ساری‌اولدیغندن رشدیه شاکردانك معلومات مکتبیه‌لری صرف ایلدکلری زمان نسبتنده بولنمدیغی وعلوم وفنون متنوعه‌یه مخصوص مکاتب عالیه‌نك فقدانی جهتیله رشدیه‌دن چیقانلر ایچون باشلیجه مخرج اقلام شاهانه ایله مکاتب عسکریه اولوب فنون وصنایعده مهارت کامله اصحابی یتیشدیرمکله‌مامسندن طولایی ممالك دولت علیه‌نك موقعاً واستعداداً حائز اولدیغی بونجه اسباب تمتع وتجارتدن کایفنبی استفاده اولنه‌مدیغی و خلقی تحصیل معرفته اجبار ایده‌جك بر قاعده‌نك وعلی‌العموم مکاتبی نظارت متمادیه آلتنده بولندیره‌جق بر هیئت تفتیشیه‌نك فقدانی دخی انواع محاذیر ملکیه‌یی تولید ایلدیکی جهتلرله سایهٔ محاسنوایهٔ حضرت پادشاهیده معارف عمومیه حقنده اصلاحات قویه استحصالله تثبت قلنمسی ترقیٔ سعادتحال ملك وملته دال اولمه‌جغی مطالعه‌سیله شورای دولتجه بومسئلهٔ مهمه اوزرینه مذاکرات عمیقه اجرا اولنه‌رق وعصرك احتیاجاتنه کوره متداول اولان علوم ومعارفك صور تحصیلیه‌سنه مراجعت قلنه‌رق معارف عمومیه‌یه دائر اطرافلی بر نظامنامه قلمه آلنمش اولدیغندن بالدفعات اجتماع ایدن هیئت عمومیه‌ده قرائت ومطالعه اولنمشدر .

نظامنامهٔ مذکورك احکام اساسیه‌سی اولا تحصیل علم ومعرفت ایچون مجبوریت قاعده‌سنك وضعی ثانیاً مکاتب عمومیه‌نك اقسام ودرجات مختلفه‌یه تقسیمی ثالثاً اصول تعلیمك ترتیب وتنظیمی رابعاً هیئت تعلیمیه‌نك تزیید معلومات واعتبارینی وترفیه حالنی موجب اولمه‌جق وسائلك تتمیمی خامساً معارف ادارهٔ مرکزیه‌سنك تنسیق وتنظیمیله ولایاتده دخی شعبات متنفیه‌نك تشکیلی سادساً طلبه‌نك شوق وغیرتی جالب بعض قواعد امتحانیه‌نك وضعیله مراتب مختلفهٔ تحصیلك استحقاقی تعیین ایچون رؤس اعطاسی اصولنك احداثی سابعاً تأسیسات علمیه‌نك تکثیر وتعمیمی ثامناً معارف عمومیه تخصیصاتیچون اهالیدن براعانهٔ مرتبه اخذی خصوصلری اولوب بووجهله تعیین قلنمش اولان مراتب تحصیلیه‌نك ایجاب طبیعیسی اولمق اوزره علی‌العموم قرا ومحلاتده صیان مکتبلری ودشوز خانه‌لی قصبه‌لرده مکاتب رشدیه وبیك خانه‌لی متجاوز اولان قصبه‌لرده مکاتب اعدادیه وولایت مرکزلرنده مکاتب سلطانیه یاپیلوب درسعادتده بر دارالمعلمین ودارالمعلمات

ایله بر دارالفنون ولازم ومناسب اولان محللرده قزلره مخصوص مکاتب رشدیه تأسیس اولنمق لازم کلمه جکی دخی آکلاشلدیغندن مذاکرات مصلحت یوتصورات وملاحظاتله بنا قلنمشدر .

معارف عمومیه‌نك ممالك دولت علیه‌جه کمالیله حصول انتشاری حقنده اولان تمنیاتك فعله کلمه‌سیله لایحهٔ مذکوره‌ده اتخاذ ایدلمش اولان اساسلرك تمامیله قبول واجراسنه ودرجات مبحوثه‌یه توفیقاً اقتضا ایدن مکاتبك کشاد وتأسیسنه متوقف اولوب اصلاحات اساسیه ایجون بوندن بشقه بر طریق وچاره بولنمیه‌جغی ومراتب تحصیلیه‌نك بردرجه دها مضبوطیتی قابل اولمیوب بلکه ایلروده علوم عالیه مکاتبنك تکثیری اقتضا ایلیه‌جکی وشوندن اولسه اولسه رشدیه مکتبلرینك فوقنده ومکاتب سلطانیه‌نك مادونده اعدادیه مکتبلرینك کشادی محتاج بحث اولهبیلورایسه‌ده مکاتب رشدیه‌ده هرصنف تبعه اطفالك مبادیٔ علوم دینیه‌سی تدریس اولنمق لازم کلمکدن طولایی بو نوع مکتبلرك هرجماعت ایجون بشقه بشقه تشکیلی مقتضی اولمسنه ومکاتب سلطانیه‌نك دفعهٔ تعمیم کشادی قابل اولهمامسنه مبنی هم مکاتب سلطانیه‌نك اکثر تدریساتنه محل تعلیم اولمق وهمده صنوف تبعه اطفالك مختلطاً تحصیل معارف طریقه سوقی واوجهله بینلرنده ائتلاف ومخادنتك تحکیمی قضیه‌سی استحصال اولنمق ایجون مکاتب اعدادیه‌نك احدائی لزم اولدیغی ملابساتیله لایحهٔ معروضه‌نك قبول احکامی تنسیب وتصویب اولندقدن صکره بونك صور اجرائیه‌سی بحثنه نقل کلام اولنوب چونکه ممالك دولت علیه‌ده الحالة هذه موجود اولان مکاتب صبیانیه‌نك شو ترتیب اقتضاسنجه یکیدن ضم وتأسیسی لازم کلنلرله برابر مجموع مقداری اوتوز بش قرق بیك عدده بالغ اولهجقدن بونلرك وسائر تأسیسات علمیه‌نك اصل وفروعی برجوق مصرفه محتاج اولوب ذکر اولنان لایحه‌نك اسباب موجبهٔ مضبوطیه‌سنده ایسه صیان مکتبلرینك اداره مصارفاتی کما کان اهالیه براغلمق اوزره بر ولایتده کرك مکاتب رشدیه واعدادیه‌نك وکرك ادارهٔ معارف مأمورلرینك بر سنه‌لك معاشات ومصارفاتی قاچ غروشه بالغ اولورسه ربعنك خزینهٔ دولتدن واوچ ربعنك دخی اول ولایتك مجلس عمومیسنده بالمذاکره بولنهجق قارشولقدن وصنوف اهالی طرفلرندن تسویه اولنمق کوسترلمش واجرا آتك ایلك سنه‌سنده اختیار اولنهجق مصرفك یکونی اللی آلتمش بیك کیسه‌یی تجاوز ایتیه‌جکی وبونك ربعی اولمق اوزره خزینهٔ دولتدن برنجی سنه‌ده ویرلیه‌جك آقچه شمدیکی معارف تخصیصاتنك مقداری زاده‌سنده دیمك اولهجغی دخی اخطار قلنمش اولمغله بو اساس اوزرینه خیلیجه مداولهٔ افکار اولنمشدر .

واقعا الحالة هذه معارف عمومیه ایجون ویریلان تخصیصاته نه قدر ضم ایدلمش اولسه بنه اصلاحات متصوره‌نك اجراآت مکمله‌سنه کفایت ایده‌جك درجه‌یه ابلاغنه خزینهٔ دولت متحمل اولهمیه‌جغندن وتربیت عامه‌نك استکمالی هر دولت وحکومتك وظایف مهمه‌سندن اولدیغی مثللو علوم ومعارفدن استفاده یخشنده عمومك منافع مشترکه‌سی سبیله کافهٔ ملل متمدنه‌ده تعمیم معارفه اعامه اولنمسی مشروعاً جاری اولدیغندن اجراآت مبحوثه مصرفی ایجون اعانهٔ اهالی یه مراجعت قلنمسنده اساساً تردد اولنمق لازم گلز ایسه‌ده اصلاحات متصورهٔ مشروحه‌نك حساب عمومیسندن اهالی یه عائد اولهجق توزیعاتی ایقایه بعض ولایتلرك تحملی اولسه بیله شمدیی یه قدر معارف عمومیه ایجون آنچه اعطاسیله مألوف اولیان خلقه بو مادهنك ثمراتی تلقین ایله مصارف مقتضیه‌نك دفعهً وتکالیف مرتبهٔ سائره یه علاوهً استیفاسنده اولان عسرت ومشکلات موازنهٔ احوال عمومیه ایله ثابت ومتحقق اولور .

اشبو مشکلات مالیه‌دن ماعدا آلان سائرهٔ اجرائیه‌نك تقایضی دخی محتاج تأمل اولوب چونکه معارف عمومیه‌نك اشبو نظام واصول تحتنده حصول انتشارینه لازم اولان اسبابك بریسی مکاتبك تأسیسی وایکنجیسی اوقو تدریسیه‌جق علوم وفنونه دائر دها یازده موجود اولیان کتب ورسائلك لسان عثمانی یه نقل وترجمه‌سی واوچنجیسی صفت مطلوبه‌ده معلملر تدارك قلنمسی ماده‌لریدرکه بونلر یکدیگرینه لازم وملزوم قبیلدن اولهرق نه معلمسز مکتب کشادینك ونه ده کتابسز فن تحصیلنك امکانی اولهمیه‌جغی وبالفرض نظامنامهٔ مذکورك حاوی اولدیغی بعض علوم وفنون جدیده حقنده موجود اولان فرانسزجه کتابلر امر تدریسه کافی دیلسه بیله هر ملتك معارفجه حصول ترقیسنی کندی لسانده آرامق لازم گلوب بر قومه آخر بر لسان اجنبی ایله فنون ومعرفتجه طریق ترقی ارائه‌سی مشکل ومتعسر اولدیغی درکاردر .

اشبو مصلحتك اجراآت کلیه‌سی یخشنده مالاً وحالاً باعث توقف وتردد اولان شیلر بونلر اولمسیله برابر ملك وتبعه‌نك مکمل سعادت ومدنیتی اولان بویله برامر خیرك حیز حصوله وصولی نوبت زندگانیزك تصادف شرف عالیهاسنه مظهر اولدیغی عصر محاسن حصر حضرت پادشاهینك انفع آثارندن معدود اولهجغی جهتله تقایض مذکوره‌نك قارشوسنده طوروبده افاضهٔ وقت ایدلمسی لایق اولهمیه‌جغندن وبو مثللو برامر عظیمك اساسی نقدر تجربه‌یه مستند اولور ایسه فعلیاتی اول رتبه اکتساب یسر وسهولت ایلیه‌جکندن ذکر اولنان نظامنامه لایحه‌سی تعمیم معارف ایجون بر رهنمای اصلاحات اتخاذ اولهرق تدریجاً ومناسب

اولان موادندن ابتداءً موقع اجرایه قونلمش اولسه هم دولتجه بالتجربه فعلیاتنده مشکلاته اوغرانلمش وهمده صنوف تبعه‌جه درلنك شوایشده مقصدی نه اولدیغی آکلاشیلوب حسن نتایج اجراآت کاملیله تقدیر واعتراف اولنمش اوله‌جغی وخزینهٔ دولته واهالیه عائد اوله‌جق مصارفات واعاناتك بوطریق ایله تأدیه وتسویه سنده عسرت قالیه‌جغی و بر طرفدن پایه‌جق دارالمعلملردن خواجه‌لر یتشدیریلوب برطرفدن ده آتیده بیان قلنان قرارمذاکراته توفیقاً کتب لازمه ترجمه ایتدیرلدیکجه تعمیم فعلیات مصلحته استعداد واقتدار کلیه‌جکی ملاحظه‌لرینه بناءً احکام نظامیه‌نك فعلیاته حرکت تدریجیه ایله تشبث قلنمسی مناسب کورلمشدر.

شو اساس اقتضاسنجه التزام اولنان اجراآت تدریجیه یه اول باول مرکز ادارهٔ سلطنت سنیه‌دن بدأ اولنمسی طبیعت مصلحت اولوب شویله که: سایهٔ معدالتوایهٔ حضرت پادشاهیده دارالخلافة العلیه‌نك اکثر محلاتنده صبیان مکتبلری ومواقع متعدده‌سنده رشدیه مکاتبی موجود اولدیغندن بشقه مکاتب صبیان ورشدیه ایچون دارالمعلملر آچلمش ومکتب سلطانی تأسیس قلنمش ومتعدد قز رشدیه مکتبلرینك کشادینه مؤخراً قرار ویرلمش ودارالفنونك بوکونلرده آچلمسی قرارلشدیریلمش والحاصل وسائط منصورهٔ تحصیلیه‌نك اکثری بورادهٔ یاپلمش اولدیغندن نظامنامهٔ مذکورك احکامنه توفیقاً مجلس کبیر معارفك تشکیلیله موجود مکاتب رشدیه وصبیانیه اصلاح وتکثیر ایدیلوب واعدادیه مکتبلری کشاد اولنوب دارالمعلملرایله دارالفنون درسلری تنظیم ویکیدن بردارالمعلمات تأسیس قلنمسی وهر قدر حکم نظام اقتضاسنجه مکاتب عمومیه‌نك معلمینی تبعهٔ دولت علیه‌دن اولمق مشروط ایسه‌ده بونك حصولی دارالمعلمینك تقرراتنظامیله ثمراتنك اقتطافنه مرهون اوله‌رق اول وقته قدر آچیله‌جق مکاتبده تدریس اوله‌جق بعض فنون مخصوصه ایچون تبعهٔ دولت علیه‌دن اولیان ارباب دانش وکمالك دخی معلملکده استخداملری امور ضروریه‌دن بولنمغله اشبو فقرهٔ نظامیه‌نك مبادیٔ احوالده بروجهله استخدامی ایله مکاتب مبحوثه‌نك بوراجه تشکیلندن حاصل اوله‌جق ثمر و تجربه اوزرینه احکام نظامیه‌نك ولایاته تدریجاً تعمیم ایدلسی و فقط ولایتده بولنان قرا ومحلات مکاتبی معارفی کماکان اهالیه براغیله‌جغی جهتله بونلرك اشبو نظامه توفیقاً و تعمیماً تنظیم احوالیله برابر موجود اولان رشدیه مکتبلرینك دخی قواعد جدیده‌یه کوره نقصان اولان اصول تدریسیه‌لری علی التدریج اکمال ایدیلوب یالکز رشدیه مکاتبنك تکثیری و اعدادیه و سلطانیه مکتبلرینك کشادی مادده‌لرینك بوراده میدانه کلمه‌جك ثمراتك استحصالنه تعلیق اولنمسی اقتضای حالدن عد ایدلمشدر.

صنوف غير مسلمه اطفالك برنجي درجه تحصيللرى كندولرينه مخصوص اولان مكتبلرده اولهجق كبي رشديه مكتبلرى دخى مختلط اولهرق تشكيل قلنهجق ايسهده اتخاذ اولنهجق نظام اقتضاسنجه كرك مستقلاً وكرك مختلطاً تشكل ايدهجك مكتبده تدريس اولنهجق علوم وفنون درسلرينك حق نظارتى حكومته عائد اولهجغى وحالبوكه علوم دينيه درسلرينك ترتيبى هرملتك كندو آيينه كوره اولمق لازم كلهجكى جهتله صنوف غير مسلمه اطفالى علوم دينيهلرينك رؤساى روحانيهلرى معرفتلريله باتعيين تدريس اولنمسى موافق مصلحت عد ايدلمشدر .

