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91

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Educational Reform in the Tanzimat Era (1839-1876): Secular Reforms in Tanzimat

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in the Institute of Islamic Studies.

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This thesis is dedicated to my mother Mrs. Wyoma Rose (MacWilliams) VanDuinkerken

whose courage and strength in facing each day without giving up

makes me proud and honored to carry her name.

Abstract

After a series of reversals in its wars with European powers during the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was forced to reevaluate its military technology and training. The realization that the West had outstripped the Muslim East in scientific and technological advancement led Ottoman reformers to introduce changes to the traditional educational system, especially to the curriculum. However, what the reformers soon realized was that the military superiority of Europe was only a symptom, and not the cause of, the West's advancement; this led to the introduction of more Western-style institutions in an effort to achieve its military goals. It was through these new institutions that Western ideas of equality, rationalism and liberalism were introduced into the Ottoman Empire. These imported ideas were bitterly resisted by the *ulema*, who continued to operate a traditional school system parallel to that developed by the reformers. In spite of their objections, however, the traditional Muslim educational system was forced to undergo a significant metamorphosis both prior to and during the *Tanzimat* period.

Résumé

Dû au déclin de l'éducation dans les écoles musulmanes traditionnelles pendant le Moyen-Age et le renouveau de la recherche scientifique des européens, l'empire ottoman se retrouvait dans une situation de grand désavantage militaire par rapport à l'Ouest. Conséquemment, vers la fin du XVIIIéme siècle, afin de combattre ses pertes sur champ de bataille et renouveller son armée, les ottomans introduisaient, par étapes, la technologie et les techniques militaires de l'occident. Toutefois, très tôt, les réformateurs réalisèrent que la superiorité militaire de l'Europe était simplement un symptôme, et non pas la cause, de son avancement, et, qu'afin de soutenir leurs objectifs militaires, ils seraient forcés d'introduire, de plus en plus, d'institutions de style occidental. C'était grâce à ces nouvelles institutions que les idées occidentales d'égalité, de rationalisme et de libéralisme fûrent introduites dans l'empire et que les idéologies de l'ouest commencèrent à créer une métamorphose d'abord subtile mais plus tard importune et irrévocable au sein de la société ottomane - une métamorphose qui affaquerait aux fondations même du systéme islamique traditionel, ce qui menerait enfin à l'occidentalisation de la culture islamique en Turquie. Nulle part ailleurs fût cette métamorphose plus évidente que dans le système d'éducation musulman traditionel avant et pendant la periode *Tanzimat*.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to express her deepest thanks to Dr. Turgay, the principal supervisor of this thesis, for his dedicated efforts throughout the many phases of its writing. She acknowledges his unwavering optimism and wisdom. His openness and generous support provided crucial directions in this research endeavour. In particular, the author is deeply indebted to Dr. Turgay for his objective and thoughtful comments at all stages. In short, his commitment and supportive efforts throughout the author's graduate experience have been invaluable and have served as an inspiration to aspire to his standards of scholarly inquiry.

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

The reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (r.1520-66) in the sixteenth century marked the height of Ottoman splendor. It was also at this time, however that the seeds of Ottoman decline were sown. The empire's gradual fall from prosperity has been attributed to increasing external pressures, the weakening of its institutions and the decentralization of power of the Ottoman sultan. Nevertheless, it was not until Catherine the Great of Russia (r.1762-1796) forced Abdulhamit (r.1774-1789) to sign the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, that the severity of the decline in the empire's status was truly felt. This treaty, which marked a crucial defeat of the Ottoman forces by the Russian army, led Abdulhamit to realize that if Western military technology and techniques were not immediately introduced into the Empire, it would face a desolate and uncertain future.

Despite this desperate need to adopt modern military practices, the reformers made a crucial mistake, for they did not realize that science and technology were only the fruits of European modernization and not the primary cause. The inception of modernization in Western Europe began under the influence of the European Renaissance and Reformation.[1]

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[1] Renaissance is a term customarily used by historians to describe various periods of intellectual revival, and especially that which took place in Italy and spread throughout the rest of Europe, during the 13th - 16th centuries. This period marked the end of the European Middle Ages which began with the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 395 A.D. Wallace K. Ferguson, The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1948); Herbert Weisinger, "The Self-Awareness of the Renaissance," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, vol. 29 (1944), 561-567; G.R. Potter, ed. The New Cambridge Modern History: The Renaissance 1493-1520, vol. 1(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964). The Protestant Reformation may be dated from 1517, the year Martin Luther (1483-1546) publicly attacked the sale of indulgences by the itinerant Tetzel, Dominican ambassador of the Roman Church, by posting his 95 Theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg. The period ends in the 1550s, by which time an ecclesiastical stalemate between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics appeared unavoidable. See Roland H. Bainton, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (Boston, 1952); H.A. Enno van Gelder, The Two Reformations in the 16th Century: A Study of the Religious Aspects and Consequences of Renaissance and Humanism (The Hague, 1961); G.R. Elton, ed., The New Cambridge Modern History: The Reformation, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

It was the energy released by these intellectual and sociological revolutions that allowed ideas of rationalism, secularism, and liberalism to open the doors to educational development throughout Europe. It was education that permitted advances in science and technology and it was education again that gave rise to a modern Western society. Therefore, it was these new philosophies and not modernization itself that allowed scientific and technological advances to develop in Europe. Nevertheless, the Ottoman sultans Selim III (r.1789-1807) and Mahmut II (r. 1808-1839) overlooked this fact in their impatience to introduce Western-style military technologies, techniques and educational institutions into their medieval society in the hope that they could achieve Western military strength without going to the extent of Westernizing their society.

However, as a result of this policy, ideas of equality, liberty, secularism and fraternity, all of which were based on Western concepts, began to seep into and spread throughout Ottoman society. Although most of these ideologies were known to Muslims they had always been viewed from a Muslim, not a Western, perspective. For example, Muslims in the Ottoman Empire saw equality as meaning the equality of all Muslims while Europeans saw it as the equality of all subjects regardless of religious belief, wealth, or class.[2] The popularity of these Western ideologies began first to create a subtle but later an obtrusive and unstoppable metamorphosis within Ottoman society which would slowly eat away at the very foundations of the traditional Islamic system and subsequently lead to the Westernization of Islamic culture. Nowhere was this metamorphosis seen more clearly than in the traditional Muslim educational system prior to and during the *Tanzimat* period.

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[2] This will be discussed in greater detail in the pages below.

Tanzimat[3] is the term used to designate the nineteenth-century reform movement which was inaugurated in the Ottoman Empire in an effort to reorganize the structure of its government and administration. Unlike the reform period of 1789-1839, which was driven by Sultan Selim III and Mahmut II, the *Tanzimat* reform era was characterized by the shifting of responsibility for reforms onto the shoulders of Ottoman bureaucrats.[4] Most of these bureaucrats were in one way or another involved in the reform movements of Selim III and Mahmut II, either as students within the newly established Western-style academies or as members of the government entourages that were sent to Europe to examine Western society. These bureaucrats, commonly known as the "Men of the *Tanzimat*" (in Turkish, *Tanzimatçılar*, literally "those who put things in order"), wanted to demonstrate to Western powers, by means of reform, that the Ottoman Empire could regain its former military might and would resolve its internal problems without external interference. To prove their determination to return the empire to its former stature, the Men of the *Tanzimat* composed

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[3] The plural of *tanzim* meaning "ordering." Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 144.

[4] The bureaucrat who asserted control over the first twenty years of this reform period was Mustafa Reşit Paşa (1800-1858). It was this prominent minister who composed the first decree of secular reform in 1839 called the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu. Following in Reşit's footsteps were his two protégés Mehmet Emin Âli Paşa (1815-1871) and Keçecizade Mehmet Fuat Paşa (1815-1869), who took the reigns of secular reform and composed the second reforming decree called the Hatt-ı Hümayun of 1856. In addition to these three prominent bureaucrats there were other reformers; namely Ahmet Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895) and Ahmet Şefik Midhat Paşa, (1822-1884) who remained within the shadows of reform but were nevertheless instrumental to the reform movement. It is important to note that most of these bureaucrats were associated in one way or another with sultans Selim III's and Mahmut II's new Western-style military. For more information on Mustafa Reşit Paşa see Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 103-113. For more information on Âli Paşa, see The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition, vol. 1, "Ali Pasha", by H. Bowen, 396-398, and Lewis, Emergence, 113-122. For information on Ali and Fuat Paşa see Roderic H. Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire: 1856-1876 (New York: Gordian Press, 1973) and B. Abu- Manneh, "The Roots of the Ascendancy of Âli and Fu'ad Paşa at the Porte (1855-1871) in Tanzimat'in 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1994), 135-144. For more information on Midhat Paşa see Davison, Reform.

and attempted to enforce a number of reforming edicts, i.e. the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu (1839), Hatt-i Hümayun (1856), Meclis-i Maarif-i Muvakkat (1845) and Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi (1869)[5], all of which called for the adoption of Western-style military technologies, techniques and educational institutions into Ottoman society. It was through the implementation of these edicts that Western concepts of equality, secularism and liberalism continued to seep into the traditional Muslim system and gave rise to calls, just as they did in Europe during the Renaissance and Reformation, for revolutionary changes within the Ottoman system.[6] Slowly, these demands would cause the empire to go through a series of changes that would eat away at its very foundations and ironically lead to the very thing that Sultan Selim III and Mahmut II wanted to avoid: the Westernization of Turkish Islamic culture.

Objective

The objective of this thesis is to trace the history of the introduction and implementation of Western-style educational ideas and institutions within the Ottoman Empire prior to and during the *Tanzimat* period, and to show the sociological effects of this transformation on the traditional educational system, which evolved into a progressively modern and secular

[5] These edicts will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

[6] Fatma Müge Göçek, Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 78.

one.[7] Specifically, the thesis will show how the adoption of Western-style education not only failed to prevent the decline of the Empire but in fact created a dual (modern/secular and traditional) system that divided the Ottoman society from within.

The first chapter of this thesis will begin with a brief comparison between Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire to see how and why the Christian West was capable of modernization while the Ottoman Muslims remained in their medieval mind-set. It will demonstrate that, because they were unable to move beyond their traditional Islamic beliefs, sultans Selim III and Mahmut II began adopting Western techniques, technologies and institutions as a way of returning the empire to its former military stature. It will also consider why this policy should have had such a lasting effect on every component of Ottoman society, particularly the traditional educational institutions. This chapter will then turn its attention to the traditional schools which existed prior to the reforming movement. Specifically, it will present an overview of the three primary traditional educational institutions of the empire before the *Tanzimat* period, and will show that, before this period,

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[7] When referring to the educational system in the Ottoman Empire, prior to and during the *Tanzimat* period, I am primarily focusing on the Muslim educational system in Istanbul. In spite of the fact that there were a number of elementary schools (*mekteps*) and a few higher educational institutions (*medreses*) located outside of the Ottoman capital, education was essentially concentrated in Istanbul. Richard E. Maynard, "The Lise and its Curriculum in the Turkish Educational System" (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1961), 2. In addition, due to the fact that the responsibility for education within the Empire rested with each religious community or millet, there were non-Muslim educational institutions in place throughout the Ottoman lands. Each millet, whether it be Greek Orthodox, Armenian, or Jewish, maintained its own distinct educational institutions. These non-Muslim educational institutions will not be incorporated in this paper. For information on the millet system see Carter Vaughan Findley, "Knowledge and Education in the Modern Middle East: A Comparative View," in Giorgio Levi Della Vida Conference: The Modern Economic and Social History of the Middle East in its World Context, ed. Georges Sabagh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 130-154; Kemal H. Karpat "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era," in Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1 (London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 141-169.

the Palace and religious schools (*mektep* and *medrese*) were primarily responsible for laying the foundations of a young Muslim's educational life. However, as time passed, these schools continued to offer a traditional curriculum while schools in the West featured a more modern curriculum which encompassed the latest scientific and technological achievements.

The second chapter of the thesis will examine the transformation which occurred within the educational system both prior to and during the *Tanzimat* period. In particular, it will show that modern education was first introduced into Muslim society through the newly established Western-style military and administrative schools. It will show that, soon after establishing these new educational institutions, the Ottoman reformers realized that there were not enough students leaving the religious schools qualified to enter into these military academies. They began to call for reforms to traditional Islamic educational institutions along Western lines, so that graduates would be at least familiar with the subjects they would be taught in these institutions. The reaction of the traditionalists to this suggestion will be observed, just as it will also be shown how they forced the reformers to set up a parallel public school system offering a Western curriculum.

The final chapter of this thesis will show how the adoption of these Western-style educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire generated a philosophical separation between the knowledge taught at the "traditional" schools compared to that taught in the "modern" schools. Students who attended the traditional schools received a religious education that stressed the importance of a student's moral and religious obligations to the Muslim community, whereas the students enrolled in the Western-style schools were taught scientific knowledge that stressed the importance of rational independent thinking. It will be shown

how the energy released by this sociological revolution gave rise to new philosophies of equality, rationalism, secularism, and liberalism, which weakened the fundamental beliefs underlying the traditional system. This transformation, we shall see, contributed to the development of a dual educational system which in turn fostered a duality in the social fabric of Ottoman society. The two groups, products of different systems, traditional and modern, would graduate with two different outlooks, and would eventually become increasingly estranged and even hostile towards each other, indeed developing different visions for the empire. Eventually, the products of these Western-style schools would overcome their traditional past and transform the empire and themselves on their own terms.

CHAPTER ONE

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BEFORE THE TANZIMAT

According to John Dewey, education itself has no aims; only people, such as parents and teachers, have aims. Hence, when one discusses the aims of education, one is talking about education for democracy, for citizenship, for intellectual discipline, for emotional maturity, for the good life, and for the liberally educated person.[8] Therefore, every community, society or nation uses education as a tool to transmit from one generation to the next those basic skills, information and traditional beliefs of its culture which it deems critical to its survival. Islamic society, for example, uses education to encourage

> the balanced growth of the total personality of Man through the training of Man's spirit, intellect, rational self, feelings and bodily senses. The training imparted to a Muslim must be such that faith is infused into the whole of his personality and creates in him an emotional attachment to Islam and enables him to follow the Quran and the Sunnah and be governed by the Islamic system of values willingly and joyfully so that he may proceed to the realization of his status of Khalifatullah to whom Allah has promised the authority of the universe.[9]

The transmission of education is achieved through study and experience which enables the members of a society to scrutinize and diagnose issues with the aim of developing the society's economic, scientific, political and religious status. However, since no two cultures are identical, each society possesses "different" traditional beliefs, resulting not only in different forms of education but in different materials as well..

Eugene Boré, writing in the middle of the last century, observed how the differences between Western Christian and Eastern Islamic culture led to different emphases in

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[8] John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 107.

[9] Syed Muhammad al-Naquib al-Attas, Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education (Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977), 158-159.

education. He explains in the following passage why Islamic culture places a greater emphasis on religious education:

> When we accuse the Turks of loving ignorance, let us be sure beforehand that we understand what we are talking of. It is true they are ignorant of many things which our children learn at school: history, geography, the classical languages, and the natural sciences--of these they have hitherto known and cared to know but little; but this does not prevent their having their own peculiar branches of learning; and most assuredly they employ in study more time than even we ourselves devote to it. If their knowledge be not equally extensive, it is because they are persuaded that the Koran contains the Alpha and Omega of human science, and that the knowledge it imparts is all--sufficient; for this reason no Musulman is unacquainted with the essential doctrines of his religion--its sacred traditions, the acts of the Prophet, the rites and observances imposed by the duties of prayers, of ablutions, of almsgiving and pilgrimage. Elementary education is at least as general throughout Anatolia, as in the remote districts of England and France. Each district has its school.[10]

Differences in educational philosophy and instruction often lead societies to develop academically at different paces, and in different directions, allowing some societies to progress faster than others. Historically, those societies which developed at a slower pace, like Christian society in Europe during the Middle Ages, fell behind the more progressive Muslim civilization that extended from Spain to the Middle East.[11]

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[10] Eugene Boré, Correspondence and Memoirs of a Traveler in the East (1840); quoted in M.A. Ubicini, Letters from Turkey: An Account of the Religious, Political, Social, and Commercial Condition of the Ottoman Empire; The Reformed Institutions, Army, Navy etc., trans. Lady Easthope, vol.1 (London: John Murray, 1856), 191-192.

[11] For information on Islam in the Middle Ages see: Gustave E. Von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).

From the beginning, when Muhammad received his first divine command to "Read," education has played an important role in the development of Islam.[12] When guided toward religious ends, Muslims saw knowledge as leading to: "the salvation and eternal happiness of man and the glory of God. It was directed towards the establishment of God's government on earth. The society at which it aimed was one with God as its leader; the culture it aimed at developing was one inspired by the sacred scriptures."[13] It was this freedom to acquire knowledge which led Muslims to begin studying the works of such Greco-Hellenistic philosophers and scientists as Aristotle, Plato and Ptolemy. These studies were pursued within the traditional religious institutions[14] under the cover of other fields such as hadith.[15]

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[12] Muhammad preached the importance of education and knowledge when he said: "Seek Knowledge, from the cradle to the grave"; "The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr." N. Stephen, "Muhammad and Learning," Islamic Review, vol. 5. (Jan. 1917), 45.

[13] George Makdisi, The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), 281.

[14] During the Abbasid era, education for the Muslim population was offered at both the elementary and secondary levels. Abbasid elementary education was similar to that of the Ottomans (see below) in that its curriculum centered upon the Qur'an and hadith. However, unlike in the Ottoman period, secondary school children were able to study a wide variety of topics. Ali states that "Senior students studied Qur'anic exegesis, Qur'anic criticism, the science of apostolic tradition, jurisprudence, scholastic theology, lexicography, rhetoric and literature. Advanced scholars engaged themselves in the duty of astronomy, spherical geometry philosophy, geometry, music and medicine." K. Ali, A Short History of Muslim Culture, 4th ed. (Dacca: Ali Publications, 1965), 48.

[15] Following the death of Muhammad, his followers collected reports of the sayings and deeds of the prophet and his companions. These reports, called hadith, influenced the entire community of believers because they were used to show each of Muhammad's followers how he or she should live. According to R. Marston Speight, "Although the reports were originally transmitted orally, some transmitters began early to record them in writing. The compilers were careful not to tamper with the texts as they received them from recognized specialists in hadith transmission and the collections reflect their spoken origins." As a way of ensuring the authenticity of each report, each saying or deed was accompanied with a list of its authoritative transmitters. For more information on hadith see R. Marston Speight, "Hadith," in The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, ed. John L. Esposito, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 84; Th. W. Juynboll, "Hadith," in The Encyclopaedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, et al., vol. 2 (London: Luzac & Co., 1927), 189-194.

law, or medicine, as well as outside the traditional schools.[16] It was the introduction of these classical works which launched what might be called the Islamic Renaissance, a period of intellectual renewal in Islamic society between the ninth and twelfth centuries which predated Europe by a wide margin. These classical works were analyzed and adjusted to conform to the scope of Islamic culture within Muslim educational institutions. This intellectual campaign was further enhanced under the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (r.813-833), who encouraged the translation (into Arabic) and examination of these classical works, by establishing an academy in Baghdad called the House of Wisdom (*Bayt al-Hikmah*).[17] It was this encouragement to "seek knowledge" which allowed scholars to study topics like mathematics and astronomy that enhanced the design of new irrigation systems, the manufacture of paper and the development of new military techniques.

