

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE OTTOMAN JEWS FROM THE LAST
DECADES OF THE EMPIRE TO THE EARLY YEARS OF THE TURKISH
REPUBLIC :

THE ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE EXPERIENCE
IN LIGHT OF TURKISH AND FRENCH ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS
(1860-1937)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis analyzes the educational activities of the Ottoman Jews in a time period between the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Turkish Republic covering the reforms the new regime performed for a secular education system. The particular education society called the Alliance Israélite Universelle is taken as a case study with all its activities from its establishment in 1860 to the closing its last school in Turkey. The French origin AIU schools are considered with different scopes, including their impacts upon the Ottoman and Turkish education systems and interactions with the social life in each. However, in order to analyze this institution, the administration of the heterogeneous Ottoman state is required to be revised and the status of the Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire is to be

overviewed. In the study, besides the AIU archival resources, mainly the first and second hand sources in the Turkish archives are used.

Keywords: Alliance Israélite Universelle, Ottoman Jews, Jewish Schools, Ottoman Education

ÖZ

İMPARATORLUĞUN SON YILLARINDAN TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ'NİN İLK YILLARINA KADAR OSMANLI YAHUDİLERİNİN EĞİTİM FAALİYETLERİ:

TÜRK VE FRANSIZ ARŞİV BELGELERİ İŞİĞİNDE ALYANS İSRAİL UNİVERSSEL DENEYİMİ (1860-1937)

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Bu tez, Osmanlı İmparatorluğun son yılları ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk yılları arasındaki zaman içinde Yahudiler tarafından gerçekleştirilen eğitim faaliyetlerini irdelemektedir. Çalışma, laik bir eğitim sistemi için Yahudiler tarafından yapılan reformlar, Osmanlı ve Türk Eğitim sistemindeki yenileşme sürecine paralel olarak karşılaştırmalı bir incelemeye tabi tutmaktadır. Örnek olay incelemesi olarak bir Fransız Yahudi eğitim kurumu olan Alyans İsrail Ünivesel ele alınmış olup, bu örgüt tarafından 1860 daki kuruluşundan Türkiye'deki son okulunun kapanmasına kadar hayata geçirilen faaliyetleri incelenmiştir. Fransız kaynaklı bu okullar,

Osmanlı ve Türk eğitim sistemlerine olan etkileri ve her birindeki sosyal hayata olan etkileşimleri dahil olmak üzere farklı çerçevelerde incelenmişlerdir. Bu kurumu incelemek üzere, heterojen Osmanlı devlet idari yapısı gözden geçirilmiş ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içindeki Yahudi cemaatlerin durumu dikkate alınmış ve çalışılmıştır.

Çalışmada, Fransız arşiv belgeleri yanında, temel olarak Türkiye arşivlerindeki ilk ve ikinci el kaynaklar kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alyans İsrail Üniversal, Osmanlı Yahudileri, Yahudi Okulları, Osmanlı Eğitimi

in memoriam

Ord. Prof. Dr. Enver Ziya KARAL....

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. General Framework of This Study	1
1.2. Jews within the Ottoman Empire	2
1.3. Traditional and Modernized Education in Jewish Community	4
1.4. Tanzimat and Ottoman Education for Non-Muslims	8
1.5. Foreign and Minority Schools	11
1.6. Education Policy of the New Republic.....	14
2. EMERGENCE OF ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE (AIU)	16
2.1. Efforts to Promote the “Eastern Jews” Through Education	16
2.2. Foundation of AIU : an Organization with a Mission.....	22
2.3. Alliance School Network within Ottoman Empire.....	23
2.3.1. Schools in Major Cities Istanbul, Edirne and Izmir	23
2.3.2. Other AIU Branches	30
3. EDUCATION POLICY OF AIU	32
3.1. Role of School Committees and Administrations	32
3.2. Instruction for Teachers.....	34
3.2. Curriculum and Courses	36
3.4. Education for Girls	39
3.5. Vocational and Apprenticeship Training Programs	40
3.6. Agricultural Training.....	48

4. ALLAINCE SCHOOLS IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC	52
4.1. Treaty of Lausanne and Sanctions.....	52
4.2. Law of the Unification of Education	54
4.3. Relations of AIU with the Turkish Republic.....	54
4.4. End of Alliance History in Turkey	61
5. THE AFTERMATH OF THE AIU EXPERIENCE IN OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND TURKISH REPUBLIC.....	64
5.1. Influence of the AIU Schools over Ottoman Institutions.....	64
5.2. Effects of the Schools on Social Life	66
5.3. Contributions of the AIU to Intellectual and Economic Life	68
5.4. Stumbling Blocks to AIU	70
5.4.1. Problems within the Jewish Community	70
5.4.2. Allegations Concerning Zionism.....	73
5.4.3. Handicaps of Nationalist Policy	76
6. CONCLUSION	83
REFERENCES	89
APPENDICES	112
APPENDIX A	112
APPENDIX B.....	114
APPENDIX C.....	130
APPENDIX D	131
APPENDIX E.....	132
APPENDIX F	137

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1. Istanbul Schools of AIU between 1875- 1882.....	28
Table 2. AIU School Network in Turkey.....	31
Table 3. Identification of AIU Classes and Equivalences.....	36
Table 4. Curriculum of the Primary Schools.....	37

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIU	Alliance Israélite Universelle
AAIU	Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle
BAIU	Bulletin semestriel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle
BCA	Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivleri
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri
ENIO	Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. General Framework of This Study

What the thesis intends to cover is the particular education institution: Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), from its establishment in 1860 to the closing its last school in Turkey. The AIU schools shall be evaluated with all dimensions, including their impacts upon the Ottoman and Turkish education systems and interactions with the social life in each. However, analyzing this institution primarily necessitates a few words about the administration of the heterogeneous Ottoman state and a brief glance at the status of the Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire. It must be borne in mind that the predominantly Islamic Ottoman state, in order to provide a harmonious life for its subjects had, under the millet system allowed a semi-autonomous status for its non-Muslim population. Due to sharp denominational distinctions among the Christians, this liberal application did not only result in the separate administration of each non-Muslim community but invited a separate educational system as well for each.

Minority schools were religion based and functioned according to denominational requirements of the communities which had control over them: such as the Orthodox, Catholic, etc. However, although Ottoman Jews were distinguished with local separations such as Selanik (Salonica), Izmir and Istanbul, Jews did not hold the strict differences as the Christians and thus were less susceptible to social or religious fragmentation.

Jews did not hold the strict differences as the Christians and thus were less susceptible to social or religious fragmentation. This does not mean that there were no separatist, reactionary or resistance groups in Jewish communities. However, this

was not to the degree as that of among other minority groups. Therefore with the awareness that their fate as much as their chance of preserving their integrity was much dependent upon the upbringing of their youth, Ottoman Jews set out to reform or install renovations into their own educational system in compliance with their wishes. In other words, the foundation or reforms of AIU were realized without much hinderence.

This major point underlined the study will firstly concentrate on the Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire with particular reference to their educational system, supportive policies and the changes they underwent.

1.2. Jews within the Ottoman Empire

The Jews who are the subject of this thesis are with a great extend, the descendants of the emigrants who were welcomed by the Ottoman Empire after they were expelled from Spain. Their exodus from Spain started in the year 1492 and immigration wave continued for nearly two centuries. When the wave decelerated and finally ceased, they became the dominant group in number among the Ottoman Jews and induced their old culture upon the Greek-speaking Romaniote Jews who were the residue of the Byzantine Jewry. The Spain-exiles, referred to as “Seferads”, used to speak Ladino¹, which was a Judeo-Spanish language settled in major Ottoman cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Selanik. The other two groups of Ottoman Jews, residing in Istanbul and Izmir, were the Ashkenazis and Italian Jews, who fled to Ottoman for several reasons from central Europe in different centuries. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the population of Jews within the Ottoman

¹ Commonly referred to as Ladino, or known locally as Judezmo. As a Jewish language, it is influenced heavily by Hebrew and Aramaic, but also Arabic, Turkish and to a lesser extent Greek and other languages where Sephardic exiles settled, primarily throughout the Ottoman Empire.

territory was estimated as approximately 150,000², the Judeo-Spanish communities in Balkans and Western Anatolia constituting about half of this number.

In 1911, there were about 140,000 Jews in an area within the borders of present Turkey.³

The population increased gradually until the Balkan wars between 1912-1913, when Selanik was annexed by Greece. However, their economic status did not go parallel with this increase. They were in economic and social turn down since the 19th century. In the mosaic of religious and ethnic groups which composed that made up the Ottoman Empire, the Jews by then lost the distinction that they enjoyed in the sixteenth century in the sphere of international trade and commerce: Iberian exiles, familiar with European ways, had been ideal intermediaries in the financial and commercial links between the Ottoman Empire and the western countries. The end of arrivals from Spain brought forth a relative decrease of contact with Europe and the Greeks and the Armenians, increasingly dynamic entrepreneurs, began to replace the Jews as middlemen in trade with the West.

However, Turkish Jews were not isolated from Europe. Important channels of relation were continued. Some Jews arrived from Italy and settling in trade centers such as Istanbul, Selanik, and Izmir held a significant place in trade with Europe. In fact, they became the pioneers in the modernization struggles of the Jews in Turkey.

This group may have had a low profile in the domain of international trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But they were well integrated to the local economy. The ethnic division of labor in the Empire, attested by observers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was also valid for earlier periods. Jewish guilds and artisans concentrated in certain fields such as textiles, silks, and cloth-dyeing were important in the economic life of the major cities. In Anatolia, Thrace, and Macedonia, Jewish traders mostly practiced regional commerce, often

² Karpat, Kemal, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, p. 116.

³ McCarthy, Justin, *Muslims and Minorities, the Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire*, pp. 3- 164.

acting as intermediaries between markets in towns and the peasant economy of the surrounding area. At the turn of the century, some leading Jewish families (Gabay, Aciman, Karmona, etc.), were all bankers engaged in the financing of the janissaries.⁴

Wealth was very important in the development of Jewish westernization, for many communal institutions, especially the schools and the yeshivot⁵ flourished through the charity of rich families.

Until the nineteenth century, Turkish Jewish communities, like all traditional Jewries, were run according to Jewish law, by the help of internal autonomy.

1.3. Traditional and Modernized Education in Jewish Community

Traditional Jewish education consisted of religious education primarily. Jewish elementary schools, where the aim was to teach the students read religious texts and Torah in Hebrew language as well as playing a major role in the socialization of children were called melder⁶. In these schools, the children were taught daily prayers which were regarded essential both for religious reasons and for providing communal solidarity by preparing them for participation in synagogues around which much of Jewish life revolved. Girls did not receive a formal education. They could learn in the domestic sphere which was assigned to them, depending on the wealth of the family, but consisted of just reading and writing of

⁴ Rodrique, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews, pp.26-27.

⁵ A yeshiva is an institution in classical Judaism for the study of religious traditional texts. It is also called Yeshivah, Beth Midrash, Talmudical Academy, Rabbinical Academy. Yeshivot is used for the plural form of Yeshiva. Yeshivot are generally associated with Orthodox Judaism and cater to boys. The education used to take place in separate classrooms with different curricula. A Yeshiva Gedola , senior yeshiva, usually is a post-secondary institution, while Yeshiva Ketana , junior yeshiva, describes institutions for boys of elementary-school. Yeshiva also is a generic name for any school that teaches Torah, Mishnah, and Talmud, to any age group.

⁶ In Judeo-Spanish means to read.

Judeo-Spanish and the recitation of prayers in Hebrew.⁷ Which was all that was expected from them. They were also trained in handcrafts as apprentices to experts they were assigned to work under, depending on the wealth of the family.

Education for the boys, was somewhat different. Before attending the *meldar*, they were often sent to a *maestra*, where women took care of them from the age of three to the age of six or seven. The *maestras* who ran what is known today as kindergartens, taught the children songs and some prayers. But actual education began in the *meldar* where the boys started to attend at the age of seven. This establishment often consisted of one large room near a synagogue, where children would sit on the floor around a rabbi teacher called “*melamed*” . After teaching the Hebrew alphabet, the reading of a religious and its translation into Judeo-Spanish was to follow. The school of elementary instruction was often called a *Talmud Torah*. Initially, this was an establishment where Jewish education would be pursued much further than in a *meldar* and would include advanced rabbinical study. The most famous of the *Talmudei Torah* in the Judeo-Spanish speaking communities was the one in Selanik. It had become an important center of rabbinical learning and its fame had spread far and wide by the seventeenth century, attracting students and scholars from all over Europe by its rich endowment and library.⁸ By the nineteenth century it had lost its great prestige, and learning had declined. Nevertheless, in the middle of the century, it still had close to 1000 students.⁹

Sometimes the distinction between a *meldar* and a *Talmud Torah* was not clear in that many schools teaching only reading and writing in Judeo-Spanish and some prayers in Hebrew, called itself a *Talmud Torah*. But, most *Talmud Torahs* had more than one class, took studies a little further, and had some amount of

⁷ Shaw, J. Stanford, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, pp.43-71, 131-144.

⁸ Weiker, F. Walter, *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity*, pp.193-197.

⁹ Rodrique, Aron, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, p.36

support from local support in the community. In such schools, translation of the Bible into Judeo-Spanish was the primary task. The Talmud was introduced in the last grade, and its further study with learned rabbis could eventually lead to the rabbinate.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jewish traditional educational system in the Ottoman was in decline, due to principally lack of funds. During periods of economic crisis, many Talmud Torahs could not make teacher payments, and the level of education declined to reading, writing, and the translation of the sacred texts into Judeo-Spanish. The schools were in bad condition to hardly continue qualified instruction.

It is impossible to determine the number of schools in the Jewish communities of the Ottoman before the introduction of European type schools. Selanik had one great Talmud Torah, with close to 1000 students, and many *meldarim* and *yeshivot*. Izmir had a new Talmud Torah, built in 1847. According to August Frankl¹⁰ who visited the city in 1856, there were twenty-five schools teaching the Hebrew and the Talmud. The principal Jewish quarters of Istanbul, Hasköy, and Balat each had a big Talmud Torah in 1858, there were 44 Jewish schools in Istanbul with about 2500 students and 3 Karaite schools with 100 students¹¹.

On the other hand, the number of Protestant missionary schools increased in the Ottoman Empire from the first decades of the nineteenth century. These schools aimed also at evangelizing the Jews. An important actor in such activities was "The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews". This society began its work in Turkey by opening its first school in Izmir in 1829. It founded two institutions in Istanbul in 1855, in Ortaköy and Balat, and in 1864 established its

¹⁰ Ludwig August Ritter von Frankl-Hochwart (1810- 1894) was a Jewish Bohemian-Austrian writer and poet.

¹¹ *ibid.* p. 37

most successful school, that of Hasköy. ¹² In poverty, an important number of Jewish children had to attend these schools, for some benefits supplied (free cloths and food distributed by the missions), despite the threats of rabbis against parents who sent their children to these establishments. In 1881, 3219 Jewish children attended the Hasköy. Though these institutions could not succeed in converting more than a few Jews, they continued being a problem both for the traditionalist rabbis and the Jewish reformers.

¹² Gidney, William Thomas, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst Jews*, p.295

1.4. Tanzimat and Ottoman Education for Non-Muslims

The Tanzimat was the reorganization in the mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. The decree of Gülhane was guaranteeing the security and property rights of all Ottoman subjects, regardless of religion”. This was an important development in the rights of non-muslims living within the Ottoman Empire. In the past the Muslims and non-Muslims (Catholics, Greeks and Jews) had different rights, and privileges along with different laws regarding taxes, rights, freedoms, occupations, education, access to certain government positions, mobility and military service. The edict took the separate sections of society and put them each under one set of laws, rights and privileges. Thus, Tanzimat meant major changes to the life and world of all Ottomans, of every religious and ethnic group, of the education and legal powers especially. The Muslims were no longer a superior people, religious group, who respected the rights of other inferior religious and ethnic groups. They were considered equals under the law. This equalizing and then mixing was seen as an affront to the Islamic religion, the traditions of the Ottoman Empire and Turkish common sense.

However, the beginning of the modernization process had already been noted earlier in the nineteenth century. In the military, school of the army and naval engineering were revived and functioning. Starting in 1826 groups of military and naval cadets were sent to Paris and other European capitals for training and education. These formed the first wave of Turkish students who would be educated in Europe and upon returning home would play roles in the transformation of their country. Also in this period, Turks studying in Europe brought back important information and were teaching and writing compendiums of European teachings in science, medicine and modern technology. Mustafa Reşid Paşa was a rising diplomat during this period. He learned French and became a member of the

diplomatic cadre of Ministry of Foreign Affairs when Abdulmecid I. came to throne in 1839. It was he who took the leading role in drafting and promulgating the first of the edicts of the Tanzimat. With Tanzimat, the educational system would no longer be separated by the former religious and ethnic varied standards and opportunities. The actual reforms for education were more delineated in the Hatt-ı Humayun of 1845 which called for the appointment of a committee to investigate the existing school and provide for new schools. As a matter of fact, the text was not practical: It called for an Ottoman university, a system of primary and secondary schools, and a permanent Council of Public Instruction. The creation of these were to prove difficult, encountering many difficulties and taking many years to accomplish. The foundations of the university were laid, but the work was stopped when the walls were a few feet high. The secondary schools (rüşdiye) were established slowly, so that by mid-century there were six with 870 students. The Council was created soon and became the Ministry of Education in 1847. This step was important in removing the control of the ulema and the move toward a secularization of schools. Although these changes were slow, the establishment of faculties and curricula free of the old Muslim authorities was substantial.¹³ In 1868 the Imperial Ottoman lycee at Galatasaray was opened. This school stressed French language and a modern and Western curriculum for secondary studies. The graduates of this school filled the increasing need for administrators, diplomats and others to work with the complexities of an increasingly modern government which handled westernized transactions. The role of the lycees in the late Ottoman Empire and later on the Turkish Republic was very central. At the Imperial Ottoman lycee and in the missionary schools which were gradually increasing in number, Muslim and non-Muslim students were taught in the same classes. Their education was in fact beginning to be equalized.¹⁴

¹³ Unat, Faik Reşit, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış*, pp.17-48.