كتب ورسائل ترجمهسى بحثه كلنجه بوماده مجلس كبير معارفك دائرهٔ علميهسى وظايفندن اولهجق وتأليف وترجمه خصوصنده ارباب كمال وحميتك همتلرينه مراجعت قلنهجق ايسهده بوقارورده عرض وايراد اولندينى وجهله فنون نافعهيه دائر السنهٔ اجنبيهده متداول اولان كتب ورسائلك لسان عثمانيه سرعت نقل وترجمهسى كافهٔ تشبثاتدن زياده شايان اعتنا وعلوم ومعارفك استكمال درجات عاليهسى ايچون بر سلم ارتقا اولمسيله بوكا خزينهٔ دولتدن مبالغ كافيه تخصيص اولنمق لازم كلهجكندن كرك مجدداً كتاب تأليف ايدنلره وكرك سپارش اولنهجق كتب ورسائلى ترجمه ايلهيانلره مكافات اعطا قلنمق اوزره خزينهٔ جليلهدن سنوى ايكى بيك كيسه آنچه تخصيصى بالاتحاد تصويب اولنمش واشبو قرارلره كوره لايحهٔ مذكورهنك اقتضا ايدن محللرى تصحيح قلنهرق بش باب ويوز طقسان سكز مادهيى حاوى اولمق اوزره نسخهٔ مبينهسى لفاً عرض وتقديم قلنمش ايسهده مدلول واحكامى موافق مساعدهٔ سنيه بيورلديغى حالده مذاكرات مشروحه يه توفيقاً اقتضاسنه ابتداراولنمسنك معارف نظارت جليلهسنه وجهت ماليهسنك نظارت جليلهٔ ماليه يه حواله سيله برابر نشر واعلان كيفيت قلنمسى بابنده » .

APPENDIX 4

CURRICULUM OF TOWN AND VILLAGE İBTİDÂÎ SCHOOLS (1904)[1]

[1] BOA IM 1322 Ca 7–1–896(649); *Hüdâvendigâr Salnâmesi*, Sene 1325 Sene-i Hicriyyesi [1907], 333; Berker, 164.

First Year		Second Year		Third Year	
Courses	Week hours	Courses	Week hours	Courses	Week hours
Alphabet (*Elifbâ*)	6	The Quran (*Kurân-ı Kerîm*)	6	The Quran (*Kurân-ı Kerîm*)	5
Quran-Sections (*Eczâ-yı Şerîfe*)	6	Catechism (*İlmu Hâl*)	3	Recitation of the Quran (*Tecvîd*)	3
Catechism (*İlmu Hâl*)	5	Writing of Letters (*Sûret-i İttisâl ve Terkîm-i Hurûf*)	5	Catechism (*İlmu Hâl*)	2
Writing of Letters (*Sûret-i İttisâl ve Terkîm-i Hurûf*)	3	Reading (*Kırâat*)	6	Grammar and Orthography (*Kavâid ve İmlâ*)	6
Reading (*Kırâat*)	3	Counting, Marking and Adding (*Ta'dâd, Terkîm ve Cem*)	3	Abridged Ottoman History (*Muhtasar Târîh-i Osmânî*)	2
				The Four Arithmetic Operations (*Âmâl-i Erbaa*)	3
				Reading of Passages on Morality, Geography and Agriculture (*Ahlâk, Coğrafya ve Malûmât-i Ziraîyeyi Hâvi Kırâat*)	3

APPENDIX 5

CURRICULUM OF RÜŞDİYYE SCHOOLS (1904)[1]

[5] BOA IM 1322 Ca 7–1–896(649).

First Year		Second Year		Third Year	
Courses	Week hours	Courses	Week hours	Courses	Week hours
The Quran and its Recitation (*Kurân-ı Kerîm maᶜ Tecvîd*)	1	The Quran and its Recitation (*Kurân-ı Kerîm maᶜ Tecvîd*)	1	The Quran and its Recitation (*Kurân-ı Kerîm maᶜ Tecvîd*)	1
Catechism (*İlmu Hâl*)	2	Catechism (*İlmu Hâl*)	2	Religious Sciences (*Ulûm-ı Dîniyye*)	2
Turkish (*Türkce*)	4	Turkish (*Türkce*)	3	Morality (*Ahlâk*)	1
Morphology of Arabic (*Sarf-ı Arabî*)	2	Morphology and Syntax of Arabic (*Sarf ve Nahv-ı Arabî*)	4	Ottoman Grammar and Writing (*Kavâid-i Osmâniye ve Kitâbet*)	4
Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2	Persian (*Fârisî*)	2	Arabic Syntax (*Nahv-ı Arabî*)	3
Short Ottoman Geography (*Muhtasar Coğrafya-i Osmânî*)	2	Morality (*Ahlâk*)	1	Persian (*Fârisî*)	2
		Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2	Arithmetic and Geometry (*Hesâb ve Hendese*)	3
Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	2	World Geography (*Coğrafya*)	2	Ottoman History (*Târîh-i Osmânî*)	1
Morality (*Ahlâk*)	1	Islamic History (*Târîh*)	1	Geography (*Coğrafya*)	2
Reading (*Kirâat*)	2	Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	2	Agriculture (*Malûmât-ı Zirâiye*)	1
		Agriculture (*Malûmât-ı Zirâiye*)	1	Calligraphy and Drawing (*Hüsnu Hatt ve Resim*)	2
		Drawing and Writing Style (*Resim ve Hatt*)	2		
				Hygiene (*Hıfzıssıhha*)	1

APPENDIX 6

CURRICULUM OF İDÂDÎ SCHOOLS (1899)[1]

[1] *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye.* 1316 Sene-i Hicriyyesi. Darü'l-Hilafetü'l-Aliyye, 191. The first three years contain courses and course-load similar to separate *rüşdiyye*-schools. The first five years are equivalent to day *idâdî* schools in *sancak*-centers. Those *idâdîs* with boarding facilities form the seven-year institutions of the higher educational level, founded in the more significant *vilâyet*-centers of the Empire.

First Year		Second Year		Third Year	
Courses	Week hours	Courses	Week hours	Courses	Week hours
The Quran, its Recitation and Religious Sciences (*Maʿ Tecvîd Kurân-ı Kerîm ve Ulûm-ı Dîniyye*)	3	The Quran, its Recitation and Religious Sciences (*Maʿ Tecvîd Kurân-ı Kerîm ve Ulûm-ı Dîniyye*)	2	The Quran, its Recitation and Religious Sciences (*Maʿ Tecvîd Kurân-ı Kerîm ve Ulûm-ı Dîniyye*)	2
Turkish (*Türkce*)	7	Turkish (*Türkce*)	6	Turkish (*Türkce*)	4
Arabic (*Arabî*)	1	Arabic (*Arabî*)	2	Arabic (*Arabî*)	2
Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2	Persian (*Fârisî*)	1	Persian (*Fârisî*)	2
Geography (*Coğrafya*)	2	Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2	French (*Fransızca*)	3
Practical Knowledge and Hygiene (*Malûmât-ı Nâfia ve Hıfzıssıha*)	1	Geography (*Coğrafya*)	2	Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2
Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	1	History (*Târîh*)	2	Geometry (*Hendese*)	1
Drawing (*Resim*)	1	Practical Knowledge and Hygiene (*Malûmât-ı Nâfia ve Hıfzıssıha*)	1	Geography (*Coğrafya*)	2
		Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	1	History (*Târîh*)	2
		Drawing (*Resim*)	1	Practical Knowledge and Hygiene (*Malûmât-ı Nâfia ve Hıfzıssıha*)	1
				Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	1
				Drawing (*Resim*)	1

Fourth Year		Fifth Year	
Courses	Week Hours	Courses	Week Hours
The Quran, its Recitation and Religious Sciences (*Maʿ Tecvîd Kurân-ı Kerîm ve Ulûm-ı Dîniyye*)	2	The Quran, its Recitation and Religious Sciences (*Maʿ Tecvîd Kurân-ı Kerîm ve Ulûm-ı Dîniyye*)	2
Turkish (*Türkce*)	3	Turkish (*Türkce*)	2
Arabic (*Arabî*)	2	Arabic (*Arabî*)	2
Persian (*Fârisî*)	1	French (*Fransızca*)	4
French (*Fransızca*)	3	Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	1
Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2	Bookkeeping (*Usûl-i Defterî*)	1
Bookkeeping (*Usûl-i Defterî*)	1	Algebra (*Cebir*)	2
Geometry (*Hendese*)	2	Geometry (*Hendese*)	2
Geography (*Coğrafya*)	2	Geography (*Coğrafya*)	2
History (*Târîh*)	2	History (*Târîh*)	2
Practical Knowledge and Hygiene (*Malûmât-ı Nâfia ve Hıfzıssıha*)	1	Practical Knowledge and Hygiene (*Malûmât-ı Nâfia ve Hıfzıssıha*)	1
Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	1	Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	1
Drawing (*Resim*)	1	Drawing (*Resim*)	1
Regional Languages (Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek)	2	Regional Languages (Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek)	2

Sixth Year		Seventh Year	
Courses	Week Hours	Courses	Week Hours
The Quran, its Recitation and Religious Sciences (*Maʿ Tecvîd Kurân-ı Kerîm ve Ulûm-ı Dîniyye*)	1	The Quran, its Recitation and Religious Sciences (*Maʿ Tecvîd Kurân-ı Kerîm ve Ulûm-ı Dîniyye*)	2
Arabic (*Arabî*)	1	Arabic (*Arabî*)	1
Literature and Morality (*Edebiyyât ve Ahlâk*)	2	Literature and Morality (*Edebiyyât ve Ahlâk*)	1
Official Correspondence (*Kitâbet-i Resmiyye*)	1	Official Correspondence (*Kitâbet-i Resmiyye*)	1
French (*Fransızca*)	4	French (*Fransızca*)	5
Laws (*Kavânîn*)	2	Laws (*Kavânîn*)	2
Algebra (*Cebir*)	2	Trigonometry (*Müsellesât*)	1
Geometry (*Hendese*)	2	Cosmography (*Kozmografya*)	1
Physics and Chemistry (*Hikmet-i Tabiîye ve Kimyâ*)	3	Machine (*Makine*)	1
Biology (*Mevâlid*)	2	Physics and Chemistry (*Hikmet-i Tabiîye ve Kimyâ*)	3
Geography (*Coğrafya*)	2	Biology (*Mevâlid*)	2
History (*Târîh*)	1	Geography (*Coğrafya*)	1
Regional Languages (Armenian, Bulgarian or Greek)	2	History (*Târîh*)	1
		Economy (*İlm-i Servet*)	2
		Regional Languages (Armenian, Bulgarian or Greek)	1

APPENDIX 7

CURRICULUM OF THE SCHOOL FOR TRIBES (1899)[1]

[1] *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye.* 1316 Sene-i Hicriyyesi. Darü'l-Hilafetü'l-Aliyye, 296.

First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year
The Quran (*Kurân-ı Kerîm*)	The Quran (*Kurân-ı Kerîm*)	The Quran (*Kurân-ı Kerîm*)	The Quran (*Kurân-ı Kerîm*)	The Quran (*Kurân-ı Kerîm*)
Alphabet (*Elifbâ*)	Recitation of the Quran (*Tecvîd*)	Recitation of the Quran (*Tecvîd*)	Recitation of the Quran (*Tecvîd*)	Recitation (*Tecvîd*)
Religious Sciences (*Ulûm-i Dîniyye*)	Religious Sciences (*Ulûm-i Dîniyye*)	Religious Sciences (*Ulûm-i Dîniyye*)	Religious Sciences (*Ulûm-i Dîniyye*)	Religious Sciences (*Ulûm-i Dîniyye*)
Catechism (*İlmu Hâl*)	Reading in Turkish (*Kırâatu Türkiyye*)	Lives of the Prophets (*Kısasu Enbiyâ*)	Morphology of Arabic (*Sarfu Arabî*)	Syntax of Arabic (*Nahvu Arabî*)
Reading in Turkish (*Kırâatu Türkiyye*)	Vocabulary (*Lugât*)	Morphology of Turkish (*Sarfu Türkî*)	Syntax of Turkish (*Nahvu Türkî*)	Persian (*Fârisî*)
Orthography (*İmlâ*)	Orthography (*İmlâ*)	Reading in Turkish (*Kırâatu Türkiyye*)	Persian (*Fârisi*)	Ottoman History (*Târîh-i Osmânî*)
Gymnastics (?) (*Talîm*)	Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	Vocabulary (*Lugât*)	History of Islam (*Târîh-i İslâm*)	Ottoman Grammar (*Kavâid-i Osmâniyye*)
	Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	Orthography (*İmlâ*)	Writing in Turkish (*Kîtâbetu Türkiyye*)	Turkish Writing and Reading (*Kîtâbetu Türkiyye maʿ Kırâat*)
	Gymnastics (?) (*Talîm*)	Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	Geography (*Cografya*)	Turkish Conversation (*Mükâleme-i Türkiyye*)
		Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	Geography (*Cografya*)
		Geography (*Cografya*)	Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)
		French (*Fransızca*)	Practical Knowledge (*Malûmât-ı Mütenevvia*)	Geometry (*Hendese*)
		Calligraphy in French (*Hüsnu Hatt-i Fransevî*)	Drawing (*Resim*)	Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)
		Gymnastics (?) (*Talîm*)	French (*Fransızca*)	Practical Knowledge (*Malûmât-ı Mütenevvia*)
			Calligraphy in French (*Hatt-ı Fransevî*)	Hygiene (*Hıfzıssıha*)
			Gymnastics (?) (*Talîm*)	Bookkeeping (*Hıfzu Defterî*)
				Drawing (*Resim*)
				French (*Fransızca*)
				Calligraphy in French (*Hatt-ı Fransevî*)
				Gymnastics(?) (*Ayak Talîmi*)

APPENDIX 8

COURSES OFFERED AT THE TEACHERS' SEMINARY FOR SIBYÂN SCHOOLS IN KONYA (1875)[1]

[1] *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Konya* (Sene 1294, Defa 10), 106.

Courses	
Method of Instruction	(*Usûl-i Tedrîs*)
Recitation of the Quran	(*Tecvîd*)
Reading of the *Dürr-i Yektâ* (Catechism) and *Birgivî* (Catechism) Texts	(*Dürr-i Yektâ ve Birgivî*)
Knowledge on Ethics	(*İlm-i Ahlâk*)
Orthography	(*İmlâ*)
Arithmetic	(*Hesâb*)
Persian Grammar	(*Kavâid-i Fârisî*)
Reading of the *Tuhfe-i Vehbî* (primary-level Persian-Ottoman dictionary)	(*Tuhfe-i Vehbî*)
Grammar of the Ottoman Language	(*Lisân-ı Osmânî Kavâidi*)
Calculation of Decreases and Increases	(*Hesâbdan Tenâkus ve Fâizler*)
Geography	(*Coğrafya*)
Ottoman History and Lifes of the Prophets	(*Târîh-i Osmânî ve Kısas-ı Enbiyâ*)
Writing	(*Kitâbet*)
Reading of the *Pend-i Attâr* (Ethical Admonitions of the Mystic F. Attâr)	(*Pend-i Attâr*)
Reading of Sadi's *Gülistân*	(*Gülistân*)

APPENDIX 9

CURRICULUM OF THE GREAT TEACHERS' SEMINARY IN İSTANBUL, SECTION FOR İBTİDÂÎ SCHOOLS (1904)[1]

[1] BOA IM 1322 Ca 7–1–896 (649).