As a result of this intellectual activity, by the middle of the ninth century Greek scholarship was regarded as of equal importance if the not quite as worthy as the study of the Islamic sciences, which stressed the examination of the Qur'an and hadith -the sources of Islamic Law. Leading the way in the latter field were the *mujtahid*s. In Islamic society, following the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the *mujtahid*s or jurists had the privilege of using their personal judgement and analogical reasoning to uncover the answers to newly arising questions of law that were not expressly answered in the Qur'an, hadith or *ijmā'*

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[16] For example, in the homes of scholars, in the hospitals and in libraries. Makdisi, The Rise of Colleges, 282.

[17] For more information on educational advancement at the time of the Abbasid Empire see Muhammad Sohail, Administrative & Cultural History of Islam: Including Objective Questions and Answers (Lahore: Dogarsons, 1992), 234-236, 319-341; P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs: From the Earliest Time to the Present, 10th ed. (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1991).

(scholarly consensus). This right had been assured on the "basis of freedom of expression and freedom of discussion."[18] It was this ability to express personal opinion, along with the rigorous standards of Greek scholarship, which allowed Muslim society to develop at a far greater pace than European society at the time.[19]

However, the quest for the truth and its dissemination relied on *ijtihād*[20] for its vitality, and when the religious establishment began declaring that the gates of *ijtihād* were closed and that no *mujtahid* had the right to use personal opinion to uncover legal answers but instead had to rely on the judgements of their learned predecessors, slowly the quest for

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[18] Makdisi, The Rise of Colleges, 281.

[19] The following is an outline of some of the contributions that Muslim education, during the middle ages, made to educational theory and practice. "(1) Throughout the twelfth and part of the thirteenth centuries, Muslim works on science, philosophy, and other fields were translated into Latin, particularly from Spain, and enriched the curriculum of the West, especially in North-Western Europe. (2) The Muslims passed on the experimental method of science, however imperfect, to the West. (3) The system of Arabic notation and decimals was introduced to the West. (4) Their translated works, particularly those of men such as Avicenna in medicine, were used as texts in classes of higher education far into the middle of the seventeenth century. (5) They stimulated European thought, reacquainted it with the Greek and other classical cultures and thus helped bring about the [European] Renaissance. (6) They were the forerunners of European universities, having established hundreds of colleges in advance of Europe. (7) They preserved Greco-Persian thought when Europe was intolerant of pagan cultures. (8) European students in Muslim universities carried back new methods of teaching. (9) They contributed knowledge of hospitals, sanitation, and food to Europe." Mehdi Nakosteen, History of Islamic Origins of Western Education A.D. 800-1350: With an Introduction to Medieval Muslim Education (Boulder: University of Colorado Press , 1964), 62-63. Also see Associated Institution for the Study and Presentation of Arab Cultural Values, Islamic and Arab Contribution to the European Renaissance (Cairo: Arab Republic of Egypt National Commission for UNESCO, 1977).

[20] The Arabic word *ijtihād* denotes the right of Muslims scholars, theologians, and jurists to exercise their independent judgement, to solve problems of theology and law for which the Islamic scripture and tradition do not provided an explicit answer. Makdisi, The Rise of Colleges, 281; Bernard Lewis, The Muslim Discovery of Europe, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1982), 229-230; Wael B. Hallaq, "Ijtihad," in The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, ed. John L. Esposito, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 178-181; Wael B. Hallaq, "Was the Gate of Ijtihad Closed?" International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol. 16 (1984): 3-41; Wael B. Hallaq, "On the Origins of the Controversy about the Existence of Mujtahids and the Gate of Ijtihad," Studia Islamica, vol. 63 (1986): 129-141; Bernard G. Weiss, "Interpretation in Islamic Law: The Theory of *Ijtihad*," American Journal of Comparative Law, vol. 26 (Spring 1978): 199-212.

knowledge began to take a different turn as religious concerns began to envelop all areas of life, and the Islamic sciences achieved preeminence over scholarship from foreign sources. Soon the educational policies which had encouraged intellectual freedom gave way to an inflexible educational program which can be described as closed-minded--particularly toward scientific innovations, secular subjects, and creative scholarship.[21] According to Mehdi Nakosteen it was this action which took education out of the hands of independent scholars and placed it in those of religious leaders. Nakosteen states, "this led in time to an elite and aristocratic concept of education, replacing its early democratic educational spirit. Muslim education did not, and with its scholastic disciplines could not, take advantage of the tools of science and experimentation which it had inherited and improved upon."[22] Instead, by the early twelfth century, Muslim society had already passed on its intellectual advancements to European men of science, who began an aggressive assimilation of Muslim scientific-philosophical-social learning, so that by the fourteenth century they had managed to incorporate most of the advancements of Muslim learning into their own system.

This adoption of Muslim learning had a great influence on the future modernization of Western Europe[23] for the inception of this movement had its roots in the Renaissance. It was during this latter social upheaval that humanists, particularly within France, Italy and Germany, became less concerned with life after death and began focusing on their lives on

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[21] Lewis, The Muslim Discovery, 229-230.

[22] Nakosteen, History of Islamic, 62-63.

[23] Ibid. 62-63.

earth.[24] Slowly, more and more people began resisting the traditional beliefs that life on earth should be detested and that man was a sinful beast who should dedicate all his days on the earth aspiring to earn his way into the good graces of God.[25] The educated classes no longer saw heaven as the only goal for their every action and aspiration. "Worldly or characteristically human achievements, as those of the arts and sciences, the accomplishments and creations of man, his specifically human relationships as of family and state were now endowed with autonomous value."[26] Consequently, humanists began spreading the importance of experimental science discovered by Franis Bacon, Nicolaus Copernicus and Galileo in addition to the mathematical rigor of Descartes, Leibniz and Newton. Slowly, this social revolution gave birth to the Reformation, which denounced the monolithic control of the Roman Catholic church and led to beliefs in human rights, freedom of expression, freedom of religion and scientific inquiry, all of which would find themselves

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[24] The Christian humanistic movement of the Renaissance and Reformation periods was an intellectual revolution against religious limitations on knowledge. This revolution was caused by the revival of interest in the Greek and Roman classics that led to the belief that human beings should enjoy their life on earth. See William Ildephonse Schreiber, The Social Elements of the Humanistic School-Dialogues of the 15th and 16th Centuries (Ph. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana, 1933), 4; Gerald L. Gutek, A History of the Western Educational Experience, 2nd ed. (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1995), 114-7; Mayron P. Gilmore, The World of Humanism, 1453-1517 (1952; reprint, Westport Conn., 1983); W. T. Jones, Hobbes to Hume: A History of Western Philosophy, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1969), 2, 33-43; H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), 46.

[25] According to medieval Christian belief every human being was given by God a soul and an incarnate body. In addition, each person was given an intellect and will, which gave them freedom of choice. However, because all humans were the descendants of Adam and Eve, each individual would have inherited the effects of the first, or original sin, and consequently they would be spiritually impure and sinful at heart. However, in an attempt to save his creations from sin, God gave his only Son, Jesus, to save humanity. For it was through Christ's crucifixion and resurrection that Christians could acquire redemption from their sins. To aid in their salvation, the Son of God created the church and gave it the right to bestow upon humans the grace-giving sacraments. Gutek, A History of the Western, 75.

[26] Schreiber, The Social Elements, 4.

outside the confines of religious authority. It was the energy released by this sociological revolution which gave birth to the period of the Enlightenment, when new philosophies of rationalism, secularism, and liberalism gave rise to a novel way of thinking which often ran contrary to the beliefs of the church. Having been battered by the Renaissance and Reformation, the Catholic Church no longer dominated everyday life and consequently, more and more men were able to pose questions, without fear of reprisal, which ran contrary to the beliefs of the church. Men such as Voltaire, Galileo, Hobbes, Descartes, Newton, Locke and Rousseau began expanding on ideas of natural law as meaning or implying natural rights.

Locke for example believed that individuals should be granted certain rights because these rights, such as the rights to life, liberty and property, self-evidently pertained to people as human beings. He argued that when an individual enters into a civil society he does not give up these rights but only surrenders to the state the right to enforce laws that protect these natural rights. Should the state fail to discharge this task, individuals had the right to revolt against the state. This new way of thinking was the catalyst that spurred the West's intellectual advancements to surpass Muslim educational development of the Near East.[27]

By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Islamic society in the Ottoman Empire had fallen behind the Christian societies of the West both scientifically and technologically. This unfortunate situation left Muslim society not only at an intellectual, but also at a military, economic and political disadvantage relative to their European neighbors. According to

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[27] Muhammad Rashid Feroze, Islam and Secularism in Post-Kemalist Turkey (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute; 1976), 15; Paul Monroe, A Text-Book in the History of Education (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 221-342; Paul F. Grendler, "Schooling in Western Europe" Renaissance Quarterly, vol. 43 (4) (Winter 1990), 775-787.

Lewis, "the advance of Christendom and the decline of Islam created a new relationship; Islam was crystallized--not to say ossified--and had become impervious to external stimuli, especially from the millennial enemy in the West."[28] The question we must ask ourselves, however is this: Why would Islamic society reject key aspects of Western European thought when it had willingly borrowed from other cultures in the past?[29] According to Lewis, there were two reasons as to why Islamic civilization was unresponsive to the European movements of the Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment. The first goes back to the time of the Islamic Renaissance, when Islam was rapidly expanding and was still willing to learn and adopt ideas from any civilization. However, as the Muslims expanded into the Balkans, they found that Europe had barely emerged from the Dark Ages and had nothing to offer intellectually to Islamic civilization. Lewis says that this "flattered Islamic pride with the spectacle of a culture that was visibly and palpably inferior."[30] Consequently, the Muslim society of the Near East felt that it had nothing to learn from such an ignorant culture.

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[28] Bernard Lewis, "The Impact of the French Revolution on Turkey," Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale, vol. 1. (1) (July 1953), 105.

[29] Islamic civilization borrowed from Greece, Persia, India and China. Lewis, Muslim Discovery, 49, 223-25. It is important to note that Christians within the Ottoman Empire also turned their back of the Christian West. But this had more to do with the fact that Western Christians considered the Christians of the East (Greek Orthodox) to be ignorant and impure Christians. Nevertheless, this superior attitude ceased in the years following the Protestant Reformation and by the late seventeenth century the Christian West was practicing religious tolerance. As a result Christians from the Ottoman Empire began visiting Catholic and Protestant countries of Europe. Slowly, these Eastern Christians, primarily Greek Orthodox, began acquiring knowledge of European languages and this knowledge allowed them to study Western sciences, arts, political and intellectual ideologies. It was this ability to understand Western ideas that started a Westernizing movement among the Oriental Christians of the Ottoman empire almost a century before it began among the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire. See Arnold J. Toynbee, Turkey (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976).

[30] Lewis, "The Impact of the French," 105.

The second reason for not adopting Western intellectual advancements rested in the simple fact that Europe was predominantly Christian and was therefore flawed in the first place. According to the Islamic doctrine of successive revelations, the messages which Muhammad had received from God followed Christ's revelations, making Christianity an earlier and imperfect religion. As a result, since Christians did not possess all of revelation, or the "truth" that Islamic civilization possessed, they could not possibly formulate sound intellectual advancements.[31] Consequently, there would be no advantage to learning about Western Europe. This deliberate separation between East and West caused an "iron curtain" effect which separated the Ottoman from the Western mind. Shaw states:

> While there always were a few Ottomans who occasionally pierced the 'iron curtain' sufficiently to see the need for specific Western weapons or techniques, they were in a small minority. In the end, their reforms had little influence and were short-lived because most of their compatriots saw no need for them and in fact felt that their introduction was a barrier to the traditional reform which they had in mind: return to the institutions which had been successful in the age of Süleyman the Magnificent.[32]

Hence the Ottoman Empire turned its back on Western intellectual developments and European civilization until it found itself in a desperate situation and unable to protect itself from outside forces.[33]

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[31] Ibid. 105.

[32] Stanford Shaw, "Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Reformers" in William R. Polk and Richard Chambers, eds., Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 30-31.

[33] As will be seen below, the feeling of superiority on the part of Ottoman Muslims was fostered within their educational institutions. According to Shaw, "the more a man was educated in the 'Ottoman Way,' the more he was convinced of Ottoman superiority." Ibid. 30.

Nevertheless, it was the realization of their declining situation that compelled Ottoman reformers to import Western technology, military techniques and institutions in an attempt at restoring the Empire to its former glory.[34] In order to compete with the West, however, the Ottomans had to do more than just integrate Western technology into their military system: they were obliged to imitate the West and begin establishing new military training facilities in order to attain the level of advancement that their enemies enjoyed.[35] Before discussing these reforms, however, a brief examination of the Muslim educational system must be given in order to provide a background to our account of the rise of a secular educational system in the Ottoman Empire.

TRADITIONAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Prior to the *Tanzimat* period, the Ottoman government, with the exception of the Palace School, took no responsibility whatsoever for the general education of its subjects. It had always regarded education to be a religious or communal matter and hence saw no reason to intrude into the sphere of education. As a result, the only schools open to Muslim subjects during this period were the Palace School (Mekteb-i Enderun), the primary schools (*mekteps*) and the secondary/higher educational institutions (*medreses*).[36]

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[34] Lewis, Muslim Discovery, 49.

[35] Examples of newly established European military training facilities included the French Royal Military School in Paris (1751) and the Austrian military academy at Wiener-Neustadt (1752). Military engineering institutions were also established in Woolwich (1741) and Mezières in France (1748). See Rhoads Murphey, "The Ottoman Attitude Towards the Adoption of Western Technology: the Role of the Efrenci Technicians in Civil and Military Applications."in Contibutions à l'Histoire Economique et Sociale de l'Empire Ottoman, ed. by J. Bacqué-Grammont and P. Dumont (Louvain: Editions Peeters, 1983), 287-98.

[36] It is interesting to note that in Europe, during the early years of the Middle Ages, differences between elementary and secondary schools were somewhat blurred. As a result, schools would teach classes at all levels. Consequently, there were not one but four different religious schools that taught primary classes: Parish, Catechumenal and Catechetical Schools, Monastic, and Cathedral schools. Like the Muslim

Mekteb-i Enderun (Palace School)

After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Sultan Mehmet II (r.1444, 1451-81) realized that there was an increasing need for more government officials to deal with the growing internal[37] and external affairs of the empire. In addition, the Sultan was dissatisfied with the training of government officials. He was particularly disappointed with the inadequacy of the system of training officials through apprenticeship and practical experience.[38] He realized that a new institution was needed to train more efficient bureaucrats, qualified to address the increasing administrative demands of the empire. However, since any such institution would increase the number of qualified government officials, it would inevitably accumulate considerable power and authority. Hence, the power

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elementary schools (*mekteps*) these schools primarily taught religious rituals and like the Muslim students who were taught Arabic, the language of their clergy, the Christian students of Europe were taught Latin, the language of their clergy. See Gutek, A History of the Western, 81-85; James Mulhern, A History of Education: A Social Interpretation, 2nd ed. (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1959), 247-293; Samuel Chester Parker, A Textbook in the History of Modern Elementary Education (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1912).

[37] The Mekteb-i Enderun was not only developed to increase the numbers of and improve the training of the administrative corps, but it also strove to maintain a centralized government under the authority of the sultan. To maintain this central authority, blind obedience to a fixed presentation of the course work was required of the students, and thus originality of thought and process of inquiry was not allowed. Thus independent thinking was discouraged because, if the Sultan's slaves began to question society's customary practices, it could potentially disrupt the system. The students, therefore, were unable to move beyond conventional thinking into the realm of observation, experimentation and analysis. Since it is this change of thinking that allows a society to evolve intellectually and technologically, the graduates of these schools contributed much less to the intellectual and technical developments of their society than their European counterparts.

[38] The establishment of the Palace School can be seen as a sign that the Ottoman Sultan was aware of the deterioration of Muslim education within the empire. Joseph S. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization in the Middle East (London: Cornell University Press, 1973), 76; Barnette Miller, The Palace School of Muhammed the Conqueror (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 31.

of graduates of this school could eventually jeopardize the sultan's own status.[39] In light of this concern, the Sultan perfected an administrative military institution called the *kapikullari* which, ideally, would produce highly trained officials who would be totally subservient to the ruler's will. This was the rationale behind the founding of the Mekteb-i Enderun or Palace School, whose graduates furnished for centuries the bulk of the candidates for the most prestigious offices within the Ottoman administration.[40]

The objective of the Palace School was clear: "to train the ablest children for leadership positions in the political body of the Ottoman empire, either as military leaders or as high administrators in the 'Sublime Porte' and the provinces of the Empire."[41] This educational institution closely resembled the palace schools established under the Mongols, the Mamluks, the Abbasids and the Seljuks; however, the Ottoman Palace School was unique with respect to the background of the student body. Those who were selected to attend this prestigious school were unmarried males of non-Turkish and non-Muslim origin who were

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[39] According to Miller there were between one to two thousand students studying in the Palace School a given year. Miller, The Palace School, 80. However, Ergin places this number higher at three thousand students in 1635. Osman Ergin, Istanbul Mektepleri ve Ilim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayisile Türkiye Maarif Tarihi (History of Turkish Education, with Special Reference to the Schools and Cultural Institutions of Islanbul), vol. 1(Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaasii, 1939-43), 9.

[40] In Europe, during the early Middle Ages, there were Royal schools which were established by the Rulers to encourage education amongst the mass population. An example of such a Palace School, the one at Aix-la-Chapelle, was created by Charlemagne (716-814) for nobles and was to be a model for all schools within his empire. However, it would not be the Palace schools but private and city vernacular schools, like the Burgh Schools of Scotland and Germany, which would train students to work in the civil administration. These city schools were created and funded by local communities and had no connection with the church or state. However, their student body was unlike the unique Palace School of the Ottoman Empire, in that the students who attended these German and Scottish schools were mostly sons of noblemen and wealthy businessmen. Mulhern, A History of Education, 267-270.