¹⁴ Akyüz, Yahya, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, pp. 45-78.

At the primary level the 1869 law approved schools for all children. Each ethnic and religious group could run its own school. This law was meant to insure the teaching of the Quran in the Muslim schools. Abdulhamid II encouraged an Islamic revival movement in an effort to show that " 'Ottomanness' was its own kind of progressive culture, incorporating many peoples, but still celebrating its Islamic roots". Each of these educational changes marked the slow movement toward a more informed general population, which would be needed to enter and to survive in the modern world. The Tanzimat was very controversial within the Ottoman Empire and in Europe. The reforms seemed minimal. The Empire was no longer the independent power of territories, armies, and multiple peoples living their lives in their own traditions. As a matter of fact, the reform movements had failed because of their slowness and of the attempted reversion back to the past ways during the reign of Abdulaziz, while the Ottoman state felt pushed into a new era based on European ideas and standards, without respect for their long and glorious history.

1.5. Foreign and Minority Schools

The opening of foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire was a right given by the Capitulations granted to first French nationals and then to other European non-Muslims. This privilege started during the reign of Suleyman I and lasted until the Lausanne Treaty. However, the opening of foreign schools in the Ottoman territory, triggered soon the Christian missionaries to establish many educational and cultural institutions.

As was the case for the Muslim Turks, the Ottoman state gave the minorities freedom to open and manage their own educational institutions. For instance, the Greeks were completely free regarding their religion, language and traditions after the conquest of Istanbul. In time, the same rights were also given to the Armenian and Jewish minorities, and all non-Muslim people had the entitlement to found and manage their own educational and cultural institutions as they wished. Until the Tanzimat reform era and without the support and control of the state, those institutions existed together with the mosques and schools of the Muslims¹⁵. The way the state considered education changed after the Tanzimat and it began to see it as a public service. However; the new schools, which were the products of the new understanding, could not be extended because of the reactions of the old ones, and they tried to coexist in a dual system. It was again during that period when a legal basis for educational activities was formed for the first time with laws and regulations¹⁶.

The minority schools were opened wherever they were considered to be sociologically and strategically necessary. They spread throughout Anatolia in a short time and took advantage of the opportunity provided by the state policy of not

¹⁵ Taşdemirci, Ersoy, *The Foreign and Minority Schools*, pp.13-28

¹⁶ Vahapoğlu, Hidayet, *The Minority and Foreign Schools from the Ottoman Times to the Present Day*, İstanbul: Boğaziçi Publications, 1992.

providing education as a public service. Their educational activities were focused on where they could enjoy their independence with the support given by western countries. Armenians gave weight to the Eastern part of Anatolia while Greeks worked in Istanbul and the Black Sea region and Jews placed importance on Istanbul, Beirut and Jerusalem. The needs of the schools were met by benefactors, non-governmental organizations, western countries and even the Ottoman state itself¹⁷.

The minority schools in the Ottoman Empire can be grouped into three as the Greek Schools, Armenian Schools and Jewish Schools: The oldest Greek school in Istanbul was the Phanar Greek School, which is also called the Patriarchate School. It dated from the Byzantine period and was controlled and sponsored by the Patriarchate. As it was of higher quality than the ones founded later, it was also called the Greatest Greek School¹⁸. Another important school was the Heybeliada School of Parsons. It was opened in the 9th century as a shrine under the name of “Ayatiriyada Monastery” and a school was added to it after the conquest of Istanbul. A later Greek school was Kuruçeşme University. The education was not religious there and it had the departments of Greek Language and Literature, Geometry, Mathematics and Medicine¹⁹.

In the period between the conquest of Istanbul and the end of the 18th century, there were no Armenian schools in the empire. The privileges accorded to the minorities by the state played the most important role in the establishment of the Armenian schools. Even though Armenian sources claim that there were some educational activities in the early 15th century in a monastery in Bitlis called “Amlorti” and its graduates founded schools in different places, the earliest schools in real terms were founded in the late 18th century. The first official Armenian

¹⁷ Topçu, Filiz, *The Historical Development of the Turkish Education System*, Beykent University, Social Sciences Institute, 2007.

¹⁸ Akyüz, Yahya, pp. 11-42

¹⁹ Ergin, Osman, pp. 45-96.

school was opened in 1790 by Shnork Migirdic and Amira Miricanyan. The other school opened in the same period was called “Mesropyan”. After that, religious community schools were founded in many different places in the empire and all the Armenian neighborhoods of Istanbul. On Patriarch Karabet’s instructions in 1824, schools were established almost everywhere in the country. In 1858 and 1859, the Ottoman government became closely interested in the non-Muslim schools and made some Armenian scholars members of the General Educational Assembly. According to several Armenian sources, Patriarch Karabet summoned the Armenian notables in 1831 and made them sign a bond so that they would help the Armenian schools that had spread to every part of the country.

The minority schools were opened wherever they were seen as sociologically and strategically important. The state did not provide education as a public service and never considered this as a weakness. Taking advantage of that fact, the minority schools spread to the furthest points of the country and provided education with the support of the western countries focusing on the places where they could have independence. The Armenian schools were mainly in the Eastern parts of Anatolia while most of the Greeks’ and Jews’ schools were in Istanbul and the Black Sea region and in Istanbul, Beirut and Jerusalem respectively. The supervision of the minority schools was neglected for a long time. It began only after the schools proved how strong and influential they were in the empire. Starting from 1838, the reports on education included supervision issues as well. However, the goals of supervision were not merely directed towards the minority schools. The reports did not elaborate on the objectives and activities of the schools and evaluated only what was seen superficially, which meant that the minority schools were never under full control. As there were no rules that governed the way the minority schools were supposed to work, they were independent as regards employing teachers as well. The teachers were mostly the priests of the churches controlling the schools. There were also some missionaries who worked as teachers. After the edict of reformation in 1856, the selection of teachers for the minority schools was left to a commission

supervised by the state. However, this could not be achieved in the way it was intended.

The foreign schools were opened to meet the educational needs of the citizens of the western countries living in the Ottoman lands. Through missionaries, they served the countries controlling them. Taking advantage of the rights and privileges granted by the state for a short time, they declared an educational mobilization and made every place of worship a center of education at the same time. Beyond educating the citizens of the western countries, they served some completely different purposes as well. Their aims included teaching people about Christianity to persuade them to become Christians, looking after the interests of the countries controlling them and meeting the need for raw material for the European industry.

The strength and prevalence of the foreign schools stemmed not only from the privileges accorded to the western countries but also from lack of supervision. Religious institutions like churches and missionary organizations patronized by different countries played the major role in opening those schools. Up until the edict of reform and Tanzimat, there were no sanctions regarding the educational activities and number of the schools. Using legal loopholes, foreign countries and organizations founded their schools and obtained the licenses later whenever they were needed.

1.6. Education Policy of the New Republic

In the Ottoman Era, the education was totally splitted as per the religious, ethnic and economic concerns. The new regime , after 1923 saw this issue a vital domain for development and westernizing and took immediate acts and measures to reform and reformat the education system. The first task was seen, in this context, the need for unification of the education. The unification of education had two important features. The first one was the democratization and the second one was to

activate secularism in the field of education. Unification came with the Law on Unification of National Education, which introduced three regulations²⁰ First, all medreses and schools administered by private foundations or the Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı (Presidency for Religious Affairs) were connected to the Ministry of National Education. Second, the money allocated to schools and medreses from the budget of the Diyanet was transferred to the education budget. Third, the Ministry of Education had to open a religious faculty for training higher religious experts within the system of higher education, and separate schools for training imams and hatips.

²⁰ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 3 Mart 1924, Dönem II S.17.

CHAPTER 2

EMERGENCE OF ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE (AIU)

2.1. Efforts to Promote the “Eastern Jews” Through Education

The 1839 Decree which triggered the necessity for an overall change in the instruction system of the Empire also started the action for a series of educational reforms among the Ottoman Jews. It was in this atmosphere that the Chief Rabbi in 1840 directed all local rabbinical institutions to enforce the Jews to learn Turkish. But, the lack of qualified teachers to teach Turkish and the financial disability of the communities and the schools to support the extra charges involved joined with the disinterestedness of the state to the matter, causing this attempt remain fruitless. The next phase in the involvement of Western Jews occurred in 1854, during the Crimean War, with the growing debate about the "Jewish Eastern Question", especially within the context of the pressure European powers exercised upon the Ottoman Government to improve the status of the non-muslim subjects of the Empire. It was that the Jews needed a well organized reform process for the Jews was a strict requirement, and the educational issues were a part. The Jewish educational system in the Ottoman should change as well. In accordance with the anticipated educational change Albert Cohn started his tour to the East the same year and founded new schools in Jerusalem, Izmir, and Istanbul.

The new schools were supported by the community leaders and even more by wealthy local merchants and notables who emerged with the changing economic conditions of the nineteenth century. These people aware of the necessity of European type education for Turkish Jewry as well as the requirement of learning European languages in order to be successful in international trade.. This awareness contributed to the popularity foreign schools gained in Turkey in the second half of the century was being western oriented and a speaker of western languages became inevitable for Turkish Jewry who sought to compete with the

Greek and Armenian merchants. According to Moise Allatini, a well known Jewish banker in Selanik in 1856, increased trade relations with Europe induced "the necessity of imparting a higher education to the young men."²¹ This was true, for in the context of increasing westernization of the Empire and the domination of its economy by European states, western education had become a major device for the Jews to reestablish the weakened economic links with the West. In fact, Jews mostly of Italian origin had long settled in the Levant for commercial purposes played a significant role in the introduction of European education among Turkish Jewry in Istanbul and Selanik. These Jews came to be known as Francos²². The names of the leading Francos, such as Allatini, Fernandez, Modiano, and Morpurgo, all members of Italian Jewish commercial crew, are inseparable from the history of the new educational institutions in the two cities. Francos concentrated in some of the major cities such as Izmir, Istanbul, and Selanik. They continued to maintain close links with Italy. Most were under the protection of foreign consulates in the Ottoman Empire, benefited from tax exemptions in trade and enjoyed relatively more independence than local Jewish communities, often forming separate groupings outside their jurisdiction.

The Francos, as the allies of the West European Jewish elite, took the initiative in starting reforms for the sake of their poor and needy brothers living in the East, namely in the Ottoman lands. Moise Allatini, for example, on his trip to the Middle East in 1856 expressed in a memorandum to Ludwig August Frankl the need the Eastern Jews had for the help of Western Jews such as Montefiore, and Rothschild to help them work their way out of their present deploring state. It was with the stimulation of this suggestion that Allatini later became the principal founder of the Alliance school in Selanik established in 1873. Abraham Camondo, who was one of the influential bankers of Istanbul, known as the Rothschild of the East, collaborated closely with Albert Cohn. With his bank rising to international

²¹ Frankl, L. August, *The Jews in the East*, p. 199.

²² originating from Crusader times when all Europeans in the Middle East were called Francs

prominence from the 1840s onward, Camondo, who had close contacts with the Rothschilds was an ideal associate of the Western reformers.

The Westernizing measures of the Ottoman Empire and the 1856 Reform Decree with its stated directive to the non-Muslim communities to reform their institutions, all helped the cause of the reformers among the Jews such as Camondo. They were supported by the European Jewish elite who interpreted the Reform Decree as the act of emancipation of Ottoman Jewry. It is highly significant that Baron Alphonse de Rothschild was present in Istanbul at the time of the promulgation of the decree. It was he who called the Jewish notables in Istanbul to a meeting "to search the best means to raise the moral and social condition of our Turkish coreligionists and to render them more worthy of the good deeds of His Majesty the Sultan." The result was a circular the Chief Rabbi sent to all the communities of the Empire, outlining the reforms to be instituted. In this respect, Alphonse de Rothschild's action paralleled that of Montefiore who, in 1840, one year after Tanzimat, had convinced the Chief Rabbi to issue a declaration in favor of the teaching of Turkish in Jewish schools.²³ The new international Jewish politics of Western Jewish reformers thus started become well established by 1856. The circular underlined the need of reforms as required by the Decree of 1856 and asked the communities to follow the measures to be undertaken by the Istanbul community. As a result, two committees were founded in Istanbul, one for reform in the communal administration and the other to work on the initiation of a new secular educational system among the Jews in European languages and Turkish. Additionally, Hebrew instruction was to be rationalized, and schools for girls would also be instituted. The committees to work for them were to include representatives of foreign Jews resident in Istanbul.

However, as in the case of the Ottoman reforms, resistance of the extremist groups to the provisions of the circular was raised soon thereafter. Opposition to the reforms grew considerably, leading to unrest within the community. A quarrel

²³ Rodrigue, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews, p.40

between a rabbi teaching at the school and the French director at , the school established at Hasköy in 1854 with the financial support of Abraham de Camondo resulted in the dismissal of the rabbi 1858. The rabbi promptly accused the director of religious laxity, a charge taken up by other rabbis who came to his aid. The school was excommunicated and 50 rabbis appealed to the Chief Rabbi for its closure, claiming that teaching of French was conflicting to the Jewish religion. The school was closed at the end. The notables reacted to this as an action against the reformers, and appealed to the state for a solution. As a result, the minister in charge of education, Hayrullah Efendi, ordered the reopening of the school. Under pressure from the government, a compromise was reached between the two sides. French would continue to be taught. In return, teaching of Hebrew and religious instruction would be fortified. The French director involved would be replaced by a new teacher from France. Furthermore, subventions would be given to the Talmudei Torah by the communal administration.²⁴

In fact, this was a fight over two conflicting world views, one rejecting everything outside the Jewish religious domain, and the other one accepting religious knowledge among many sources of wisdom. In this respect, it had all the bearings of the classic struggle between the traditionalist and the reformer in the Jewish centers of Central and Eastern Europe from the period of the *haskalah* onward. The new educational system of 1856 challenged the benefits of many rabbis. The system brought by the reforms and hence the decrease in the duration for teaching the sacred language and texts meant the erosion of the traditional educational system which had constituted the main source of employment for hundreds of rabbis.

The conflict within the Istanbul community led to the intervention of the state. The Chief Rabbi of the time, Jacob Avigdor, was dismissed and was replaced by the Chief Rabbi of Edirne, Yakir Geron, a friend of the reformers as well. . He became the Chief Rabbi of the Ottoman Empire in 1863. Mass demonstrations to

²⁴ Galante, Abraham, *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul*, vol.1, p.183.

display opposition to him were crushed by the authorities. Administrative statutes for the community were prepared under his supervision and approved by the state in 1865, The new regulations gave increased power to the secular elements and limited the actions of the religious elements.²⁵

It is in this context that the work of the Alliance Israelite Universelle proved to be crucial in the next half century. Not surprisingly, all the major Westernizing *Franco* actors in the conflicts of 1858-1862 participated in the Regional Committee of the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Istanbul, founded in 1863 with Abraham de Camondo as the president.

One important conclusion to be drawn from the crisis of 1856-1865 in Istanbul is that the major conflict between the traditionalists and reformers was played out before the Alliance came on the scene. It cannot be claimed that the reformers won, but they had prepared the ground for the Alliance. The same was true in the other major Judeo-Spanish communities of the Empire.

It is well known that in İzmir, the school been opened by Albert Cohn, in 1854, closed soon after opening most probably due to economic reasons. Izmir was the first Jewish community to respond to the circular of the Chief Rabbi in 1856. By the end of the year a new school opened where French was taught. However, that was also closed like the one founded by Albert Cohn.

Izmir had a community of notables supporting the creation of new schools. For example, a Franco, Alessandro Sidi, played a leading role in this field in the 1860s. The school that he founded in the early years of the decade, called the *Aziziye* in honor of Sultan Abdul Aziz, had to be closed and reopened again, for financial problems and communal conflicts and finally closed definitely in 1868.²⁶

²⁵ Galante (ibid), p.76

²⁶ Rodrigue, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews, pp. 44-45.