First Year		Second Year	
Courses	Week Hours	Courses	Week Hours
The Quran (*Kurân-ı Kerîm*)	2	Islamic Precepts and Religious Sciences (*Akâid ve Ulûm-i Dîniyye*)	2
Islamic Precepts and Religious Sciences (*Akâid ve Ulûm-i Dîniyye*)	2	Arabic (*Arabî*)	2
Arabic (*Arabî*)	2	Persian (*Fârisî*)	2
Persian (*Fârisî*)	2	Ottoman Language (*Lisân-ı Osmânî*)	2
Ottoman Language (*Lisân-ı Osmânî*)	2	Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2
Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2	History (*Târîh*)	2
History (*Târîh*)	2	Geography (*Cografya*)	2
Geography (*Cografya*)	2	Agriculture (*Ziraat*)	1
Agriculture (*Ziraat*)	1	French (Fransızca)	1
Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	1	Calligraphy (*Hüsnu Hatt*)	1
Knowledge of Objects (*İlm-i Eşyâ*)	1	Knowledge of Objects (*İlm-i Eşyâ*)	1
		Method of Instruction (*Usûl-i Tedrîs*)	1

APPENDIX 10

CURRICULUM OF THE PROVINCIAL TEACHERS' SEMINARIES FOR İBTİDÂÎ SCHOOLS (1900)[1]

[1] *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye Sene 1319* [1901–1902], cited from Berker, p. 141, 142; Kodaman, 154.

First Year		Second Year	
Courses	Week Hours	Courses	Week Hours
Quran and the Art of Recitating the Quran (*Tecvîd*)	2	Quran and the Art of Recitating the Quran (*Tecvîd*)	2
Arabic (*Arabî*)	2	Arabic (*Arabî*)	2
Turkish Grammar and Orthography (*Kavâid-i Türkî ve İmlâ*)	2	Turkish Grammar and Orthography (*Kavâid-i Türkî ve İmlâ*)	3
Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2	Arithmetic (*Hesâb*)	2
History of the Prophets and Caliphs (*Enbiyâ ve Hulefâ Târîhi*)	2	Compendium of Ottoman History (*Mülahhas Târîh-i Osmânî*)	2
Geography (Definitions and Mathematical Geography) (*Tarîfât, Riyâzî Cografya*)	2	Ottoman Geography (*Osmanlı Cografyası*)	2
		Rika-Style Writing (*Hatt-ı Rıka*)	1
Rika-Style Writing (*Hatt-ı Rıka*)	2		

APPENDIX 11

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND CO-EDUCATIONAL GOVERNMENT İBTİDÂÎ SCHOOLS FOR EACH KAZÂ ACCORDING TO SANCAKS (1902–1908)[1]

[1] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye. 1328 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs* (1328/1910), 335–398. The educational data belongs to the years 1323/1905 and 1324/1906. Additional information is provided from the *1324 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs Selânik Vilâyeti Salnamesi* (1324/1906); *Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. Hicri 1325* (Bursa, 1325/1907); *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Aydın. 1326 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs* (1326/1908); *Konya Vilâyet Salnâmesi. 1322 Sene-i Maliyyesi* (1322/1906); *Adana Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. 1320* (1320/1902); *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Basra. 1320 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûsdur* (1320/1902).

Average Distribution of Male and Co-Educational Government İbtidâî-Schools for each Kazâ at Sancak-Level (1902–1908)
Average for the Empire: 1572/664 = 2.36

İSTANBUL

(1) İstanbul	72.00
(1) Beyoğlu	66.00
(1) Üsküdar	32.00
(2) Separate *sancak* of Çatalca	1.00

KOSOVA VİLÂYETİ

(3) Skopje (Üsküb)	8.90
(4) Prizren	21.00
(5) İştip (Štip)	28.00
(6) Seniçe (Senica)	20.25
(7) İpek (Peja, Peć)	5.00
(8) Taşlıca (Pljevlja)	26.00

MANASTIR VİLÂYETİ

(9) Monastir (Bitola)	22.66
(10) Debre (Debar)	8.00
(11) Serfice (Servia)	24.00
(12) Elbasan	11.33
(13) Görice (Korçë)	46.25

İŞKODRA VİLÂYETİ

(14) İşkodra (Shkodër)	14.80
(15) Dıraç (Durrës)	11.20

YANYA VİLÂYETİ

(16) Janina (Ioánnina)	2.00
(17) Preveze (Prevesa)	3.33
(18) Ergiri (Gjirokastër)	4.33
(19) Berat	6.00

EDİRNE VİLÂYETİ

(20) Edirne	1.37
(21) Tekfurdağı	1.25
(22) Kırkkilise	1.85
(23) Gümülcine (Komotini)	3.83
(24) Dedeağaç (Alexandroúpolis)	1.33
(25) Gelibolu	3.40

SELÂNİK VİLÂYETİ

(26) Salonica (Thessaloníki)	1.00
(27) Serez (Serrai)	0.62
(28) Drama	1.50
(29) Separate *sancak* of İzmid	43.16
(30) Separate *sancak* of Biga	73.50

CEZÂÎR-İ BAHR-I SEFÎD VİLÂYETİ

(31) Rhodes	2.33
(32) Midilli (Mytilene)	13.33
(33) Sakız (Chios)	0.75
(34) Limni (Limnos)	1.00

HÜDÂVENDİGÂR VİLÂYETİ

(35) Bursa	2.57
(36) Balıkesri	2.22
(37) Ertuğrul	4.25
(38) Kütahya	4.40
(39) Karahisar-ı Sâhib	3.75

AYDIN VİLÂYETİ

(40) İzmir	25.15
(41) Aydın	14.16
(42) Saruhan	49.45
(43) Menteşe	19.83
(44) Denizli	172.66

KASTAMONİ VİLÂYETİ

(45) Kastamoni	50.00
(46) Bolu	24.55
(47) Sinob	46.33
(48) Kengiri	36.50

ANKARA VİLÂYETİ

(49) Ankara	9.80
(50) Kırşehri	4.25
(51) Yozgad	19.66
(52) Kayseriyye	12.50
(53) Çorum	10.75

KONYA VİLÂYETİ

(54) Konya	7.54
(55) Niğde	5.85
(56) Hamid	4.60
(57) Burdur	5.50
(58) Teke	10.00

SİVAS VİLÂYETİ

(59) Sivas	3.00
(60) Amasya	1.85
(61) Tokad	6.75
(62) Karahisar-ı Şarkî	0.60

TRABZON VİLÂYETİ

(63) Trabzon	19.44
(64) Lazistan	94.33
(65) Canik	7.50
(66) Gümüşhane	16.75

ERZURUM VİLÂYETİ

(67) Erzurum	7.75
(68) Erzincan	4.20
(69) Bayezid	1.20
(70) Hınıs	3.00

VAN VİLÂYETİ

(71) Van	4.33
(72) Hakkâri	1.00

BİTLİS VİLÂYETİ

(73) Bitlis	6.25
(74) Muş	3.60
(75) Siird	3.60
(76) Genc	2.66

DİYARBEKİR VİLÂYETİ

(77) Diyarbekir	14.16
(78) Mardin	14.00
(79) Ergani	30.66

MAMURETÜLAZİZ VİLÂYETİ

(80) Harput	5.33
(81) Malatya	5.20
(82) Dersim	3.16

ADANA VİLÂYETİ

(83) Adana	1.00
(84) Kozan	0.25
(85) Mersin	0.00
(86) İç El	0.00
(87) Cebel-i Bereket	0.33

(88) Separate *sancak* of Jerusalem 70.00
(89) Separate *sancak* of Zor 12.00

HALEB VİLÂYETİ

(90) Aleppo 6.21
(91) Maraş 4.60
(92) Urfa 4.60

SURİYYE VİLÂYETİ

(93) Damascus (Şam-ı Şerîf) 2.22
(94) Hama 2.00
(95) Hawran 2.87
(96) Maan 4.00

BEYRUT VİLÂYETİ

(97) Beirut 1.50
(98) Tripoli 1.00
(99) Acre 2.00
(100) Nablus 36.33
(101) Latakia 9.75

BAĞDAD VİLÂYETİ

(102) Baghdad 0.81
(103) Karbala 0.00
(104) Divaniyye 0.25

MUSUL VİLÂYETİ

(105) Mosul 3.16
(106) Sulaymaniyya 0.20
(107) Kirkuk (Kerkük) 3.50

BASRA VİLÂYETİ

(108) Basra 2.66
(109) Amara 0.75
(110) Muntafik 1.00
(111) Najd 0.33

HİCAZ VİLÂYETİ

(112) Mekke-i Mükerreme 0.00
(113) Medine-i Münevvere 0.50
(114) Jeddah ?

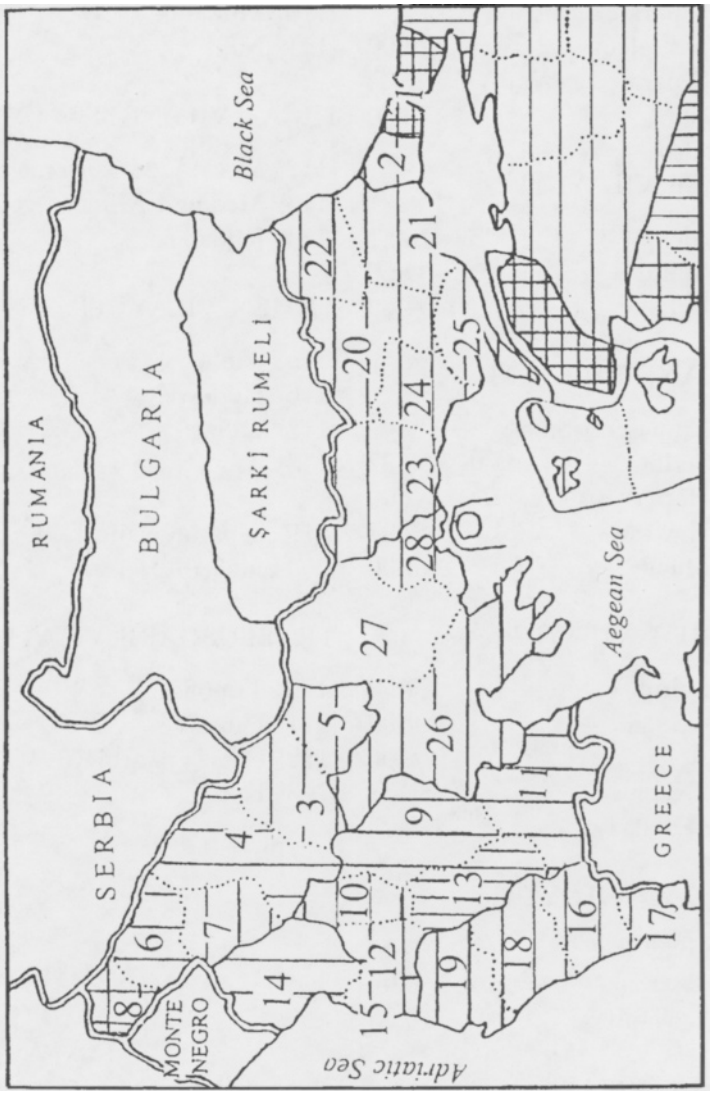
YEMEN VİLÂYETİ

(115) San'a' 2.88
(116) Hudeyde 1.00
(117) Ta'izz 2.83
(118) Asir ?

(119) Separate sancak of Bingâzi 2.50

TRABLUSGARB VİLÂYETİ

(120) Tripolis 1.55
(121) Humus 0.80
(122) Cebel-i Garbiyye 0.25
(123) Fezzan 0.25



Map 1: *Sancaks* of the Balkans (1902–1908)

less than 1 for each *kazâ*

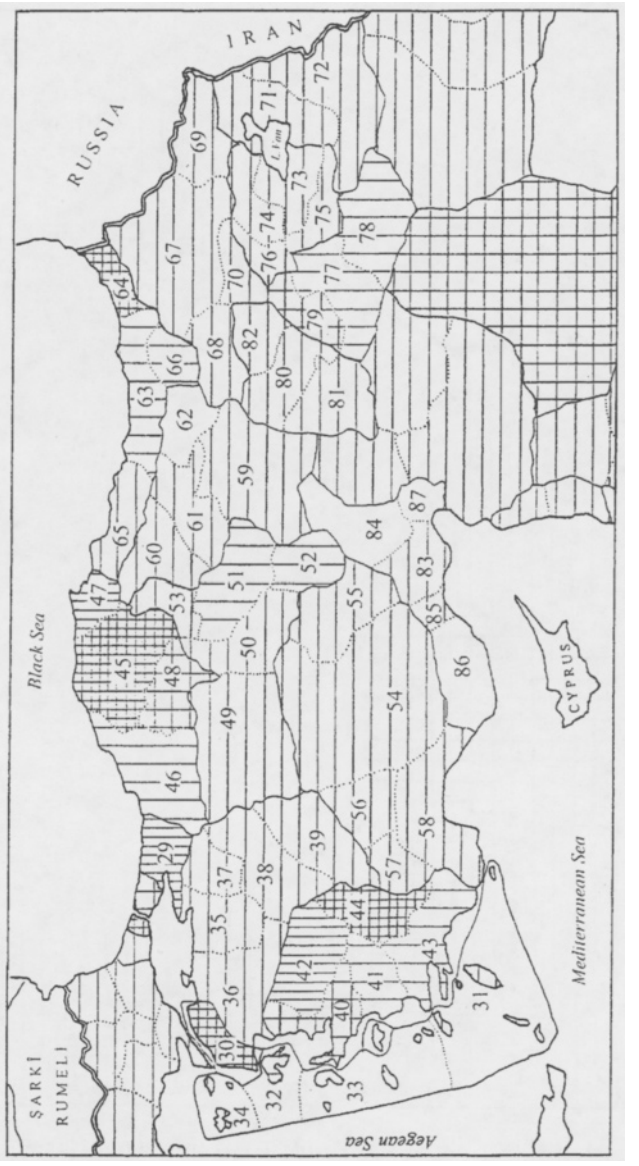
1–11.99 " " "

12–24.99 " " "

25–37.99 for each *kazâ*

38–49.99 " " "

50 and more " " "