[41] Ilhan Başgöz and Howard E. Wilson, "The Educational Tradition of the Ottoman Empire and the Development of the Turkish Educational System of the Republican Era," Turkish Review, vol. 3, (16) (Summer 1989): 15.

chosen on the grounds of physical and intellectual ability rather than blood or wealth.[42] These young men, usually the sons of Christian subjects, were taken, at around the age of twelve or earlier, to the Ottoman capital, having gone through the *devşirme* system, to become life-long personal and loyal subjects to the Ottoman sultan.[43]

Although these boys were chosen to serve the Sultan, they nevertheless had to endure a harsh form of "pre-schooling" before they could enter the Palace School. This pre-schooling consisted of two levels. It began when the boys were brought to the Ottoman capital and were handed over to special *ağa*s who "apprenticed them for a number of years to Turkish peasants and artisans, chiefly in Anatolia, where they learned the Turkish language and were inured to all kinds of hard labor, physical exertion and privations."[44] When these young men reached maturity, both physically and mentally, and were completely familiar with both the Turkish language and Islamic religion they officially graduated from the first level of pre-schooling. They thereupon returned to Istanbul to begin their second

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[42] Ilhan Başgöz and Howard E. Wilson, Educational Problems in Turkey 1920-1940 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1968), 13; Andreas M. Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966), 28; Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 10-11.

[43] The most fundamental way of ensuring loyalty was achieved through the *devşirme* system. The fact that these boys were originally taken away from their family and were not allowed to marry assured the Sultan that these boys would not betray him to outside (the Palace) attachments. This rule of severing all ties to the outside was even extended to the slaves' personal financial life. Originally, from the time these students were admitted into the *devşirme* system until the day they died, they were not allowed to own property or businesses. These laws ensured the Sultan that his slaves, who could eventually become high ranking government officials, would work for the good of the Empire, and not for the good of their own personal gain. Hence these methods for establishing loyalty allowed the sultan to maintain his central power; no slave, no matter how high an administrative position he might achieve, would ever jeopardize his privileged position and remained absolutely loyal to the Sultan. Kazamias, Education, 28; Stanford Shaw, Between the Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III 1789-1807 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 101-102; Speros Vryonis, "Seljuk Gulams and Ottoman Devshirmes," Der Islam, vol. 41 (1965), 225-252; Szyliowicz, Education, 77.

[44] Leon Horniker, "The Corps of the Janizaries," Military Affairs, vol. 8, (3) (Autumn, 1944), 184.

level of pre-schooling, the *Acemî Oğlan* stage. Over a span of seven years these youths continued their study of the Turkish language and Islamic religious practices. After graduation those who showed less promise were sent either to the Janissaries[45] or to the gardener corps, depending on their ability, while the ones who showed the greatest promise (both physically and mentally) were sent to the *Iç Oğlan* (page corps). It was within the Palace School that the page corps was educated.[46]

The Mekteb-i Enderun itself consisted of three preparatory schools located outside the Palace proper,[47] in addition to those in the Palace itself. These schools not only prepared students for the more advanced grades within the Palace, but taught the students how to read and write Turkish in the style used by the Ottoman government administration. There were seven halls[48] or grades within the Palace School and within each of these there were twelve *kalfas* (learned men) who were responsible for supervising the young men in their academic advancement as well as helping professors with the instruction.[49] The curriculum included

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[45] The Janissary corps was an elite corps in the standing army of the Ottoman Empire from the middle of the fourteenth century to 1826. It was in June of 1826 that the corps was destroyed by Mahmut II when they revolted against the Sultan's plans to reform the military along Western lines. On the organization of the Janissary corps, see HAR Gibb and Harold Bowen. Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East, vol. 1, part 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 45-70; Nahoum Weissmann, Les Janissaries, Étude de l'Organisation Militaire des Ottomans (Paris: Libraire "Orient", 1964).

[46] For more information on the system of preparatory schooling see Horniker, "The Corps of the Janizaries," 184.

[47] The Edirne, Galatasaray and Ibrahim Paşa schools.

[48] According to Başgöz and Wilson, Educational Problems, 14 and Miller, The Palace School, 101-102, there were six halls: (1) Great Hall (*Büyük Oda*) (2) Small Hall (*Küçük Oda*), (3)Hall of the Expeditionary Forces (*Seferli Oda*) (4) the Hall of the Commissariat (*Kiler Odasi*) (5) the Treasury Hall (*Hazine Odasi*), and (6) Private Hall (*Has Oda*). However Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 11, fn 25, quotes Ergin as saying that there were seven halls, the last one being (7) *Doğancilar odasi*.

[49] Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol. 1, part 1, 333.

subjects that catered towards general educational training. Hence instruction was provided in

> Turkish, Arabic, and Persian language; Turkish and Persian literatures; Arabic grammar and syntax; a study of the Koran and leading commentaries upon it; Moslem theology, jurisprudence, and law; and Turkish history, music, and mathematics. Of the last subject the only branch which is known with certainty to have been taught in the palace schools is arithmetic, although it seems likely that instruction may also have been given in geometry.[50]

The curriculum also encompassed vocational lessons related to manual skills, such as sewing, bookbinding, gold-smithing, leather-working, inlaying, gun-making and repairing, calligraphy and cooking.[51] Hence, in the beginning the Palace School was the only educational institution which taught formal classes in the Turkish and Persian languages and the only one which gave its students a general level of education.

Despite the fact that the Palace School was one of the most promising schools in the empire, by the sixteenth century cracks had begun to show in its foundations. As more and more Muslim- born subjects within the Empire were being deprived of privileged government positions, their parents "turned over their sons to Christians in order that in the guise of Christians they might be accepted into the corps."[52]

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[50] Miller, The Palace School, 94-95.

[51] Başgöz and Wilson, Educational Problems, 13; Szyliowicz, Education, 77.

[52] Horniker, "The Corps of the Janizaries," 196.

Slowly, however, more and more Muslim Turks were allowed admittance into the Palace school[53] as the *devşirme* system was gradually discontinued; by 1570-1580 most of the pages within the School were the sons of Muslim Turks.[54] Consequently, by the late sixteenth century, the Palace School had deteriorated in prominence and in the quality of teaching it offered. This deterioration was due to the fact that entrance into and advancement within the school no longer rested on merit, but instead on favoritism, bribery and corruption. This breakdown in the Palace School had the effect of creating unqualified bureaucrats who were ill-prepared for the troubling times which were soon to face the empire. One of the most detrimental results of the breakdown of the *devşirme* system was the fact that the young men who entered the system no longer emerged as loyal only to the Sultan. Now, the *Acemî Oğlan*, whether they were streamed into the Page corps or the Janissary corps,[55] had families in the region. In addition, these new recruits to the Janissaries began demanding the right

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[53] According to Miller, "occasionally, upon the recommendation of the chief white eunuch, Turkish youths of great natural endowment from influential families were presented as slaves to the sultan, thereby becoming eligible for admission to the Palace school." Miller, The Palace School, 173. However, while there has been a debate among Ottoman scholars about the extent of non-Moslems being admitted into the to the palace corps, there nevertheless was a significant change in recruitment and selection for government position. See Kazamias, Education, 47; Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," Studia Islamica, vol. 16 (1962), 81-3; Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol. 1, part 1, 81-3. According to Lewis, the government began importing slaves from the Caucasus, Georgia, Circassia, Chniya, and Abaza. Bernard Lewis, The Middle East: 2000 Years of History from the Rise of Christianity to the Present Day (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995), 126.

[54] Miller, The Palace School, 171.

[55] It is important to remember that although the Janissaries were taken in the same way as the students in the Palace School, the former were not taught in the Palace School. The Janissaries received their education in a barracks institution much inferior to the Palace School. However, they did endure the difficult pre-schooling (*Acemi Oğlan)* years with the boys of the page corps and therefore were able to forge close relationships with potential high-ranking members of the bureaucracy.

to marry and to own a business, both of which went against the provisions in the *Kanun*.[56] No longer was the Sultan the only family these slaves had and no longer were the slaves financially dependent upon him for everything. Consequently, as time passed, their family and business/economic interests became more important to them than their loyalty to the Sultan; so much so that, through the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Janissaries became more and more self-serving, even to the extent of fermenting rebellion and resorting to assassination to achieve their goals. According to Yapp, this self-serving attitude continued to develop and could be seen in the early nineteenth century when the Janissaries

> became increasingly reluctant to go on campaigns and when called out either mutinied or simply deserted. On 23 May 1811, 13,000 Janissaries mustered in Istanbul to go on campaign but before they had traveled more than a few kilometers on the road to Edirne only 1,600 were left. The Janissaries fought no significant military action after 1812. Their character as a body of town bullies whose brawling menaced the security of the citizens was now firmly established. Among the duties of the Janissaries of Istanbul was to serve as the city fire brigade. It was commonly known that they started fires and demanded payment to put them out.[57]

The Mekteps (Primary Schools)

Before the *Tanzimat* reform period elementary education in the Muslim *millet* was furnished by the *mektep*.[58] Commonly called *taş mekteps* (stone schools) because of their

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[56] The *Kanun* was the fundamental law promulgated by Sultan Murad I (r. 1360- 1389) which regulated the life of each member of the Janissary corps. This law, which embodies fourteen articles strictly, forbids a Janissary from getting married or engaging in any trade. See Horniker, "The Corps of the Janizaries," 186.

[57] M.E. Yapp, The Making of the Modern Near East 1792-1923 (New York: Longman Inc., 1987), 103.

[58] While there are no precise indications as to when the first *mektep* was established, some believe that they existed as far back as the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Nevertheless, by the time of the Umayyad Caliphate, primary religious education was firmly established, first within mosques and then later in buildings

stone construction, these two-room elementary schools were established by anyone who could afford to sustain a *vakıf* (pious endowment).[59] The founders of these schools were able to determine the salary paid to the teacher, the number of students allowed to attend the school, the location and construction of the school building and even the amount of pocket money allotted to each student. However, at no time could the school's founder interfere with the appointment of the teacher or the instruction offered in the school because both were under the complete jurisdiction of the *Şeyhülislam*;[60] no other official was in fact permitted to intervene in the *mektep*'s curriculum or functioning.[61] Consequently, because the *mektep*'s operations remained in the hands of the *ulema* (Muslim religious leaders), its aim and curriculum remained virtually unchanged from its inception up until the *Tanzimat* period.[62]

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specifically designed for the purpose of teaching. By the early nineteenth century these elementary schools, which did not force attendance on their students, were found in practically every town in the Ottoman empire. For more information on the history of Muslim education see Khalil A. Totah, The Contribution of the Arabs to Education (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926); H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East, vol. 1, part 2 (London: London University Press, 1957), 140.

[59] Ergin believes that there were about three hundred *mekteps* in Istanbul in 1630 and that each school taught approximately thirty to forty students. Ergin, Türkiye Maarif, vol. 1, 77. For more information about the law of *vakıf* see Makdisi, The Rise of Colleges, 35-74.

[60] The *Şeyhülislam* was the chief *muftī* or jurisconsult, and head of the state hierarchy of *ulema*. See J.H. Kramers, "Shaikh al-Islām," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. H.A. R. Gibb et al., vol. 7 (E.J. Brill: New York, 1913-1936, reprinted 1987), 275-279. For information on the *Şeyhülislam* in early Ottoman history see Michael M. Pixley, "The Development and Role of the *Şeyhülislam* in Early Ottoman History," Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 96. (1) (Jan.-Mar. 1976), 89-96.

[61] Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol. 1, part 2, 140.

[62] M. Winter, "Ma'ārif," in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. H.A.R. Gibb, et al., vol. 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954), 903.

These elementary educational institutions were founded primarily to teach students, both boys and girls,[63] the religious lessons found in the Qur'an,[64] so that they could take their proper place in the Muslim community.[65] In order to carry out its purpose, the *mektep*'s primary instruction was "limited to the moral and religious principles and to reading and reciting the Koran."[66] The method of instruction employed in the *mekteps* up until the eighteenth century is described by J.M. Landau:

> The Kur'ān was studied in all the k*atātīb*, with stress laid on memorizing and absolute accuracy. The teacher began with the *Fātiha*, then proceeded to the shortest, the 114th, *sūra (al-Nās)* and continued back until the class reached the longest, the 2nd, *sūra (al-Bakara)*. When a pupil had mastered all this, he began to practice his recitation in the correct order. As a general rule, the early morning hours, were considered the best time of the day, and were earmarked for studying the Kur'ān. At other times, prayer, and religious rituals were imparted regularly.[67]

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[63] Ergin states that prior to 1858, the *mekteps* were the only Muslim educational institution which girls were permitted to attend. See Osman Ergin, Istanbul Mektepleri ve Ilim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayisile Türkiye Maarif Tarihi (History of Turkish Education, with Special Reference to the Schools and Cultural Institutions of Islanbul), vol. 2 (Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaasi, 1939-43), 381. On the other hand, in Europe, during the early middle ages, leaders of the Christian church were more concerned with the moral training aspect of women's education, than the academic aspects. As a result, very few girls attended any religious schools. Perhaps a reason for this was the fact that most of these schools wanted to train priests, and since women could not be priests therefore there was no need to teach them beyond what they could be taught at home. However, by 1338 women were able to enter more schools. James Mulhern, A History of Education, 270-273.

[64] The Qur'an was and still is seen as a great source of knowledge and learning Muslims view it as the word of God, the greatest educator of the world.

[65] According to Aries, in the cathedral church schools of Europe (established in the third century), the bishops would also teach from religious books. For example the Book of Psalms and the Canonic Hours were used as the primary textbooks. Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, trans. R. Baldick (New York: Random House, 1962), 138; Mulhern, A History of Education, 258-263; Pierre Riché, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century, trans. John J. Contreni (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1978), 497.

[66] Richard L. Chambers, "The Education of a Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Alim, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa," International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol.4, (4) (1973): 442.

[67] J.M. Landau, "Kuttāb," in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition, vol. 5, 568.

By 1750, calligraphy was added to the curriculum of the *mekteps*. However, Gibb and Bowen state that the purpose in teaching calligraphy was: "surely religious: it enabled them to commit to paper ad majorem Dei Gloriam, the sacred sentences and prayers that they otherwise spent their time in getting by heart from their hojas."[68]

This method of instruction given in the *mektep* served to bring the student into line with the rest of the Muslim community. However, to instill a cohesive belief system, the teachers of the *mektep* down-played the importance of critical thinking because they believed that any type of discussion would encourage free thought, which would in turn "lead to the weakening of belief and disobedience."[69] Therefore, "learning by rote" not only fulfilled the purpose of the *mektep* but it was essential to maintaining social tranquillity.[70]

There were a number of problems however with the way lessons were taught at these elementary religious schools. The primary problem was the use of repetition and recitation as the method of imparting knowledge. Due to the fact that not all of the students spoke the language of the Qur'an (Arabic), they could not fully understand what they were being

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[68] Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol. 1, part 2, 142; Carter V. Findley, Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 54.

[69] J.M. Landau, "Kuttāb" For greater insight into the methodology of learning, see Makdisi, The Rise of Colleges, 99- 152.

[70] According to Aries, the teaching method was the same in the cathedral church schools of Europe as it was in the *mektep*. Aries states: "Anyone who has heard the alternating recitation of the verses of the Koran in the great mosque at Kairwan will have an idea of the medieval school, not only as it was in its distant sixth-century origins, but as it would remain, at least at its elementary level, for centuries. The pupils all chanted in unison the phrase spoken by the teacher, and they went on repeating the same exercise until they learnt it by heart. The priests could recite nearly all the prayers in the office from memory in the event of forgetfulness." As a result of this teaching method within these cathedral church schools, "reading was no longer an indispensable tool of learning. It only allowed them to 'recognize' what they had already knew and not to discover something new, with the result that the importance of reading was greatly reduced." It was not until the Carolingian dynasty in Italy (774-962 A.D.) that the cathedral school increased its curriculum by adding new subjects such as grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, and the canon law. Aries, Centuries of, 138.

taught. Moreover students received no instruction in grammar, thus making it harder for any of them to learn how to read and write.[71]

The *Medreses* (Secondary Schools)

From 1004 A.D. to the period just prior to the Ottoman reform movement of 1789, higher or advanced education for Muslim students was provided by the *medrese*.[72] Despite the fact that these schools were located throughout the Muslim world, it was within the walls of Istanbul that three of the most celebrated *medreses* were to be found. These acclaimed *medreses* had been named after Mehmet II, Bâyezîd II and Süleyman the Magnificent.[73] Regardless of their great importance as centers for the training of Muslim religious leaders,

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[71] Gibb and Bowen state that Arabic was not taught as a language and that those who graduated from these primary schools were not "capable of understanding its [Arabic] grammatical structure." Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol. 1, part 2, 141; Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 5.

[72] *Medreses* were first established in Cairo in 1004-5 A.D. Originally, these schools were often established in or around a mosque and within these institutions an *'alim* sat teaching his pupils religious subjects in the form of a circle (*halaka*). Since there were no set curriculum or administrative regulations, anyone who felt proficient enough in religious subjects could give lessons and anyone could attend their lectures. A student would only receive a graduation certificate from the teacher if he could show that he had mastered the topic by passing an examination. Course material covered topics like the Qur'an, prophetic traditions (hadith), prophetic customs (*sunnah*), law (*fiqh*), mathematics and science. According to Massialas and Jarrar, Greek philosophy and epistemology were taught at a later stage. Like the primary educational institutions, any individual could establish a *medrese* by supplying the necessary resources in the form of a *vakıf*. It was because of this endowment that tuition was waived for all who attended, allowing poor as well as rich students to study in the circles. However, as the number of circles and students increased, disturbances within the mosque became unavoidable and this created difficulties for those who were trying to worship. Due to this dilemma, the circles were removed from the mosques. However, it was not until the eleventh century that the first formal *medrese* was established in Nishapur by Nizam ul-Mülk, the renowned Seljuk vizier (1064 -1092). Aptullah Kuran, "The Medrese and the University," Turkish Review Quarterly Digest, vol.1, (4) (Summer 1986): 95; Byron G. Massialas and Samir Ahmed Jarrar, Education in the Arab World (New York: Praeger, 1983), 10-11; Miller, The Palace School, 193,

[73] These were not the only *medreses* founded in the Ottoman lands. Numerous others were established in the Ottoman provinces. By the seventeenth century, there were 78 *medreses* in Istanbul, and by 1768 there were 275. In addition, there were 42 *medreses* in Aydin, 48 in Karasi (today's Balikesir) and 27 in Izmir. For more information, see Başgöz and Wilson, Educational Problems, 9; Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol. 1, part 2, 85.

prior to the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent[74] these three institutions,[75] which offered instruction free of charge, remained separate and disorganized entities,[76] and it was only during his reign that they were organized into a twelve-level grade system. The division was as follows:

> (1) Ibtidâi Hâric ('Outside Beginning). (2) Hareketi Hâric ('Outside Remove'). (3) Ibtidâi Dâhil ('Inside Beginning'). (4) Hareketi Dâhil Semân ('Inside Remove'). (5) Mûsilei Sahn ('Introductory of the Courtyard'). (6) Sahni Semân ('Courtyard of the Eight'). (7) Ibtidâi Altmişli ('Altmişli Beginning'). (8) Hareketi Altmişli ('Altmişli Remove'). (9) Mûşilei Süleymânîye ('Introductory to the Süleymânîye'). (10) Havâmisi Süleymânîye ('The Süleymânîye Five'). (11) Süleymânîye. (12) Dârü 'l-Hadîs.[77]

In conjunction with the degree of difficulty of the subject matter, this system of grades corresponded to the hierarchical position that the *müderris* (teacher) held within the ranks of the *ulema*. For example, the *medreses* which offered instruction in the lower eight grades taught the basic tenets of Arabic grammar, syntax and writing, philosophy, theology, Muslim

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[74] For more information on Süleyman the Magnificent and Ottoman institutions during his time see A. E. Lybyer, The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Süleyman the Magnificent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913); André Clot, Suleiman the Magnificent (New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1989).