In Edirne, the Jewish community practiced the new schooling first in the 1850, by Joseph Kalevi.²⁷ Kalevi was under the protection of Rabbi Bekhor Danon, the secretary to the Chief Rabbi of the town and the father of Abraham Danon, a noted *maskil* in his own right a generation later. Kalevi was promoted the director of the *Talmud Torah* of Edirne, and started to introduce reforms at his school, including the teaching of French. Opposition soon made itself manifest, however, especially to the teaching of French and to Kalevi's *haskalah* ideas. It proved to be too strong to overcome and he had to abandon Edirne. His experiment lasted five years, and it planted the seeds of the *haskalah* and the revival of Hebrew in Edirne, which, was later to produce two of the most important Sephardic maskilim of the second half of the nineteenth century, the religious nationalist Barukh Mitrani and the rationalist historian and Hebraist, Abraham Danon. Both were involved with the activities of the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Turkey.

The 1850s witnessed reforms in the field of education in all of the Jewish communities. New schools were opened, and teaching of European languages was introduced for the first time. The principal impetus for the increasingly Western orientation of the leadership of Turkish Jewry was the growing European economic and financial penetration of the Ottoman Empire. The consequences of the acquisition of the knowledge of European languages were all too apparent to a community suffering from the social ills of economic poverty. It was this necessity that created the base of support for modern schooling.

However, by the beginning of the 1860s, the first stage of the reforms had come to an end. The opposition from the conservative camp had brought the closure of the new schools in Izmir, and Edirne and had put the Istanbul school and the reformers on the defensive. The local forces working for reforms were as yet too weak and the action of Western Jewish personalities was irregular to change the situation in their favor. However, this would only be done by the organized work of the Alliance Israelite Universelle.

²⁷ Leven, Narcisse, *Cinquante ans d'histoire*, vol 2, p.67.

2.2. Foundation of AIU : an Organization with a Mission

Alliance Israélite Universelle was founded in 1860 in Paris as an international organization aimed to work with all possible means, for improving and developing the life standards of needed and poor Jewish people living in Ottoman Empire, North African and Middle Eastern countries. The notable Jews who founded the AIU had an important mission and they were declaring their aim as:

“..... to defend the honor of the Jewish name whenever attacked ; to encourage, by every possible means, labor and the exercise of useful trades and professions to right, whenever necessary, against the ignorance and vice to which servitude gives rise ; to promote by the power of persuasion and moral influence the emancipation of our brethren who are still oppressed by the weight of exceptional legislation to push forward and consolidate perfect freedom by intellectual and moral regeneration such is the work to which the Alliance Israelite Universelle has devoted itself...”²⁸

For furthering the emancipation of the Israelites the Alliance appeals to public opinion, which it limits itself to soliciting and enlightening, and also to the benevolence of the Governments. The central committee as an administrative organ, was composed of representatives of every country. A work such as this could not, nor should not be confined to one country alone. It should be common to the philanthropists of every land. It was accepted as a patriotic duty that must be undertaken by all, such is the teaching of the Alliance in its scholastic establishments. Its pupils learn the language, history, and geography of Turkey in Turkey. The Alliance was itself a great school of civilization.

²⁸ Publication of AIU, 1885, 25th Anniversary of Foundation.

2.3. Alliance School Network within Ottoman Empire

2.3.1. Schools in Major Cities Istanbul, Edirne and Izmir

In Edirne, the required conditions for modernizing the education among Jews was already present before the Alliance. Among other notables, Joseph Kalevi came first playing a leading role in new order schooling reforms. Having abandoned his attempt to reform the Talmud Tora because of opposition from the traditionalists, he had reopened his first school established before. In 1865, getting in touch with the Regional Committee in Istanbul, he began to increase the number of members for the Alliance and wrote to the Central Committee a letter about the creation of a regional committee for Rumeli.²⁹ There was a small group in Edirne effected by the efforts of Kalevi, which invited the Alliance to take over Kalevi's school. This invitation was the first to start a practice in the following years that local communities invite the Alliance to send directors to already existing schools or to open new ones. The Alliance accepted the invitation and sent Felix Bloch, a graduate of Paris Rabbinical School, as director for the school. A big ceremony was organized, and for the first time in the annals of the Jewish community of Edirne, all of the foreign consuls as well as the city governor were present. And the Chief Rabbi of the city had to attend the opening.³⁰ Indeed it was a success for the Jewish community of Edirne to organize such an event, apart from the opening itself. Many of the elements apparent in the foundation of the Edirne school were valid in the erection of Alliance institutions in other towns. The existence of a group that appeared to have sufficient power and which supported the institution enthusiastically was the single most important factor. The Alliance almost always

²⁹ AAIU, IV.E, 11 May 1865

³⁰ Navon, A.H., "La fondation de l'Ecole de l'Alliance a Andrinople", Paix et Droit, April 1, 1923, p.13

came upon the invitation of a group that also promised to contribute financially to the expenses of the institution.

In Izmir the school establishments followed the same pattern. The 1860s were years of turbulence for the Jewish community.. As in the other centers of the Ottoman Empire, communal conflicts erupted not only because of the friction between traditionalists and reformers but also because of questions of internal taxation, the prestige of lay notables, and the powers of the rabbinate. Galante has described in detail the origins and course of the conflict that broke out in 1865 and lasted until 1869, ending with the election of Abraham Palacci to the Chief Rabbinate left vacant after his father Haim Palaçi's death.

The Alliance had entered into serious negotiations with the local notables as early as 1864. Nissim Crispin, the head of the Alliance local committee, had shown Jacques Isaac Altaras, during his visit to the city in 1864, a school which had already been established. He had promised that the local Alliance committee would pay 3000 French francs a year to the director. There were 172 members of the Alliance in the town. However a cholera epidemic at the end of that year closed the school. It could not be reopened due to the communal conflict of 1865, during which even the Alliance local committee, then headed by the wealthy merchant Alexander Sidi, disbanded itself.³¹

In 1866, a school founded by Alexander Sidi instructed in French and Turkish, but closed down two years later. It was only in 1871 that another Alliance local committee was created. By 1872, the conditions appeared calm enough to renew negotiations over a new school. In the words of the president of the local committee, the rabbis had come to accept the necessity of the new education. Responding to the Central Committee about the projected school, he added that the institution would have at least 200 students and that all the expenses, except for the salary of the director which the Alliance was expected to pay, would be met

³¹ AAIU, Turquie, LXXIII.E, 19 Sept. 1867

locally through tuition fees from the students or through contributions and donations. The Alliance then agreed to send a director.

Alexander Sidi was again elected as the president of the local Alliance committee in 1873, and the school was opened with a ceremony. The religious elite in the city had to accept the need for educational reform. The Chief Rabbi had stated this in many occasions. A school for girls was established five years later. That something had to be done to alleviate the socioeconomic condition of the Jewish community of Izmir is one of the conclusions that can be drawn from the report addressed by David Cazes, the new school director, to the Central Committee in the same year. The economic conditions of this community was bad enough that among about 3500 families, 1000 families were without any substantial income and depended on public charity. It was then a common belief that the only way out of misery, all too common in the Turkish Jewish communities, lay in modern education which would impart new skills to the new generation. In Istanbul during early 1870s, there began to appear within the community, a schooling with western type initiative. In 1867, the local community in Kuzguncuk, a relatively wealthy Jewish district, announced plans to reform the existent Talmud Torah and build a new school where French, Turkish, and Torah would be taught. A similar school was to be built in Balat, one of the poorest Jewish quarters of the city. Also, apart from these, other schools were on the way: a Camondo school, two new ones founded in Hasköy, and one new one founded in Ortaköy in 1871 received some financial support from the Committee of Instruction, which was working with the Chief Rabbinate.³²

However, these institutions did not last long. The interest of the notables of the quarters proved transitory, and financial commitments were soon forgotten. Quarrels over who was to head the committees supporting the schools stopped all efforts. The subsidies from the Istanbul communal council, itself lacking real infrastructure and power, were not stable. With the exception of the Camondo

³² Rodrigue, Aron, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, pp. 53-55.

school in Hasköy, none of these establishments led a continuous existence. Foreigners living in Istanbul were hired as teachers, but there was no coordinated support for the new schools. A stable and consistent organization was indeed required to guide the educational reforms in the Jewish community. And such an organization already existed in the form of the Regional Committee of the Alliance. Nevertheless by 1 1873, its activities were discontinued now and then, due to lack of financial support. Seeing this situation in Istanbul, the Central Committee in Paris began to respond seriously, the demands for money from the new schools. At this time a very important development took place in Paris which allowed the Alliance considerable independence from local financial support. The rich Baron Maurice de Hirsch, who financed the first railways in Turkey, made a donation to the Alliance in December 1873 of 1 million francs, particularly for the education of Turkish Jewry. For this aim, a foundation would be established, and the administration of the foundation was to be given to the Alliance. Baron de Hirsch was well informed about the activities of Alliance. His uncle, Salomon Goldschmidt was a member of the Central Committee. From 1873 on until their death in 1896, Hirsch would continue to donate hundreds of thousands of francs to the Alliance for modern schooling projects. It was with the beginning of their involvement in 1873 that the Alliance came into its own financially.³³

However, when the Central Committee declared that it would spend the donation of Baron de Hirsch on the agricultural school in Palestine, the Regional Committee of Istanbul gave a harsh response.³⁴ Alliance did not change its mind despite the protests. Agricultural education was seen as one of the keys for the regeneration of the Jews of the East, and this agricultural school would have a special place in the considerations of the Central Committee, because they aimed firstly to free the poor Palestine Jews from external aids and to help develop the people.

³³ Kurt, Grunwald, *Turkenhirsch: A Study of Baron Maurice de Hirsch*, Jerusalem, 1966.

³⁴ Mikve Israel, meaning the Israel Dream.

Apart from the Hirsh funds, the Alliance Center in Paris would anyhow subsidize the new appeals from already existing schools in Istanbul. In the Jewish quarters of Ortaköy, Dağhamamı, and Hasköy some existing schools were transformed to Alliance schools. In Balat and Galata, very new schools were founded. The city reached a record number of Alliance institutions that each major Jewish quarter now had its own Alliance school.³⁵

³⁵ Rodrigue, Aron, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, pp. 56-58.

Table 1. Istanbul Schools of AIU between 1875- 1882³⁶

<u>Place</u>	<u>Opening Date</u>
Dağhamamı (boys)	January 1875
Balat (boys)	July 1875
Hasköy (girls)	August 1875
Galata (boys)	October 1875
Galata (mixed)	1876
Hasköy (boys)	January 1877
Kuzguncuk (boys)	July 1879
Galata (girls)	August 1879
Dağhamamı (girls)	August 1880
Ortaköy (mixed)	February 1881
Balat (girls)	April 1882

Some schools such as of Hasköy, Balat, Dağhamamı and Kuzguncuk never received local financial support. They relied entirely on subventions from Paris as well as on tuition fees. Others, such as the Goldschmidt school for the Ashkenazi community, the Kuzguncuk and Ortaköy school for boys in Istanbul, and the Edirne and Izmir boys' schools, received regular subsidies from communal councils. Galata schools for boys and girls, the Dağhamamı school for boys in Istanbul, and the schools for girls in Edirne and Izmir received communal support.

Such support depended upon the political situation within the communities and on their financial condition. The Alliance schools were inevitably involved with

³⁶ Bulletin semestriel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, (no: 2), 1883, p.37

communal finances, the Central Committee always insisting upon the maximization of local subsidies.³⁷

Besides its school network in larger cities like Istanbul, Edirne and İzmir, Alliance continued its policy in other localities where there were enough Jew population. In time, many schools, primary level, had been put into service in the Ottoman territory. Below table lists the school opened in areas of Jewish presence within the present Turkish borders. The table also gives the Jewish schools subsidized by the Alliance. Such ones, however, is known publicly as Alliance schools.

³⁷ Rodrigue, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews”, p. 57

2.3.2. Other AIU Branches

Besides its school network in larger cities like Istanbul, Edirne and İzmir, Alliance continued its policy in other localities where there were enough Jew population. In time, many schools, primary level, had been put into service in the Ottoman territory. Below Table2. lists the school opened in areas of Jewish presence within the present Turkish borders. The Table 2. also gives the Jewish schools subsidized by the Alliance. Such ones, however, is known publicly as Alliance schools.

Table 2. AIU School Network in Turkey

<u>Location of the Alliance School</u>	<u>Foundation</u> ³⁸
Çanakkale -Kale-i Sultaniye (boys)	1878
Çanakkale -Kale-i Sultaniye (girls)	1888
Bursa(boys)	1886
Bursa(girls)	1886
Manisa –Magnesia (boys)	1892
Aydın(boys)	1894
Aydın(girls)	1904
Tire (boys)	1897
Tire (girls)	1910
Turgutlu –Kasaba (mixed)	1897
Tekirdağ –Rodosto (mixed)	1904
Gelibolu (boys)	1905
Gelibolu (girls)	1913
Kırklareli –Kırkkilise (girls)	1911
Kırklareli –Kırkkilise (boys)	1913
Çorlu (mixed)	1911
Urla (mixed)	1909
Bergama (mixed)	1896
Milas (mixed)	1909
Nazilli	1901
Menemen (mixed)	1909
Silivri (mixed)	1901

³⁸ Bulletin AIU (1878-1913)

CHAPTER 3

EDUCATION POLICY OF AIU

3.1. Role of School Committees and Administrations

Alliance Central in Paris was very active for the protection and patronage of the Jews. The Central Committee had overtaken also the lobbying activities. Local engagements of such tasks were expected to be fulfilled by the school teachers and directors, who were acting as representatives of the Central Committee. It was therefore that the teachers appointed to serve in Alliance schools located in principal Jewish centers were assigned duties that surpassed the aims of the organization.. Besides their instructive loads, they were expected to act almost like missionaries to help support Jewish emancipation, raise the life standards, and protect them against any threats. So, the duties of the teachers, or the administrators extended beyond schools, into such fields as protection of life and property, health services, communal administration and social work.

Considering that Jews usually lived in densely populated ghettos under unfavorable conditions, the children often suffered from many diseases. So the teachers also had an undefined obligation of assuring the hygiene and sanitation of the children and the rest of the Jewish community around them. . Apart from providing material aid for the needy children, they also were in charge of distributing emergency reliefs supplied by Paris during disasters. Whenever a disaster occurred such as fires, epidemics or earthquakes, they were there to resolve issues officially. For example, during the cholera epidemic in Izmir in 1893, the Alliance teachers rendered immeasurable services.³⁹

The Central Committee was determined that schools should survive with local subsidies apart from supports from Paris. Directors of the schools were responsible

³⁹ Bulletin AIU, 1893, Paris, pp.39-40, 1904, pp. 57-59.

from financing of the school. They were to decide which students would be exempt from paying tuition. In cases when a school committee was not yet formed they would try to get local support and organize families to finance the school.

The relationship that evolved between Paris and the different localities where the Alliance schools were established varied from place to place depending on the personality, and political views of the teachers involved. Each school had a director sent by Paris who administered the institution and taught certain subjects in larger schools directors had assistants who were either teachers sent from Paris or a person chosen among locally trained personnel. The directors were the most important people for the organization, and they played a key role in the history of the Alliance. They were the ones who provided the practice of its policy, reported about local events to Paris, and conveyed Paris's views to the locals.

A school director had to obtain confidence of the community to succeed his task. He had to establish good relations with communal leaders and convince the families send their children to the school. This was because the school could only succeed if the rabbis and parents were convinced that it would satisfy their religious education requirements.

As the Central Committee expected the directors and teachers to combat with prejudice and intolerance, reminded of the principles of solidarity on which Alliance was established, they were warned about attacking the feelings and ideas of the people⁴⁰ In the meanwhile, the Alliance teachers, as citizens of European countries had the support of the consulates of the countries they were from. In cases of conflicts with local or central authorities, the teachers or directors applied to the consulates of their countries for assistance.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Instructions Générales pour les Professeurs, AIU, Paris 1903.; Silberman, Paul, pp.187-189

⁴¹ Bulletin AIU, 1893, Paris, pp.39-40, 1904, pp.57-59.

3.2. Instruction for Teachers

In the first decades of AIU after its foundation, the teachers in the Alliance schools were mostly selected from the French Jews, who had completed the Rabbinical School (seminary) in Paris. When the teachers were appointed to Jewish centers, they usually confronted problems arising from cultural disharmony as well as difficulties concerning the daily life. These affected their performance as well as the Alliance quality... An important number among them had to change their location or post due to such problems. In order to overcome this inconvenience Alliance Administration in Paris decided to open a special school in 1867 named "Ecole Normale Israelite Orientale" to train and educate AIU school graduates to become teachers⁴². The best students of the AIU schools were given a qualification examination at the end of their studies and those who passed were sent to Paris to the Alliance ENIO to be trained as teachers. Upon the completion of their training they were sent to direct and teach in the Alliance schools.