Map 2: *Sancaks* of Anatolia and the Aegean Islands (1902–1908)

less than 1 for each *kazâ*

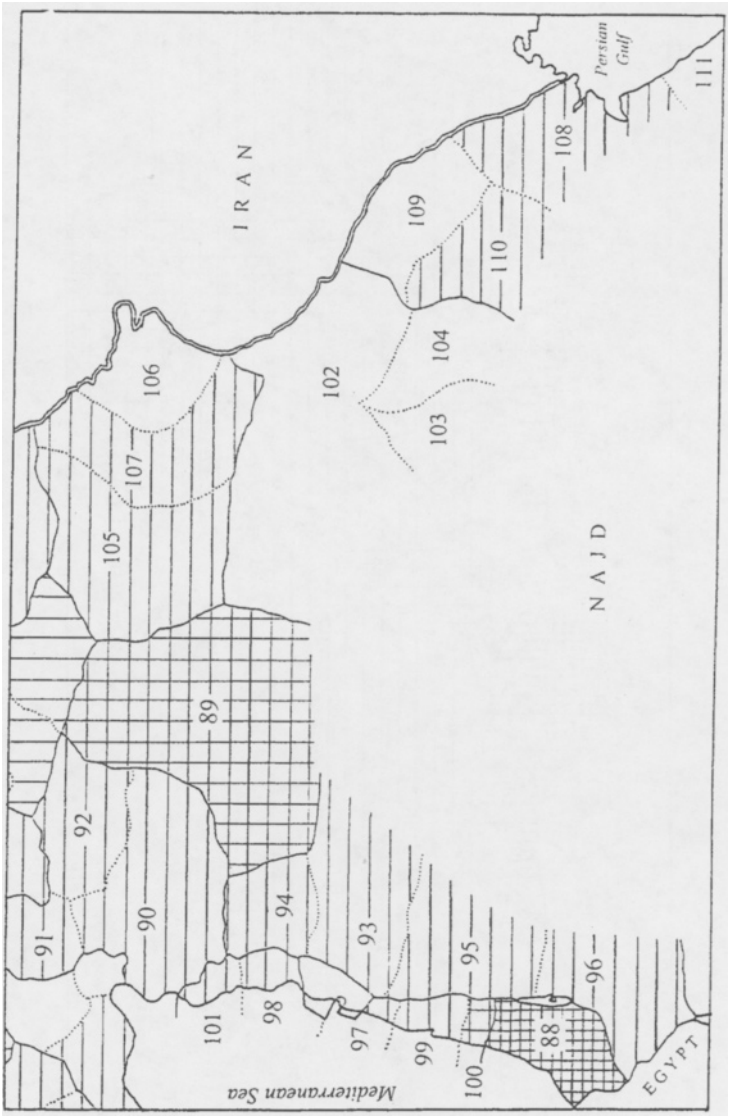
1–11.99 " " "

12–24.99 " " "

25–37.99 for each *kazâ*

38–49.99 " " "

50 and more " " "



Map 3: *Sancaks* of the Fertile Crescent (1902–1908)

less than 1 for each *kazâ*

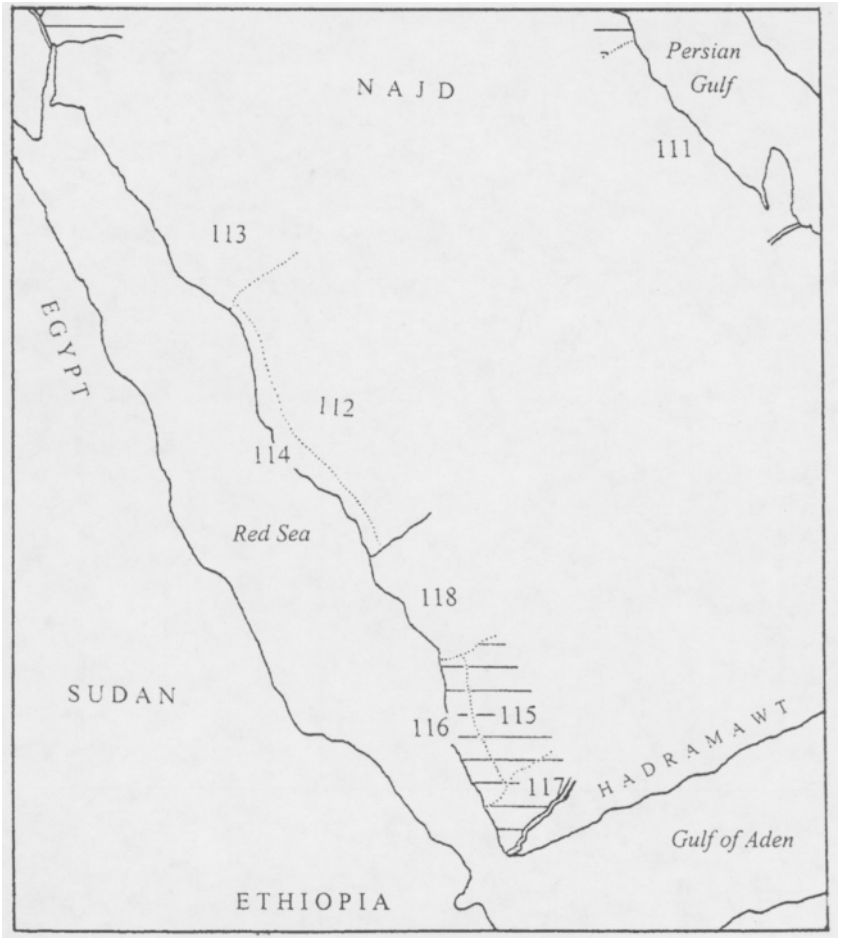
1–11.99 " " "

12–24.99 " " "

25–37.99 for each *kazâ*

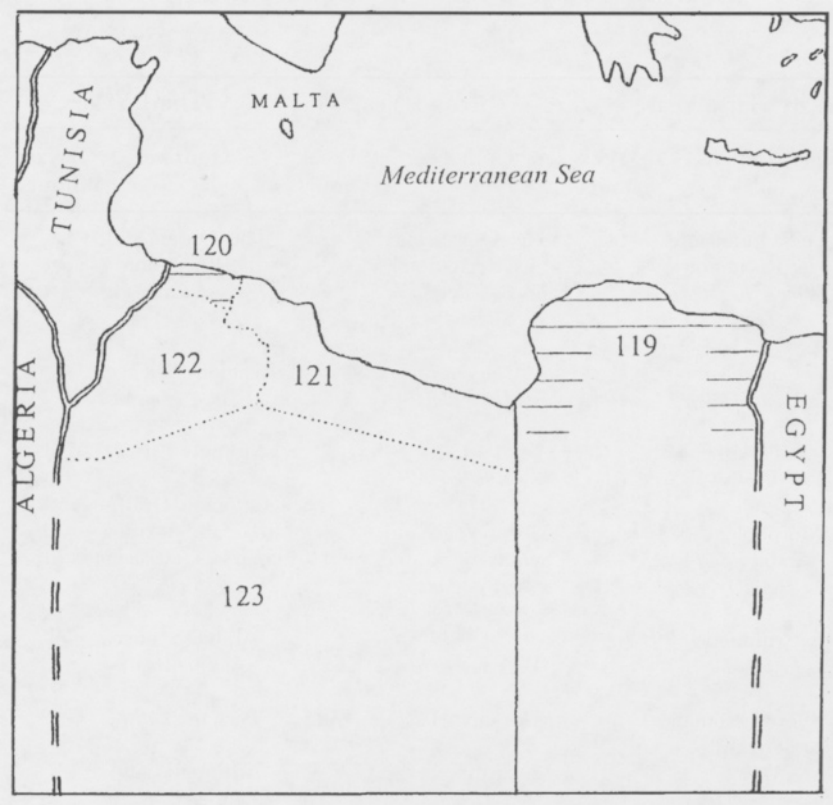
38–49.99 " " "

50 and more " " "



Map 4: *Sancaks* of the Arabian Peninsula (1902–1908)

	less than 1 for each *kazâ*		25–37.99 for each *kazâ*
	1–11.99 " " "		38–49.99 " " "
	12–24.99 " " "		50 and more " " "



Map 5: *Sancaks* of Libya (1902–1908)

less than 1 for each *kazâ*
1–11.99 " " "
12–24.99 " " "
25–37.99 for each *kazâ*
38–49.99 " " "
50 and more " " "

APPENDIX 12

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE AND CO-EDUCATIONAL GOVERNMENT İBTİDÂÎ SCHOOLS FOR EACH KAZÂ ACCORDING TO SANCAKS (1902–1908)[1]

[1] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye. 1328 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs* (1328/1910), 335–398. The educational data belongs to the years 1323/1905 and 1324/1906. Additional information is provided from the *1324 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs Selânik Vilâyeti Salnamesi* (1324/1906); *Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. Hicri 1325* (Bursa, 1325/1907); *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Aydın. 1326 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs* (1326/1908); *Konya Vilâyet Salnâmesi. 1322 Sene-i Maliyyesi* (1322/1906); *Adana Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. 1320* (1320/1902); *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Basra. 1320 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûsdur* (1320/1902).

Average Distribution of Female and Co-Educational Government İbtidâî-Schools for each Kazâ at Sancak-Level (1902–1908)
Average for the Empire: 966/664 = 1.45

İSTANBUL

(1) İstanbul	75.50
(1) Beyoğlu	64.00
(1) Üsküdar	32.00
(2) Separate *sancak* of Çatalca	0.33

KOSOVA VİLÂYETİ

(3) Skopje (Üsküb)	2.10
(4) Prizren	0.25
(5) İştip (Štip)	6.80
(6) Seniçe (Senica)	19.25
(7) İpek (Peja, Peć)	0.40
(8) Taşlıca (Pljevlja)	7.00

MANASTIR VİLÂYETİ

(9) Monastir (Bitola)	20.83
(10) Debre (Debar)	0.50
(11) Serfice (Servia)	18.50
(12) Elbasan	1.33
(13) Görice (Korçë)	23.25

İŞKODRA VİLÂYETİ

(14) İşkodra (Shkodër)	15.20
(15) Dıraç (Durrës)	1.40

YANYA VİLÂYETİ

(16) Janina (Ioánnina)	0.14
(17) Preveze (Prevesa)	0.33
(18) Ergiri (Gjirokastër)	0.33
(19) Berat	0.50

EDİRNE VİLÂYETİ

(20) Edirne	1.00
(21) Tekfurdağı	1.25
(22) Kırkkilise	1.42
(23) Gümülcine (Komotini)	1.33
(24) Dedeağaç (Alexandroúpolis)	1.00
(25) Gelibolu	?

SELÂNİK VİLÂYETİ

(26) Salonica (Thessaloníki)	0.50
(27) Serez (Serrai)	0.37
(28) Drama	0.25
(29) Separate *sancak* of İzmid	40.50
(30) Separate *sancak* of Biga	72.16

CEZÂÎR-İ BAHR-I SEFÎD VİLÂYETİ

(31) Rhodes	21.66
(32) Midilli (Mytilene)	12.33
(33) Sakız (Chios)	0.75
(34) Limni (Limnos)	0.66

HÜDÂVENDİGÂR VİLÂYETİ

(35) Bursa	1.42
(36) Balıkesri	0.11
(37) Ertuğrul	0.75
(38) Kütahya	0.80
(39) Karahisar-ı Sâhib	0.75

AYDIN VİLÂYETİ

(40) İzmir	21.07
(41) Aydın	11.50
(42) Saruhan	44.81
(43) Menteşe	7.00
(44) Denizli	112.50

KASTAMONİ VİLÂYETİ

(45) Kastamoni	48.62
(46) Bolu	23.33
(47) Sinob	45.66
(48) Kengiri	33.50

ANKARA VİLÂYETİ

(49) Ankara	8.50
(50) Kırşehri	1.25
(51) Yozgad	2.33
(52) Kayseriyye	8.50
(53) Çorum	1.25

KONYA VİLÂYETİ

(54) Konya	0.72
(55) Niğde	0.57
(56) Hamid	0.40
(57) Burdur	0.50
(58) Teke	0.80

SİVAS VİLÂYETİ

(59) Sivas	1.09
(60) Amasya	0.42
(61) Tokad	4.00
(62) Karahisar-ı Şarkî	0.60

TRABZON VİLÂYETİ

(63) Trabzon	18.22
(64) Lazistan	93.00
(65) Canik	6.50
(66) Gümüşhane	0.25

ERZURUM VİLÂYETİ

(67) Erzurum	0.37
(68) Erzincan	0.20
(69) Bayezid	0.00
(70) Hınıs	0.00

VAN VİLÂYETİ

(71) Van	2.83
(72) Hakkâri	0.60

BİTLİS VİLÂYETİ

(73) Bitlis	0.50
(74) Muş	0.20
(75) Siird	0.00
(76) Genc	0.00

DİYARBEKİR VİLÂYETİ

(77) Diyarbekir	0.16
(78) Mardin	0.00
(79) Ergani	0.33

MAMURETÜLAZİZ VİLÂYETİ

(80) Harput	0.33
(81) Malatya	0.00
(82) Dersim	0.16

ADANA VİLÂYETİ

(83) Adana	1.00
(84) Kozan	0.25
(85) Mersin	1.00
(86) İç El	0.00
(87) Cebel-i Bereket	0.33

(88) Separate *sancak* of Jerusalem 0.40
(89) Separate *sancak* of Zor 0.25

HALEB VİLÂYETİ

(90) Aleppo 0.42
(91) Maraş 1.60
(92) Urfa 1.80

SURİYYE VİLÂYETİ

(93) Damascus (Şam-ı Şerîf) 0.88
(94) Hama 0.50
(95) Hawran 0.00
(96) Maan 0.50

BEYRUT VİLÂYETİ

(97) Beirut 1.00
(98) Tripoli 0.50
(99) Acre 0.80
(100) Nablus 2.00
(101) Latakia 0.50

BAĞDAD VİLÂYETİ

(102) Baghdad 0.00
(103) Karbala 0.00
(104) Divaniyye 0.00

MUSUL VİLÂYETİ

(105) Mosul 0.00
(106) Sulaymaniyya 0.00
(107) Kirkuk (Kerkük) 0.00

BASRA VİLÂYETİ

(108) Basra 0.33
(109) Amara 0.25
(110) Muntafik 0.00
(111) Najd 0.00

HİCAZ VİLÂYETİ

(112) Mekke-i Mükerreme 0.00
(113) Medine-i Münevvere 0.16
(114) Jeddah ?

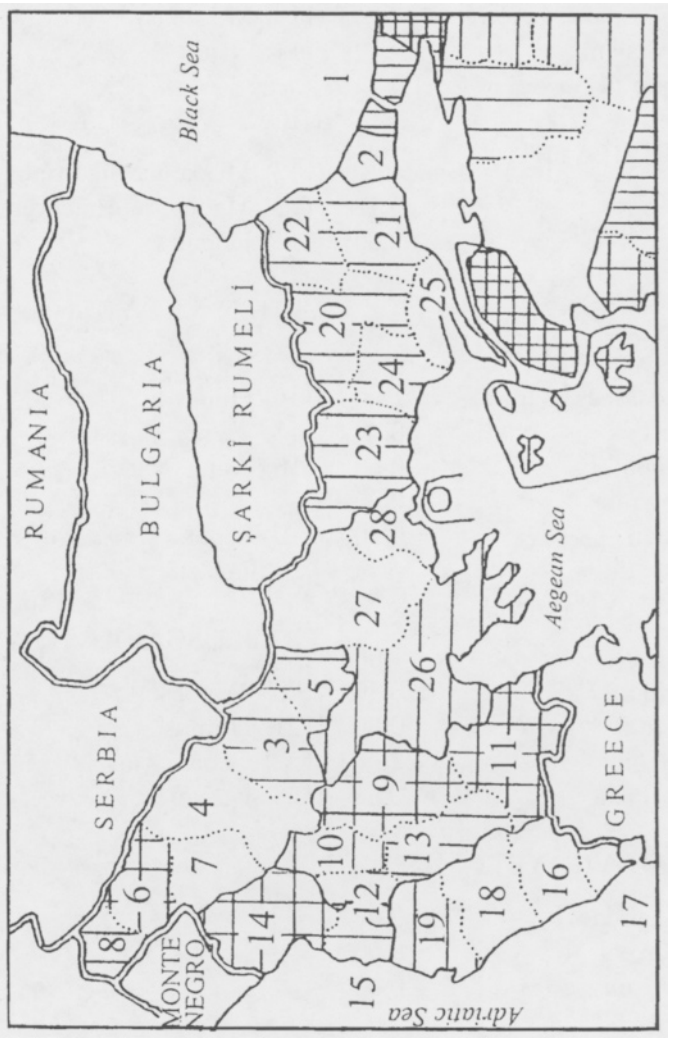
YEMEN VİLÂYETİ

(115) San'a' 0.00
(116) Hudeyde 0.00
(117) Ta'izz 0.00
(118) Asir ?