[75] Free, in this sense, meant no tuition fees. All Ottoman *medreses* remained free and students who attended classes were given free food and a small allowance as a way of enticing attendance amongst the most promising students. Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 7.

[76] Bâyezîd's *medreses* were devoted to the study of law, whereas Mehmet II's *medreses*, known as the "Courtyard of the Eight" and "Introductory to the Courtyard" taught a number of topics such as Arabic grammar, logic, astronomy and rhetoric. Süleyman established *medreses* which were devoted to special studies, like *Dârü 'l-Hadîs* for the study of hadith or the Tradition of the Prophet, and a *Dârü 'l-Tibb* for the study of medicine. However, a person could jump around from *medrese* to *medrese* without any organization involved. Gibb and Bowen, vol. I, part 2, Islamic Society, 145.

[77] Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol. 1, part 2, 146. Also see Chambers, "The Education," 444. However according to Miller, the sultan organized the curriculum of the *medreses* into ten branches: grammar, syntax, science of tropes, science of style, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, geometry, astronomy, and astrology. Miller, The Palace School, 30. One reason for this discrepancy in numbering is that Gibb and Bowen divided classes like Medicine and Law into basic and advanced while Miller placed them together.

tradition and law, the natural sciences, physics, medicine, logic, theology, astronomy, geometry and rhetoric. The remaining higher-level colleges were where the student could specialize in advanced courses on Islamic law, medicine or theology.[78] This separation of grade levels helped establish a chronological sequence of learning from primary to advanced classes and also permitted a student to begin his higher education by reaffirming the moral and ethical set of beliefs that he had been taught in the *mektep*.[79]

Medreses aspired:

> a) to educate civil servants, for which there was a desperate need, to fill the growing positions in the bureaucracy of the time.
> b) to instruct qualified people in accordance with the Sunni (orthodox) creed so that they would be well versed in the Koran, prophetic traditions, prophetic customs, and jurisprudence.
> c) to act as a means of instilling in the populace a sense of religious devotion which the Ottoman elite believed would ensure the continuity of the prevailing social orientation.
> d) to intensify faith in the legitimacy of the sultan.[80]

Consequently, to ensure that each *medrese* was accomplishing the above goals, the student, in order to pass from one grade to the next, was required to pass a battery of examinations, which eventually resulted in his receiving a graduation certificate called an *icaze*. It was only

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[78] Ubicini, Letters on Turkey, vol.1, 194-5; Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 8.

[79] Like the *medreses*, the universities of Europe during the Middle Ages were also divided into faculties. These faculties were: theology, canon law, civil law, and medicine and liberal arts, the last-named being inferior to the first four in the list. The liberal arts courses included classes in grammar, philosophy, logic, rhetoric, metaphysics, moral and natural philosophy, and mathematics. Natural philosophy covered such fields as physics, astronomy, zoology, botany, and psychology. There were also specialized schools like the medical school at Salerno (late 9th century) and legal studies at the University of Bologna (12th century). However, they were often poorly funded. Mulhern, A History of Education, 278-293.

[80] Kazamias, Education, 39. In Europe, the more advanced educational schools or universities were not controlled or funded by the church but by the region where they were located. See Mulhern, A History of Education, 281-282.

after receiving this certificate that a student was allowed to advance to the next grade level.[81] Therefore, advancement in this religious institution was based on academic merit and not on family background.[82] In addition, this same system ensured that a student accumulated a body of knowledge in a successive manner, and that he would be called upon to apply his previous knowledge in assimilating new material. For example, in the lower or primary grade levels of the *medreses*, basic Arabic grammar and syntax were taught in order to instill in students the elementary functions of reading, writing and speaking Arabic. In order to pass from these lower grade *medreses* to the middle tier, examinations were set in order to determine whether the students had acquired sufficient proficiency in Arabic grammar and syntax. Once in the higher grade *medreses*, they could put these grammatical rules to use in reading and disseminating the written knowledge of prominent authors. However, this examination process did not stop with graduation. Once a student had graduated, and before he could become a prominent teacher within his area of expertise (i.e. law, medicine, or theology), he had to teach in at least nine of the twelve grade levels of the *medreses*[83] in order to prove to this peers that he was capable of discharging this task.

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[81] Although instruction was graded, it was also individualized and all pupils could proceed at their own pace.

[82] Depending on the graduation certificate earned, the student's position in the religious hierarchy was determined according to a his/her talent. A pupil who finished his higher education was able, solely on the basis of merit, to become first a *danişment* (assistant), then a *müid* (associate professor) and later a *müderris* (professor), or he could go into the judiciary, thus becoming a *kadi* (judge). This merit system ensured that the best qualified students received the best posts.

[83] Usually nine of the lower grades. Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 8.

Despite the fact that the *medreses* never taught the Turkish language, they nevertheless gave their Muslim students, in their early years, a well rounded education. However, like the Palace and *mektep* schools, cracks began to appear in the foundations of the *medrese*. Signs of these cracks were first seen when physics, arithmetic and astronomy were removed from the latter's curriculum in the late sixteenth century[84] and the *ulema* began resisting any attempt at reforming the traditional school system. As the system of religious education became more rigid and conservative, the *mektep* and particularly the *medrese*,

> fell into a state of blind copying, and blindly repeating the 'truths' of Islam. Every discipline which recognized free discussion and thought was accused of heresy, and dropped from the curriculum as being philosophy, felsefiyat, and therefore at cross-purposes with religious orthodoxy.[85]

Slowly, the merit system was also discontinued in the *medresses*, just as it had been in the *mekteps* and Palace School, and diplomas and administrative positions were given instead to the relatives of wealthy and high-ranking administrators who were not qualified to teach their subjects. One consequence of these patronage appointments was that there was no longer any assurance that a student was acquiring a basic foundation of knowledge. As more and more students graduated from the *medreses*, these men began filling the teaching positions in other *medreses*, *mekteps* and the Palace School, thus perpetuating the lack of

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[84] Ibid. 9.

[85] Başgöz and Wilson, Educational Problems, 11.

academic quality.[86] Consequently, "the very names of some former academic subjects were forgotten," and as the years passed "the business of learning was neglected not only for individuals but for the empire as well."[87]

With the awarding of academic diplomas and bureaucratic appointments to unworthy *medrese* students, an elite society was formed which was able to secure a number of privileges from the Sultan. Members of this elite--high ranking officials who had graduated from the *medrese* schools, were excused from paying taxes and performing military service, and were allowed besides to pass their fortunes on to their relatives after they died. Soon the *medrese* became an oasis for men who wanted to escape from taxation and military service. Instead of being a foundation for academic enquiry, this traditional Muslim school became absorbed in conspiracies and statecraft. The *medreses* were no longer centers of academic enquiry, and instruction in them had become archaic in comparison to what was being offered in the West.

Thus, we have seen that, during the Islamic Renaissance, the search for knowledge helped produce well-qualified scholars in virtually every academic field, both inside and outside of the traditional religious schools. These schools, but primarily the *medreses*, were able to make huge advances in the areas of mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, medicine, and the natural sciences. However, once the "doors of *ijtihād*" were closed, intellectual inquiry was stifled and educational development began to encompass only the religious sciences. The responsibility for educating the young passed entirely into the hands of an elite

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[86] Ubicini, Letters on Turkey, vol. I, 11.

[87] Başgöz and Wilson, Educational Problems, 11-12.

group of religious leaders. This is clear from the curriculum offered in the Muslim religious schools from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries which included only the traditional Muslim sciences and encouraged blind acceptance of the course material on the part of students, thereby stifling independent thinking.

This unfortunate situation would remain unchanged until reformers like Selim III and Mahmut II began constructing new military educational institutions. It was only after their educational initiatives, however, that reformers began to understand the magnitude of their educational problem. The new Western-style military schools were created to train men in modern Western military techniques that were seen as the only means of preserving the Empire. These sultans and the reforming bureaucrats of the *Tanzimat* period, however, soon realized that there were not enough qualified students graduating from the traditional religious schools to enter their new educational institutions and that there was need for even broader educational policy reforms.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE NEW SECULAR EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE

PRIOR TO AND DURING THE TANZIMAT

In the eighteenth century, the military forces of Europe grew stronger through their use of more effective weaponry, which they had been able to develop due to advancements in science and technology. The Ottoman military, however, remained plagued by an inefficient and rather undisciplined military force. The defeats suffered by the Sultan's forces in a series of foreign wars gave Europe the sense that the once-feared Ottoman Empire was losing her power.[88] Russia was the first to take advantage and in an attempt to increase its territory, went into war with the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman loss allowed Russia to establish herself on the Black Sea with the signing of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, and subsequent conflicts led to the annexation of the Crimea in 1783.[89]

The Ottoman empire continued to lose its prestige when Europe once again proved its military superiority during Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. This act of aggression confirmed to the world that the Ottoman empire was as unprotected in the south as it was in the north.[90] In response to the Ottoman Empire's weakened military state, Great Britain came to the aid of Sultan Selim III by ridding Egypt of its French aggressors. In return, Great

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[88] Geoffrey Lewis, Turkey (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1965), 33; Shaw, Between the Old and New, 68.

[89] See Alan W. Fisher, The Russian Annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

[90] Roderic H. Davison, Turkey (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968), 72.

Britain gained both political and economic privileges in the empire.[91] Clearly, by the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman state was no longer able to defend itself against the growing military power of Europe and found itself caught up in a struggle for the balance of power between Britain, France and Russia.[92]

By the end of the eighteenth century, Ottoman leaders had come to recognize that the source of the empire's decline was rooted in its military, concluding that "if only the army could be restored to its old effectiveness, the other institutions of the Empire could remain relatively untouched, and that they would be left free to restore themselves without the disrupting influence of alien pressures."[93] Selim's initial plan therefore was to acquire Western military power without at the same time Westernizing the entire empire.[94] Consequently, in an attempt to save the Ottoman empire from losing more territory, Western-

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[91] The British-Ottoman trade agreement of 1838, for instance, lifted the Ottoman government's monopoly on agricultural produce and allowed British industries to penetrate the Ottoman market. See Charles Issawi, The Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914: A Book of Readings (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

[92] Russia wanted to absorb the Balkan provinces into its own territory, allowing it to gain access to the Mediterranean Sea. On the other hand, Britain wanted to protect its commercial and imperial interests in the Mediterranean and India against Russian expansion. See Ira M. Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 593; Stanford Shaw and E.K. Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 243-244, 248 and 257-258; William Yale, The Near East: A Modern History (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958), 54-61.

[93] Stanford J. Shaw "The Established Ottoman Army Corps under Sultan Selim III (1789-1807)", Der Islam, vol. 40 (1965), 143.

[94] Dankwart A. Rustow, Politics and Westernization in the Near East Princeton: (Center of International Studies Princeton University, 1956), 8. Selim concluded that the root of the crisis lay in the fact that the empire had abandoned its original Islamic practices and that this had contributed to inefficiency within the traditional Islamic educational institutions. Roderic H. Davison, "Westernised Education in Ottoman Turkey", The Middle East Journal, vol. 15 (3) (Summer 1961), 289; Niyazi Berkes, "Historical Background of Turkish Secularism,"in Islam and the West: Proceedings of the Harvard Summer School Conference on the Middle East, July 25-27, 1955, ed. Richard N. Frye, 1st ed. (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1957), 56; Findley, Ottoman Civil, 131-173.

style military techniques and weaponry were introduced into the Ottoman Empire as a way of fostering a reformed military institution that would be effective and loyal to the Empire.

The reformers, however, quickly realized that there were not enough qualified officers to train the soldiers in Western techniques and they therefore decided to establish Western-style military academies in the empire. However, as was the case with the search for qualified military officers, there were not enough students graduating from the traditional religious schools having the qualifications that would allow them to enroll into these academies. To correct this situation, the reformers wanted to reform the traditional schools by introducing Western-style elementary and secondary education into the existing system.[95] These suggestions were, however, strenuously opposed by the conservative *ulema* who believed that the proposed changes ran contrary to the teachings of the *şeriat*. In response, the reformers began introducing legislative and administrative mechanisms, such as the 1824 Public Educational Ferman, the 1845 Meclis-i Maarif-i Muvakkat (Temporary Educational Council) and the 1869 Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi (Regulations for General Education), as a way of decreasing the power of the traditionalists in the educational system. These edicts led to the creation of an administrative body called the Ministry of Public Education, which made recommendations for the establishment of new non-military schools and imposed regulations for general education. These regulations involved creating new

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[95] There was also an economic reason for reforming the educational system. According to Maynard, because of their inadequate educational system, Muslims were unable to compete with members from the Christian millet in trade, banking, and business. One reason for their advantage was that Christians had the good fortune of establishing relatively proficient schools within the Empire. In addition, many Christians were also able to attend the large number of foreign Jesuit, Catholic and Protestant schools which were established throughout the Empire by Western missionaries. Consequently, because of their educational advantages, the Christian millet was able to virtually control trade and commerce within the Empire. See Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 15-16.

Western-style public schools that departed from the programs of the traditional Islamic institutions. The introduction of a public school system that paralleled the existing traditional schools represented an admission of defeat by the reformers,[96] but in the long run it was a defeat also for the *ulema* who did not realize at the time what their victory would eventually cost them.

The Military Academies

Although military defeat at the hands of the European powers had demonstrated the need for improvements to the Ottoman military, the decision to adopt Western-style training, technology and tactics was adopted only after the Sultan witnessed the successful military advances of Russia and Egypt, which had already introduced Western military training and weaponry into their respective armies.[97] In hopes of a similar success, Sultan Selim III invited French, Swiss, and Prussian specialists to establish a new Western-style military corps called the *Nizam-i-Cedît* (New Order), which was to be trained, organized and equipped in every way following the French model.[98] To aid them in the training process Selim introduced Western European military textbooks into the empire. As Creasy explains:

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[96] The responsibility for this defeat cannot be laid solely at the feet of the ulema. One must take into consideration the fact that a total switch from traditional schools to modern schools would have been almost impossible to accomplish. There were not enough teachers to teach in these new modern schools and there would not have been enough funds to create a government-operated school system.

[97] Göçek, Rise of the Bourgeoisie, 68; Also see Fatma Müge Göçek, East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987),4.

[98] This corps was comprised mainly of Turkish peasant boys from Anatolia. Shaw and Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 1. 62. For more information on the reforms implemented by Sultan Selim III see Shaw, "The Established Ottoman Army Corps," 142-84; Lewis, Emergence, 40-74; Stanford J. Shaw, "The Origins of Ottoman Military Reform : The Nizam-i Cedit Army of Sultan Selim III," The Journal of Modern History, vol. 37 (3) (1965), 219-306; Shaw, Between the Old and New, 127-137.

"The printing establishment which had been founded in the reign of Achmet III, was revived and many European works on tactics and fortification were translated from the French and published by the Sultan's orders under the inspection of the Turkish mathematician, Abdurrahim Effendi."[99] In addition, Selim also ventured to reform and restore the Janissaries, the navy,[100] the feudal *Sipahis*, and the four artillery corps: the Cannon corps (*Tôpcîyân*), the Cannon-Wagon corps (*'Arabaciyân*), the Miners corps (*Lağimciyân*) and the Mortar corps (*Humbaracîyân*).[101]

As part of the military reform movement, Selim began educating officers within his military engineering schools[102] in the new techniques and sciences of war so they could someday take over military instruction from the Europeans who had to be relied on at the outset. These engineering schools in the end reduced more than just soldiers who were able to use Western-style techniques and weapons; they created a group of men who were "educated in the ways of thought and the science and technology which had made European military development possible during the previous century."[103] With this newly acquired knowledge, these officers began to understand the need to reform the empire itself and became the backbone of the Ottoman reform movement. These developments, however,

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[99] E.S. Creasy, History of the Ottoman Turks, vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1858), 332.

[100] Stanford J. Shaw, "Selim III and the Ottoman Navy," Turcica,(1969), 212-241.

[101] For more information on the attempts of Selim III to reform the old military corps see Stanford J. Shaw, "The Established Ottoman Army Corps," 143-184.

[102] The effect of these schools and other military academies will be discussed below.

[103] Shaw, "Established Ottoman Army Corps," 177.

alarmed the conservative *ulema* and Janissary corps,[104] who saw the new-style troops and reforms as a threat to their privileged status. Consequently, the Janissaries, allying themselves with the conservative elements within the *ulema*, revolted and eventually assassinated Selim III in 1808.[105]

Sultan Mahmut II, who succeeded Selim III, had similar aspirations of building a Western-style miliatry force. Mahmut, however, realized that opposition from the *ulema* and the traditional military corps, including the Janissaries, would make it difficult to achieve these goals, and that the only way to ovecome this opposition would be to centralize all power under his control.[106] It would take Mahmut eighteen years to break the power of the *a'yān's* (provincial notables in Rumelia) and the *derebeyis* (hereditary and virtually independent feudatories in Anatolia) and establish a powerful and reliable enough military to support him in his attempts to initiate reforms aimed at curbing the power of the

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[104] As stated above, the Janissary corps was an elite corps within the standing army of the Ottoman Empire from the late fourteenth century to 1826 when they were destroyed by Mahmut II. However, it was not the sole military force of the Empire. The *sipahi* corps for example was a feudal cavalry force whose position was comparable to that of a European medieval knight. Like the knight, the *sipahi* was a holder of a land grant (called a *timar* in Turkish, fief in English) that was granted to him by the Sultan and he was awarded all the income from his *timar*, in return for military service. Furnishing the majority of the Ottoman army with men until the middle of the sixteenth century, the *sipahis* had been at times as violently opposed to change as the Janissaries had been. For example, in 1632 a large number of *sipahis* stormed the palace and ordered the execution of the grand vizier and sixteen of his top administrative aides. Nevertheless, because the *sipahis* were scattered throughout the Ottoman provinces, they posed less of a threat to the Sultan than the Janissary corps which was concentrated in Istanbul.