As to the ENIO curriculums, at the beginning, they had a three year program, similar to the French normal schools. In addition, the students had to study Hebrew, Jewish history, the Bible, and other Jewish subjects. At the end of this period of study, the students had to pass the French national examination, which equipped them with the diploma all French elementary school teachers had to obtain before they could teach. The students had the French education formation, trained to teach French to the children of Eastern Jews who had different official languages, mostly with Ladino as well.⁴³

A further year of study was added to schools in 1876, and to pass the required exams as wanted by the French educational system for all teachers was

⁴² will be used for ENIO

⁴³ Rodrigue, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews, pp. 73-75.

made compulsory for the students of this school. Girls followed the same program, though study of Hebrew was held optional, and they were expected to attend classes at two Parisian educational establishments for Jewish girls, the Institut Bischoffsheim and the boarding school of Madame Isaac.⁴⁴

It is important to note that most of the Alliance teaching staff came from the Ladino communities of the Ottoman Empire. 60 % of the 403 ENIO man and woman graduates who became teachers between 1869 and 1925 were appointed to teach within the area corresponding to the present-day borders of Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. This figure rised to 70% for the female teachers. Indeed, the communities within the borders of present-day Turkey alone supplied 34.8 % of the man and 48 % of the woman teachers.⁴⁵ The students whose mother tongue was Ladino were luckier for Judeo-Spanish was similar to French and they had no difficulty in learning fluent French, and they were more successful. In fact, the Ladino speaking Jews were more likely to adopt the process of westernization.

⁴⁴ Silberman, Paul, “An Investigation of the Schools Operated by the Alliance Israélite Universelle”, 1973

⁴⁵ Rodrigue, Aron, “De l’instruction a l’émancipation”, Paris, 1989, p.57

3.2. Curriculum and Courses

Table 3. Identification of AIU Classes and Equivalences

AIU class	Designation	Grade (Class-year)
5 th	Preparatory	1
4 th	Elementary	2
3 rd	Elementary	3
Second A	Middle First Year	4
Second B	Middle Second Year	5
First A	Upper First Year	6
First B	Upper Second Year	7

In some schools there was also a 6th class equivalent to kindergarten.

Table 4. Curriculum of the Primary Schools

*Hymnes were taught to girls in 4-7th grades; in addition, all girls were taught 7 to 10 hours of sewing,

Subject	Boys				Girls	
	Grades 2-3		Grades 4-7		Grades 2-7	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
Post-biblical history	0	0	1	2	1	2
Biblical history and religious instruction	1	2	1	2	1	2
Hebrew	5	10	5	10	2	2
French reading	6	10	5	8	4	5
French language	6	6	5	6	4	4
Arithmetic	2	3	3	4	2	2
Geography	2	3	2	3	1	1
History	1	2	2	2	1	1
Science	1	1	1	2	1	1
Object lessons	2	3	2	3	2	2
Penmanship	2	3	2	2	2	2
Language	5	10	5	10	4	5
Singing	1	1	1	1	1	1*
Drawing	0	0	1	2	1	1
Physical training	1	2	2	2	1	1

The courses boys and girls had to take in the first grade were religious instruction and Hebrew (7-10 hours), French reading (5-10 hours), penmanship (5 hours), handcrafts (8-10 hours), and language (4-6 hours). It must be remembered that the Alliance provided the first mass European-style elementary and lower secondary education. Economic necessity compelled many students to abandon their education early so for many students, this education time remained at a quite basic level. It did not go beyond the acquisition of the elements of reading and writing in French and some arithmetic. For a significant number, however, the schools served as powerful medium for class mobility, either by the imparting of skills useful in trade and commerce. By the twentieth century, a new Jewish middle class had come into being, and the Alliance had played an important role in its making.

3.4. Education for Girls

It is well known that education was controlled by religious authorities of communities in the millet system. Jewish women in the Ottoman Empire did not receive a formal education until the 19th century. This had reasons. To begin with, until the Tanzimat era, there were no public education for girls at all in the Ottoman Empire.. Secondly, since women had no part in the religious services in the synagogues, it was assumed they did not need a formal education although, some of them received private education at home.

After the foundation of AIU in 1860 enrolling girls as well, a new era started for Jewish girls' education in the Ottoman Empire .⁴⁶ However, unless the school offered mixed education, boys' schooling was a few years more than the girls'.

Requests AIU schools come mostly from places which did not have r modern schools. Accordingly, AIU opened multiple schools in the Ottoman Empire including the vocational and mixed, among which 45 were for girls. All these schools functioned under the same regulations and curriculum, although some changes could be made according to local needs.⁴⁷ For example, the school in Galata had a special class teaching two languages, French and German.

⁴⁶ Levy, Avigdor, *Jews, Turks, Ottomans*, pp. 133-134.

⁴⁷ Leven, Narcisse, *Cinquante ans d'histoire*.

3.5. Vocational and Apprenticeship Training Programs

Alliance vocational training system was first introduced in 1872 by David Cazes, during his stay in Volos⁴⁸ when he was the director of the Alliance school. He had suggested an apprenticeship program where the students could learn and work with artisan masters in the city. The supervision would be done by the school authorities, by making visits to the workplaces, and continue their education by giving lessons to them before and after work. Having received the consent of the Central Committee, he opened the first Alliance apprenticeship project by placing eight students with artisans in Volos in 1872.

The Alliance was aware of the fact that a productive trade was lacking among the Jewish communities not only in the Ottoman Empire but among all in the Near East, especially during nineteenth century. For the Alliance, it was the schools that played the leading role in the regeneration of Jewish society as a whole. But their impact could be felt in long term, when their graduates would compose the working strata of the community. Therefore an apprenticeship program was started with the aim of obtaining results over a short time by imparting artisanal skills to a specific sector of Jewish society, mainly to the poor.

The Alliance was greatly concerned about the unfavorable economic condition of the majority of Jews living within Ottoman lands. It was soon realized that educational work of the schools had to be complemented by other means to improve life quality of the people. At times when education was not enough to guarantee the graduates a job and elevate their standard of living, vocational training was of great importance.

In fact, the transformation of Jewish social structure was one of the most important goals of the regeneration program adopted by the Jewish elite in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was also the source of reasoning for the foundation of the Alliance. The Alliance reproduced the project outside France and

⁴⁸A city in the present Greece.

started a new program in locations of larger and populated schools. The aim was to introduce new artisanal and agricultural trades to the Jews in the East in order to transform the socioeconomic profile of the Jewish communities.⁴⁹

There had been some previous attempts among Turkish Jews to create an apprenticeship system to teach manual trades to the poor. In Istanbul, a society called “Ha Peulah” was trying to apprentice orphans in 1867. Also in the 1860s, a charity society had founded a school in Izmir which was not long-lived due to insufficient money. At the beginning, these societies contributed some funds to the Alliance apprenticeship committee in Istanbul, but soon faded from the scene.⁵⁰ As in other fields, local initiatives became unsuccessful next to Alliance.

The school director in Izmir personally supervised the Alliance apprenticeship organization in the city. The case was different in Edirne, where, Abraham Danon, had been involved in manual labor projects as early as 1878. Danon deemed vocational training to be of greatest importance for the transformation of Jewish life. He pursued work there until the “Dorshei Haskalah” society, established in 1879, took over the management of the apprenticeship program of the Alliance school in Edirne.

In Istanbul, Salomon Fernandez, Eliezer de Castro, and Leon Piperno, all members of the Alliance Regional Committee, created an apprenticeship committee and took the apprenticeship program under their guidance. For a few years they had full administrative liberty and were even able to use the yearly Alliance subventions as they saw fit. Lack of concrete resolutions led to the appointment of an Alliance teacher, a Mr. Hamouth, as the overseer of the program for the entire city of Istanbul. In spite of conflicts between him and the committee, Hamouth

⁴⁹ Weinryb, D. Bernard, *Jewish Vocational Education*, J. T. S. P. Univ. Press in New York, 1948.

⁵⁰ Rodrigue, Aron, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, p.102

remained supervisor until 1895 and was instrumental in the establishment of joiner's-cabinetmaking workshop in Balat in 1889 for the training of apprentices.⁵¹

In Edirne, 194 apprentices had participated in the Alliance program between 1878 and 1900. Forty were still apprentices at the time of the inquiry in 1900. Of the remaining 154, 21 had abandoned the program while 37 were not employed in the trades that they had been taught. This brought a loss of approximately 40% to the targeted aim of program . 16 of the remaining apprentices were no longer in Edirne but were employed in the surrounding smaller communities. Hence only 80 Alliance-trained artisans remained in Edirne. Including this figure, there were a total of 597 Jewish artisans in the town in 1900 out of a total Jewish population of about 15,000.

In Izmir, by 1899, 40 percent of those who had begun the apprenticeship program had abandoned it before completion. Of those who had finished, 95 percent pursued the vocation taught. The number of fully trained artisans who were the products of the Alliance program was 119, forming almost one eighth of the total of 893 Jewish artisans in Izmir, where the total Jewish population was about 25,000.⁵² The Alliance apprenticeship program in Izmir contributed here too to the diversification of trades, with new skills introduced to the Jewish community for the first time. The Jewish coopers, woodcarvers, plumbers, mechanics, coachbuilders, and bronze-smelters in Izmir were all trained through the Alliance apprenticeship program. Furthermore, the majority of the Jewish blacksmiths, typographers, metal-turners, carpet makers, and photographers were also products of the same program .. The apprenticeship programs did lead to the training of a certain number of Jewish skilled artisans, especially in new trades for the community. However, with a 40 to 50 percent drop-out rate out of a pool of apprentices that was not too large to begin with, the numbers trained by the programs were too limited to affect the profound

⁵¹ Ibid, p.103

⁵²Benbassa, Esther and Rodrigue, Aron ; "L'artisanat juif en Turquie a la fin du XIX siècle: l'Alliance Israelite Universelle et ses oeuvres d'apprentissage," *Turcica* 27 (1985)

transformation of the Jewish social structure so desired by the organization. In other words, the results of the program did not fulfill the expectations of the Alliance⁵³. Nevertheless each new Alliance sponsored skilled trade was practiced by only one to four Jews in Edirne and Izmir. Furthermore, in the earlier years of the apprenticeship system, mistakes were made and resources were wasted by employing semi-skilled people in trades such as tailoring. . The small nucleus of skilled artisans trained with the help of the Alliance was an important group in each of the Jewish communities although their impact on social structure remained limited.

In Istanbul, the apprenticeship program appears to have functioned poorly. In 1899, only 108 out of 325 who had attended it remained in their trades. Of the sixteen placed as apprentices with blacksmiths, only one was practicing the trade that he had learned. Only two out of fifteen apprentices in engraving, one out of nine in foundry work, two out of ten in bookbinding, and five out of twenty-one in carpet making were working in their trades. The loss to the program was around 67 percent.

It is not difficult to reach conclusions about the results of the apprenticeship organization in Istanbul with the very large number of the totally unskilled destitute Jews in Istanbul and the very small number of artisans trained with the help of the Alliance, Even though the latter had introduced some new skilled trades, its impact on the social structure of the Jews of Istanbul in general and on the Jewish artisan class of the city in particular appears was also negligible.

Comparable statistics for the post-1900 period could not be found for Izmir and Istanbul. The only statistics that are available for Istanbul are the ones provided by Abraham Galante. Basing his work on the archives of the Alliance apprenticeship program in Istanbul, which are now lost, Galante claims that the program had trained 572 artisans by World War I. However, the figure does not indicate what percentage of these were actually practicing their trade. There is no

⁵³ Rodrigue, Aron, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, p. 104

reason to believe that the rate of loss to the program had diminished dramatically. As mentioned above, 325 of the 572 had been apprenticed before 1900, with only 108 remaining as artisans by that date. Given the trends of the apprenticeship programs as a whole, it would be reasonable to assume that this number had increased probably to about 250 by 1914.⁵⁴

Other towns such as Bursa, Aydın, Manisa, and Tekirdağ where there were Alliance schools also established apprenticeship programs. However, these were much smaller in scope than the ones in the large centers and the number of trades that could be taught was severely limited. The lack of statistics for these communities makes it impossible to analyze their rate of success.

Taking the apprenticeship programs in Istanbul, Edirne, and Izmir as a whole, it becomes quite clear that the Alliance's contribution to the creation of a Jewish skilled artisan class in Turkey gave limited results. The results were not commensurate with the effort and fell far short of the aim of developing a Jewish artisan class. However, -the organization did contribute to the introduction of relatively new trades to the skilled Jews, which involved metals and wood, which had gained importance at the time because of mass imports of finished products from the West. Nevertheless this did not provide a profound transformation of the socioeconomic profile of the destitute Jews in Turkey.

It must be reminded that the economic situation of the Ottoman Empire, bankrupt and indebted to the West, was far from providing the positive local circumstances that would have allowed such an ambitious program to succeed. Moreover, artisanal trades did not constitute the most secure occupations in the Ottoman Empire. The entire area of handicrafts was marked by a deep decline in the nineteenth century, especially after the Anglo-Turkish commercial convention of 1838, which had led to the flooding of local markets by imported goods. The ethnic division of the marketplace also created serious problems. Local guilds, made up mostly of Greeks and Armenians, did not favor the teaching of artisanal

⁵⁴Galante, Abraham, "Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul", 2 Vol., Istanbul, p.72

skills to Jews and harassed those who hired Jewish apprentices. Certain trades, such as tannery and saddle making, were not open to the Jews in Izmir. On the other hand, tailoring in the capital was predominantly in the hands of Ashkenazi Jews. The Alliance sometimes tried to find a solution to the problem by sidestepping the locality and sending students to the trade school it had established in Jerusalem, hoping that they would come back and practice their trade in their own communities.. However the numbers involved remained very small, as most chose to emigrate upon the completion of their studies, usually to the West.

The most important factor that played a role in the relative failure of the apprenticeship program was the difficulties Alliance suffered in convincing sufficient number of students in its schools, and their parents, to choose the program. Most of those who enrolled in the program did so for the wages that the Alliance offered and left as soon as a better alternative was found. There was no real incentive to become an artisan, in spite of the glorification of manual labor taught to the students. The trades introduced were too new, their future too uncertain, to attract large numbers. Furthermore, there was no artisanal tradition, no artisanal culture among Turkish Jewry to provide legitimation and status to highly skilled manual labor.

A few years after the establishment of the apprenticeship program for boys, the Central Committee decided to start practical workshops for girls in many schools. With the great importance given to morality by the Alliance, it was natural that it did not favor apprenticing girls in town where they could be exposed to negative influences. Instead, workshops teaching dressmaking, sewing, ironing, or weaving were started in the schools where the director could exercise direct control. Another point to keep in mind is that only the students who were aged between twelve and fourteen and had been studying at the Alliance school were to be admitted to the program which was to last for three years. Therefore it was not wise to expect deeper effects than was provided anyway.

Considering the program offered to girls, the vocational training program aimed to equip the poorer girls with a skill they could eventually use to supplement their future husbands' earnings. The idea behind this was that primary instruction could not alone assure for girls livelihood, it was necessary to provide her with a trade which, by allowing her to contribute to the upkeep of her future household, would provide her more authority within the family and more confidence in herself.

The first workshops for girls were established in Galata in 1882, and were followed by those in Edirne, Izmir, and other quarters of Istanbul from 1884. Between fifteen and thirty girls were admitted to each of these every year. However, it soon became clear that none of them provided the expected results. There was resistance to the specialized nature of the training provided, most parents insisting that their children learn only the sewing which could be useful at home. The workshops in Edirne were difficult to manage and were reorganized in 1887. So were the ones in Istanbul. The director of the Galata school attempted to transform the workshop into a sewing room for the school in general but the idea, was angrily rejected by the Central Committee, which insisted that it did not want to train amateurs but real professionals.

The Central Committee by 1889 was complaining that none of the workshops was working well. There was little improvement over the years. In 1899, only a very small number of women trained in the workshops were using their skills to earn a living in Hasköy, whereas there were too many dressmakers in the area. In 1905, the workshops in the Balat schools were closed, as they had not given any appreciable results. The Central Committee decided that such an establishment could not succeed there. Their results were not too brilliant in Izmir, according to a report of 1909. In a letter to the director of the Edirne school in 1910, the Central Committee conceded defeat and instructed him not to create new workshops, as

they had not proved to be successful in general.⁵⁵ The results of the process of vocational training for girls in Turkey are far from analyzing in depth, since the data is not enough for this aim. However, general comments from the directors and the Central Committee make it sometimes clear that the outcome of the training fell far below expectations. The Alliance had somehow unrealistic expectations about the possibilities open to women labor in Turkey, even in the most westernized areas such as Galata. Even the girls who worked quit once they were married. Those who wanted to work preferred to be employed as teachers, and secretaries, or as sales assistants in the European shops of Galata. The school was far more effective than the workshops in providing the skills necessary for this kind of employment which was just beginning to attract Jewish girls. The Alliance did not comment correctly the social aspirations of the local population. The Jewish poor did not look favorably upon manual labor. It was not the workshops but the schools themselves which were seen by the local populations as a means social mobility, of social elevation on the ladder of status.

⁵⁵ Rodrigue, Aron, "French Jews, Turkish Jews", pp. 108-109

3.6. Agricultural Training

Besides the apprenticeship programs facilitated for promoting the vocational standards of the Jews, another element put forward by the Alliance to help the poor masses living in country areas was training in agriculture. As a matter of fact, AIU's involvement in agricultural training provided the organization much successes and become sample for future applications..

According to the central committee, return of the urbanized Jews who therefore became consumers to their and farms to become producers once again was the essential part of the process of regeneration. For this aim an agricultural school "Mikveh Israel", was founded in 1870 in Jaffa. There selected students were taught the latest agricultural techniques and become effective farmers. Each year few students from Alliance schools were sent to this school to receive training with students from Palestine.