(119) Separate *sancak* of Bingâzi 0.25

TRABLUSGARB VİLÂYETİ

(120) Tripolis 0.00
(121) Humus 0.00
(122) Cebel-i Garbiyye 0.00
(123) Fezzan 0.00



Map 6: *Sancaks* of the Balkans (1902–1908)

less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

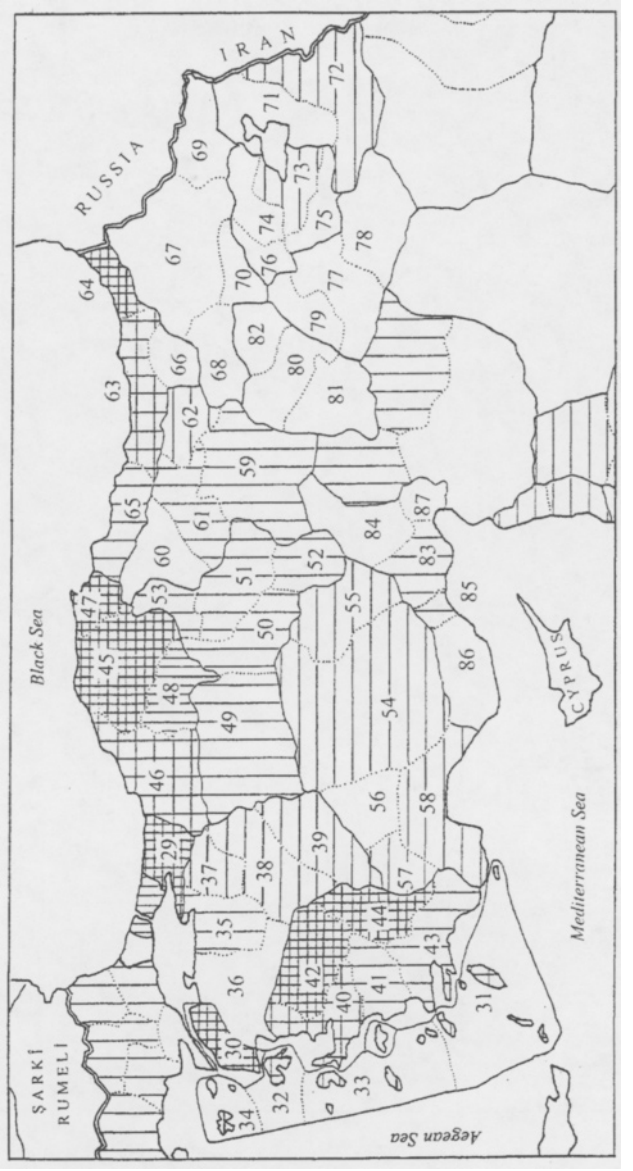
0.5–0.99 " " "

1–11.99 " " "

12–24.99 for each *kazâ*

25–37.99 " " "

38 and more " " "



Map 7: *Sancaks* of Anatolia and the Aegean Islands (1902–1908)

less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

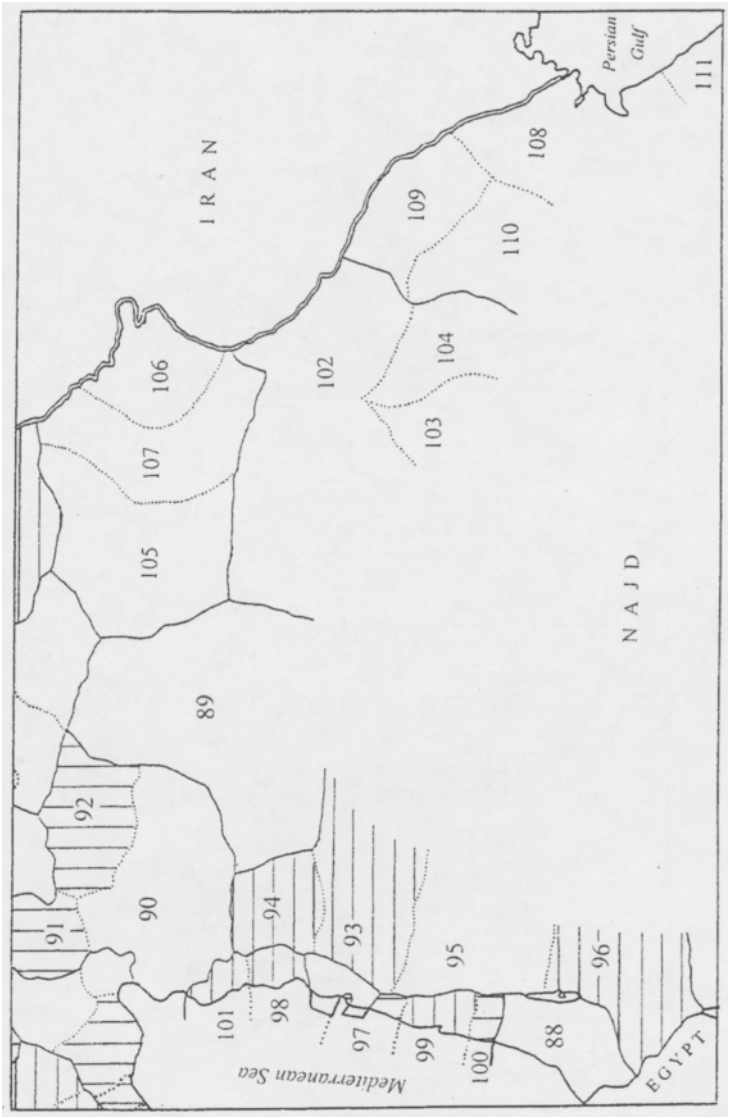
0.5–0.99 " " "

1–11.99 " " "

12–24.99 for each *kazâ*

25–37.99 " " "

38 and more " " "



Map 6: *Sancaks* of the Fertile Crescent (1902–1908)

	less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*		12–24.99 for each *kazâ*
	0.5–0.99 " " "		25–37.99 " " "
	1–11.99 " " "		38 and more " " "

APPENDIX 13

DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT MALE RÜŞDİYYE SCHOOLS FOR EACH KAZÂ ACCORDING TO SANCAKS (1876)[1]

[1] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye. Sene 1294* (1877–1878), 393–399, 426–512, 516– 541; *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Konya. Sene 1294* (1877–1878).

Average Distribution of Government Male *Rüşdiyye* Schools for each *Kazâ* at *Sancak*-Level (1876)

BOSNA VİLÂYETİ

(1) Sarajevo	0.28
(2) İzvornik	1.00
(3) Travnik	1.00
(4) Banja Luka	0.40
(5) Bihke (Bihać)	0.50
(6) Yeni Pazar (Novi Pazar)	0.36

HERSEK VİLÂYETİ

(7) Mostar	0.50
(8) Gaçka	0.00

MANASTIR VİLÂYETİ

(9) Monastir (Bitola)	0.69
(10) Debre (Debar)	0.50
(11) Skopje (Üsküb)	0.42
(12) Prizren	0.33

İŞKODRA VİLÂYETİ

(13) İşkodra (Shkodër)	0.36

YANYA VİLÂYETİ

(14) Janina (Ioánnina)	0.33
(15) Preveze (Prevesa)	0.75
(16) Ergiri (Gjirokastër)	0.40
(17) Berat	0.50
(18) Tırhala (Trikkala)	0.42

SELÂNİK VİLÂYETİ

(19) Salonica (Thessaloníki)	0.45
(20) Serez (Serrai)	0.60
(21) Drama	0.75

SOFYA VİLÂYETİ

(22) Sofya	1.00
(23) Niş	?

TUNA VİLÂYETİ

(24) Ruscuk (Ruse)	0.88
(25) Vidin	0.85
(26) Tırnova (V. Tărnovo)	0.80
(27) Varna	1.00
(28) Tulca (Tulcea)	0.85

EDİRNE VİLÂYETİ

(29) Edirne	0.70
(30) Tekfurdağı	0.62
(31) İslimye (Sliven)	0.50
(32) Filibe (Plovdiv)	0.87
(33) Gelibolu	0.50

CEZÂÎR-İ BAHR-I SEFÎD VİLÂYETİ

(34) Biga	1.14
(35) Cyprus	0.16
(36) Rhodes	0.25
(37) Midilli (Mytilene)	1.00
(38) Sakız (Chios)	0.50
(39) İstanköy (Kos)	0.33

GİRİD VİLÂYETİ

(40) Hanya (Khanea)	0.75
(41) Kandiyye (Herakleion)	0.20
(42) Resmo (Rethymnon)	0.33
(43) İsfakiyye (Khora Sfakion)	0.50
(44) Lâşid (Lasithi)	1.00

HÜDÂVENDİGÂR VİLÂYETİ

(45) Bursa	1.71
(46) Karesi	1.14
(47) Kütahya	1.00
(48) Karahisar-ı Sâhib	0.28

AYDIN VİLÂYETİ

(49) İzmir	0.88
(50) Aydın	0.33
(51) Saruhan	0.44
(52) Menteşe	0.50

KASTAMONİ VİLÂYETİ

(53) Kastamoni	0.66
(54) Bolu	1.00
(55) Sinob	0.66
(56) Kengiri	0.66

ANKARA VİLÂYETİ

(57) Ankara	0.55
(58) Kırşehri	0.75
(59) Bozok	0.75
(60) Kayseriyye	0.66

KONYA VİLÂYETİ

(61) Konya	0.63
(62) Niğde	0.80
(63) Hamid	1.00
(64) Burdur	0.33
(65) Teke	0.80

SİVAS VİLÂYETİ

(66) Sivas	0.42
(67) Amasya	1.00
(68) Karahisar-ı Şarkî	0.20

TRABZON VİLÂYETİ

(69) Trabzon	0.62
(70) Batum	0.40
(71) Gümüşhane	0.33
(72) Separate *sancak* of Canik	1.00

ERZURUM VİLÂYETİ

(73) Erzurum	0.85
(74) Kars	0.50
(75) Çıldır	0.33
(76) Erzincan	0.66
(77) Bayezid	0.25
(78) Van	0.30
(79) Muş	0.50

DİYARBEKİR VİLÂYETİ

(80) Diyarbekir	0.66
(81) Mardin	0.00
(82) Siird	0.20
(83) Malatya	0.40

MAMURETÜLAZİZ VİLÂYETİ

(84) Harput	1.20
(85) Ergani	1.33

ADANA VİLÂYETİ

(86) Adana	0.75
(87) Kozan	0.25
(88) İç El	0.50
(89) Payas	0.00
(90) Separate *sancak* of Beirut	1.00
(91) Separate *sancak* of Jerusalem	0.50

HALEB VİLÂYETİ

(92) Aleppo	0.40
(93) Maraş	0.28
(94) Urfa	0.75
(95) Zor	0.33

SURİYYE VİLÂYETİ

(96) Damascus (Şam-ı Şerîf)	0.12
(97) Hama	0.66
(98) Hawran	0.33
(99) Balqa	0.33
(100) Acre	0.25
(101) Tripoli	0.50

BAĞDAD VİLÂYETİ

(102) Baghdad	0.10
(103) Mosul	0.20
(104) Şehrizor	0.50
(105) Sulaymaniyya	0.14
(106) Hilla	0.14
(107) Amara	0.00

BASRA VİLÂYETİ

(108) Basra	0.12
(109) Muntafik	0.00
(110) Najd	0.00

HİCAZ VİLÂYETİ

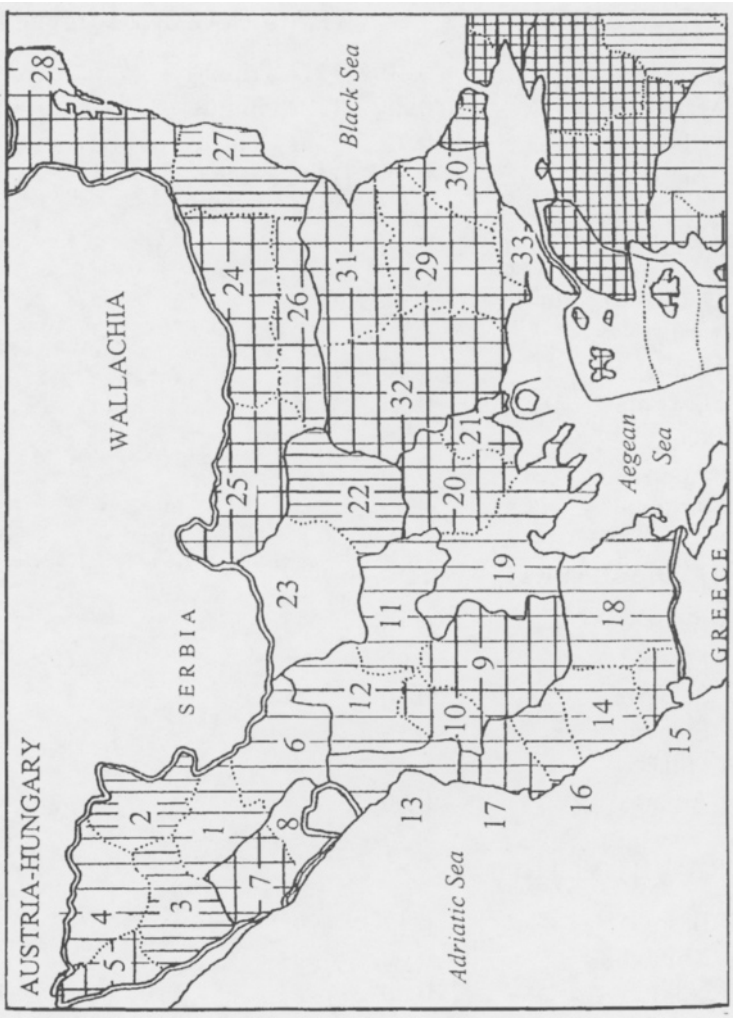
Mekke-i Mükerreme	0.00
Medine-i Münevvere	0.00
Jeddah	?