[105] For more in-depth examination of the revolutions of 1807 and 1808 see Halil Inalcik, "Turkey," in Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, ed. Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 49-53; Shaw, Between the Old and New, 378-407. To see a short narrative of the accession of Sultan Mustapha, (r.1808) to the throne of the Ottoman Empire, see the un-authored letter called the "Curious State Paper" in Asiatic Annual Register, vol. 10 (1811), 598-599.

[106] Ferdinand Schevill, The Balkan Peninsul, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1933) 347.

Janissaries and conservative *ulema*.[107] In May of 1826 Mahmut announced publicly that the professional army (i.e. the Janissaries) had become "nothing more than a great disorganized body,"[108]and that there was a need to establish a new military corps.[109] When Mahmut announced that each detachment based within Istanbul was to contribute 150 men to the new corps, the Janissaries revolted.[110] Unlike his predecessor however, Mahmut II, who had centralized government power under his control, was ready for this reaction. On June 15, 1826, with the people of Istanbul and the *ulema* behind him,[111] he destroyed the Janissaries.[112]

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[107] Kemal H. Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1798-1908," International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol. 3 (3) (July 1972), 251-256.

[108] Howard A. Reed, "The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmut II in June 1826" (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1951), 131.

[109] It is important to note that Mahmut II established a new military corps when he came to the Ottoman throne. However, because he feared an aggressive reaction from the Janissary corps, the soldiers of this new corps were trained in secret. Mahmut would call on this military strength to help suppress the Janissaries when they revolted in 1826.

[110] Lewis, Emergence, 78.

[111] Although both the *ulema* and the Janissaries had formed alliances to resist reform attempts, these were based on common, specific purposes, and were not a reflection of a general happy relationship between the two parties; rather each group viewed the other with great hostility. The Janissaries were resentful of the fact that the high-ranking members of the *ulema* corps were treated more favorably then other members of Ottoman society. Prior to 1826, the fortunes of the *ulema* were untaxed and upon their death could be left to their children. The Janissaries, on the other hand, were forced to pay taxes on any and all fortunes and would have their land confiscated by the sultan upon their death. This favoritism acted as a catapult against the *ulema*, for whenever there would be a revolt against the sultan, the Janissaries would vent their anger against a member of the high ranking *ulema*. An example of such an act was the 1703 rebellion which resulted in the killing of *Şeyhülislam* Feyzu'lluh by the Janissaries.

[112] On the destruction of the Janissaries see Mehmed Esad Efendi, Üss-i Zafer: 1241 (Istanbul: Dârüttibâât il-Ma mûre, 1827). The French translation of Esad's report is by A.P. Caussin de Perceval, Precis Historique de la Destruction du Corps des Janissaires par le sultan Mahmoud en 1826 (Paris: F. Didot, 1833). See Reed, The Destruction of the Janissaries. Also see Ahmad Jewad, État Militaire Ottoman depuis la Fondation de l'Empire jusqu'à nos Jours (Constantinople: Imp. du Journal "La Turquie," 1882), 355-84.

By eliminating the standing army the Sultan had effectively reduced the power of the *ulema*. No longer did the *ulema* have the support of the Janissaries to fight for their interests and against the Sultan's initiatives. Gradually, the Sultan began to take control of the *ulema*'s financial base (the *vakıf*) by placing these pious endowments under the single jurisdiction of the Ministry of *vakıf* and hence under the watchful eye of the Ottoman government. Next, Mahmut began replacing conservative *ulema* who held high government positions with men who were loyal to his reforming ideas. Moreover, bureaucrats who supported the reforms were needed to fill recently vacated government positions and these Mahmut drew from his newly established Western-style schools. Thus, with the demise of the Janissary corps and his greater control over the *ulema*, the Sultan had the power he needed to carry out his plans. One of the first military reforms implemented after the destruction of the Janissaries was the establishment of the *Muallem Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammadiye* (Trained Victorious Muslim Troops),[113] a Western-style military troop. However, there were not enough qualified officers to lead this new corps and as a result Mahmut began establishing Western-style military academies to train such personnel.

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[113] Avigdor Levy, "The Officer Corps in Sultan Mahmut II's New Ottoman Army, 1826-39," International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol. 2 (1971): 21.

The establishment of the military academies[114] in the Ottoman Empire had begun before and continued after the destruction of the Janissary corps, with the foundation of the Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun (Naval Engineering School) in 1773, the Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun (Army Engineering School) in 1793,[115] the Mekteb-i Ulum-u Harbiye (School of Military Sciences) in 1834, the Mekteb-i Osmanî (Ottoman School in Paris) in 1857 and the Mülkiye Mekteb-i (School of Civil Administration) in 1859.[116] Once Western-style training for technical officers was established, the reformers extended their military educational reforms beyond technical training into the area of medicine. In 1827 Sultan

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[114] These institutions were essentially organized after the pattern of French military training institutions and taught in French. For example, the Mekteb-i Ulum-u Harbiye (School of Military Sciences) was designed to imitate the prestigious French officers' training school Saint-Cyr, and its course outline was designed after that of the Ecole d'Etat-Majeur. Göçek, Rise of the Bourgeoisie, 70; Yapp, Making of, 106; Lewis, Emergence, 84. For more information on the early military and naval academies see Mehmed Esad, Mirât-i Mühendishane-i Berrî-i Humayun (Istanbul, 1896); Ergin, Türkive Maarif, vol. 2, 273-80. It is important to note that, with the establishment of permanent Ottoman embassies in Western Europe, plus the fact that Selim III acquired military professionals from Western Europe to train and reform the Ottoman miliary, a relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe was slowly developing. This statement is further supported by the fact that there was an increase in translations of French military textbooks into Turkish which also shows this growing Ottoman interest in Europe.

[115] In order to ensure the long term development of these Western-style military academies, Selim III became the central authority in their administration. The selection of students, staff and curriculum for the military school was in the sultan's hands, and not those of the *Şeyhülislam*. This marked a substantial advancement in the trend towards secularization as well as in the decline of religious control over education and attempted to place harder restraints on the Janissaries. However, when Selim III was overthrown, these institutions were abolished and would only be re-established during the reign of Mahmut II. Stanford Shaw and E.K. Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976)), 63; Lewis, Muslim Discovery, 85-88, 235-238; Shaw, "Established Ottoman Army Corps," 177-183.

[116] Findley, Ottoman Civil, 157-158; Richard L. Chambers, "Turkey," in Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, ed. Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 301-327; Dankwart A. Rustow, "Turkey," in Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, ed. Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 352-360; Richard L. Chambers, "Notes on the Mekteb-i Osmanî in Paris, 1857-1874," in William R. Polk and Richard Chambers, eds., Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 313-329; Levy, "The Officer Corps," 32-36.

Mahmut established the Tibhane-i Amire (Medical School) and in 1828-29, the Cerrahhane (Surgical School) in Istanbul. Later, the Sultan decided to follow the European custom of combining schools of medicine and surgery and in 1838, he reopened these two schools under the name Dar-ul Ulûm-u Hikemiye ve Mekteb-i Şahane-i Tibbiye (Imperial Schools of Physical and Medical Sciences) at Galatasaray. The objective of these new military schools was to train qualified soldiers, sailors, engineers, doctors and surgeons for the new military.[117]

Although the original goal of the reformers was to attain European-level military power through the establishment of Western-style military training academies, each school had its own individual purpose and a distinct curriculum set up to achieve this goal. For example, the Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun was established to "train army officers in the theoretical and practical aspects of artillery, fortification, mine-laying, and engineering."[118] Its four year curriculum began with basic courses in calligraphy, spelling, drawing, elementary geometry, arithmetic, Arabic and French. In the second year, a student would study arithmetic, geometry, geography, and reading and writing in both Arabic and French. In the third year he would take courses in geography, plane trigonometry, algebra, topography, recitation of the Qur'an, military history, plus instruction in a specialized field of interest. In his final year, the student would continue on with his specialized field, as well as studying mathematics, differential and integral calculus, dynamics, mines, ballistics,

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[117] Levy, "The Officer Corps," 32, who quotes Rıza Tahsin Gencer, Mir'at-i Mekeb-i Tibbiye, vol. 1. (Istanbul, 1328-1330: 1910-1912), 4; Osman Ergin, Türkiye Maarif, vol. 2, 280-285; Berkes, "Historical," 56.

[118] Shaw and Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 1, 263.

fortifications and astronomy.[119] To ensure that the students understood what they were being taught in the classrooms, "they were also given practical experience through special missions with the army in times of war, preparing batteries, mines, and the like, while securing the combat training they needed."[120]

In an attempt to ensure that admission into and graduation from these academies was granted solely on the basis of merit, an examination process was created. Young men who wished to attend these modern academies were required to take a series of tests to prove that they were qualified. This process continued throughout the four years of a student's academic career, for a battery of examinations was given to each student before they graduated and to the next level. The process also acted as a policing agent, in that it reassured the sultan that the students who were graduating from these academies knew their course material and were qualified for positions of responsibility.[121]

Despite this ambitious curriculum and examination process, the schools lacked planning; for example, most of the students who entered the school were not qualified at the outset to handle the Western-style curriculum and as a result it often took longer for them to graduate from one grade level to the next. In addition, because the number of seats within

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[119] Berkes, Development of Secularism, 75, quoting Mehmed Esad, Mirât-i Mühendishane-i, 9-26, 30-31.

[120] Shaw and Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2, 146.

[121] However, according to Levy, in 1826 "favoritism and seniority remained the strongest considerations of military advancement." Levy, "The Officer Corps," 25. Nevertheless, those who gained positions through favoritism and seniority had to have passed through the examination process which ensured that they were qualified for the position.

each class was limited, a student graduating from the lower level would sometimes have to wait years until there was a seat available in the higher levels. This also contributed to the time it took for a student to graduate from the schools.[122]

Originally, lectures in these schools were given in French and the Ottoman government hired translators, like Ishak Efendi,[123] to translate what the French instructor was saying in class, in addition to the books used within each class.[124] However, Mahmut's plan was that the graduates of these academies would replace the European advisors as lecturers, and so it was that eventually French was replaced by Turkish as the language of instruction.[125] Nevertheless, as Western languages began to play a larger role in the Ottoman empire, Mahmut realized that ignorance of these languages within the government administration was holding his people back from learning about what the West had to offer. Consequently, he made it incumbent upon bureaucrats to have knowledge of a foreign language. Government offices were, therefore, ordered to establish training schools within each department to teach its staff European languages. One of the most celebrated government training schools was the Bab-ı Âli Tercüme Odası (Translation Bureau) which was

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[122] While a student was waiting for an available seat, he would spend his time working in government offices, then he would leave this work once a seat became available, to continue his education. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu "Başhoca Ishak Efendi: Pioneer of Modern Science in Turkey," Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1993), 159.

[123] From 1826 to 1834, Ishak Efendi published a total of ten books in thirteen volumes consisting of translations or adaptations of European sources. Ihsanoğlu "Başhoca Ishak Efendi Pioneer", 162.

[124] According to Berkes, Turkish translations were made from a large number of French books which bestowed upon the students the ideological background of the French Revolution. These included the works of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Fénélon, Fontenelle, and Volney. Berkes, Development of Secularism, 199.

[125] Göçek, Rise of the Bourgeoisie, 72.

established in 1833.[126] The objective of the Translation Bureau was to teach Ottoman bureaucrats Western European languages so that they could fill the gaps in diplomatic positions which had appeared with the removal of Greeks from the Ottoman administration. The duties of this quasi -school encompassed a combination of scholastic and governmental functions that slowly began to achieve their desired outcome. This Bureau, however, did more than just establish a pool of government translators for the foreign services. It also introduced into this pool of bureaucrats, as it did with the students of the military schools, Western ideas and ways, for the knowledge of European languages allowed Ottoman bureaucrats access through Western books to European culture and thought. Soon the graduates of the Translation Office became the leading advocates of Westernization and instigators of the *Tanzimat* reform movement.

Restructuring of Educational Institutions

Quickly the Ottoman reformers determined that there were not enough pupils graduating from the traditional religious schools who were qualified to enroll in their Western-style military and administrative academies. To ensure an adequate intake, Mahmut II attempted to reform the traditional schools along Western lines by issuing in 1824 an edict which aimed at consolidating primary education under his control. The edict read:

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[126] Carter Findley, Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 134; Kazamias, Education, 52.

> The majority of people lately avoid sending their children to school and prefer to give them to a trade as novices to artisans when they reach the age of five or six because of their ambition to earn money immediately. This condition is the cause not only of widespread illiteracy but also of ignorance of religion ... No man henceforth shall prevent his children from attending school until they have reached the age of adulthood.[127]

Since Muslim primary education was historically controlled by the *ulema*, this edict was important because it was one of the first attempts by the Ottoman government to legislate some control over this area.[128] In spite of this attempt, the edict was practically ignored by the *ulema*, who still maintained a strong religious and political authority within the empire.[129]

Eventually, on the advice of the Meclis-i Umur-u Nafia (Board of Useful Affairs) in 1838, Mahmut came to see the futility of attempting to reform the traditional Muslim schools; he could see that the conservative members of the *ulema* would never relinquish their monopoly on elementary education. Therefore, to circumvent opposition from the traditionalists, a decision was made not to reform the existing religious educational system but rather to establish a completely new Western-style educational system alongside the traditional schools.[130] The first public educational institution to be established by Mahmut II was the *rüşdiye*.[131] According to Kazamias the purpose of the *rüşdiye* was:

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[127] Winter, "Ma'ārif", 903.

[128] Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 18.

[129] Findley, Ottoman Civil, 131-139.

[130] The consequences of this action will be discussed in the following chapter.

[131] The name *rüşdiye* comes from the word *rüshd* meaning maturity or adolescence. Kazamias, Education, 53.

> To provide a more advanced type of education than the subyan (primary) schools in preparation for the various military, naval, and medical schools and for government offices. Originally it was envisaged as a sort of secondary school to fill the gap that existed between primary schools and higher institutions. In reality, however, it was something like a senior primary school, with a leaving age of approximately twelve.[132]

The first two *rüşdiye*s to be created were called the Mektebi Ulumî Edebiyye (1838) and the Mektebi Maarif-i Adlî (1839).[133] Like the traditional *medrese* schools, both *rüşdiye*s were established in buildings next to mosques, having been purchased with income from *vakıf*s (pious endowments). In addition, like the *medrese* students, the students who attended these *rüşdiye*s received cash allowances from the *vakıf*. However, the *rüşdiye*s were not subject to the rules of the *vakıf* or the *Şeyhülislam*, but were rather under the sole direction of the Ottoman government.

Originally, the *rüşdiye*s were designed to offer a two-year program.[134] However, this would change after Mahmut II's death (1839), when the reformers formulated a legislative council of seven in March of 1845,[135] called the Meclis-i Maarif-i Muvakkat (Temporary Educational Council) whose aim was to "seek the most effective methods of amending the

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[132] Ibid. 53.

[133] By 1851 there were only six *rüşdiye*s established within the empire with a total of 870 students attending. Ubicini, Letters, vol. 1. 201.

[134] Ergin, Türkiye Maarif, vol. 2, 371.

[135] According to M.A. Ubicini, the seven men were: "Arif-Hamet-Bey (present Sheikh-ul-Islam), President. Essad Effendi, Chief of the Emirs, and Imperial Historiographer. Aali Effendi, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Chief of the Chancellerie of the Divan; subsequently Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Grand Vizier. Fuad Effendi, Chief Interpreter of the Divan, late Minister for Foreign Affairs, and recently Commissioner settling the disturbances in Thessaly. Emin Pasha, General of Division and President of the Grand Council of War. Saib-Mukib- Effendi, formerly Counsellor to the Grand Vizier. Redjai Effendi, Secretary." It is important to note that although the council president was the *Şeyhülislam*, a religious leader, he was only a figurehead, and that the council was dominated by bureaucrats. M.A. Ubicini, Letters, vol. 1. 197.

system of public instruction, and to propose to the government a new and complete way of instruction as a solution to the growing wants of the country witnessed in recent years."[136] They examined four major educational issues: (1) the development and enhancement of primary schools; (2) the increasing separation of the religious education of the primary schools and the secular schooling of the higher educational schools; (3) the need for the female population to be allowed to enter secondary and to a lesser degree, professional education faculties; (4) the bases of a university that would include the humanities and general science, taught formerly as cultural embellishments, or ancillaries, in the medical and engineering schools.[137] By August 1846 the committee was able to present its findings and recommended re-structuring the educational institutions. It insisted that:

1. Educational levels be classified as primary, secondary and higher education.
2. Elementary schools be restructured.
3. High schools be reorganized with new curricula.
4. A residential university (Dar-ul Fünun-u Osmani) be established.
5. An education academy (Encümen-i Daniş) be created to prepare new educational legislation.[138]

Soon after the educational committee's report was issued, a decree was issued by the Sublime Porte to transform the committee's recommendations into law.[139] In continuing the trend towards Western-style education, the Mekâtib-i Umumiye Nezareti (Ministry of Public Schools) was created in 1847; by 1857 it had been renamed the Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti

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[136] Başgöz and Wilson, "The Educational Tradition," 22.

[137] Berkes, Development of Secularism, 173.

[138] Sabahaddin Zaim, "The Impact of Westernization on the Educational System in Turkey," in At the Crossroads: Education in the Middle East, ed. Adnan Badran (New York: Paragon House, 1989), 23-24.

[139] A copy of this law can be found in the appendix to Ubicini, Letters, vol. 1.

(Ministry of Public Education).[140] Originally, the duty of this government ministry[141] was to oversee the implimentation of reforms called for by the Meclis-i Maarif-i Muvakkat. Therefore, the Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti had been given the power to supervise three levels of education: primary, *rüşdiye* and university. According to Maynard, after graduating from the *mekteps* boys between the ages of ten and fifteen would begin studying for two years at the *rüşdiyes*, and then would finish their studies at the university. However, this educational design was poorly planned because the religious leaders controlled the traditional schools, which made reforming the religious elementary schools virtually impossible,[142]

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[140] Lewis, Emergence, 373.

[141] With respect to the administrative design of the ministry of public education, it was fashioned primarily of the original commission members with the addition of the chief physician of the empire, and the director of the Galata Saray school, Ismail Efendi. The members of this ministry then divided themselves into smaller committees, each holding the responsibility of dealing with the three fundamental educational levels: primary, secondary and higher. Ubicini, Letters, vol. 1. 198.