In 1887, seventeen Jewish Russian families migrated to Aydın, settled in nearby places and were engaged in agriculture. When they encountered financial problems, Alliance tried to help them but could not improve their economic situation much. By 1890, most of these settlers abandoned their new settlements whereas the episode demonstrated the poor agricultural skills of the Jews. The school director of Izmir, Shemtob Pariente, had followed up the settlers very closely and wanted to direct some of the students of his school toward developing their knowledge on agriculture. Upon his initiative and recommendation the AIU purchased a farm Bornova, in 1890, with the financial help of Baron de Hirsch, to be used for this purpose. A few students of the Alliance school in Izmir were sent to this farm to become apprentice farmers under the direction of some graduates of Mikveh Israel. However, the experience was short lived, and abandoned in 1895.⁵⁶ Despite negative experiences, the Alliance was determined to introduce farming schools in the Ottoman Empire. In 1896, Jacques Bigart, the Secretary of the

⁵⁶ AAIU, Turquie, LXXIV, Arie, 1894-1895

Alliance, authorized Gabriel Arie, the director of the Alliance school in Izmir, to deal with the issue of finding a suitable land for farming.⁵⁷

Alliance was lucky with this project that the international organization was ready to cooperate: it was the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA) which aimed to provide the settlement of Jewish refugees and motivate them to live on farming. By the JCA's initiative, the Banque Agricole Salonique overtook the financial support. Among the proposed locations in the present Egean region of Turkey the commission selected the Çakıroğlu farm in the outskirts of Akhisar. The purchased land was expanded in the following years by adding nearby lands and a colony named Or Yahuda was formed on a ground of 34,000 acres in 1899 .. The local people named it as "the farm school" or "the Jewish farm".

Some students from the Alliance school in Izmir were transferred to the farm, then 50 students were added to families migrated from Russia. Each family was given basic farming equipment and a suitable size house, in return, they should submit to the colony administration one third of the product. Every possible product was harvested including wheat, tobacco, cotton, grape, besides some livestock breeding.⁵⁸ The vineyards were divided into eight and to cherish the memory of people who contributed to the foundation of the farm were named after some such as Clara Hirsch, Mauricia, Netler, Ciremieux, Montefiore, Philippon, Leven, and Icass.

Although education was more of practical training, the students were expected to gain the required academical skills to follow the latest technological developments in farming. A library was built and equipped with books, subject periodicals, and other literature as well as , history and geography books, including

⁵⁷ Rodrigue, Aron, "French Jews, Turkish Jews", pp.110-111.

⁵⁸The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem (CAHJP), The Jewish Colonization Association collections, Turkey files, no: 19-30., Bora, Siren, "Alliance Israel Universelle'in Osmanlı Yahudi Cemaatini Tarım Sektöründe Kalkındırma Çalışmaları ve Izmir Yakınlarında Kurulan Bir Çiftlik Okul: Or Yahuda", Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, 1.Cilt, No: 3, 1993, pp.387-400.

pieces of Shakespeare and Moliere. The normal education period in school was 3 years, but mastering or gaining higher degrees required 4 or 5 years.

In 1901, during a discussion at the Ottoman Council of State on the question of the authorization to be given to legalize the agricultural school Or Yehudah, several members of the Council accused the Alliance of having or supporting Zionist ideas. However, the idea was eliminated and after some negotiations, in 1904 foundation and functionality of Or Yahuda was ratified by a decree of Sultan and the Governor of Izmir is informed about this approval⁵⁹. The Ministry of Interior released permission for the temporary transfer of the school to the farm school to be built in Akhisar.⁶⁰ Afterwards renovation of the current premises and installation of new ones started. One year later the construction works were completed and the students moved to new buildings.

After the 1908 Revolution which brought a new climate of equality, freedom and fraternity to the country, muslim students were allowed to attend the school, too. The new constitutional regime, as in all other fields, initiated a reforms age in agriculture with the CUP taking up Or Yahuda as a good and effective example. It was made a model for the , State Agriculture Schools opened in three cities of the Empire, Istanbul, Izmir and Selanik.. However, due to insufficient funding and changing conditions , this project could not continue long either.

During the World War I, the colony and the school buildings served the military. Soldiers used the facilities for some months. The Seydiköy (Izmir) State Agriculture School moved and appended to Or Yahuda, after government's seizure. The objections of the JCA and Istanbul Chief Rabbinate did not give any result.⁶¹ As far as Turkey was concerned, the Alliance's efforts to direct the interest of the local communities toward agriculture was not successful. There was not many who

⁵⁹The original text of this decree is kept in the archives of Istanbul Chief Rabbinate.

⁶⁰ BOA, Ministry of Interior documents, DH.MKT, File 737, no: 42, 8.7.1903

⁶¹ Bora, Siren, pp.396-399

received agricultural training, since the local conditions were too difficult to make agriculture an attractive occupation. Indeed, the Jews' choice was to live in larger cities and dealing with trade and commerce.

CHAPTER 4

ALLAINCE SCHOOLS IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

4.1. Treaty of Lausanne and Sanctions

The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 gave several rights to the minorities remaining in the country⁶². They could continue to operate their schools and teach in their own languages, could not be barred from civil employment, and could regulate matters of personal and family status according to their religious laws. However, the public mood was firmly set against foreign elements. Some newspapers charged that the Jews, as well as others, had profited from the war and should now be generous in their financial contributions to the reconstruction of the country. Community leaders

⁶² Related articles of the Treaty are given below :

Article 40 : Turkish nationals belonging to non-Muslim minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

Article 41 : As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools. In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Muslim minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

started lobbying around governmental authorities to make things clear after the Treaty. Besides using other channels, religious authorities were seeking ways to help reconcile with the new Republic and find some solutions to the problems.⁶³ To this aim, Chief Rabbi Haim Becerano was received by the Caliph Abdulmecid Efendi after the signing of Peace of Lausanne, and made a declaration that Turks and Jews should live in the future like real brothers. This was a warm message from the Caliph to the Jewish citizens of the new Republic. “

The Jewish press followed the allegations closely and put up a strong defense, arguing that the Jews had always been strong supporters of the Turks and had themselves suffered much during the war. David Fresco, the editor of *El Tiempo* and a strong Turkish patriot, was particularly bitter over the dismissal of Jews and accused the authorities of contradicting their own principles of equality under the Law for all the citizens of the country.⁶⁴

The schools status were not clear then. In May 1923, the Ministry of Education revived the provisions of the 1915 regulations, whereby the teaching of the Turkish language, history, and geography was made compulsory in all the schools of the non-Muslims. Furthermore, these had to be taught in Turkish by Turkish Turks, appointed by the ministry. It soon became clear that non-Muslims did not qualify as Turks and hence were excluded from these teaching positions.

The new appointees also posed serious financial problems for non-Muslim schools, including the Alliance ones. They were to be paid by the schools themselves at salaries set by the Ministry of Education, salaries which were higher than the usual ones. The Jewish community made several appeals to the authorities for a gradual introduction of the new regulation, all to no avail. From this time on,

⁶³ The Jewish Chronicle, 7 Sept. 1923

⁶⁴ Rodrigue, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews, p. 162

the communities and the schools had to find the financial resources to meet the extra cost.

4.2. Law of the Unification of Education

In March 1924, the new regime passed the Unification of Education law which altered radically the educational landscape of the country⁶⁵. The law prohibited all religious instruction in the schools and took the control of all institutions of advanced Muslim learning, the *medreses* under the Ministry of Education. So, the law ended the duality between the secular and religious education systems that had hindered the success of educational reforms under the Ottomans since the *Tanzimat*. The law, together with the expulsion of the Caliph in the same year, underlined one of the fundamental principles of the Republic, that of secularism, and pointed to the disestablishment of Islam to be formalized in 1928.

4.3. Relations of AIU with the Turkish Republic

There were 28 AIU schools with 9904 students in Turkey, at the time the republic was founded in 1923.⁶⁶ After so many years of turbulences, wars and turmoil the schools were still there. And the Alliance hoped that its institutions would continue to function normally under the new regime.

Just on 1923, Mustafa Kemal's interview with a correspondent signaled the destiny of Alliance schools. The French journalist Maurice Pernot interviewed with

⁶⁵ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 3 March 1924, Term II, p. 17.

⁶⁶ Paix et Droit 3 (December 1923): 12

Mustafa Kemal about the French Schools on 29 October 1923. Mustafa Kemal stated his opinions as follows⁶⁷:

“...The French schools rendered great services to Turkish nation. We, all, drank from culture source of France. I also attended to a French school for a while when I was a child. But sometimes we observed that the foreign schools, left their roles in education, followed unscientific propaganda aims and relied on the non-Turkish minorities for that’. Then he added the followings to specify the policy of Turkish Government: Most of the French schools are directed by priests and nurses. Therefore we are worried that they are making religious propaganda. But we want your schools to remain. Yet, it is impossible to think that the foreign schools have the privileges that the Turkish ones do not. For this reason, the French schools can continue their existence providing that they act upon the Turkish laws and regulations.”

Indeed the new regime was not against the Alliance, nor foreign schools. What they had intended was a national, unified and a secular system for education. It was Mustafa Kemal himself, who, being well aware of Alliance schools, had helped the school management on a local conflict. This proves his approach to Alliance without any prejudices. The Jewish Chronicle daily paper writes this event⁶⁸

A regrettable incident occurred in Edirne is solved by Mustafa Kemal:

A misunderstanding led to a debate between the AIU school management and the

Inspector of Public Instruction. The inspector writes a hostile report and sends to Thrace Governor demanding their closure. The Jewish community feeling

⁶⁷ Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri, C 3, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara 1997 p.89-90

⁶⁸ The Jewish Chronicle, 7 September 1923

themselves insures after local journals started to provoke a hostile campaign, sends a telegram to Mustafa Kemal. Mustafa Kemal immediately ordered an enquiry which resulted in the dismissal of the said Inspector.

The emergence of the republican state out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire after close to a decade of crisis and military combat, beginning with the Balkan wars of 1912-13, radically altered the contours of non-Muslim existence in Turkey. Most of the Armenian community had perished, and the Greeks, with the exception of the Istanbul community, were transferred to Greece in return for the transfer of most of the Turks of Greece, excluding those in Western Thrace, to Turkey. This meant that outside Istanbul, no significant non-Muslim presence remained in the country.

The modern Turkish nation state could act much more decisively than the Ottoman Empire on its policies without hesitation. The republican state, like the Western one on which it modeled itself, hence went much further than the Ottoman one. Under its Western-oriented leadership, not only was it concerned with controlling civil society, but it now also wanted to reform it, to "civilize" it, to bring it up to the level of West European societies. The model for the Republic was the French secular state, centralized, with no intermediary bodies between the citizenry and the state. It drew upon this Western tradition as well as upon the specifically Ottoman one that stressed the omnipotence of the rulers. Under Atatürk, Turkey saw the separation of religion and politics through the effective disestablishment of Islam, the adoption of Western institutions in all areas of life, the creation of a universal secular education system, and the putting in place of a Republican ideology, populist nationalism, that acted as an agent of integration and social mobilization.

After the 3 March laws to ensure the secular system, one being the Law of the Unification of Education, there still remained some gaps and areas of conflict. The secularism principle of the new republic could not yet affect the curricula of the schools of the minorities, as the Lausanne clauses allowed the teaching of religion in these institutions. It was only in 1936 that religious instruction would be banned also in these establishments. However, the new law, rationalizing and streamlining the educational system of the country, served notice of the great degree of control that the state would so exercise on all institutions of education in Turkey.

In early 1924, Alliance directors in the provinces began to report that the Turkish educational authorities were creating problems, refusing to recognize the schools as Alliance institutions, insisting that they be called communal schools. In March 1924, the Alliance schools were ordered by the Ministry of Education to cease all contact with the organization in Paris. Juridically, this spelled the end of the Alliance in Turkey.

Meanwhile, the AIU did not get any help or protection of the French Embassy, as it was not an officially French body, and the schools were not French institutions. An accord of 1921 between the French and TBMM in Ankara had recognized the right of all French institutions of education in existence before 1914 to continue to operate in Turkey. Though these schools were hesitant in the years following the Republic and had to secularize themselves and obey the same regulations being applied to the schools of the non-Muslim minorities, their legal existence was not challenged by the state.

The Alliance, having no French legal status, could not benefit from the Ankara Agreement of 1921. Its strategy of formal independence from France which had served it so well in the war years when it had been able to continue to operate its schools in Turkey, now became disadvantage.

In June 1924, the Ministry of Education presented all Jewish elementary schools with the option of either teaching in Turkish, or "in their mother tongue," which it declared was Hebrew. However, very few Turkish Jews were familiar with Hebrew as a living language and almost all spoke Judeo-Spanish. It is obvious that the decree was intended to displace French from its place as the language of instruction of the Jews of Turkey to satisfy a unification of language.

The same requirement from the Greeks and Armenians would not have been problematic, as both minorities used their respective mother tongues, Greek and Armenian, as the language of instruction in their schools.

Hence the Jewish community took the only option available, the adoption of Turkish as the language of instruction in its elementary schools. Ankara agreed to the appeal made by Jewish communal leaders that the new reform be introduced gradually. A transitional period ended in 1925 when Turkish was introduced progressively each year as the language of instruction for each class beginning with the lowest one. French could be taught in the fourth year, but only as a second language. Since most Jewish elementary schools had only four grades, this meant practically the end of instruction in French. By 1929, these institutions were following the state curriculum, with the exception of a few hours devoted to Jewish religious education. The schools had now been totally nationalized.

Some legal uncertainties, that allowed Turkish citizens to attend foreign schools, such as French ones, was closed at the elementary instruction level in 1931. With the new law, no Turkish citizen could attend foreign elementary schools. The process of the nationalization of the Alliance institutions was part of the larger process of the creation of a unitary national elementary education system in Turkey.

The Alliance continued to send funds to the schools and to maintain regular contacts with their directors well into the 1930s. It considered them important, as they were still schools for Jews and were, at least until 1936, providing some Jewish

religious instruction. However, its hopes for a relaxation of the new regulations were not realized. The state curriculum remained firmly in place. With the introduction of Turkish as the language of instruction in 1925, these schools ceased to be, for all intents and purposes, Alliance institutions.

Many Jews who went on to study beyond the elementary level continued to attend foreign *lycees*, and French remained the language of choice. However, the elementary French mass educational system put in place by the Alliance since the 1860s came to an end in 1925. It is only after this date that one can speak seriously about the beginning of the process of Turkicization of the Jews of Turkey.

The language issue had been crucial during this period. The attacks to both Alliance and its presence or the Jewish citizens at all, were concentrated on the language problem. During the TBMM meetings, with occasion of a proposal or budget criticisms, a deputy said⁶⁹ :

“...We and the Jewish Community have always been in good manner to each other. We are behaving them good for their calm and quiet actings, though we are not content with their role on our economy. However, although they have been living among us for two centuries, they are still speaking as mother tongue, Spanish which is the language of people who dismissed them. They do not want to learn Turkish and so did they not....”

The problem manifested itself as whether or not the Turkish Jews would accept and learn Turkish. However, their learning the language possibly would again leave the matters in place, since the problem seemed to be different. Hamdullah Suphi Bey (Deputy of Istanbul) who was the minister of education for one year during the War of Independence, declares in the Assembly⁷⁰:

⁶⁹ TBMM 1st Term, Minutes, session 161, 23/12/1922, Salih Efendi (Deputy of Erzurum)

⁷⁰ TBMM 2nd Term, Minutes, session 42, 20/4/1924

“..The Jews dismissed from Spain and arrived here with Spanish would be Turks after accepting Turkish language and adopt Turkish schools as their schools. But when they preserve the language, instruct in Jewish and install private schools, nobody will avoid them being Jewish..”

After 1924 March, the new regime wanted not much, just include all educational institutions within the national and secular education system.

4.4. End of Alliance History in Turkey

The Alliance, having no French legal status, could not benefit from the Ankara Agreement of 1921. Its strategy of formal independence from France which had served it so well in the war years when it had been able to continue to operate its schools in Turkey, now became disadvantage.

In June 1924, the Ministry of Education presented all Jewish elementary schools with the option of either teaching in Turkish, or "in their mother tongue," which it declared was Hebrew. However, very few Turkish Jews were familiar with Hebrew as a living language and almost all spoke Judeo-Spanish. It is obvious that the decree was intended to displace French from its place as the language of instruction of the Jews of Turkey to satisfy a unification of language.

Characterization of these schools changed with the 1924 law of Unification of Education, into communal schools, and with the introduction of Turkish as the language of instruction, these schools ceased to be Alliance schools. The same requirement from the Greeks and Armenians would not have been problematic, as both minorities used their respective mother tongues, Greek and Armenian, as the language of instruction in their schools.