YEMEN VİLÂYETİ

No information

TRABLUSGARB VİLÂYETİ

(111) Tripolis	0.33
(112) Humus	0.14
(113) Cebel-i Garbiyye	0.00
(114) Fezzan	0.00
(115) Bingâzi	0.14



Map 9: *Sancaks* of the Balkans (1876)

non-existent or no data

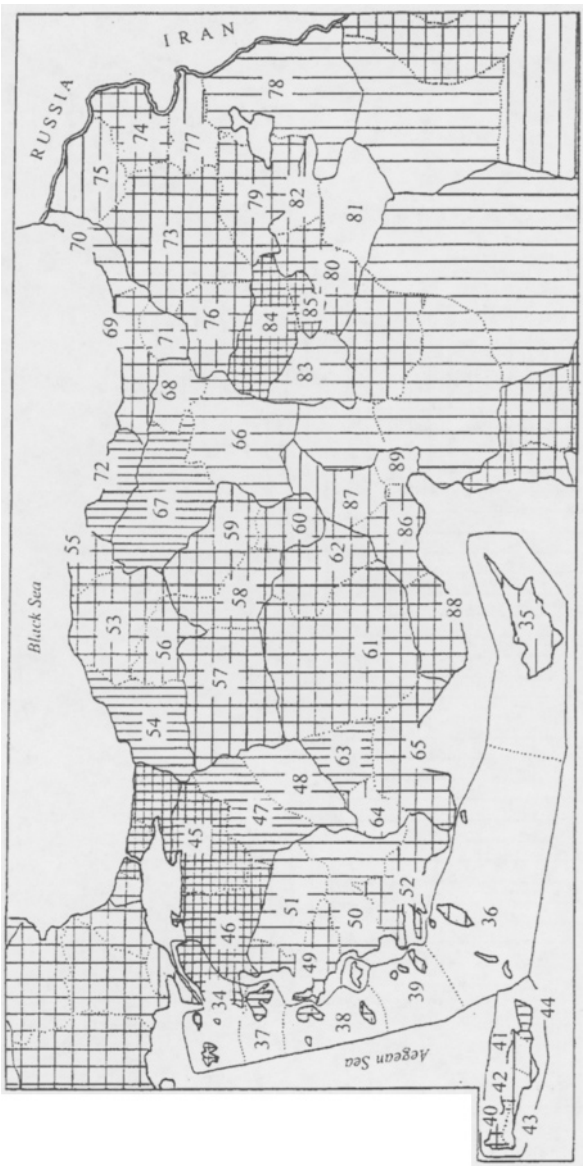
only in the *sancak*-center

less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

0.5–0.99 for each *kazâ*

1 " " "

more than 1 " " "



Map 10: *Sancaks* of Anatolia and the Aegean Islands (1876)

non-existent or no data

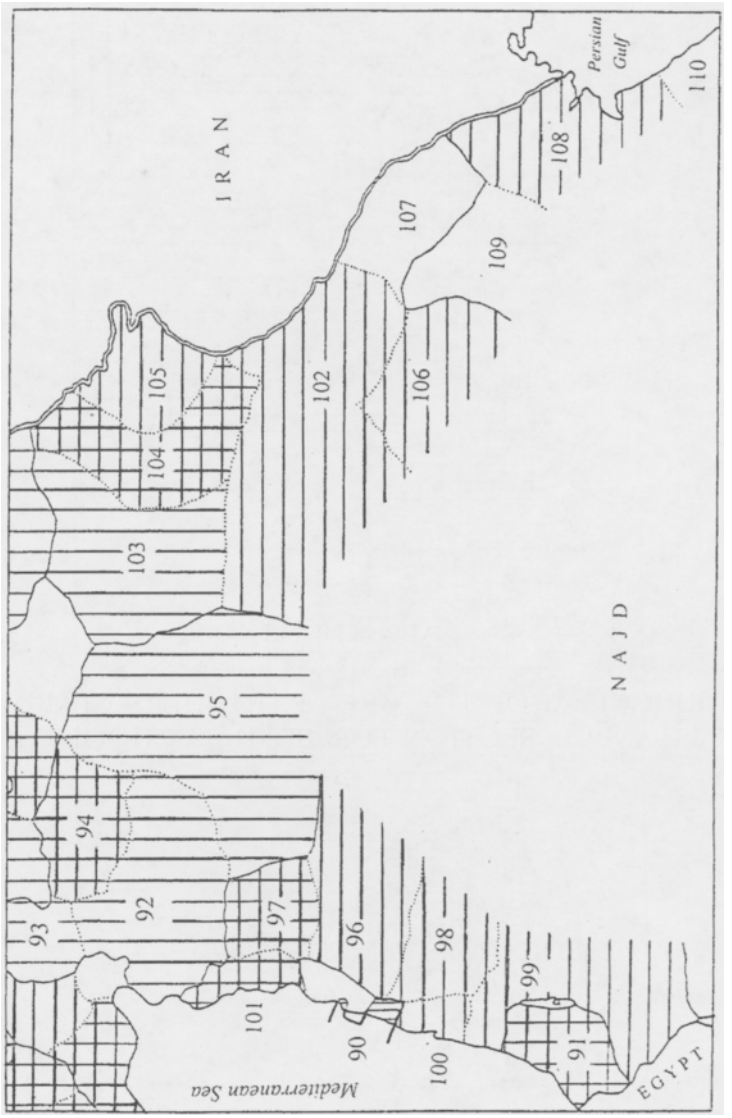
only in the *sancak*-center

less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

0.5–0.99 for each *kazâ*

1 " " "

more than 1 " " "



Map 11: *Sancaks* of the Fertile Crescent (1876)

non-existent or no data

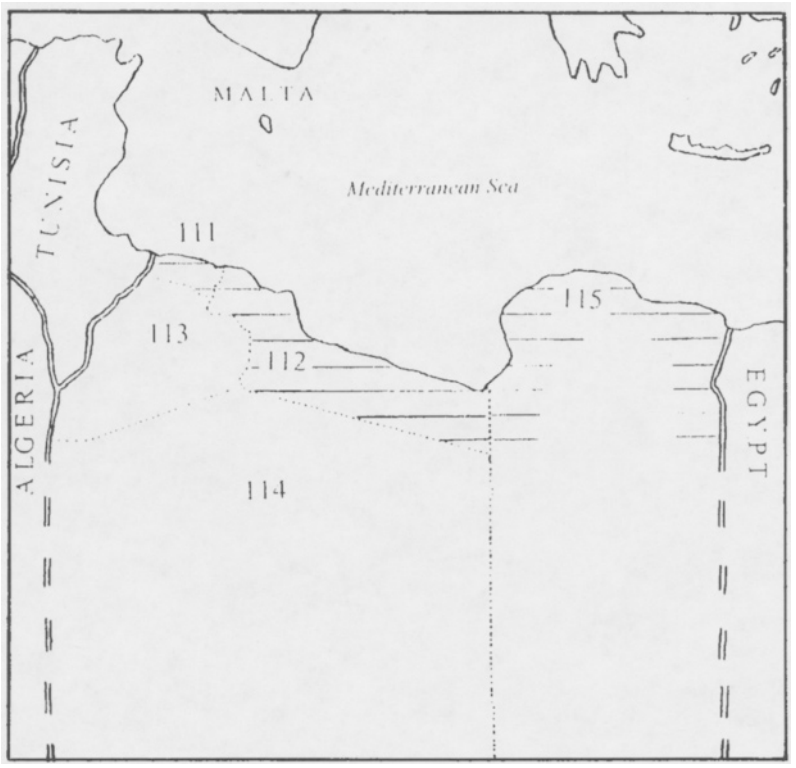
only in the *sancak*-center

less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

0.5–0.99 for each *kazâ*

1 " " "

more than 1 " " "



Map 12: *Sancaks* of Libya (1876)

non-existent or no data

only in the *sancak*-center

less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

0.5–0.99 for each *kazâ*

1 " " "

more than 1 " " "

APPENDIX 14

DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT MALE RÜŞDİYYE SCHOOLS FOR EACH KAZÂ ACCORDING TO SANCAKS (1902–1908)[1]

[1] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye. 1328 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs* (1328/1910), 335–398. The educational data belongs to the years 1323/1905 and 1324/1906. Additional information is provided from the *1324 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs Selânik Vilâyeti Salnamesi* (1324/1906); *Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. Hicri 1325* (Bursa, 1325/1907); *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Aydın. 1326 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs* (1326/1908*); Konya Vilâyet Salnâmesi. 1322 Sene-i Maliyyesi* (1322/1906); *Adana Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. 1320* (1320/1902); *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Basra. 1320 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûsdur* (1320/1902).

Average Distribution of Male Government Rüşdiyye Schools
(including the Rüşdiyye-level classes of İdâdî Schools)
for each Kazâ at Sancak-Level (1902–1908)
Average for the Empire: 570/664 = 0.85 per Kazâ

İSTANBUL

(1) İstanbul	7.50
(1) Beyoğlu	5.00
(1) Üsküdar	1.75
(2) Separate *sancak* of Çatalca	0.66

KOSOVA VİLÂYETİ

(3) Skopje (Üsküb)	0.90
(4) Prizren	0.75
(5) İştip (Štip)	1.20
(6) Seniçe (Senica)	0.75
(7) İpek (Peja, Peć)	0.80
(8) Taşlıca (Pljevlja)	1.00

MANASTIR VİLÂYETİ

(9) Monastir (Bitola)	1.00
(10) Debre (Debar)	0.25
(11) Serfice (Servia)	0.83
(12) Elbasan	0.66
(13) Görice (Korçë)	1.50

İŞKODRA VİLÂYETİ

(14) İşkodra (Shkodër)	0.2
(15) Dıraç (Durrës)	0.8

YANYA VİLÂYETİ

(16) Janina (Ioánnina)	0.57
(17) Preveze (Prevesa)	1.00
(18) Ergiri (Gjirokastër)	0.66
(19) Berat	0.50

EDİRNE VİLÂYETİ

(20) Edirne	0.87
(21) Tekfurdağı	1.00
(22) Kırkkilise	0.71
(23) Gümülcine (Komotini)	1.00
(24) Dedeağaç (Alexandroúpolis)	1.00
(25) Gelibolu	1.00

SELÂNİK VİLÂYETİ

(26) Salonica (Thessaloníki)	0.71
(27) Serez (Serrai)	0.75
(28) Drama	1.25
(29) Separate *sancak* of İzmid	1.50
(30) Separate *sancak* of Biga	1.00

CEZÂÎR-İ BAHR-I SEFÎD VİLÂYETİ

(31) Rhodes	0.33
(32) Midilli (Mytilene)	1.00
(33) Sakız (Chios)	0.25
(34) Limni (Limnos)	0.66

HÜDÂVENDİGÂR VİLÂYETİ

(35) Bursa	1.42
(36) Balıkesri	1.33
(37) Ertuğrul	2.75
(38) Kütahya	1.20
(39) Karahisar-ı Sâhib	1.25

AYDIN VİLÂYETİ

(40) İzmir	1.30
(41) Aydın	1.83
(42) Saruhan	0.90
(43) Menteşe	0.83
(44) Denizli	1.00

KASTAMONİ VİLÂYETİ

(45) Kastamoni	1.12
(46) Bolu	1.11
(47) Sinob	1.33
(48) Kengiri	1.00

ANKARA VİLÂYETİ

(49) Ankara	0.70
(50) Kırşehri	1.00
(51) Yozgad	1.00
(52) Kayseriyye	2.00
(53) Çorum	1.25

KONYA VİLÂYETİ

(54) Konya	1.00
(55) Niğde	1.14
(56) Hamid	1.00
(57) Burdur	1.00
(58) Teke	1.20

SİVAS VİLÂYETİ

(59) Sivas	0.81
(60) Amasya	1.14
(61) Tokad	1.00
(62) Karahisar-ı Şarkî	1.00

TRABZON VİLÂYETİ

(63) Trabzon	1.44
(64) Lazistan	2.00
(65) Canik	1.00
(66) Gümüşhane	0.75

ERZURUM VİLÂYETİ

(67) Erzurum	0.87
(68) Erzincan	0.60
(69) Bayezid	0.60
(70) Hınıs	1.00

VAN VİLÂYETİ

(71) Van	0.33
(72) Hakkâri	0.80

BİTLİS VİLÂYETİ

(73) Bitlis	0.25
(74) Muş	0.20
(75) Siird	0.20
(76) Genc	0.33

DİYARBEKİR VİLÂYETİ

(77) Diyarbekir	0.66
(78) Mardin	0.60
(79) Ergani	1.66

MAMURETÜLAZİZ VİLÂYETİ

(80) Harput	1.00
(81) Malatya	1.00
(82) Dersim	0.83

ADANA VİLÂYETİ

(83) Adana	0.66
(84) Kozan	0.60
(85) Mersin	1.50
(86) İç El	0.80
(87) Cebel-i Bereket	0.16

(88) Separate *sancak* of Jerusalem 1.00
(89) Separate *sancak* of Zor 0.25

HALEB VİLÂYETİ

(90) Aleppo 1.07
(91) Maraş 2.80
(92) Urfa 0.80

SURİYE VİLÂYETİ

(93) Damascus (Şam-ı Şerîf) 0.22
(94) Hama 0.50
(95) Hawran 0.25
(96) Maan 0.25

BEYRUT VİLÂYETİ

(97) Beirut 0.80
(98) Tripoli 0.25
(99) Acre 0.80
(100) Nablus 0.66
(101) Latakia 1.00

BAĞDAD VİLÂYETİ

(102) Baghdad 0.50
(103) Karbala 0.25
(104) Divaniyya 0.50

MUSUL VİLÂYETİ

(105) Mosul 0.16
(106) Sulaymaniyya 0.00
(107) Kirkuk (Kerkük) 0.66

BASRA VİLÂYETİ

(108) Basra 0.66
(109) Amara 0.50
(110) Muntafik 0.50
(111) Najd 0.33

HİCAZ VİLÂYETİ

(112) Mekke-i Mükerreme 1.00
(113) Medine-i Münevvere 0.33
(114) Jeddah ?

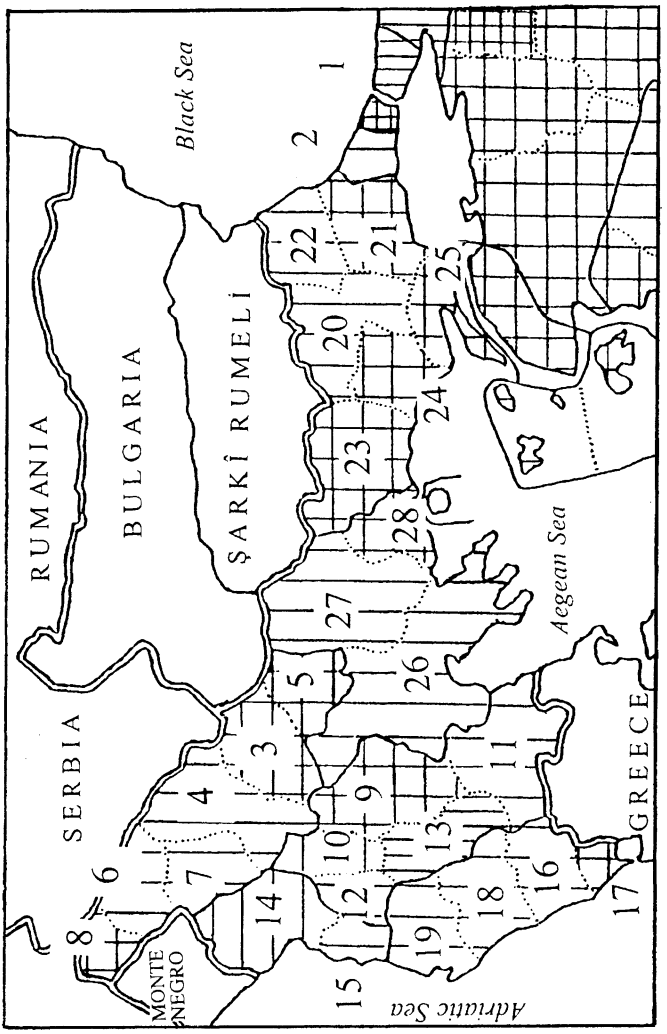
YEMEN VİLÂYETİ

(115) San'a' 0.55
(116) Hudeyde 0.22
(117) Ta'izz 0.33
(118) Asir ?