[142] The Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti was to restructure the *mekteps* in an attempt to furnish these elementary schools with a "uniform organization, to introduce some modifications into the matter and manner of their teaching, and to apply the principle of State supervision in its fullest extent." Merwin Albert Griffiths, The Reorganisation of the Ottoman Army under Abdülhamid II, 1880-1897 (Los Angeles: University of California, 1966), 15; Ubicini, Letters, vol. 1.199. To achieve these goals the commission attempted to enforce the rule that attendance in the *mektep* was to be free and obligatory for all children, both male and female, from the age of six until graduation. However, the *ulema* still would not relinquish their power over the elementary educational institutions and, since this mandate did not include changing the course material within the *mekteps*, the educational committee was not successful in restructuring the elementary schools. Regardless, the Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti continued its restructuring efforts through state supervision of these schools. State supervision was in the form of inspections of the fourteen school districts in Istanbul. By 1852, 22,700 students, both male and female, attended 396 *mekteps* within the Ottoman capital. These schools were divided into fourteen sections, paralleling the fourteen districts of Istanbul. That is, within each district there was a committee which would inspect the schools, to check on the "number and progress of the pupils, controls the conduct of the masters, orders any improvements that appear desirable, and takes care that the intentions of the Government are fully and faithfully carried into effect." This provided the government with a good degree of authority in educational matters over these traditional schools. As a result, through state supervision, one observes the greater role of the state in the primary educational system. Ubicini, Letters, vol. 1, 200.

while a university had yet to be created.[143] As a result, the organization of the *rüşdiye*, the only school the reformers had complete control over, had to be revised in order to compensate for these problems. Consequently, a preparatory and an advanced class were added to the *rüşdiye* curriculum to create a four-year program.[144]

Pupils who entered the *rüşdiye* schools were confronted with a largely secular-oriented curriculum: Arabic syntax and grammar, orthography, composition and style, sacred history, Ottoman history, universal history, geography, arithmetic, the elements of geometry,[145] Turkish reading and writing, the Koran, ritual reciting of the Koran, Persian and drawing.[146] Shaw adds that, while courses in the social and physical sciences and the humanities were provided, in-depth religious education was also available,[147] showing that the conservative *ulema* needed to be appeased for the change in educational development.

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[143] The Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti was to oversee the establishment of a university. In 1863, the building which would house the university was officially opened. However, the university was to be short lived, when the traditionalists began to object to the fact that the professors who were teaching in their spare time were high government officials. They believed that "government officials had better things to do than to be teachers in this radical institution and that the courses taught were irreligious." In an attempt to appease those who opposed the university, Fuat Paşa himself attended a physics class and stated " though the course was entitled "physical science" it was really "religious physical science." Nevertheless the university was closed less the two years later. Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 22.

[144] Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 21-22; Findley, Ottoman Civil, 148.

[145] Ubicini, Letters, vol. 1, 201.

[146] Başgöz and Wilson, "The Educational Tradition," 23.

[147] Shaw and Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2., 107. According to Maynard, History and geography were not included in 1848, and little emphasis was given to Turkish. Maynard supports this theory by examining the *Dar u Muallimin*, a school established in 1847 to train teachers to lecture in the *rüşdiyes*. According to Maynard, in its early years the course curriculum of this teacher training institute consisted of Arabic, Persian, and a little arithmetic. In addition, since this school did not become an effective teaching institute for some fifteen or twenty years later, it would be highly unlikely that classes in history, geography and Turkish were being taught in the late 1840 and early 1850's. Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 22. For more information on the *Dar u Muallimin* see Ergin, Türkiye Maarif, vol. 2, 475-480.

In 1858, the first *rüşdiye* for young women was established in Istanbul. Because of low enrollment, however, in 1861 the Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti had to place an advertisement in the local newspaper in order to entice women to apply. It stated:

> Both men and women should know how to read and write. Men can rest properly in their homes after working hard to make a living only if their wives know religion and enough about the world to obey their husbands, to refrain from doing what their husbands don't wish them to do, and to protect their virtue.[148]

The course curriculum was identical to the boys' *rüşdiye* (mentioned above) with the additional feature of a sewing class.[149]

After completing this four year curriculum, most of the graduates of the boys' *rüşdiye* schools went to work in government offices. However, as stated above, the *rüşdiyes* had originally been created to prepare students to enter into the newly created Western-style military schools. Hence, as more and more graduates went into civil government offices, most of the students entering into the military schools were graduates of the *mekteps*. In order to accommodate the unqualified students coming out of the traditional schools, therefore, most of the above-mentioned military academies were forced to establish preparatory classes within each educational institution, thereby adding a further three or four grade levels to the program.[150] This extended length hindered the progress of military education because the focus was diverted to teaching basic reading and writing skills instead of teaching critical military techniques and theories. It took, for instance, from 1834 to 1847

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[148] Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 24.

[149] Ibid. 24.

[150] Ergin, Türkiye Maarif, vol. 2, 356; Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 23.

for the first graduates to pass through all four official levels of the Mekteb-i Ulum-u Harbiye.[151]

The *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* (Regulations for Public Education) of 1869

After implementing as many elements of the 1845 educational statute as the traditionalists would allow, Saffet Paşa, the Minister of Education, passed another education law in 1869 called the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi.[152] This law attempted to set up new regulations for the organization and administration of the entire Ottoman educational system, a measure seen by the British press, for one, as an important step in Westernizing the empire.[153] The Education Law of 1869 began by creating a classification of the Ottoman educational system that paralleled conditions in Europe by separating the educational system into public (*umumiye*) and private (*hususiye*) schools. Private schools were defined in the educational law as: "those schools, free or charging fees, that were conducted by individuals of Ottoman or foreign nationalities or by associations of foreign affiliation."[154] Therefore the modernists were imposing a strict separation between traditional *millet* schools, which accepted students according to their religious denomination, and Western-style schools which accepted students on the grounds of merit. In addition, by accepting all students,

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[151] Griffiths, The Reorganisation of the Ottoman Army, 248.

[152] A copy of this law can be found in: Grégoire Aristarchi Bey, Législation Ottomane, ou Recueil des Lois, Règlements, Ordonnances, Traités, Capitulations et Autres Documents Officiels de l'Empire Ottomane, vol. 3 (Constantinople: Bureau du Journal Thraky, 1874), 277-315; also see Kazamias, Education, 63-64.

[153] The London Times, October 15, 1869.

[154] A.L. Tibawi, Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine (London: Luzac & Company, Ltd., 1956), 129.

regardless of their religious denomination, the Ottoman government was attempting to break down the religious separation created by the *millet* system and create unity through education.

The Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi further subdivided the five public schools into three categories. The first category included schools which offered primary level instruction to both Muslims and non-Muslim children who were between the ages of seven and ten. These students would attend in succession a lower elementary (*iptidaiye*) school and then a higher elementary (*rüşdiye*) public school.[155] The law declared that it was mandatory that lower elementary schools (*iptidaiye*) be built in every village and in every town quarter, while a *rüşdiye* was to be built in every town that had over five hundred houses. The second category included schools which were designed for children between the ages of eleven and sixteen who would attend in succession a lower secondary (*idadi*) and then a higher secondary (*sultani* or *lycée*) school. The law also declared that an *idadi* be built in every town which had over a thousand houses[156] while a *sultani* (*lycée*) had to exist in each provincial capital. The third grouping consisted of the more specialized higher schools

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[155] Despite the fact that one of the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi goals was to amalgamate the Ottoman peoples, the reformers realized that within the *iptidaiye* and *rüşdiye* schools Christians and Muslims had to be separated to avoid practical difficulties; however, from the secondary schools on, education was to be mixed. Davison, Reform, 249.

[156] Those towns and cities that housed a military school and had over one thousand households in their population did not have to build an *idadi* because the people could rely on the military academies. Shaw and Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2, 108.

(*makatibi 'aliya*) which consisted of male (*Dar u Muallimin*) and female *(Dar u Muallimat)* teacher training schools and a university (D*ar ülfünun*) all of which were to be built in Istanbul.[157]

Moreover, this law also stipulated that a provincial council of education be organized to choose the teachers who would be filling posts in the schools outside the capital. These councils would have to demand proof from prospective teachers that they possessed professional qualifications recognized by the Ministry of Education, thus ensuring the employment of qualified teachers. This restriction departed from the earlier practice in traditional schools because most teachers of that period were awarded their positions on the basis of partisan considerations,[158] regardless of their qualifications.

Although only a few of the schools mentioned in the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi had been established at this time [159] and since schools like the lower secondary (*idadi*) and the women's training schools (*Dar u Muallimat*) had yet to be developed,[160] each school had its own characteristics, which we will examine in the following sections.

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[157] Davison, Reform, 248-249. Frederick W. Frey, "Education," Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, ed. Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 214-215.

[158] Tibawi, Arab Education, 130.

[159] As shown on the pages above, there were a number of elementary schools, a few *rüşdiyes*, and a men's training school *(Dar u Muallimin)*. A university had also been established but it was forced to close under the tough scrutiny of the traditionalists.

[160] The first teacher training college for girls was to be established in 1870. See below.

Iptidaiye schools

As stated above, the Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti wanted to upgrade the elementary educational system by providing a primary education within a uniform organization. This was the rationale behind establishing the new elementary school called *iptidaiye*. *Iptidaiyes* would differ from the traditional *mekteps*, because they featured a different content and methods of teaching. They would also be subject to state supervision in its fullest extent. Article Four of the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi placed effective administration of the *iptidaiyes*, involving such issues as the selection of teachers, funding for the building of the school and staff salaries, in the hands of local school boards (tedris meclisi).[161] In theory, since the administration of these elementary schools was to be controlled by local authorities, the religious authorities would no longer be able to dominate elementary education within the empire.

In addition, the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi required local school boards to organize these schools so that they offered a three year program and to regularize their curriculum. The law stated that the curriculum of elementary schools had to include study of the alphabet, the Qur'an, morals, writing, arithmetic, Turkish, history and geography. This curriculum meant that students had to spend on average twenty-four hours a week in class.

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[161] This group was made up of the local *imam* (the religious leader of the community), the *muhtar* (official head of a village), and five prominent citizens given the responsibility for arranging the financing of their particular school through:

"(1) Pious endowments (*vakif*) left for such schools
(2) Fees from wealthy parents
(3) Fines levied on parents for not sending their children to school
(4) Avariz akcesi— an ancient tax which used to be levied on production and trade in times of emergency but which had fallen into disuse." Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 27.

Of these twenty-four hours--eighteen hours in the first year, fifteen hours in the second year, and fourteen hours in the third--year were to be devoted to studying the students' native language,[162] history, geography and mathematics. In the remaining hours the student received religious instruction.[163] However, it has to be admitted that this attempt at reorganizing the elementary school system of the empire was ultimately unsuccessful because the government was unable to provide funding for the schools, thereby forcing the *iptidaiyes* to rely on funds from *vakıfs*. According to Maynard, it was impossible to collect the taxes needed to free these primary schools from the control of the *vakıf*s, and as a result, elementary education remained under the authority of the religious leaders.[164]

Rüşdiye

Following the inauguration of the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi in 1869, the *rüşdiye* (adolescent) school system underwent an extensive transformation not only in terms of its curriculum but also in its overall organization. According to Article Twenty-three of the Law, the *rüşdiye* curriculum was to consist of elementary religious instruction, Turkish grammar, spelling and letter writing, Arabic and Persian grammar, arithmetic, history, universal and Ottoman history, geography and gymnastics. Also, certain non-Muslim languages, i.e. Greek and French, were offered in the fourth year to those students who lived

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[162] It is important to remember that the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi declared that an *iptidaiye* was to be built in every village and in every town quarter throughout the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, since, not all students spoke Turkish as their mother tongue they were allowed to study their respective native languages.

[163] Sabit Ziyaettin Bursalioğlu, "The Changing Character of Education in Successive Reformation Periods of Turkish History" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1965), 35-36.

[164] Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 28.

in commercial centers.[165] The reduced emphasis on religious courses was evident in the proportion of hours spent in religious studies. Thus, "out of 20 weekly hours in a *Rüşdiye* schools, 5 in the first grade, and 7 in the second and third grades were devoted to Arabic, Persian, and religious instruction."[166] Therefore, the emphasis on religious instruction decreased even further at this level while the teaching of non-religious courses increased proportionately.

In addition, organizational change also occurred within some of the *rüşdiye*s. For example, some time after the promulgation of the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi six of the *rüşdiye*s located in Istanbul began to take over some of the curriculum from the elementary schools *(iptidaiye)*, subsequently increasing the length of the program in these six schools from four to six years.[167]

Idadi

The Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi indicated that there was a need to establish a new lower secondary school, called *idadi*, that could instruct students in the knowledge required to face the challenges implicit in reforming the government. In 1874 their dream became a reality when the first *idadi* for boys was built in Istanbul, while in 1879 the first *idadi* in the

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[165] Due to the fact that *rüşdiye* schools were meant to be established all over the empire, these language requirements were implemented into the curriculum for those students who were attending *rüşdiye* schools in areas were Turkish or Arabic was not the predominant mother tongue.

[166] Bursalioğlu, Changing Character, 36.

[167] For more information on this and other organizational changes within the *rüşdiye* see Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 30.

provinces was built in Yanya (now in Greece).[168] However, it would not be until 1911 that an *idadi* for girls was first established in Istanbul. The term of study in the *idadi*s spanned three years, and they accepted their students from the four year *rüşdiyes*. In order to prepare students for their future role in government, the curriculum of the *idadi* encompassed " French, logic, economics, geography, world and Ottoman history, algebra, arithmetic, accounting, engineering, the physical sciences, chemistry, and draftsmanship."[169]

Despite this noble attempt to establish *idadi* schools, financial difficulties caused by the Russo-Turkish War, coupled with the fact that most *rüşdiye* graduates entered government office directly, caused enrollment in the *idadi*s to decrease.[170] However, in 1884, the Grand Vizier, Said Paşa, received permission from the Ottoman government to organize an effective tax system to support the new schools. In addition, Said Paşa was able to raise the educational requirements for government positions, making education above the *rüşdiye* level a necessary condition for government employment. This action therefore forced students who wished to enter government service to continue their education past the *rüşdiye* and into the *idadi* level.[171] As a result of Said Paşa's initiative, the *idadi* schools began to flourish throughout the empire.

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[168] The date of the establishment of the first *idadi* is unclear. According to Maynard it was 1874. Lewis on the other hand states that it was established in 1875. Findley places the establishment of the first *idadi* in 1873. Findley, Ottoman Civil, 152; Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 32; Lewis, Emergence, 182.

[169] Shaw and Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2, 108.

[170] Davison, Reform, 249.

[171] For more information see Lewis, Emergence, 182; Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 33; Findley, Ottoman Civil, 152; Ergin, Türkiye Maarif, vol. 2, 412-417 and Osman Ergin, Türkiye Maarif, 748-758.

Teacher Training Schools

If the plan to increase Western-style education within the empire was to succeed, there had to be an increase in the number of qualified teachers to teach in these newly created schools. Hence, the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi called for the establishment of men's and women's teacher training colleges in Istanbul.

As mentioned above, a men's teacher training school, known as the *Dar u Muallimin* was established in 1847 to train *rüşdiye* teachers. However, due to the fact that there were not enough qualified public school graduates to enter the *Dar u Muallimin*, most of the student body came from the *medreses*. Because of this fact, the men would begin their studies every morning in the mosque where they would receive religious instruction, and it was only in the afternoon that they would go to the *Dar u Muallimin* where they received instruction in "Arabic, Persian, and a little arithmetic."[172] Consequently, because of this close connection with the mosque, "the *ulema* were put in a position where they could and did block any instruction that seemed to them to violate the precepts of Islam."[173] Therefore, because of this reactionary force which acted against educational reform, the *Dar u Muallimin* did not become an effective institution until the 1860's when religious education was removed altogether from the school's curriculum. In the same year, the *Dar u Muallimin* was enlarged to encompass another teacher training school which had been established the year before to train *iptidaiye* teachers. According to Maynard, those men who attended the *Dar u Muallimin* and aspired to teach in the *rüşdiyes* needed to complete three years of

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[172] Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 23.

[173] Shaw and Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2, 107.

course-work, while those who wished to teach in the *iptidaiye*s needed only to complete two years of study.[174]

One of the first training institutions to be built after the inauguration of the 1869 educational law was the *Dar u Muallimat* (Women's Normal School) in 1870. This school was built to train young women to teach within the *iptidaiye* and *rüşdiye* schools. According to Maynard, girls could enter this school after passing an entrance exam that consisted of arithmetic, sewing, and dressmaking.[175] As was the case in the *Dar u Muallimat* program, those women who wished to teach within the *rüşdiye*s for women would face a three year course program, while those who aspired to teach within the *iptidaiye* faced only two years of course work. The *Dar u Muallimat* would be the first public school for females in the Ottoman Empire above the *rüşdiye* level.

Sultani (Lycée)

According to the 1869 Nizamnamesi, a *lycée* (academic secondary school), commonly called a *sultani*, was to be established in each provincial capital.[176] The idea to establish these schools began when Âli and Fuat Paşa presented to Sultan Abdulaziz , upon his return from Paris in 1867, a memorandum that offered a plan for the establishment of a French *lycée*. In April 1868, the Sultan issued an imperial edict granting their request.[177] This seven part edict stated that the school was for young men of all different faiths and that it was to

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[174] Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 41.

[175] Ibid. 41.

[176] There had been an Ottoman School established in Paris called the Mekteb-i Osmaini. For more information see Chambers, "Notes on the Mekteb-i Osmani," 315.

[177] A French translation of this ferman can be found in Aristarchi Bey, Legislation, 345-347.

be identical to a secondary school in Europe.[178] The only exception would be that three-fifths of the courses were to be taught in French; while the remaining courses would be taught in Turkish, Arabic and Persian.[179]

The edict further described the function of the school and set down conditions pertaining to tuition fees and entrance examinations.[180] The school's curriculum would be composed of subjects such as Turkish, French language and literature, public and private morals, the elements of Latin (which was needed in the study of law, medicine and pharmacy), Greek etymology, general and Ottoman history, the political, administrative, commercial, agricultural and industrial geography of the principal states and particularly the Ottoman empire, mathematics, cosmography, physics and chemistry, natural history, elements of law, elements of political economy, notions of rhetoric, the general history of literature, and geometric design. In addition, for those students who were not prepared for the *lycée*'s curriculum, the school also offered general classes which were offered within the *iptidaiye*, *rüşdiye*, and *idadi*. Due to this intense course schedule, students would take up to ten years to graduate for the *lycée*.[181] In 1874, the reformers attempted to expand the *lycée* into a

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[178] Lewis, Emergence, 119-120.

[179] Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 37.