Hence the Jewish community took the only option available, the adoption of Turkish as the language of instruction in its elementary schools. Ankara agreed to the appeal made by Jewish communal leaders that the new reform be introduced gradually. A transitional period ended in 1925 when Turkish was introduced progressively each year as the language of instruction for each class beginning with the lowest one. French could be taught in the fourth year, but only as a second language. Since most Jewish elementary schools had only four grades, this meant practically the end of instruction in French. By 1929, these institutions were following the state curriculum, with the exception of a few hours devoted to Jewish religious education. The schools had now been totally nationalized. Some legal

uncertainties, that allowed Turkish citizens to attend foreign schools, such as French ones, was closed at the elementary instruction level in 1931. With the new law, no Turkish citizen could attend foreign elementary schools. The process of the nationalization of the Alliance institutions was part of the larger process of the creation of a unitary national elementary education system in Turkey.

The Alliance continued to send funds to the schools and to maintain regular contacts with their directors well into the 1930s. It considered them important, as they were still schools for Jews and were, at least until 1936, providing some Jewish religious instruction. However, its hopes for a relaxation of the new regulations were not realized. The state curriculum remained firmly in place. With the introduction of Turkish as the language of instruction in 1925, these schools ceased to be, for all intents and purposes, Alliance institutions.

Many Jews who went on to study beyond the elementary level continued to attend foreign *lycees*, and French remained the language of choice. However, the elementary French mass educational system put in place by the Alliance since the 1860s came to an end starting from 1925.

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Apart from all official conflicts and difficulties, with changing language aspects, Turkish would not have been a suitable medium for instruction. And ultimately the schools began to disappear gradually, according to their local

financial supports and student populations. The last school door closed was in Edirne, in 1937.

CHAPTER 5

THE AFTERMATH OF THE AIU EXPERIENCE IN OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND TURKISH REPUBLIC

5.1. Influence of the AIU Schools over Ottoman Institutions

During the first years of the Alliance schools, small-scale trade and commerce was practically only activities preferred by the graduates of the schools. This began to transform in the last decade of the 19th century when the majority of the graduates chose to continue their further education in other places. For example, 28.6% among those who graduated from the Izmir AIU schools between 1896-1901 continued their studies in non-Jewish secondary schools. This rate was 10% higher than that in Edirne during the same time span.⁷¹

In fact, a Jewish middle class emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century that which was obliged its existence to their education in the Alliance schools. As this class developed, increasing numbers of Jews, mostly Alliance graduates, started to enroll in higher schools to further their education. The multiplying students of the kind entailed the requirement to develop the scope of education given in these schools while it seemed to be quite efficient at first especially for the purposes of trade and commerce. As the aspirations of the middle class increased, so did the expectations from AIU schools. To demonstrate, pressure on the Galata school began to increase early as 1885 to institute courses on accountancy, accordingly the director expressed there was a growing demand for a higher school in Istanbul. Consequently, accountancy classes were added to the

⁷¹ Rodrigue, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews, p.115

school in 1890, and German language started to be taught as a second European language.⁷²

On the other hand, apprenticeship and agricultural programs of the vocational schools established by the Alliance through its schools had a limited impact. Although they introduced new artisanal trades to Turkish Jews, they were ineffective in making the poor productive and were unable to create an artisanal class that could live off its manual labor. Nevertheless, Alliance schools fulfilled several functions: over a duration of almost fifty years, they provided the only standardized mass educational system serving elementary and secondary education in French for the Jews of Turkey. From this modest beginnings, they were successful in originating a Jewish community composed of over one third of the total school age Jewish population in Turkey by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. The majority of those who attended the schools learned skills of reading, writing and arithmetic in French, and, in the case of the boys, entered the market place directly from the school before completing studies in full. By the turn of the century, a significant minority, about a fifth to a third of those who attended the schools, completed the full program and went to further education either in Turkey or in Europe or entered local businesses at the end of their studies. It was on this group that the Alliance left its most direct imprints.

⁷² Ibid, p.117

5.2. Effects of the Schools on Social Life

Alliance schools at the beginning could reach only a small minority of the school age Jews. The number of students increased, however, parallel to the number of the schools. By 1911 the majority of the school age Jewish youngsters were attending Alliance institutions in Edirne and in other smaller Jewish communities in Anatolia.

The social composition of the Alliance students varied according to time and place and reflected the professional composition of the surrounding Jewish society. Generally, the economic situation of the families of the students was not well to do. Therefore, minimum tuition was charged from those who attended the Alliance schools. At the beginning, students had to pay a tuition according to the income of their parents, every month. Initially, this ranged from 5 to 75 *kuruş* a month⁷³. Additionally, a large number of students were admitted every year free of charge, as their parents were considered too poor to pay even the lowest amount of tuition. In 1895, the Central Committee decided to have even the poorest pay a symbolic sum every month, as this was supposed to teach the moral lesson of contributing to one's own betterment.⁷⁴ However, until the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, there were, in general, more students admitted free of charge than those who paid a fee.

Yet, due to poverty, some students even had to drop out of school before completing it. It is evident that a substantial number of those who left after only a short period of attendance joined the hundreds of Jewish shop boys and peddlers.

⁷³ 75 *kuruş* represented in 1897 the average weekly wage of a sales assistant in a shop in Istanbul after many years of service (Rodrigue, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews)

⁷⁴ AAIU, Turquie, LXXIV E, 25 Jan. 1895

The teachings of the Alliance on this group did not go beyond reading and writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic and of French.⁷⁵

Many parents were used to switch their children between the Talmud Torah and the Alliance schools every year, depending on their financial resources and the amount of free clothing and food distributed by the community in the Talmud Torah schools. In fact, many who came to the Alliance school had already spent several years in the Talmud Torah. They would attend the Alliance schools for a short time to learn some French and then would go back to the Talmud Torah until they were old enough to make a living. Many of the parents were considering the schools as language centers, even though it was not the primary aim of the Alliance.

As can be expected from a mass education system in an underdeveloped economy, the majority of the students went to school to learn reading, writing, arithmetic, and French, and after a relatively short attendance to the school entered the market place to make a living. It was actually this group which took full advantage of the education provided by the Alliance, since the organization had become a means of social mobility, for the majority.

By 1900, fifteen graduates of the Edirne school for boys became Alliance teachers, and there were seven who were studying at the Alliance Ecole Normale in Paris to join in the Alliance teaching staff. Others had chosen different routes: Twenty were pursuing university studies in Paris and Istanbul, ten had become teachers; there were three who had become doctors, two judges, there was one engineer, one lawyer, one pharmacist, two civil servants in the lot; and about thirty had become merchants and bankers. It should be reminded that those who were able to complete the studies in Alliance schools fully found it relatively easy to find jobs and advance socially and economically, as was noted by directors.

⁷⁵ Rodrigue, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews.

5.3. Contributions of the AIU to Intellectual and Economic Life

The AIU schools just from their foundation, installed positive contributions to the Jewish and also the Ottoman society. The economic and social reality of the surrounding community often shaped their action and determined their effect. Similar to all educational institutions, the role of Alliance schools was two-fold. On the one hand they were instruments of the social mobility enabling upward movement of the students. This was particularly important at a time of rapid change brought about by the increasing western presence in the Ottoman economy and society. On the other hand, the schools reflected the inequalities of the societies they operated in. The wealthier students always had a head start over the poor and could benefit more from these schools by studying longer and by continuing higher education after graduation which brought them greater economic opportunities.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, even if the work of the Alliance was one of many factors that contributed to the transformation of the economic condition of the Jews, it provided skills which were necessary for the social advancement of increasing numbers of its graduates. As many a school director pointed out, the proficiency of Alliance graduates in French opened the students many paths in the world of business. In the context of modernization process in the Ottoman Empire, by increasing western penetration to local economy, the West had become the central frame of reference and Western languages indispensable for moving up the social ladder.

The western type schools founded by AIU, beyond question, contributed also to the process of secularization of the community. The erosion of the traditional education system led to a considerable weakening of the institutionalized transmission of traditional culture. Whereas in the *medar* or in the Talmud Torah, where the education was solely religious, the Alliance school maintained secular in character. The few hours devoted to Hebrew and religious instruction during the

⁷⁶ Ibid, pp. 112-119.

week could not dissolve the fact that these values had lost their primacy that they enjoyed for centuries.

The destruction of the traditional Jewish education system in Turkey in the second half of the nineteenth century and its replacement by a modern European one constituted a major turning point for Turkish Jewry. It weakened the chain of transmission of the past and contributed to the secularization of large sections of the community.

The spread of French among the Jews and European familiarization acquired massively in the schools, gave rise to a growing orientation to the West among an increasingly large section of the people. The directors reported from all the Jewish centers that customs and habits were being transformed and there had been important changes in the way of thinking, of speaking, of dressing, in short, in the way of life as a whole.

It was precisely the introduction of French into the cultural profile of Turkish Jewry which was the most significant and long-lasting consequence of the Alliance in the area. Beginning with the late 1860s, three generations of Turkish Jews slowly adopted and adapted French into their daily life.

5.4. Stumbling Blocks to AIU

Starting from their emergence, the Alliance schools had to confront the harsh criticism of the Jewish community in Turkey and official or unofficial of the Turks, including government, press, nationalists, etc. The main avenues of the stumbling criticism, mainly were arguments on probable relation of the AIU with Zionism, and French interests.

5.4.1. Problems within the Jewish Community

The local elements that were involved in reforming educational institutions in the middle of the nineteenth century were connected with the Alliance Central soon after its foundation. Leading secular notables as well as local *maskilim*⁷⁷ saw in the organization an outside force which could revive old institutions and open a path toward European education for the Jews. They considered this an absolute necessity for the improvement of moral and material situation of the Jews of Turkey.

The first person from the Ottoman domains to contact the Alliance formally was Yehudah Nehama, a famous *maskil* of Selanik, who had worked for the foundation of a new elementary school there in the 1850s⁷⁸. In 1863, he had propagandized sufficiently to create a local Alliance committee in Selanik composed of prominent notables of the city.

When president of the Alliance visited Istanbul in 1863, the a similar situation was observed. The Regional Committee of the Alliance was founded in

⁷⁷ Plural of maskil: Leaders of the Haskalah movement, the European Jewish enlightenment between the 1770s and 1880s, who sought to educate Jews to fit them into modern society; they established schools and published works of cultural importance.

⁷⁸ Rodrigue, Aron, French Jews, Turkish Jews, p.47

his presence on November 31, 1863, with Abraham de Camondo as president, Jacques de Castro as vice-president, Emmanuel Veneziani as secretary, Daniel Fernandez as treasurer, and J. R. Servi, Hermann Klarfeld, and Adolph Barbier as members. All of the mentioned people were Francos and foreign Jews, and they had been involved with the Albert Cohn school founded in 1854. At the time of the creation of the Committee they were in the thick of the communal conflict that was dividing the Istanbul Jewish community. The new organization gave the local reformers another base from which they could pursue their objectives in the capital.

After the Chief Rabbi's transmission of a circular to all communities about the reforms, opposition from the traditionalist quarters was not long in coming. Under the provisions of the circular, the school established at Hasköy in 1854 had become a communal institution and had moved to a large building on land donated by Abraham de Camondo. A quarrel between a rabbi teaching at the school and its French director led to the dismissal of the rabbi in 1858. The rabbi promptly accused the director of religious negligence, a charge taken up by other rabbis who came to his aid. The school was excommunicated and 50 rabbis appealed to the Chief Rabbi for its closure, condemning the teaching of French of contracting Jewish religion. The uproar led to the closing of the institution.

Following this incidence, the notables continued to react with traditionalist attacks in numerous similar cases: They also appealed to the Ottoman State for help. As a result, the minister of education, Hayrullah Efendi, ordered the reopening of the school. Under pressure from the government, a compromise was reached between the two sides. French was to continue to be taught. In return, Hebrew teaching and religious instruction would be fortified; the offending French director would be replaced by a new teacher from France. Furthermore, subventions would be extended to the *Talmudei Torah* by the communal administration.

Alliance played an important role in propagating French language and culture among the first the Jews living in Ottoman territory, and hence indirectly among the whole peoples. However, the policy of Alliance did not always coincide

with that of France French foreign ministry. The French policy for the Ottoman state and later, for the Turkish Republic has followed adaptive policies depending on the global conjuncture, its own interests and the reciprocal position of the Turkish side. An important feature of the French imperialism, referred to as “mission civilisatrice” always gave great importance to the activities of French schools outside of France. After the 1789 Revolution, it was indicated by intellectuals, that French values, as the finest expression of civilization, could be expressed best through the French language and that the ideology of French linguistic expansion could combine the motto of equality and fraternity with the economic and political benefits of France. This was propagated by the French schools abroad as French become the top language taught after the mother tongue; and indeed was the policy of the Alliance Française and Mission Laïque as well.

A study on the schools of Istanbul in 1911 shows that among the number of students in the Alliance schools where French was the language of instruction, the Jews constituted almost 59 % of the entire student body. This figure was recorded as 44 % for Izmir, and more than 20 % for all other foremost cities of the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁹

The French foreign ministry probably regarded the Alliance as a natural ally of its linguistic expansion policy which accompanied political and economic expansion policies and therefore it actively helped the Alliance.

With the World War I reactions against Alliance began to rise. Formally the Ottoman State and France were belligerent powers, yet the French part of the Alliance schools had been masked to escape from the reactions and survive even under war conditions.

In this respect, French schools, by the efforts of Chief Rabbi Haim Nahum, were declared as Ottoman communal institutions and allowed to function freely during the war years, while all other establishments formally protected by France were closed down.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 147.

The same pattern was followed after the war for the continuation of the schools. This was demonstrated by the protective attitude for the Alliance schools, of the French high commissioner in Istanbul. Moreover, Abraham Benveniste, the director of the school for boys in Galata, had frequent meetings with officials of the French embassy from 1919 through 1922, giving detailed reports on the political situation within the Jewish community. Also, after 1920, the embassy and the consulates in the various cities began to give regular subsidies to local Alliance schools which surpassed the sums contributed by the Central Committee in Paris.

5.4.2. Allegations Concerning Zionism

The Alliance at the beginning was the leading Jewish organization with very successful outcomes and was respected for its success. However, with the emergence of the “World Zionist Organization”, Anglo-Jewish Association” and the “Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden” as independent organizations, from the beginning of 20th century the Alliance which opposed Zionism for political causes, started to lose its effect in the Jewish world.

There were some aspects that brought forth the attitude of Alliance against Zionism. To begin with, the main idea and aim of the Alliance was differed from that of Zionism for believing in the importance of the emancipation of the Jews wherever they lived and saw it as its central task to help the Jews achieve equality with their fellow countrymen throughout the world. Moreover, Alliance idea was creating and supporting the Jewish solidarity among the Jews tied together by a common religion and moral tradition. Zionists, on the other hand, believed that emancipation was an illusion and that antisemitism could not be fully eliminated. According to Zionists, believing in emancipation and in its benefits would lead to increasing assimilation and to the eventual disappearance of the Jews as a distinct people.

The Alliance was not, as the Zionists were to claim, just a philanthropic organization. Furthermore, the Alliance had become the first Jewish organization to concern itself with the productiveness of Jews in Palestine, by founding there the first agricultural school, and the first trade school.

In spite of its politics stance displaying anti-Zionist behavior, Alliance could not escape the suspicions of the Ottoman governments in the second half of the 19th century which looked upon all foreign organizations with mistrust by government. The period was when there was a massive increase in the number of schools erected by foreign missionary organizations as well as those founded by the non-Muslim communities of the Empire. Official attempts to limit or control the activities of these schools which maintained complete independence from Istanbul and taught whatever they saw fit, were always avoided by foreign powers with the confidence of capitulation treaties which equipped them with multiple rights they abused to enhance their interests.

The Alliance in the eyes of the Ottoman authorities could not escape the fact that it was a foreign organization. However, it was usually undisturbed, as the Jews were not considered a threat until the rise of Zionism. Nevertheless, with the emergence of the issue of Jewish immigration into Palestine in the 1880s, suspicion towards its activities started to climb in Istanbul. Suspicions created unrest among the Jews to the point that Jewish doctor of the Sultan, Elias Pasha, with the awareness of Sultan's conviction that the Alliance was encouraging Jewish immigration to Palestine, refrained from attending the festivities in Istanbul on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Alliance in 1885. It is understood that the suspicions did not end, for Isaac Fernandez mentioned in 1898 that his friends at the Porte advised a clear public statement against Zionism on the part of the Alliance, advice which does not seem to have been acted upon by Paris.⁸⁰

It is known that Abdulhamid II was too much disturbed of the activities of Zionist organizations, and looked suspicious at almost all Jewish subjects if they were

⁸⁰ *ibid*, p. 141.

somehow Zionists. The fear reached to such a level that the textbooks, magazines and other written material had to be controlled before releasing in Alliance schools. Even the theater pieces to be played by the students should be cleared and then allowed. A circular was transmitted by the Ministry of Education that in the Alliance schools no theater plays should be staged before written permission the authorities.⁸¹

Nevertheless, after 1908, in the liberal atmosphere of the new regime, the suspicious tendency weakened, but another concern emerged as Zionism was more known by the Ottomans. This was the globally rising Jewish question the effects of which started to be felt in Istanbul. In relation to this issue, an Ottoman parliamentary delegation went to Paris to meet the Alliance Central Committee in 1909. The delegation, headed by Dr. Rıza Tevfik Bey, deputy for Edirne, himself a graduate of an Alliance school, made a courtesy call to the head of the Central Committee in Paris on July 15, 1909. In the course of the conversation, after expressing his fondness for the Alliance, Rıza Tevfik Bey indicated that "it would be prudent not to encourage this Zionist agitation. Turkey intends to keep its doors open to all the persecuted. . . it would not tolerate a movement which would end up by creating a Jewish Question which does not exist at present, and that it is in the interest of the Jews not to bring it about."⁸²

Narcisse Leven was reported to have answered that Rıza Tevfik Bey's words were in full conformity with the views of the Alliance which always intended to remain an outsider to Zionism and avoided encouraging it from any direction. Another aspect that brought about the attitude of Alliance against Zionism was the fear that the relative tolerance and freedom Alliance enjoyed in the Empire could be lost otherwise. Naturally, discontinuing of the great number of the Alliance schools within Ottoman lands would jeopardize the future of education of Jews and endanger the idea of the Alliance.