(119) Separate *sancak* of Bingâzi 0.50

TRABLUSGARB VİLÂYETİ

(120) Tripolis 0.22
(121) Humus 0.20
(122) Cebel-i Garbiyye 0.25
(123) Fezzan 0.00



Map 13: *Sancaks* of the Balkans (1902–1908)

non-existent or no data

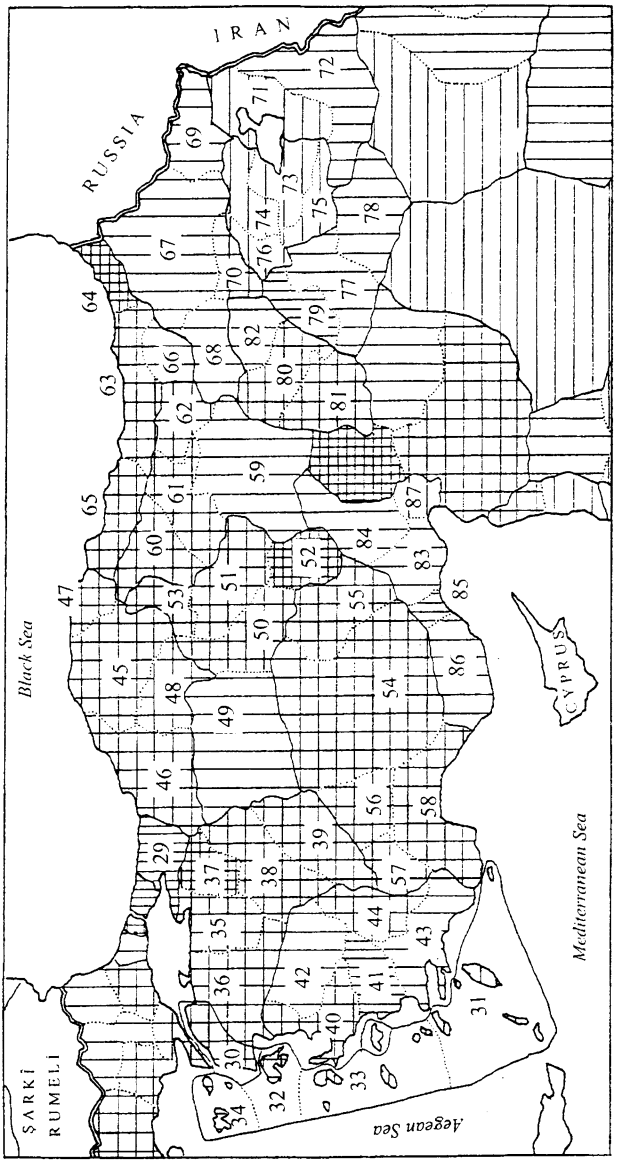
less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

0.5–0.99 " " "

1–1.49 for each *kazâ*

1.5–1.99 " " "

2 and more " " "



Map 14: *Sancaks* of Anatolia and the Aegean Islands (1902–1908)

non-existent or no data

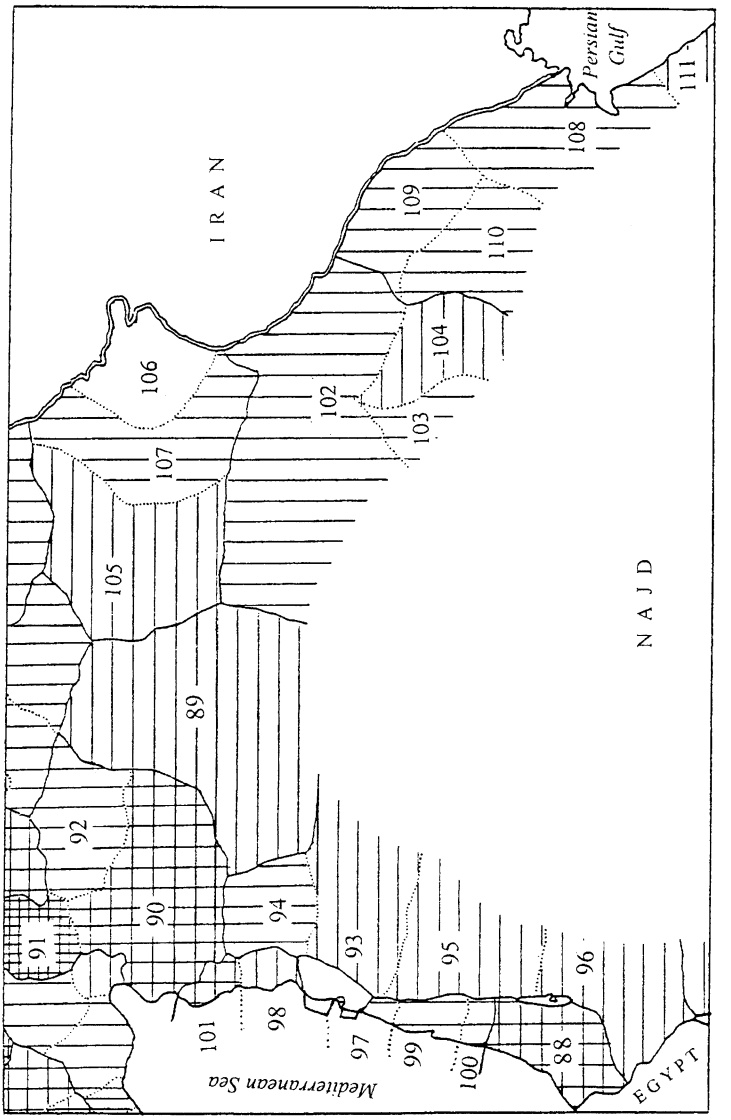
less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

0.5–0.99 " " "

1–1.49 for each *kazâ*

1.5–1.99 " " "

2 and more " " "



Map 15: *Sancaks* of the Fertile Crescent (1902–1908)

non-existent or no data

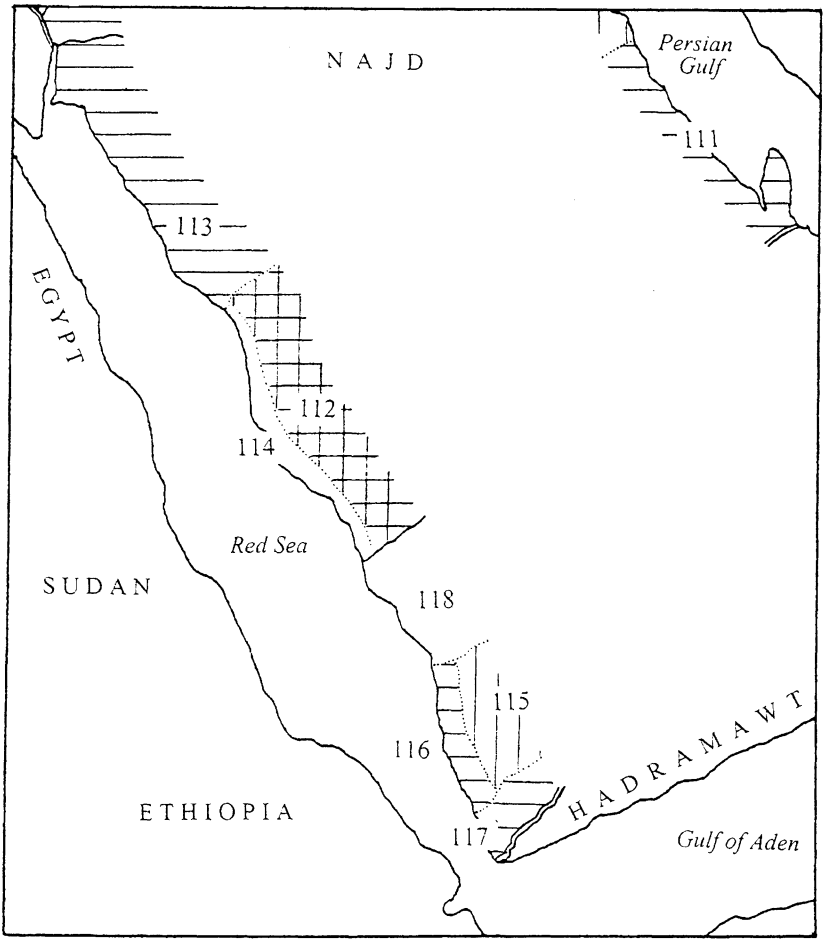
less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

0.5–0.99 " " "

1–1.49 for each *kazâ*

1.5–1.99 " " "

2 and more " " "



Map 16: *Sancaks* of the Arabian Peninsula (1902–1908)

non-existent or no data

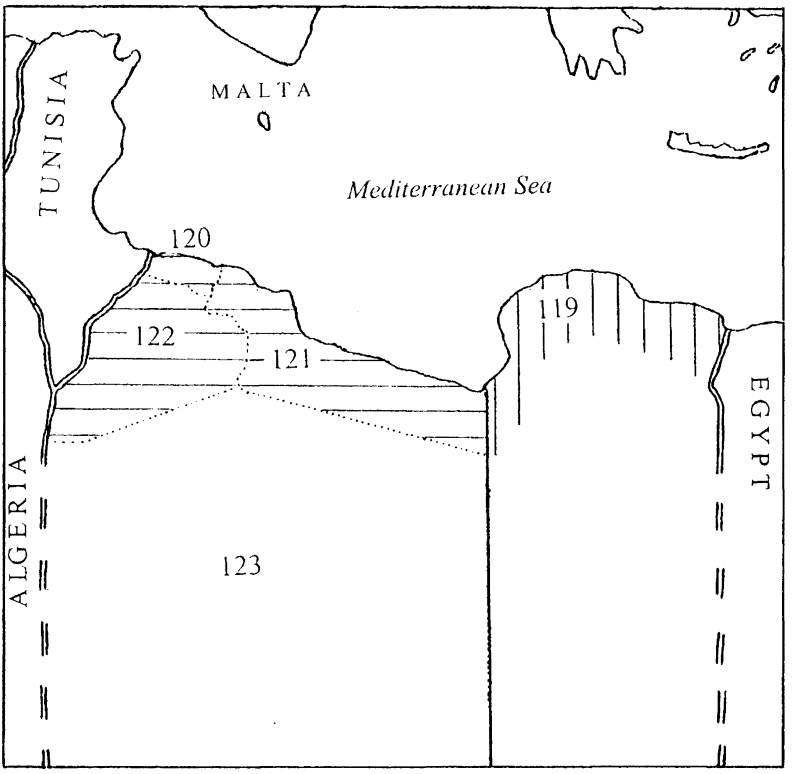
less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

0.5–0.99 " " "

1–1.49 for each *kazâ*

1.5–1.99 " " "

2 and more " " "



Map 17: *Sancaks* of Libya (1902–1908)

non-existent or no data

less than 0.5 for each *kazâ*

0.5–0.99 " " "

1–1.49 for each *kazâ*

1.5–1.99 " " "

2 and more " " "

APPENDIX 15

DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT FEMALE RÜŞDİYYE SCHOOLS FOR EACH KAZÂ ACCORDING TO SANCAKS (1902–1908)[1]

[1] *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye. 1328 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs* (1328/1910), 335–398. The educational data belongs to the years 1323/1905 and 1324/1906. Additional information is provided from the *1324 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs Selânik Vilâyeti Salnamesi* (1324/1906); *Hüdâvendigâr Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. Hicri 1325* (Bursa, 1325/1907); *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Aydın. 1326 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûs* (1326/1908); *Konya Vilâyet Salnâmesi. 1322 Sene-i Maliyyesi* (1322/1906); *Adana Vilâyeti Salnâmesi. 1320* (1320/1902); *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Basra. 1320 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsûsdur* (1320/1902).

Average Distribution of Female Government Rüşdiyye Schools
for each Kazâ at Sancak-Level (1902–1908)
Average for the Empire: 83/664 = 0.12 per Kazâ

İSTANBUL

(1) İstanbul	4.50
(1) Beyoğlu	3.00
(1) Üsküdar	0.75
(2) Separate *sancak* of Çatalca	0.00

KOSOVA VİLÂYETİ

(3) Skopje (Üsküb)	0.09
(4) Prizren	0.50
(5) İştip (Štip)	0.60
(6) Seniçe (Senica)	0.25
(7) İpek (Peja, Peć)	0.40
(8) Taşlıca (Pljevlja)	1.00

MANASTIR VİLÂYETİ

(9) Monastir	0.16
(10) Debre (Debar)	0.00
(11) Serfice (Servia)	0.33
(12) Elbasan	0.33
(13) Görice (Korçë)	0.00

İŞKODRA VİLÂYETİ

(14) İşkodra (Shkodër)	0.00
(15) Dıraç (Durrës)	0.00

YANYA VİLÂYETİ

(16) Janina (Ioánnina)	0.14
(17) Preveze (Prevesa)	0.33
(18) Ergiri (Gjirokastër)	0.00
(19) Berat	0.00

EDİRNE VİLÂYETİ

(20) Edirne	0.25
(21) Tekfurdağı	0.25
(22) Kırkkilise	0.14
(23) Gümülcine (Komotini)	0.16
(24) Dedeağaç (Alexandroúpolis)	0.33
(25) Gelibolu	0.20

SELÂNİK VİLÂYETİ

(26) Salonica (Thessaloníki)	0.07
(27) Serez (Serrai)	0.00
(28) Drama	0.00
(29) Separate *sancak* of İzmid	0.16
(30) Separate *sancak* of Biga	0.33

CEZÂÎR-İ BAHR-I SEFÎD VİLÂYETİ

(31) Rhodes	0.16
(32) Midilli (Mytilene)	0.00
(33) Sakız (Chios)	0.25
(34) Limni (Limnos)	0.33

HÜDÂVENDİGÂR VİLÂYETİ

(35) Bursa	0.14
(36) Balıkesri	0.00
(37) Ertuğrul	0.00
(38) Kütahya	0.20
(39) Karahisar-ı Sâhib	0.00

AYDIN VİLÂYETİ

(40) İzmir	0.15
(41) Aydın	0.00
(42) Saruhan	0.09
(43) Menteşe	0.00
(44) Denizli	0.16