[180] This granted a student's admission based on his ability and not his religious denomination. Aristarchi Bey, Legislation, 345-347.

[181] Later it would be changed to twelve years. Maynard, The Lise and its Curriculum, 37.

university with faculties of law (*hukuk*, the new secular legal system), engineering, and letters. However, because of opposition from the *ulema*, this plan was abandoned in the early 1880s.[182]

On September 1, 1868, the Imperial Ottoman *lycée*, called the Mekteb-i Sultani, was opened in the old Imperial School building at Galatasaray, in Beyoğlu. According to Shaw, most of the leaders of the different religious communities:

> opposed the attendance of students of their own faith, as they did also for the rural state schools, because of the fear that faith and morals would be debased by exposure to secular influences. Muslims, on the other hand, often kept their children out because of the Christian flavor of the faculty and curriculum.[183]

Despite these dissenting voices, enrollment increased and the student body came to consist of young men of diverse origins. In the first year of operation, for instance, 341 students enrolled; of this number, there were 147 Muslims, 48 Armenians, 36 Greek Orthodox, 34 Jews, 34 Bulgarians, 23 Roman Catholics, and 19 Armenian (Catholics). By the end of the second year the number of students had increased to 600.[184]

In short, it is clear that the Ottoman reforms were brought about as a self-defense mechanism against European military advancements and that the reformers aspired to attain this Western military power although not at the cost of Westernizing the empire and thereby losing their traditions and culture. To achieve this goal they began creating military corps on the pattern of European troops, copying both their dress and training. However, the need

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[182] Findley, Ottoman Civil, 156.

[183] Shaw and Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2, 109.

[184] Davison, Reform, 247; Kazamias, Education, 64-68.

for qualified military officers would lead to the creation of Western-style military academies and soon, through the implementation of the 1824 edict on Public Education, the 1845 Meclis-i Maarif-i Muvakkat and the 1869 Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi, a Western-style public education system was established that departed from the traditional Muslim school system. However, the Ottoman government had never before attempted to establish a public educational system under its control, and it did not know how to achieve educational goals or even what goals should be pursued beyond the overall desire to prepare students for Western-style military training. Consequently, the new system was poorly designed and the reform plans poorly executed. For example, as shown above, *rüşdiye*s were the first public educational institution to be established by the Ottoman government. Their original goal was to act as a secondary school. However, because the traditional elementary schools could not furnish students with the requisite knowledge needed to enter into the *rüşdiye*s, these newly established Western-style schools became nothing more than upper level primary schools. In addition, *rüşdiye* schools, along with most of the other Western-style schools, were established before proper teacher training colleges were even opened. Consequently, the reformers were compelled to rely on Europeans and members of minority *millets* in the Empire to teach within these new schools.[185]

Nevertheless, despite these complications, this reform period was a time of great educational achievement for it succeeded in creating an excellent, albeit a small, educational system. It was from these new educational institutions that the bureaucratic and military elite for the "new" Ottoman government would be drawn. Having gone through these Western-

[185] The effects of this will be discussed in the next chapter.

style institutions, these students had experienced a significantly different form of education from that of the *ulema* who had graduated from traditional religious schools.

However, the reformers were not prepared for the consequences of their reforming actions. In attempting to reach their military goals, they had introduced the one thing they had wished to avoid: Westernization. As McCarthy argues, it was impossible for the Ottoman Empire to pick and choose the parts of Western culture it wanted to adopt and leave behind the foundations of these ideas. For example, it could not adopt Western military advancement without adopting Western philosophy and traditions. Therefore, as the Ottoman reformers began adopting new Western-style military corps and military schools within the empire, they had no choice but to call for:

> European advisors, new weapons, and a new financial system to pay for it, all along European models. A new economy demanded more expert advisors from Europe and new systems of organization, as well as new technologies. The European experts brought the outside world to the Ottoman Empire. They were naturally seen and emulated in spheres other than technology. Europeans brought with them European books, closer communications with Europe.[186]

The necessity of bringing in European texts meant that Turkish-speaking students had to learn to read and write European languages, primarily French. Once students had accomplished this task, however, they found themselves equally capable of reading European

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[186] Justin McCarthy, The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923 (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Inc., 1997), 287-288.

texts on political philosophy. Therefore, "the new opening to the West brought with it philosophy, literature, and history, not only technology. For students, it was a short step from volumes on technology to volumes on revolution."[187]

In order to survive, the traditional Ottoman Empire had been forced to Westernize its institutions of learning, whether it wanted to or not. However, Westernization and most of the ideologies that came with it were contradictory to traditional Ottoman and Muslim ways. This paradox would create a dualism within the Ottoman society between new and old ways, a dualism which would eventually split the Empire apart.

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[187] Ibid. 287-288.

CHAPTER THREE:

CREATION OF A DUAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM:

INSTITUTION AND OUTCOMES

The prevailing trend towards adopting Western modes of thought and institutions that we observed in the previous chapter was at first limited in its influence to only a certain elite level of society. It made little initial inroad on the conservative *ulema*, whose opposition to the introduction of Western-style schools forced the reformers to retain the traditional institutions alongside the newly created ones. This paradox created a dualism within Ottoman Muslim society which was most evident in the educational system. Two groups, products of different systems, traditional and modern, possessing different outlooks, became increasingly estranged and even hostile towards each other, indeed developing different visions for the empire.

The present chapter will examine some of the effects this duality had upon Ottoman Muslim society. It will discuss in particular the reaction to Western ideals (much of it hostile) which led to the sociological metamorphosis of Muslim Turkish society. Ideas like equality and secularism were spread throughout the empire by Muslim students who had either gone to Europe to study or who had attended the Western educational institutions within the empire. These Muslim students would become the backbone of the reforming movement and the creators and enforcers of the two imperial edicts that outlined the aspirations of the reforming movement. It is with the two edicts known as Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu (1839) and Hatt-ı Hümayun (1856) that one can see an ideological

transformation occurring within the Ottoman Empire.[188] Not only did these decrees stress the importance of the Western idea of equality, but they were also used to further the control of general education by the state. Hence, this enabled Westernization to take firmer hold within the empire. The reforming bureaucrats of the time were particularly eager to create a society that treated all subjects equally, regardless of creed, and believed that in order to maintain this new egalitarian citizenship, a concept of patriotism or "Ottomanism,"[189] had to be created.[190]

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[188] One of the earliest examples of a gradual ideological metamorphosis occurred as a result of the introduction of the first Turkish (and Muslim) printing press. Although the printing press was introduced to the Ottoman Empire by Jewish refugees from Spain in 1492, and later by other non-Muslim communities like the Armenians (1568) and Greeks (1627), this was the first printing press to print books in Arabic and Turkish (Arabic characters). See Bernard Lewis, The Middle East, 9; J.K. Brige, "The Printing of Books in Turkey," Muslim World, vol. 33 (1943), 292-194; Fatma Müge Göçek, East Encounters West, 108-115. In 1727, in collaboration with the Ottoman ambassador Said Efendi, Ibrahim Müteferrika presented an appeal to the grand vizier requesting permission to print books in Turkish (Arabic characters). He requested that a *fatwa* on printing be circulated around the empire by the *Şeyhülislam*, stating that printing was admirable and beneficial for Muslims and in accordance with the *Şeriat*. However, this application was no ordinary petition. Printing, in the religious language of Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, had been forbidden in the Ottoman lands since 1485 when Sultan Bâyezîd II signed a decree renouncing the practice because it had been deemed contradictory to the teachings of Islam. Surprisingly, a *fatwā* was authorized by the chief mufti of Istanbul along with the Sultan's degree, giving Ibrahim Müteferrika and his supporter Said Efendi permission to print books in Ottoman Turkish. However, one important point was stressed, only non-religious books could be printed. İbrahim Müteferrika began printing books on Turkish literature, mathematics, dictionaries, medicine, engineering, astronomy, warfare, physics, geography, and Ottoman history. For a list of the books printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika, see J. Kingsley Birge, "The Printing of Books in Turkey in the Eighteenth Century," (3) Muslim World, 292-294. According to Berkes, "the religious authority made a momentous decision: it recognized an important area of culture as being outside the sway of religion. It thus narrowed the limit of its authority over the whole. It also showed that it was unwilling to make modifications in its traditionalist outlook."Berkes, "Historical," 51. The importance of such an amendment, regardless of its outcome, was that it marked the beginning of the separation between sacred and secular within the Empire.

[189] According to Sonyel, the idea of Ottomanism consisted in conferring equal duties and privileges on all Ottoman subjects under a common citizenship, regardless of their faith and language, but within the Muslim traditions of the Ottoman state. See Salahi R. Sonyel," Tanzimat and its Effects on the Non-Muslim Subjects of the Ottoman Empire," in Tanzimat'in 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1994), 386.

[190] William L. Cleveland, A History of the Modern Middle East (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 81. Niyazi Berkes, "Historical," 65; Roderic Davison, "Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century,"The American Historical Review vol. 59 (1953/54): 850; Roderic

The Dual Education System

As stated above, on the advice of the Meclis-i Umur-u Nafia (Board of Useful Affairs), Sultan Mahmut II came to realize the futility of attempting to reform the traditional Muslim school system; he could see that the conservative members of the *ulema* would never relinquish their monopoly over elementary education. Therefore, to avoid opposition from the traditionalists, he decided not to reform the existing religious educational system, but rather to establish a completely new Western-style educational system alongside the traditional schools.[191] Therefore, in 1838, a dual educational system in the Ottoman empire was established,[192] which generated a philosophical separation between the ideas taught at the "traditional" schools as compared to those taught in the "modern" schools. Thus students who attended the traditional schools received a religious education that stressed the

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Davison, "Turkey," in Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, ed. Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).106.

[191] Other traditional institutions besides education were retained alongside the newly created Western institutions. For example, while a new set of secular courts, the *Nizami* courts, were introduced into the Ottoman judicial system, the reformers did not eliminate the traditional *şeriat* courts. The *Nizami* courts, which were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice, had their own judiciary and procedure and were established to deal with all criminal cases and cases involving Muslims and non-Muslim litigants. Each of these new courts applied a new Western-style law such as the penal code of 1858 and the commercial code of 1850. See Davison, Reform; Lewis, Emergence; Shaw and Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2; Ehud R. Toledano, "The Legislative Process in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Tanzimat Period: A Footnote," International Journal of Turkish Studies, vol. 1 (2) (Autumn 1980), 99-106.

[192] It should be noted that, in fact, during the nineteenth century there were four, not two, types of schools in the empire. The first encompassed the traditional Islamic schools, the *mekteps* and the *medreses*, both of which taught the traditional curriculum of Islamic sciences. The second type included the secular state schools created prior to and during the *Tanzimat*. The third type was the schools established and supported by the various different *millets* within the empire. The fourth was the schools run by foreign Catholic and Protestant missions and by the Jewish Alliance Israelite Universal, which were attended by a small, but increasing, number of Muslim children. However, due to the fact that this paper deals with Islamic schools and since the latter two types of school were rarely attended by Muslim children, this paper discusses only the first two types mentioned here. See Erik J. Zurcher, Turkey: A Modern History (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1993), 65-66.

importance of a student's moral and religious obligations towards the Muslim community. The students of the Western-style schools, on the other hand, were taught scientific knowledge that stressed the importance of rational, independent thinking.[193] Consequently, two groups, products of different systems, traditional and modern, would develop two different outlooks, and would eventually become increasingly estranged and even hostile towards each other. The establishment of a separate Western-style school system, therefore, was only a temporary solution to problems faced by the reformers.

However, the graduates of the Western-style schools were not ambivalent to the knowledge taught in the traditional schools. Since primary education effectively remained in the hands of the *ulema*, any attempt to establish new Western-style elementary schools failed. Consequently those who attended the new Western-style schools, particularly during the early years of the *Tanzimat* period, had also attended the *mekteps*.[194] As a result, these

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[193] The duality that existed in the Ottoman empire between its traditional religious institutions and the newly established modern schools based on modern thought was not unique. Such a duality has appeared many times in history and has strong parallels with the disputes that occurred during the modernization of early Christian theology in the West. In both societies, this duality reflected a fundamental conflict between the 'old' (religious beliefs) and the 'new' (modern thought). Hence, in the specific context of Ottoman society, it consisted of a conflict between religion and modernism. Before modern science was accepted in Western societies, reason was the predominant basis of thinking in Christian theology. Christian doctrine rests on the teachings of St. Paul and the Church Fathers, which contain a descriptive explanation of the material universe. However, this explanation was originally conveyed as revelation and therefore had to be proven through the use of reason. Hence, at the onset of Christianity, religious scholars seldom looked beyond reason for an answer to their problems. However, when the study of modern science (the study of nature by observation, analysis, and experiment) took hold in the West, high-ranking Christian leaders were horrified. As the great scholars of science began making eminent analytical discoveries, the Christian Church began to fear its own demise and the end of its authority. Consequently, the Christian lands entered into a time of great anguish for scientist and scholar alike, who were in search of the truth about the material universe. After this battle between religious leaders and scholars of science, the Church began incorporating a realistic outlook, and slowly most Christian schools, from primary schools through to universities, began teaching scientific knowledge.

[194] The reason why students attended both school systems was because, as shown above, primary education for Muslim children remained in the hand of the *ulema* throughout the Tanzimat period.

students were products, "on the one hand, of a primary education that remained as the matrix which cast the mold of tradition upon the growing child and, on the other, of an educational system which recognized virtually none of the premises of that tradition."[195] It was this insight into the two different educational systems that made some students turn their back on religious education, while others remained torn between the two. In light of this bifurcation, graduates of the Western-style schools "were opposed to those who continued upon the course of primary education into the medreses,"[196] because they realized that, if the Empire was to survive, the people needed to understand the knowledge being produced in the Western world which the traditional schools clearly did not prepare their students to face. Consequently, the *medrese* graduates were seen as a liability to the reform movement, and this gave the reformers an excuse to introduce Western institutions and ideals into the Empire as a means of removing *medrese* graduates from all administrative positions.

Reaction to Reform

In spite of the duality between modern and traditional outlooks, the reaction to the reform movement was not unequivocally one of conflict. Surprisingly, there were a number of traditionalist advocates, especially among the *ulema*, who supported modernization. However, those *ulema* who supported such reforms were a minority within the religious community. Most of the other *ulema* resented the changes associated with secular and Western ideals.

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[195] Berkes. Development of Secularism, 109.

[196] Ibid. 109.

Among the high-ranking *ulema* who advocated and even assisted in implementing secular educational reforms within the Ottoman empire,[197] was Mustafa Behçet, chief physician to Sultan Mahmut and a leading figure behind the refurbishment of medical training. It was Behçet who launched in 1827 the campaign for the establishment of a modern medical school, the *Tibhane-i Amire*.[198] Another example was Kemal Efendi, a prominent *alim* who collaborated in 1838 with Mahmut II on the development of the *rüşdiye* school.[199] Imam-zade Mehmed Es'ad, another high-ranking *alim*, also became involved with the newly created *rüşdiye* schools. A strong advocate of secular educational reforms, he was appointed the system's superintendent. Imam-zade Mehmed Es'ad's support for secular educational reforms was rewarded with an appointment as the first Ottoman minister of education, shortly before Mahmut II's death.[200]

There were three main reasons why these prominent *ulema* assisted in the drive to reform. First, the high-ranking *ulema* were afraid of the growing central authority of the sultan, Mahmut II. Not only had this leader ousted the once powerful *derebeyi*s (landlords) and *a'yan*s (local notables), he had also, as we have seen, exterminated the Janissaries, the most powerful military force within the empire. Hence, the high-ranking *ulema* had no

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[197] For an in-depth examination of the *ulema*'s response to Westernization during the reigns of Selim III and Mahmut II see Uriel Heyd, "The Ottoman 'Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmut II," Scripta Hierosolymitana, vol. 9 (1961), 63-96.

[198] This army medical school would fight against traditional opposition to introduce new modern medical techniques into its curriculum which went against Islamic tradition. For example, although it was against Islamic doctrine to dissect human bodies, the Medical school fought with religious leaders to allow dissection within its classes as a way to educate its students. See Heyd, The Ottoman, 67.

[199] Kazamias, Education, 67-68.

[200] Berkes, Development, 107.

choice but to succumb to the sultan's will, fearing that Mahmut would suppress them as well.[201]

The second reason for the *ulema's* support, particularly as regarding the military, was their sense of duty deriving from the Islamic doctrine of *jihad*. This doctrine states that the most fundamental duty of a Muslim is to oppose all infidels. Since the empire had suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of the infidel West, there was an urgent need to improve the Ottoman military. The only means of defeating the European powers, however, was to improve military training. The *ulema* knew that the military would only be able to achieve success if its personnel were prepared for modern warfare, and that reform of education along modern lines was key to this development. Their support for reform in military education therefore allowed the Sultan to adopt Western military techniques and technology, and to undertake other measures in the area of military training.[202] The third reason for their support was that the *ulema* realized that secular educational reforms were necessary to ensure the survival of the empire. Although members of the *ulema* were strongly inclined to oppose such polices, their high position within the Ottoman government provided them with insight into the severity of the empire's problems. They had a first hand view of the military crisis facing the Ottoman state. Upon examination, the *ulema* had come to realize the severe

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[201] See Heyd, The Ottoman, 77-79; and Kazamias, Education, 73.

[202] See Kazamias, Education, 73; and Heyd, The Ottoman, 74-75.

corruption and incompetent behavior that plagued the military corps, particularly the Janissaries. Hence, the *ulema*, too, concluded that to ensure the survival of the empire, it was necessary to implement military educational reform along secular lines[203]

Despite the number of high-ranking *ulema* who supported these reforms, their support was not in general representative of the *ulema* circle. Indeed, within that order there was a clear distinction between members who supported modernization and others who were adamantly opposed to such change. Particularly among the lower *ulema*, there was profound animosity towards any attempt to implement secular educational reform because it posed a challenge to traditional beliefs. Indeed, as early as 1807, this hostility towards secular reform was felt strongly within the Ottoman empire and was guided by *Şeyhülislam* Mehmed 'Ataullah and other *ulema* members, who rebelled against the reform movement. These rebellious members of the *ulema* denounced Selim III's reform plans and overthrew and eventually aided in the assassination of the sultan, momentarily halting the reform movement within the empire.[204]

The opposition to reform on the part of the lower *ulema* was based chiefly on two factors. First, the lower *ulema* were resentful of the fact that religious teachings, which many of them had studied for fourteen years, were being threatened by infidel ideas. One of the most potent centers of opposition within the lower *ulema* against Western reforms lay with the students (*softas)* of the *medreses*. Many in number, these students were well-known for their hostile attitude towards the reform movement. Having spent most of their lives being

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[203] See Kazamias, Education, 73; and Heyd, The Ottoman, 83-87.