⁸¹ BOA, Ministry of Education, MF.MKT, file:250, no:7, 13.02.1895.

⁸² Bulletin AIU No: 34, 1909, pp. 50-51.

Accordingly, the Alliance was determined to oppose Zionism and continued to do so even after the Balfour Declaration.⁸³ The Alliance president, Sylvain Levi's anti-Zionist speech during the debate about Palestine issue held by the Supreme Council of the Allies in 1919 has many aspect worth indicating.

Its only concession was to increase the course hours for Hebrew in the schools in 1920. But this did not create much disturbance soon, the new Turkish Republic terminated the question of Zionism in Turkey as well as putting an end to the Alliance schools within its borders.⁸⁴

5.4.3. Handicaps of Nationalist Policy

During Abdulhamid's reign, the absolutist regime exercised a harsh control over the educational institutions belonging to the Jews as well as others, depending on the position of Sultan assumed over political developments. During this period, the state control over the institutions, though the level varied, was well felt by the Alliance Center in Paris. A report sent to Paris by the director of the Istanbul school, underlined the efforts of the officials to rule and control the schools.⁸⁵

However, this attitude of the state was not new. The Regulation for Education prepared by the Minister of Education Saffet Paşa⁸⁶ (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi, 1869*) had clear signs of State's control over the non-Muslim schools. Especially Article 129 had underlined the requirement of state approval for opening schools and the teachers were to present diplomas obtained from the

⁸³ The Balfour Declaration, 2 November 1917, was a letter from the United Kingdom's Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour to Baron Walter Rothschild, a leader of the British Jewish community, for transmission to the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland.

⁸⁴ Rodrigue, Aron, Frech Jews, Turkish Jews.

⁸⁵ AAIU, Turquie, XLVII E: Letter written by Jules Dalem, the director of the Alliance Galata boys school on 24 August 1882.

⁸⁶ Nezaret-i Celile-i Maarif-i Umumiye

Ministry of Education, or from local administrators of education.⁸⁷ The provisions of the article, however, were not applied until 1886, when an inspection office for all schools was established. The inspections signaled the beginning of the state's new policy although the new measures did not prevent the Alliance to open schools in the Empire without confronting much obstacles.

However, the Alliance schools were controlled and inspected regularly after 1886. Textbooks, pamphlets, and all other written material used or recommended in the schools were kept under control and censored when deemed necessary. This limitation increased as Abdulhamid II became more suspicious of all non-muslims. State control and censorship increased greatly and became a source of complaint by Alliance teachers and administrators.

A decree was issued in 1902 forbidding Muslim students to attend to non-Muslim schools.⁸⁸ Some few number of Muslim students studying at the Alliance schools were affected by this decree. As hardships increased, educational authorities both in Istanbul and in provinces created difficulties for Alliance teachers who were not Ottoman citizens. For example, Moise Franco, an Austrian subject, was not allowed to continue his office as school director in Demotica. The same prevention was repeated in Gelibolu, too. Such applications, apart from a central policy, largely depended on the moods of the governors. With this awareness, Alliance school administrations albeit the handicaps encountered ignored all obstacles and continued their work for they were also aware that taking the rules too seriously could damage the Alliance school network. This was not a wrong attitude, in regard to rapid changes in applications. For example, the Ministry of Education had not allowed the opening of Aydın Alliance school for not obtaining pre-registration permission

⁸⁷ Article 1 Defines the types of schools, namely, the general order state owned schools, and other the private schools opened, managed and financed by private persons (Ottoman or foreign citizens) or communities, being controlled by the State.

Article 129 Details the control mechanism, curriculum and approval of the teachers.

⁸⁸ AAIU, Turquie II-C8, 26 June 1902

and ordered the governor to close any such school, in 1894.⁸⁹ But the same year the school were permitted to open, after detailed investigation.

Pressures and suspicious control over the schools relatively ended with the beginning of the 2. Constitutional era in 1908.

A new education law that would have placed non-Muslim schools under the closer control of the state was planned but postponed due to the fierce resistance of the Greek deputies in the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies who saw it as an outright attack upon the right of the *millets* to maintain their own educational systems. A new elementary instruction law was passed in 1913 reasserted state inspection and control over all private and non-Muslim schools but this also remained on paper.

It was clear that that the state would not long tolerate foreign citizens teaching in Alliance schools. The matter did not become a pressing issue between 1908 and 1914, but the threat was always there. The Alliance schools continued to be inspected regularly, especially in the provinces. The education ministry also imposed its own calendar for the school year. The Alliance had resisted the changing of the time of the summer vacations from its preferred date of the Hebrew month of *Teshrin*, the month of the Jewish Holidays, to that of two months in the summer as in other schools. This came to an abrupt end in 1914. The government flatly declared that all schools had to have their summer vacations at the same time and only upon Nahum's intervention made an exception for the Jewish Holidays. Otherwise, the Alliance abided all state laws.

It must be kept in mind that there were handicaps which could have doomed AIU schools in Turkey had the state chosen to take action. These were apparent in different ways. For example, many of its institutions had not received the necessary permits from the appropriate bodies and were juristically illegal.

Most of the Alliance school buildings had been either constructed or bought by funds from the organization, supplemented by local contributions. Before 1908, the Ottoman laws did not allow the registry of properties in the name of organizations.

⁸⁹ BOA, Ministry of Education Records, MF.MKT, File: 237, no: 8, 20 Nov. 1894.

In order to forestall the possibility that local Jewish communities over a possible dispute in the future, could take over these buildings, the Alliance had them registered as the private properties of individual members of the Central Committee, such as Narcisse Leven, Salomon Goldschmidt. This began to be a problem toward the end of the 1880s, with long delays in the registration process because of the Turkish suspicion of foreigners. The organization then switched to using the name of Fernandez, trusted by the Turkish authorities, for this purpose.

Whereas registration as a school would have required express permission in the form of an *irade* (authorization) from the education ministry under clause 129 of the 1869 Public Instruction Law, through neglect, ignorance, and the fear of complex Turkish bureaucracy, most Alliance schools were functioning without permits. Of all the Alliance schools in Istanbul in 1889, only the one for boys in Hasköy had obtained such an authorization. Usually bribes were given when a problem occurred. The Alliance tried to get permits for new institutions but the problem remained for many years and difficulties prevented getting the *irades*. The organization went through years of delay before obtaining the official permits for the Istanbul Rabbinical Seminary and the agricultural school of *Or Yehudah*. Many of its early institutions remained without the proper licensing.

Although the occasions were known, the fact that authorities did not hinder their operation, was one of the many displays of stately tolerance to Jews. Nevertheless as the political atmosphere of the country became more nationalistic, the Alliance tried to safeguard itself by responding to the official requirements of the state. Haim Nahum proved to be of great help in this task. He obtained in 1900, after much effort, a formal statement of appreciation of the work of the organization from the education ministry which was held equal to permit. Nahum continued acting as an intermediary between the appropriate authorities on all matters concerning the Alliance after he was promoted as the Chief Rabbi as well. He acted to solve questions such as the recognition of AIU institutions by the state as junior high schools in order to equip the graduates automatic right of entry into the state

lycees. He also interfered to provide the school directors with foreign citizenship already employed in Turkey to continue in their duties. The exemption of the school buildings from property taxes was another one of this achievements. Nevertheless, had the Turkish authorities decided to cause trouble for the Alliance, there were sufficient juridical irregularities in the way the organization functioned in Turkey which could have put it in a very difficult position.

This did not change much over the advancing years. In 1914, the Ottoman Empire was a hybrid polity, assuming many of the characteristics of contemporary European nation-states, and yet incapable of implementing a successful policy of "nationalization" and unification of the masses that lived under its rule. The educational system of the Empire, which would have been the site where such unity could be formed, was a patchwork of incongruent autonomous sub-systems. State secular schools, Muslim religious schools, *millet* schools, and foreign schools, all of which coexisted and operated according to different philosophies and outlooks presented an immense bifurcation. Considerable resistance from Islamic religious elements to the secularizing attempts of the reformers, and the traditions and aspirations of the constituent ethnic and religious groups of the Empire proved too strong, and Western meddling too powerful, to crown the efforts of modernization and reform with success.

Indeed, Western powers were caught in a dilemma when it came to their interaction with the Ottoman Empire. On the one hand, they offered the path of Westernization as the only possible cure for all its problems. They viewed with much misgiving the growing centralization as consequences of westernization: The expansion of an administration increasingly using Western means of organizing, controlling, and mobilizing civil society, which put in jeopardy their interference in its internal affairs. The more the Ottoman state attempted to adapt policies to those of European states, the more it aggravated its frictions with the Western powers, which by then had an enormous stake in the preservation of the status quo of the Empire as a semi-colony.

World War I provided the opportunity for the Ottoman government to end foreign meddling by abolishing the hated capitulations and to take action in areas in which its hands had previously been tied. Soon, it closed all educational institutions belonging to, or protected by the foreigners. As mentioned above, the grave danger that this could have posed to the Alliance network was averted when the Chief Rabbi used his influence in high places to have its schools declared communal ones so that the Ottoman institutions could escape the threat of closing. However, as a result of financial problems, many of the teachers resigned or were obliged to find additional sources of income. Furthermore, the same problems obliged the directors to allow the local communities and personalities to have a greater role in the day-to-day administration of the institutions. Nevertheless, the schools managed to function more or less regularly throughout the war years.

The state, unhindered by foreign interference, could proceed with its policy of greater control of private institutions of education as well as of those belonging to the non-Muslim minorities. A new regulation passed in 1915 allowed thorough supervision of these establishments. The new regulation also made it compulsory for the schools to teach the Turkish language as well as Turkish history and geography. Moreover, these subjects had to be taught by Turkish teachers appointed by the state. The logistical problems engendered by the war appear to have prevented the implementation of the regulation, and there is no evidence to suggest that the Alliance schools ever had to fulfill its provisions. Nevertheless, it provided a powerful precedent, and was to be revived by the Republic only a few years later.

The immediate years following the victory of the Entente in 1918 saw the full unhindered revival of foreign educational establishments in defeated Turkey. In the absence of the central government now under allied control, these institutions could proliferate at will and utilize whatever curricula they wished. The Central Committee in Paris also reasserted its control immediately after the armistice and began to guide the Alliance schools again. The schools in Istanbul reverted to their

work of the prewar years. However, those Alliance schools falling under Greek rule in Western Anatolia as well as in Thrace had to replace Turkish with Greek in the curriculum. This was not a welcome development for the directors, who, together with the bulk of the Jewish population, preferred Turkish rule to that of the Greeks. The long-time economic rival of the Jews, the Greeks were also feared for their antisemitism, as it was the Greek communities that had spawned, year after year, the blood libel accusations that had plagued the Jewish communities of the Levant in the second half of the nineteenth century. The same fears that had been manifest in the Jewish community of Selanik after the conquest of the city by the Greeks in 1912¹⁰⁸ were also in evidence now in Izmir and the smaller centers in Asia Minor. The latter did in fact suffer from considerable harassment in the hands of the occupying Greek armies in 1921-22.

During the Greek invasion and Turkish war of independence, in many cities of the Western Anatolia where Jewish communities lived were caught in the hostilities, and masses started to escape to Izmir. The Alliance schools in the towns of Aydın, Turgutlu, Manisa, and Urla were destroyed, never opened again. The Izmir schools however could survive after the great fire of 1922 which followed the Greek retreat and the victorious entry of the Turkish troops into the city.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Jews in the Ottoman Empire exposed to extensive social and cultural changes during the second half of the 19th century. Since the westernization process of the Jewish community was not different than that of the Empire in general, it is not possible to analyze this process without reminding first that all schools, muslim or not, were subjected to overall changes. The schooling activities of the Turkish Jewry are essential with regard to the impacts of education reforms in Turkey starting from the Ottoman modernization. substantial changes., which influenced the Jewish community, especially its cultural history.

The type and methodology of education France directly or indirectly suggested for the Jews originated l'Alliance Israélite Universelle. This institution was founded for the promotion, secularization and emancipation of eastern and North African Jews. Thus, AIU became functional among the Jews in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and was continued following the declaration of the Turkish Republic,

The schools founded and activated by both the Jewish community and international organizations brought about the education policy of the new Turkish Republic. The social dimensions of the educational practices carried out by the Jewish community is to be examined in how they contributed to the new social structure in the early republic.

There have been various studies analyzing educational reforms of the Ottoman modernization era as well as those performed within the Turkish revolution however, the impacts of reformative adjustments within the non-muslim

communities, especially by the Jewry has not been studied in depth yet. Therefore the concentration point of this study is particularly the educational issues during Ottoman modernization and Turkish reform periods. This study also focuses on the bilateral interaction of the Turkish and Jewish communities during the same enlightenment processes.

The observation of the first issue in the study displayed that Traditional Jewish education included only religious education. In the Jewish elementary schools, students were taught to read religious texts and daily prayers. Girls, were not given a formal education. They were only taught to read and write a limited Judeo-Spanish and some prayers in Hebrew. Depending on the wealth of the family, some were also trained in handcrafts. However, education of boys, was different in the sense that , they were often sent to maestras, which were similar to today's kindergartens before attending the melder. After learning the Hebrew alphabet, reading of religious texts and their translation into Judeo-Spanish followed. The school of elementary instruction, continued with the Talmud Torah, which was the school for advanced rabbinical studies.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jewish traditional educational system which was unable to compete with modern schools in the Ottoman Empire had fallen into a decline. It was at this point that The Alliance provided the first mass westernized elementary and lower secondary education system for Turkish Jewry. The Following Jewish generations were educated in these schools. However, education offered in these schools remained at a quite basic level, and did not extend beyond teaching reading and writing in French and some arithmetic. On the other hand, these schools served as a powerful instrument to change the social strata of for a significant number of Jews. Consequently By the twentieth century, a new Jewish middle class had come into being in Turkey, and the Alliance had played an important role in its making.

It is quite clear that the popularity of the Alliance schools was due to the fact that they were practicing European education, and that they were using a European language as the language of instruction. In the last decades of Ottoman Empire, French, which was the common language of those conducting trade and commerce in the Levant had become a very important device for the Ottomans engaged in the same area as well since their economic success depended largely on western impossible to pursue without the knowledge of this language.

Accordingly, French teaching AIU schools, were not influential only in commercial area but had major impacts on other aspects of social life too. They concentrated more on scientific education inviting the retreat of religious teachings from its traditionally central place to the periphery.

Hence, with the success they obtained throughout the years, they even *reduced* the importance of the traditional Jewish schools they contributed to the rise of secularization within the community.

On the other hand, the introduction of female education by AIU was a revolutionary development for the Jewish society. For the first time in the history of Ottoman Jewry, in AIU schools girls were given regular education. Although this did not mean the introduction of women's emancipation in the modern sense and very few women graduates could obtain independent careers, some renovations were apparent in the status of women. For example, early marriages declined, and the position of the woman within the households advanced. As some school directors noted to have observed, men who were Alliance graduates preferred to marry women who had also attended these institutions and who knew some French. In the course of time education offered in AIU contributed to equalization of husband and wife, though it is clear that this was only a relative development. Nevertheless social status of women improved considerably as a result of the schooling they received.

The Alliance played an important role in the making of Jewish middle class which was speaking French. While much activity was made about learning Turkish, this remained relegated to the background. With the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, very a small number of Jews knew more than a limited vocabulary of Turkish necessary for the business life.

As a consequence of the activities of the Alliance, like in the case of most Jews in the lands of Islam, but unlike the communities of Western and Central Europe, modernity did not come to Turkish Jewry accompanied by acculturation into the dominant culture of its surroundings. The obsession with French prevented the implementation of one of the key principles of AIU ideology of emancipation, the integration of the Jews in their respective countries

The story of the AIU organization in Turkey shows the complex relationship that began to evolve between Western and the Ottoman Jews in the 19th century. As an agent of radical social transformation, the perception of education of the Alliance was too ambitious when analyzed from the economic point of view. Nevertheless, Alliance was one of many factors that contributed to the favorable transformation of the economic condition of the Jewish masses, as it also provided skills which were crucial for the social advancement of its multiplying graduates.