KASTAMONİ VİLÂYETİ

(45) Kastamoni	0.12
(46) Bolu	0.00
(47) Sinob	0.33
(48) Kengiri	0.00

ANKARA VİLÂYETİ

(49) Ankara	0.10
(50) Kırşehri	0.50
(51) Yozgad	0.00
(52) Kayseriyye	0.00
(53) Çorum	0.00

KONYA VİLÂYETİ

(54) Konya	0.10
(55) Niğde	0.14
(56) Hamid	0.00
(57) Burdur	0.00
(58) Teke	0.00

SİVAS VİLÂYETİ

(59) Sivas	0.09
(60) Amasya	0.00
(61) Tokad	0.00
(62) Karahisar-ı Şarkî	0.00

TRABZON VİLÂYETİ

(63) Trabzon	0.11
(64) Lazistan	0.00
(65) Canik	0.33
(66) Gümüşhane	0.00

ERZURUM VİLÂYETİ

(67) Erzurum	0.25
(68) Erzincan	0.00
(69) Bayezid	0.00
(70) Hınıs	0.00

VAN VİLÂYETİ

(71) Van	0.16
(72) Hakkâri	0.00

BİTLİS VİLÂYETİ

(73) Bitlis	0.25
(74) Muş	0.00
(75) Siird	0.00
(76) Genc	0.00

DİYARBEKİR VİLÂYETİ

(77) Diyarbekir	0.16
(78) Mardin	0.00
(79) Ergani	0.00

MAMURETÜLAZİZ VİLÂYETİ

(80) Harput	0.16
(81) Malatya	0.00
(82) Dersim	0.00

ADANA VİLÂYETİ

(83) Adana	0.33
(84) Kozan	0.00
(85) Mersin	0.50
(86) İç El	0.00
(87) Cebel-i Bereket	0.00

(88) Separate *sancak* of Jerusalem 0.00
(89) Separate *sancak* of Zor 0.00

HALEB VİLÂYETİ

(90) Aleppo 0.14
(91) Maraş 0.00
(92) Urfa 0.20

SURİYE VİLÂYETİ

(93) Damascus (Şam-ı Şerîf) 0.11
(94) Hama 0.00
(95) Hawran 0.00
(96) Maan 0.00

BEYRUT VİLÂYETİ

(97) Beirut 0.25
(98) Tripoli 0.25
(99) Acre 0.20
(100) Nablus 0.00
(101) Latakia 0.25

BAĞDAD VİLÂYETİ

(102) Baghdad 0.08
(103) Karbala 0.00
(104) Divaniyya 0.00

MUSUL VİLÂYETİ

(105) Mosul 0.16
(106) Sulaymaniyya 0.00
(107) Kirkuk (Kerkük) 0.16

BASRA VİLÂYETİ

(108) Basra 0.00
(109) Amara 0.00
(110) Muntafik 0.00
(111) Najd 0.00

HİCAZ VİLÂYETİ

(112) Mekke-i Mükerreme 0.00
(113) Medine-i Münevvere 0.00
(114) Jeddah ?

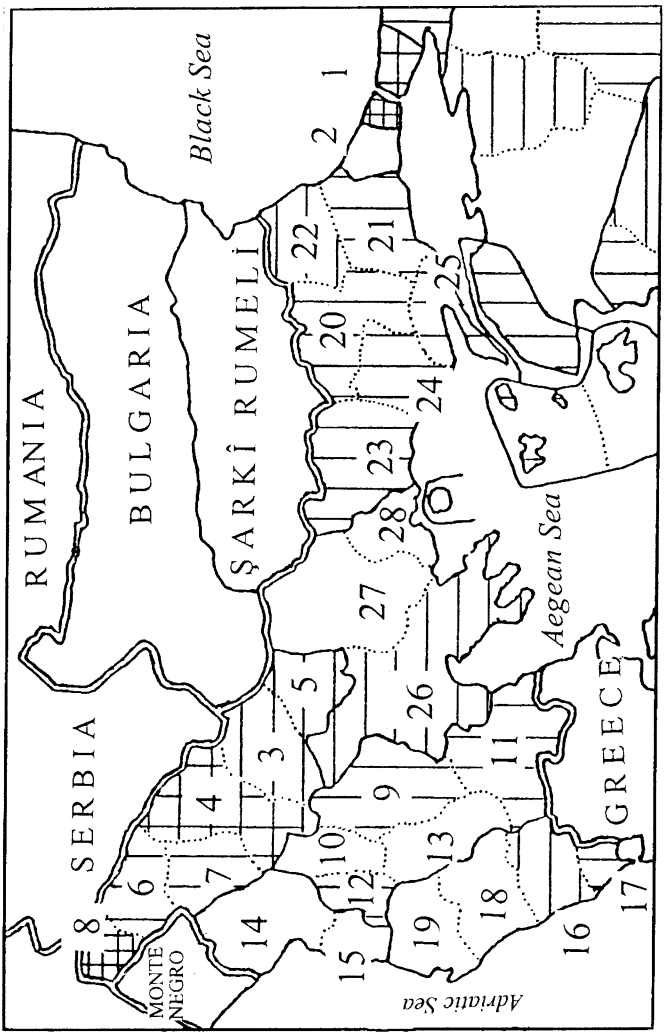
YEMEN VİLÂYETİ

(115) San'a' 0.00
(116) Hudeyde 0.00
(117) Ta'izz 0.00
(118) Asir ?

(119) Separate *sancak* of Bingâzi 0.25

TRABLUSGARB VİLÂYETİ

(120) Tripolis 0.00
(121) Humus 0.20
(122) Cebel-i Garbiyye 0.00
(123) Fezzan 0.00



Map 18: *Sancaks* of the Balkans (1902–1908)

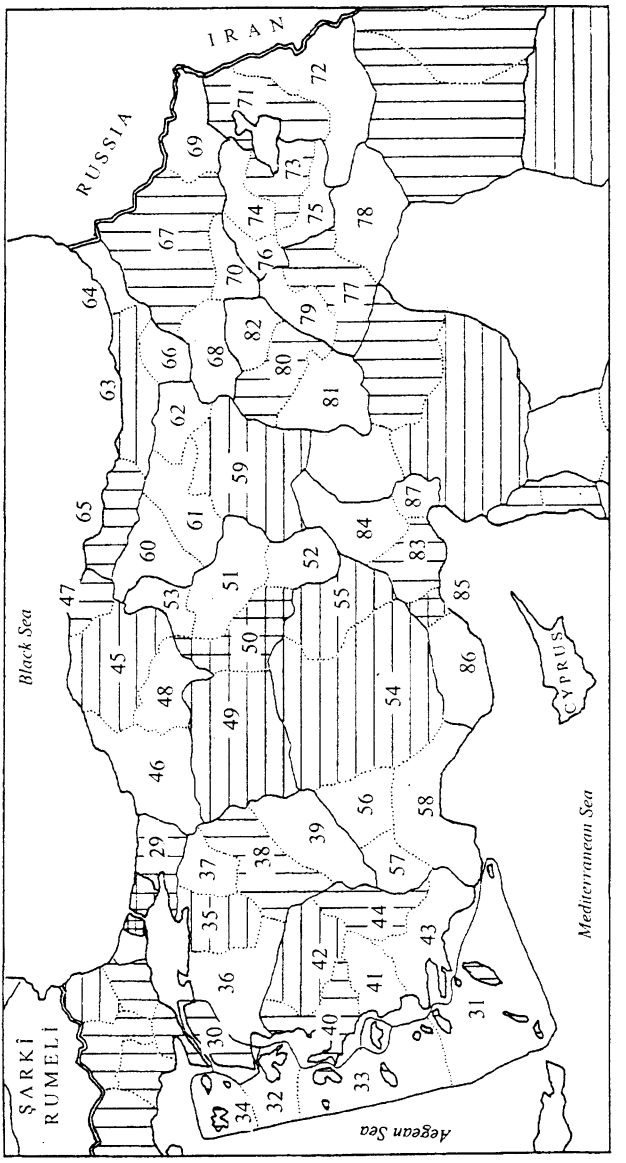
non-existent or no data

less than 0.15 for each *kazâ*

0.15–0.49 " " "

0.5–0.99 for each *kazâ*

1 and more " " "



Map 19: *Sancaks* of Anatolia and the Aegean Islands (1902–1908)

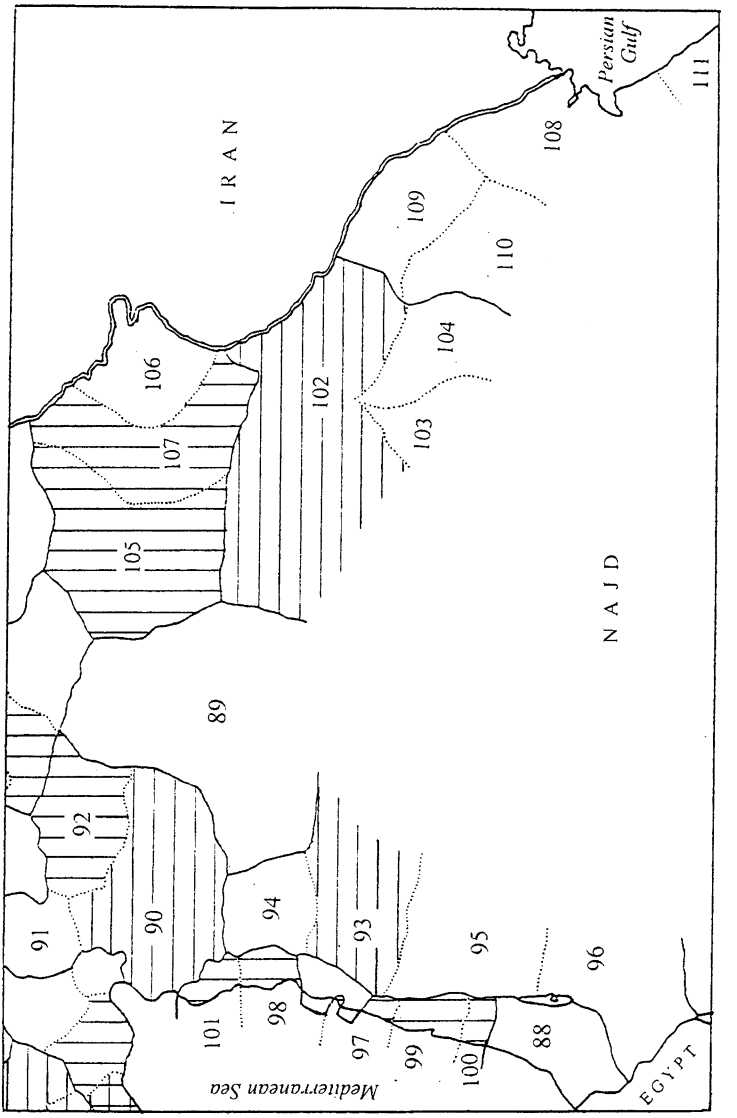
non-existent or no data

less than 0.15 for each *kazâ*

0.15–0.49 " " "

0.5–0.99 for each *kazâ*

1 and more " " "



Map 20: *Sancaks* of the Fertile Crescent (1902–1908)

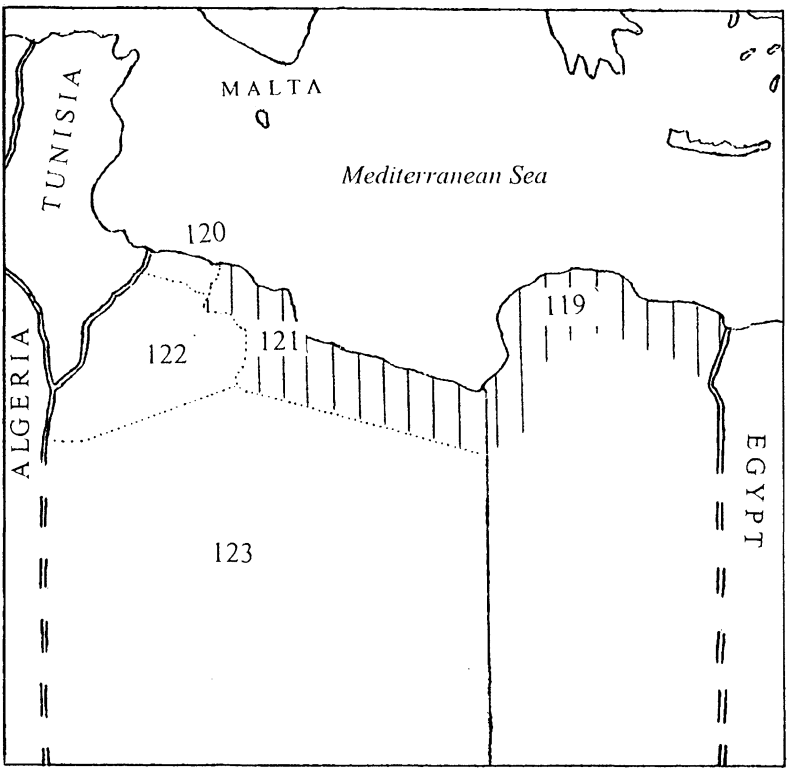
non-existent or no data

less than 0.15 for each *kazâ*

0.15–0.49 " " "

0.5–0.99 for each *kazâ*

1 and more " " "



Map 21: *Sancaks* of Libya (1902–1908)

non-existent or no data

less than 0.15 for each *kazâ*

0.15–0.49 " " "

0.5–0.99 for each *kazâ*

1 and more " " "

APPENDIX 16

SALARIES OF RÜŞDİYYE SCHOOL INSTRUCTORS

SALARIES OF VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF RÜŞDİYYE-INSTRUCTORS, ACCORDING TO YEAR AND KURUŞ SALARY PER MONTH

Year/Salary	800	600	500	400	300	250	200	150	100	80
1880			French T. (Beirut, Bursa, Damascus, Edirne, İzmir, Monastir, Salonica, Trabzon)							
1881	Schoolmaster (Medina)	Schoolmaster (Varna)		Second. T. (Medina)						
1882				French T. (Nablus)						
1884		Schoolmaster (Eleşkird, Novi Pazar)			Second. T. (Arabkir)				Writing T. (Arabkir, Novi Pazar)	
1890	Schoolmaster (Nazareth)									
1891						Second. T. (Akseki)		Writing T. (San'a')		
1895			Schoolmaster (Orhangazi, Pogradec)			Second. T. (Kumanovo, Kuneitra, Müntefik, Silifke, Tripolis)	Second.T. (Ayıntab, Bolvadin, Gemlik, Kula, Maraş, Mihalıç, Siird, Vodena) Writing T. (Niğde)		Writing T. (Basra)	Writing T. (Konya, Monastir, Müntefik, Urfa)
1896						Second. T. (Muş)				Writing T. (Premedi)

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   İrâde Maârif
   İrâde Meclis-i Vâlâ
   İrâde Şûrâ-yı Devlet
c. Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbataları (Cabinet Reports)
d. Bâb-ı Âli Evrak Odası (Archive of the Sublime Porte)
   Ayniyât Defterleri
e. Sadâret Meclis-i Vâlâ (Correspondences sent from the Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances to the Grand Vizierate)
f. Yıldız (Yıldız Palace Collection)
   Yıldız Esâs Evrak
   Yıldız Mütenevvi Marûzât
   Yıldız Sadâret Husûsî Marûzât
   Yıldız Sadâret Resmî Marûzât

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