[204] For an in-depth examination of the rise and fall of Selim III see the complete work of Shaw called Between the Old and New.

educated in the traditional Islamic schools, these men responded angrily to the slightest venture to reform of any aspect Muslim society.

The second reason was that a hierarchical class struggle existed between the lower and upper *ulema* members. Kazamias states that the roots of opposition lay in the fact that it was a time when

> patronage, favoritism, graft, and corruption were rampant in ecclesiastical appointments and promotions, and when the religious aristocracy of mollas, surrounded by luxury, pomp and ceremony, formed a 'closed' hereditary group, the poor and lowly softas saw no possible avenues for their own social and political elevation, or for their economic betterment.[205]

Consequently, this opposition developed from the disadvantaged position that the lower *ulema* were forced to take when the high-ranking *ulema* and secular-trained bureaucrats consolidated their positions at the highest levels of government. This consolidation of power locked lower members of the *ulema* out of the top government positions: "by education, social position, and outlook these groups were placed at a disadvantage, and their social opportunities were considerably restricted."[206] Thus the hierarchical class struggle between the upper and lower *ulema* resulted in opposition to reform on the part of the latter.

Western Ideas within Muslim Society

As stated earlier, by the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was no longer able to defend itself against the growing military power of Europe. Consequently, Sultan Selim III decided to adapt Western military technology to the empire's armed forces

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[205] Kazamias, Education, 74.

[206] Ibid. 71-75.

in order to make them more effective. This, as we have seen, entailed adopting certain Western-style institutions, particularly educational institutions, in order to achieve their military goals. With these institutions, however, came new European ideas like equality and secularism, ideas which gave rise to a new way of thinking which ran contrary to Islamic traditional belief.[207] It would be these ideas that would erode the very foundations of the traditional Islamic educational system and subsequently lead to the increased Westernization of the Ottoman Empire.

Equality

The Western, as opposed to Islamic, notion of equality had profound implications for the restructuring of the traditional Islamic educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire during the *Tanzimat* period. There was an essential conflict between the two conceptions of equality: in Islam equality referred only to the equality of believers in the Muslim faith, whereas religious groups that departed from these beliefs, i.e., members of the Christian and Jewish *millets,* were deemed unequal.[208] This unequal treatment of other religious groups - particularly Christians-- is noted by Davison: "The semiautonomy of the Christian *millet*s did not however mean complete equality among the subjects of the empire. The Muslim *millet* was dominant. It was still incontestable that Christians were looked down upon as second

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[207] Feroze, Islam and Secularism, 15; Paul Monroe, A Text-Book, 221-342; Toynbee, Turkey.

[208] As early as the time of Mehmet II, religion in the Ottoman empire furnished a person with a religious classification. A person was Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Gregorian Armenian, Jew, Catholic, or Protestant before he was a Turk, Arab, Rumanian, Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian, or Armenian, let alone an Ottoman citizen. These religious communities or *millets* were recognised by the Ottoman sultan and each was given certain rights where the religious leader governed over matters of internal *millet* administration, and on educational and charitable affairs, as well as family law. Therefore, prior to the nineteenth century, neither the idea nor the application of Ottoman nationality, which embraced equal rights, yet existed in the Ottoman empire. For more information, see Davison, "Turkish Attitudes," 844-864.

class citizens both by the Muslim public and by the government."[209] Davison supports this statement by noting the unjust political, economic and judicial treatment of Christians by Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.

> They [Christians] were, for example, denied opportunity for appointment to the highest administrative posts; they could not serve in the armed forces but had to pay an exemption tax; Christian evidence was discounted in a Muslim court of law. Neither the concept nor the practice of citizenship, involving equal rights and duties, existed in the Ottoman Empire before the nineteenth century.[210]

In contrast to Islam, the Western notion of equality embraced a much broader domain. Equality was viewed as a basic human right, independent of religious and cultural differences. Thus, all subjects regardless of race, wealth or religion were, at least in theory, regarded as equal.[211]

For the reform movement, "the ultimate implication [of Western ideas of equality] was that *millet* barriers would be broken down, that the creation of a multinational brotherhood of all Ottoman subjects was the official aim, and, therefore, that the concepts of state and citizenship would become increasingly western and secularized."[212] Sultan Mahmut II realized the importance that equality would play in the secularization of the Empire.

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[209] Ibid. 845.

[210] Ibid. Although Christian children who attended the Ottoman Palace School did become members of the high bureaucracy, they were forced to convert to Islam. See Miller, The Palace School.

[211] At this stage of Western sociological development, equality only meant the equality of all men, not women.

[212] Davison, Reform, 40-41.

Consequently, he declared publicly that he viewed all his subjects as equal regardless of creed. However, it would not be until the proclamation of the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu and Hatt-ı Hümayun that the doctrine of Ottoman equality was officially recognized..

Secularism

Secularism was another important Western ideology which resonated throughout the established Western-style educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire. Military advancement in the West had begun as a result of a European sociological revolution,[213] which had itself led to belief in human rights, freedom of expression, freedom of religion and freedom of scientific inquiry, all of which were declared to be outside the confines of religious authority. This European social upheaval, which allowed the doors of education to open, occurred at the expense of the church influence. Slowly more and more institutions were wrested from the grasp of the latter institution, giving momentum to secularism. However, for the West, secularism meant more then just a separation between the church's influence and state: true secularism demanded complete autonomy from religion in such areas of life as education, economics, law, politics, etc.[214] It was this change which allowed the new developing nations of Europe to create institutions which were free of church domination.

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[213] Feroze, Islam and Secularism, 15; Monroe, A Text-Book, 221-342 and Grendler, "Schooling in Western Europe," 775-787.

[214] Berkes, "Historical," 47

However, as the West continued to grow, both intellectually and militarily, under its secularist ideals, Ottoman society continued to expose children to traditional doctrines and dogma while at the same time closing its mind to the modern knowledge of the West.[215] As a result, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, religion and society in the Ottoman Empire remained:

> fitted to each other in terms of the requirements of a particular form of political authority, of economic and social organization and of the concomitant ideological structure. The key to all was the principle of tradition. If the content of the tradition was supplied by the *sharī'ah*, the form and force to be given to it were supplied by the state. Each needed the other. The *sharī'ah* suffered from amorphousness. It needed the strong hand of a traditionalist worldly authority. The latter, on the other hand, needed a certain kind of legitimacy which could derive not from a doctrine of natural law but from a charismatic source. In this system there is room for novelty and change. Only, they have to be incorporated into the traditional system. Thus, this system is capable of growth and innovation but only in so far as the consequences of a new element of culture can be fitted easily into the existing system without violating the basic principles.[216]

However, when the Ottoman reformers began Westernizing the Empire, they realized that one of the key components of Western science and technology was secularism, and that this would violate the traditional relationship between religion and state.

Islam was more than just the dominant religion of the Ottoman Empire: it was the very foundation of its society. Feroze states "that religion and state, for example, in Islamic society are attached to each other like Siamese twins. When you attempt to separate them you cannot be sure which one will survive- you cannot even be sure that either will survive once they have been separated altogether from each other after so long an intimate

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[215] The reasons for not adopting them are discussed in chapter one.

[216] Berkes, "Historical," 47-48.

association."[217] Due to this state of affairs, any attempt to reform traditional Muslim institutions or introduce new "foreign" institutions that encouraged secularism could and would undermine the very existence of Islamic society.

Although these Western ideals of equality and secularism tended to undermine the very foundations of traditional Ottoman Islamic society, the reformers continued to pursue their goal of reform. This pursuit was best expressed in the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu and Hatt-ı Hümayun, where Western ideals of equality and secularism were, finally, infused into the political, economical and social spheres in the Empire. These two decrees ushered in a combination of economic, bureaucratic, judicial and civil reforms in which religious equality was upheld before the law. As a result of these decrees, a society based on the secular notion of egalitarian citizenship could finally be realized.

Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu

In the words of its author, Mustafa Reşit Paşa, the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu was "only intended to introduce a complete security of life, property and honor of individuals and regulate the internal and military expenditures of the Porte."[218] Therefore, it represented a statement of intent on the part of the Ottoman bureaucrats promising five very basic but significant reforms:

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[217] Feroze, Islam and Secularism, 15.

[218] Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat," The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World, vol.4, ed. John L. Esposito, et. al (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, 184.

1. A guarantee to all Ottoman subjects of perfect security of life, honor, and fortune.
2. A regular system of assessing and levying taxes.
3. An equally regular system for the levy of troops and the duration of their service.
4. Fair and public trials of persons accused of crimes.
5. The equality of subjects regardless of their religious belief.[219]

Even though not a word about education can be found anywhere in the Imperial edict of 1839, the reformers were nonetheless devoted to the advancement of education. The reformers in fact considered education as the necessary foundation for their reorganization plans.[220] Not only did the *Tanzimat* reformers accept:

> the need to provide a modern education for Muslims to enable them to keep up with the advances in Christian education which were taking place in reorganized millet schools and in foreign missionary schools, [but]...they recognized the desirability of a common system of secular education to further the aim of Ottomanization.[221]

To achieve the goal of educational modernization, Reşit introduced the idea of equality into Ottoman government policy as a means of decreasing religious control over Ottoman society.[222] Hence, even though there was no explicit mention of educational reform in this decree, it led to the reforms of 1846-1869 because education continued to be seen as the key to modernization.[223]

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[219] For an English translation of the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu see: C.B. Edward Hertslet, "Gulhane Hatt-i Humayunu," The Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. 2 (London: Butterworths, 1875), 1002-1005.

[220] Kazamias, Education, 57.

[221] Yapp, The Making, 111.

[222] Roderic H. Davison, Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1974-1923: The Impact of the West (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 24.

[223] Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State," 258-259.

Hatt-ı Hümayun

Despite the commitment of the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu to reform the Ottoman Empire, its actual effect was minimal. This was because the implementation of this decree took place early in the modernization movement, when the religious authorities still wielded considerable control over the state.[224] Consequently, on February 18, 1856, a second important *Tanzimat* document, the Hatt-ı Hümayun, was issued by the Ottoman sultan.[225] This imperial decree, written as a collaborative effort by Âli Paşa and Fuat Paşa, essentially reaffirmed the equality rights and principles granted to all Ottoman subjects by the earlier Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu which could not be implemented because of a "lack of institutions and a legal framework whereby this concept could acquire tangible meaning."[226] The Hatt-ı Hümayun therefore, guaranteed the right to freedom of religion. It reaffirmed that regardless of their religious belief, individuals would receive equal treatment in matters of administrative positions, admittance into government established civil and military schools, public education, taxation, law, and military service.[227] Consequently, this reform edict set forth a combination of economic, administrative, judicial and civil reforms in which religious equality before the law, economic growth within the community, and educational advancement would be protected. Evidence of this protection can be observed in the

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[224] It should be noted that not all Islamic religious leaders were against reform. Ahmet Cedvet (1822-1895) aided in the design of the *Tanzimat* educational reform under the tutelage of Mustafa Reşit Paşa, the father of the *Tanzimat* period.

[225] This edict is discussed in full in The London Times of Monday, March 3, 1856, 10.

[226] Karpat, "The Transformation," 259.

[227] For an English translation of the Hatt-ı Hümayun see: C.B. Edward Hertslet,"Hatt-i Humayun," The Map of Europe by Treaty, vol. 2 (London: Butterworths, 1875), 1243-1249.

implementation of the 1845 Meclis-i Maarif-i Muvakkat and the 1869 Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi educational statutes. By the 1845 educational statute, the newly established Ministry of Public Education took over responsibility for education from the religious authorities. The 1869 educational statute, moreover, implemented the secular notion of egalitarian citizenship into the empire's educational institutions. Hence, through these statutes, the secularizing of education signified the expansion of state control over civil institutions. This resulted in the establishment of increasing numbers of secular schools in the Ottoman Empire as the century drew to a close.

Implications of Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu and Hatt-ı Hümayun

Since equality served to "guarantee equal protection under the law," members of the Muslim population were no longer in a position of "dominance." In particular, the infusion of equality through the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu and Hatt-ı Hümayun served to reduce the Muslim *millet* 's control over education, because, under the provisions of equality, the need for separate *millet* schools for students of different cultures was relinquished. In place of these *millet* schools, a centralized educational institution was needed. As a result, by establishing the principle of equality and centralizing control over education, the Ottoman state was able to wrest a certain amount of power away from the *millet*. This separation of religion millets and "state" enabled the reforming bureaucrats to implement further educational reforms. In so doing, the introduction of further Western ideals such as secularism was made possible. Davison argues that the "ultimate implication [of equality] was that *millet* barriers would be broken down...and, therefore, that the concepts of state and citizenship would become increasingly western and secularized."[228] Hence, these Western

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[228] Davison, "Turkish Attitudes," 845.

ideals of equality and the consequent secularization were important to the modernization of the Ottoman Empire because, like the Protestant Reformation and the Renaissance in Europe, these ideals provided the philosophical basis necessary for the modernizing of the Empire. This revolution involved a fundamental change in outlook, i.e., a transformation from the traditional views of Islam to a more Western-oriented thinking. This was necessary because the abandonment of traditional thinking in favor of Western scientific method was a sine qua non for the successful introduction of Western advances in military technologies and techniques. This process inevitably led to the erosion of the religious foundations of Islam in Turkey, reflected in the bifurication between the traditional and modernist Islamic student populations.

Conclusion

Plagued by a series of unsuccessful military confrontations, the fortunes of the once proud Ottoman Empire went into serious decline. The signing of the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, marking a crucial defeat of Ottoman forces, led to a bold initiative to modernize the Empire's weakened military state. This initiative soon became a guiding force within the imperial administration. The modernization of the Ottoman military, however, involved the adoption of Western military technology and techniques.

The purpose of this research was to study the impact of this modernizing military objective upon traditional Islamic educational institutions during the *Tanzimat* era. In more general terms, the thesis studied the implications of introducing modern Western military educational institutions into a medieval Islamic society. Emphasis was placed on the impact of the empire's objective of modernizing its military training program because it was through education that military personnel were introduced to Western technology.

Although the immediate consequence of adopting Western military technologies and techniques led to the creation of military educational institutions, a more profound implication was the fact that adoption of these "new" military advances led to unexpectedly powerful political, economic and social changes to medieval Islamic society. As McCarthy notes, it was impossible for the Ottoman empire to pick and choose the parts of Western culture it wanted to adopt and leave behind the foundations of its choices. Granted, the intention of reformers, such as Selim III, was only to adopt Western military technologies and techniques, while preserving the religious and cultural identity of Islamic society in Turkey. This "piece-meal adoption" of Western advancements was impossible, however, because as Feroze states, "religion and state, for example, in Islamic society are attached to

each other like Siamese twins."[229] Thus changes in one have a powerful influence on the other. In this case, the adoption of such reforms gave rise to conflict between the religious foundations of Islam and Western ideals of equality and secularism.

These reformers were unable to maintain the intricate balance of modernizing the military while retaining an Islamic cultural identity, because Western advances in science and technology were the products of a different civilization, depending on a different genesis and development. These were themselves an outgrowth of the philosophical revolution in Europe sparked by Renaissance humanism and developed by Reformation and Enlightenment thinkers. Such a parallel philosophical revolution did not occur in the Ottoman Empire and, thus, "piece-meal" adoption of military technologies and techniques could not lead to the modernization objectives of the Ottoman Empire. For this to occur, a philosophical revolution similar to those which occurred in European history was needed. This ultimately required fundamental changes to educational institutions in the form of a departure from a religious to a science-oriented school curriculum. This was a necessary pre-condition for students to be trained for Western military practices. However, the traditional educational institutions -*mektep*, *medrese*, and Palace school- did not provide the necessary pre-requisite training for entrance to these newly formed military academies. As a result, secular educational institutions had to be created to support the Western military schools so that the aim of modernizing the military could be achieved.

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[229] Feroze, Islam and Secularism, 15.

In light of the control exercised by the *ulema* over the traditional Islamic schools, the introduction of these secular educational institutions brought into existence a dual educational system. Conflict between these schools systems created a division in Muslim society. This conflict arose primarily from the juxtaposition of science versus faith. In particular, opposition by the *ulema* to secular reforms was based on the premise that religion and not secularism was the means to ensure the continued prosperity of the empire. Since the *ulema* had a strong influence on the control of primary education, the development of these secular educational institutions was met with continued resistance.

In spite of the *ulema*'s objections, reformers introduced two imperial edicts; the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu and Hatt-ı Hümayun, which were the primary decrees in defining the *Tanzimat* era. These edicts were responsible for the infusion of Western notions of equality and subsequently secularism, whose impact led to a pronounced restructuring not only of traditional Ottoman educational institutions, but also of Ottoman society. By introducing Western notions of equality -the legal guarantee of equality among all subjects, regardless of religion- the "millet barriers would be broken down... [and].. that the concepts of state and citizenship would become increasingly western and secularized."[230] Hence, through equality, the process of secularizing the Ottoman educational institutions was made possible. In particular, this process was reflected by the increased centralization of Ottoman educational institutions by the state which served to separate the power over educational matters held by *millets*/churches from that of the state. This secularizing of Islam's traditional educational institutions enabled the state to introduce further Western educational reforms, and especially

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[230] Davison, Reform 40-41.

Western science, to the traditionally religious-based Islamic educational institutions. Hence, not only did the Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu and Hatt-ı Hümayun restructure the traditional Islamic educational institutions, but they also led to the development of a Islamic philosophical and social revolution. That is, the infusion of Western educational reform created a bifurcation between Ottoman students trained in Western ideals and those trained in the religious foundations of Islam. These two groups, products of different systems, traditional and modern, possessing different outlooks, became increasingly estranged and even hostile towards each other, indeed developing different visions for the empire.

Ferose concisely captures the essence of the problem, i.e., the implications of a modernizing military objective within the medieval Islamic educational institutions during the *Tanzimat* era. He states "that religion and state, for example, in Islamic society are attached to each other like Siamese twins. When you attempt to separate them you cannot be sure which one will survive- you cannot even be sure that either will survive once they have been separated altogether from each other after so long an intimate association."[231] Feroze's view that religion and state are inextricably tied is confirmed; even though Feroze's comments, suggesting that the adoption of Western ideals, such as equality and secularism, does not necessarily result in a separation between religion and state which involves the demise of one and the survival of the other, are questioned. It does appear that the adoption of Western military and consequently Western ideals led to deep divisions not only in Turkish Islamic educational institutions, but also in the structure of traditional society. Nevertheless, the separation of religion and state does not have to involve the annihilation

[231] Feroze, Islam and Secularism, 15.

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91

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of one at the expense of the other; rather, as this research shows, it can lead to a profound restructuring of the roles and duties of religion and the state, as it did within Ottoman society in the last century.

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