The Alliance played an essential role in spreading French as a language and culture among the Ottoman Jews. Owing to its relations with France, particularly with the French Foreign Ministry challenged its interests with that of French policy in the Middle East in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was particularly due to developments such as the rise of Zionism which brought about a convergence between French interests and those of the Alliance becoming stronger during the war years and the period that immediately followed. However, the organization, still claiming leadership in the Jewish world, did not take the steps to become a formal French institution and did not place its schools

under official French protection. This attitude had served well in saving the schools in the Ottoman Empire during the war. But it was precisely the fact that the schools were legally Turkish communal institutions that rendered the Alliance and its French protectors helpless front of the rising tide of Turkish nationalism that followed the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923.

The Jewish traditional education system was unable to compete with the AIU. The Alliance provided the first mass westernized elementary and lower secondary education system for Turkish Jewry. Generations of Jews were educated in its schools. However, this education remained at a quite basic level, and not went beyond the education level of reading and writing in French and some arithmetic. For a significant number, though, the schools served as powerful tool for class change. By the twentieth century, a new Jewish middle class had come into being in Turkey, and the Alliance had played an important role in its making.

It is quite clear that the popularity of the Alliance schools was due to the fact that they were practicing a European education, and that they were using a European language as the language of instruction. French, as the language of trade and commerce in the Levant in the last decades of Ottoman Empire, had become a very important tool. Economic success depended largely on contacts with the West, and these contacts would have been impossible without a Western language.

The schools, and the teaching of French, had an impact on other aspects of social life. With the success they obtained in years, they were reducing the importance of the traditional education system, by contributing to the rising secularization of the community. The Alliance was concerned to dispense a Jewish education. In the Alliance schools, religion retreated from the center it had occupied in the traditional system to the periphery.

The introduction of female education by AIU was a revolutionary development. For the first time in the history of Ottoman Jewry, girls received

regular education. There was, of course, no emancipation of women in the modern sense of the word, and very few women graduates could obtain independent careers. However, early marriages declined, and the position of the woman within the household advanced. As some directors observed, men who were Alliance graduates preferred to marry women who had also attended Alliance institutions and who knew some French. Education contributed to an equalization of sorts between the husband and wife, though it is clear that this was only a relative development. Still, the social status of women improved considerably as a result of the schooling they received.

As a consequence of the activities of the Alliance, modernity did not come to Turkish Jewry accompanied by acculturation into the dominant culture of its surroundings. The obsession with French prevented the implementation of one of the key principles of AIU ideology of emancipation, the integration of the Jews in their respective countries. The story of the organization in Turkey shows the complex relationship that began to evolve between Western Jewry and the Ottoman Jews in the 19th century.

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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

CURRICULUM VITAE

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2001-2002	FOM, Inc	Quality Assurance Manager
1998-2001	Access Data Communications, Inc.	Technical Director
1996-1997	Enersis, Inc.	Assistant Manager
1988-1993	Ptt, NATO-TAFICS Dept.	Consultant
1983-1988	METU, Electrical Engineering Dept.	Research Assistant

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PUBLICATIONS

Foreign Schools from Ottoman to the Republic, METU Alumni Bulletin, No:188, Sept. 2009

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Food and Beverage Culture of the Ottoman, METU Alumni Bulletin, No:192, Jan. 2010

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APPENDIX B

TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu tezin konusu olan Yahudi topluluğunun çoğunluğu, İspanya'dan sürülüp Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na kabul edilen göçmenlerin torunları olmaktadır. İspanya'dan sürülmeleri 1492 yılında başlamış ve iki yüzyıl kadar devam etmiştir. Daha sonraları "Sefarad" adı verilecek bu grubun göç etmesi sona erdiğinde ise artık Osmanlı Yahudileri arasında en baskın grup olmuşlardır. Seferadlar Ladino denilen Yahudi İspanyolcası konuşuyorlardı, ve ağırlıklı olarak İstanbul, İzmir ve Selanik'te yerleşmişlerdi. Osmanlı Yahudi cemaatini oluşturan diğer topluluklar ise, Aşkenaziler ile İtalyan Yahudileri idiler. Bunlar farklı yüzyıllarda orta Avrupa'dan gelmişlerdi. 1911 yılında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun şimdiki Türkiye sınırları içinde yaklaşık 140,000 Yahudi yaşamaktaydı. Ancak, ekonomik durumları nüfus artışı ile paralel gelişmeyince, sosyal olarak bir çöküş içine girdiler. Aslında, bu İberya Yahudileri, ticaret ve finans konularında Osmanlı ile Avrupa ülkeleri arasındaki ilişkiler açısından ideal bir köprü görevi görmekteydiler. Özellikle İstanbul, İzmir ve Selanik gibi ticaretin yoğun olduğu şehirlerde yerleşik Yahudi toplulukları Osmanlı'nın Avrupa ile olan ticaretinde de çok önemli bir role sahiptiler. Osmanlı bölgesindeki Yahudilerin gerçekleştirdikleri modernizasyon faaliyetleri de bunların eseri idi. Yahudi topluluklarının batılılaşması sürecinde sermaye ve finansal kaynaklar çok önemli bir yer tutmaktaydı. Ondokuzuncu yüzyılının sonuna doğru bazı aileler ticaret ve simsarlık işlerinden oldukça zengin olmuşlar ve siyasi etki alanları genişlemişti.

Bununla birlikte, Osmanlı topraklarında yaşayan Yahudiler, sayıları parmakla sayılabilecek kadar az varlıklı ailelerin dışında oldukça yoksul, işsiz ve eğitimsiz bir durumdaydılar. Acınacak haldeki bu Yahudi kitleleri, buldukları ülkelerde en alt sosyal tabakada yer alıyorlar ve bir ölçüde sefalet içinde yaşamalarını

sürdürüyorlardı. On dokuzuncu yüzyıl ortalarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu sınırları içindeki Yahudi merkezlerindeki bu olumsuz durumun yanında, güvenli ve barış içinde yaşadıkları da söylenemezdi. 1840 ile 1858 yılları arasında yaşanan Şam ve Bolonya'da yaşanan olaylar antisemitik karakterleri nedeniyle tüm Yahudi topluluklarını derinden etkilemişti. Her ik olayda da hiç bir güvence ve yasal korumaya olmadan yaşayan sahipsiz kalmış Yahudiler, kendilerini yalnız, haksızlığa uğramış ve dayanışmaya muhtaç hissediyorlardı. Özellikle 1840 yılında yaşanan “Şam Olayı”, kendi içlerinde bir dayanışma olmadan Yahudi grupların ne kadar tehlikede olduklarını göstermişti. Bir kaç Yahudinin ölümü ve sinagogun yağmalanması ile sonuçlanan olay, Avrupa'daki Yahudi cemaatlerini ayaklandırdı. Fransa'da yaşayan ve sonradan Alliance'ın kurucularından olan Adolphe Cremieux Şam olayını yerinde çözüme kavuşturmuştu, ama radikal bir çözüm için Yahudi dayanışması gündeme gelmeli ve sosyal ve ekonomik olarak Yahudi kitlelerinin kalkındırılması ve yurttaşlık haklarının güvence altına alınmalıydı. Örgütlenmek, kamuoyuna seslenerek yardım istemek, Şam olayından sonra Yahudi lobi faaliyetlerinin ortak özelliği olmuştur.

Fransa Yahudileri, Şam olayından önce de Fransız sömürgesi durumundaki geri kalmış ve yoksul Cezayir Yahudilerine ilişkin sorunlarla ilgilenmek zorunda kalmışlardı. 24 Aralık 1837'de, Paris'teki Fransa Yahudileri Merkez İdare Meclisi, Marsilya'daki Yahudi Meclisine bir mektup yazarak Cezayir Yahudilerinin yenileştirilmesi için yardım istediğinde çözüm olarak, Cezayir'e Fransız hahamların gönderilmesi ve Fransız öğretmenlerin idaresinde yeni okullar açılması gereği belirtilmişti. Yahudi dayanışması bu yüzyılda da kendisini göstermeye başlamıştı. Fransız Devrimi ile özgürleşme ideolojisinden etkilenen diğer Avrupa Yahudi cemaatleri de bu konuda yardımcı olmaktaydı. Şam olayını takiben Adolph Crémieux ve arkadaşlarının Osmanlı ve Kuzey Afrika Yahudi cemaatlerinde başlattıkları değişim girişimleri, farklı Yahudi cemaatleri arasındaki derin ideolojik ve toplumsal ayrılıklara sahne olan bu alemde gündeme gelen yeni bir politikanın

ilk belirtilerinden birkaçıdır. Yapılan görüşmelerle açığa çıkmıştı ki, bu amaç için bir Yahudi reform ve yenileşme hareketi gerekliydi ve bu da eğitim yoluyla yapılabilirdi. Eğitimin amacı genç kuşakların sosyalleştirilmesi yoluyla yaşadıkları toplumlarda, ağırlıklı olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kuzey Afrika'da, seçkin insanlar oluşturmaktı. Yahudi reformistler, İbranice ve Talmud'a ağırlık veren geleneksel eğitime karşı idiler ve bu durumda dinsel çevreler ve hahamlar ile çatışmayı göze almışlardı. Toplumun yeniden yapılandırılması ve reformlar ile dönüştürülmesi, hahamlık eğitiminde de değişiklikleri gündeme getiriyordu.

Geleneksel Yahudi eğitimi temel olarak dinsel eğitimi kapsıyordu. Yahudi ilkokullarında öğrencilere dinsel metinler ve İbranice olarak Torah öğretiliyordu. Meldar adı verilen okullarda çocukların toplumsal dayanışma ruhu içinde sinagog yaşantısına hazırlık yapmaları isteniyordu. Kızlar ise formal bir eğitim almıyorlardı. Onlar, ailenin gelirine bağlı olarak ev yaşantısı için gerekli bilgileri alabilir, bunun yanında Ladino dilinde temel okuma yazma öğrenebilirlerdi.

Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), 1860 yılında, Paris'te bu amaçlar için kuruldu. Temel amacı ise eğitim yoluyla Yahudi topluluklarını kalkındırmak ve özgürleştirmektir. İyi eğitilmiş bireyler olarak Yahudiler artık buldukları devletlerde eşit haklara sahip iş ve meslek sahibi ve üretken vatandaş olabilirlerdi. Adolphe Crémieux, Isidore Cahen, Narcisse Leven gibi önderlerin teşvikiyle kurulan bu öğretim kurumunun bir diğer amacı Doğu'da yaşayan Yahudileri ve Yahudi olmayanları Batı'nın modern yaşantısı ile tanıştırmaktı. Fransız İhtilali, Aydınlanması ve Yahudi gelenekleriyle yoğrulmuş olan kurucuları bu amaçla Fransız sistemini temel alan bir öğrenime yoğunlaşmayı tercih ettiler. Cömert bağışçılar sayesinde de kısa sürede geniş bir eğitim ağına sahip olmayı başardılar.

Kuruluşu ile birlikte tüm dünya Yahudileri'ne yönelik bir manifesto kurucular tarafından hazırlanmış ve "1860 Kuruluş Bildirgesi" adı altında yayınlanmıştı:

" Dindaşlarımız,

Sizi engelleyen bağlar ne kadar zayıf olursa olsun, dünyanın dört bir yanına dağılmış ve diğer milletlerle karışmış olmanıza rağmen, atalarınızın kadim dinine bağlı iseniz; İmanınızı inkar etmiyorsanız, dininizi gizlemiyorsanız, zayıf ruhların yaptığı gibi sıfatınız yüzünüzü kızartmıyorsa, halen maruz kaldığımız önyargılardan, genelleştirilen suçlamalardan, tekrarlanan yalanlardan, yaratılan iftiralarından, adaletsizliğe hoşgörüyle bakılmasından, haklı görülen zulümden nefret ediyorsanız, ruhun canı olan, vicdan özgürlüğünün, yalnızca Yahudilerin tamamen özgür oldukları ülkelerde en iyi şekilde korunduğuna inanıyorsanız; atalarımızın inancının her birey için en kutsal miras olduğuna, ev ve vicdanın dokunulmazlığına, yakın geçmişte gördüklerimizi bir daha hiç görmememiz gerektiğine inanıyorsanız; bazı ortak değerlerin geniş toplumla paylaşılmasına rağmen, bunun dışında şahsi his, arzu ve ümitlerinizi paylaşma açabilme olanağınız varsa, birliğin bir anlamı olacağına inanıyorsanız; 20 asırdır sefalet, zor kullanmalara, yasaklara maruz kalan dindaşlarımızın insanlık ve vatandaşlık haysiyetlerini yeniden elde edebileceklerini düşünüyorsanız; sayıca az, şevkte çok olan, Yahudiliğin tüm güçlerinin odaklanmasının dininiz için bir şeref, milletlere bir ders, insanlık için ileri bir adım, evrensel gerçek ve mantık için bir zafer olacağına inanıyorsanız; 1789 ihtilali ilkelerinin dünyada halen güçlü olduğuna, ondan çıkartılan derslerin adil ilkeler olduğuna, devrim ruhunun her yere nüfuz etmesi gerektiğine ve inançlarda mutlak eşitliği uygulayan halkların gerçek güce sahip olacağına inanıyorsanız;

Dünyadaki tüm dindaşlarımız, bütün bunlara inanıyorsanız, gelin çağrımızı dinleyin, bize katılın, işimiz büyüktür ve belki de kutsaldır: Alliance Israélite Universelle'i

kuruyoruz ! “

1880'lerden itibaren Osmanlı egemenliđi altındaki topraklarda Alliance okulları kurulmaya başlandı. Alliance, kuruluşunu izleyen başlangıç döneminden sonra önemli görevler gerçekleştirmişti. Örgüt, kısa süre içinde temel bir okul ağının yanı sıra yardımcı idari organ ve kurumlar, çıraklık okulları, örnek çiftlikler, yardımlaşma dernekleri gibi bir kurumlara imzasını atmıştı.

Alliance, Osmanlı Yahudi cemaatine batılı standartlarda temel eğitim götüren ilk eğitim kurumu oldu. Pek çok Yahudi, kuşaklar boyu bu okullarda eğitim gördü. Ekonomik sebepler okulu erkenden bırakmak zorunda olduklarından, bir bölümü de eğitimlerinin tamamlayamadılar. Bu nedenle, bunların aldığı eğitim biraz Fransızca ve matematiğin ötesine geçememekteydi. Buna karşın, önemli sayılabilecek sayıda Yahudi için bu okullar, gerek ticaret ve zanaatta kullanılabilecekleri beceriler edinmenin, gerekse serbest meslek dallarında uzmanlaşma yolunda daha ileri seviyelerde eğitim almanın kapılarını açan ve böylece toplumsal olarak yükselme olanağı sağlayan bir işlev gördü. Alliance'ın oluşmasına önemli katkıda bulunduğu bir Yahudi burjuva sınıfı yirminci yüzyılın başlarındaki Türkiye'de kendini göstermeye başlamıştı. AIU okullarının gördüğü rağbet, bu okulların batı tarzı bir eğitim vermesinden ve öğretim dili olarak Fransızca'yı seçmesinden kaynaklanıyordu. Ekonomik başarı büyük ölçüde, Batı ile ekonomik alanda kurulacak ilişkilere bağlıydı. Bir Batı dilini iyi derecede bilmeden bu ilişkilere girmek olanak dışıydı.

Alliance okulları ve bu okulların verdiği Fransızca eğitim, toplumsal hayatın başka yönlerini de etkiledi. Geleneksel eğitim sisteminin gücünü yitirmesiyle birlikte cemaat hayatı giderek laikleşmeye başladı. Aslında, Alliance bir Yahudi eğitimi verme düşüncesindeyken, bu eğitimin Yahudiliđi yorumlayışı, Talmud Toraların koyu dindar tutumundan uzakta, oldukça soyut ve dünyevi bir tarzda idi. Alliance okullarındaki eğitimde din, geleneksel sistemde olduğunun aksine, merkezi bir yer işgal etmiyordu.

Örgütün kadınların eğitimine de el atması, eğitim alanında devrim yaratan bir gelişmeydi. Kız çocukları Türkiye Yahudilerinin tarihinde ilk defa böylece esaslı bir eğitim almışlardı, ancak kadınlar için batılı anlamda bir özgürleşmeden söz edilemezdi. Oldukça az sayıda kadın, okulu bitirdikten sonra bağımsız bir meslek sahibi oluyordu. Yine de, AIU okulları sayesinde erken yaşta evlenmeler azalmış ve kadının aile içindeki konumu güçlenmişti. Bazı okul müdürleri, AIU mezunu olan erkeklerin, yine bu okullarda okumuş olan ve Fransızca bilen kızlarla evlenmeyi tercih ettiklerini belirtiyorlardı. Eğitim, göreceli de olsa, aile içinde bir eşitliğin oluşmasına katkıda bulunmuştu. Kadınların toplumsal konumu, aldıkları eğitim sonucunda bir hayli ilerleme kaydetmişti.

Batı Yahudilerinin özgürleşmesine yol açan Aydınlanma ideolojisine sınımsız bağlı olan Alliance, yeni bir anlayış getirerek Yahudi'yi önce birey olarak değerlendirmeye başlamıştı. Yahudi kimliği ise ikinci sırada yer alıyordu. Fransa Yahudilerinin önde gelen aydınlarının benimsediği özgürleşme vurgulu söylem, onların bütün dünya Yahudilerine bakışlarını da yeniden şekillendirdi. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu sınırları dışında, geleneksel yaşam tarzı içinde ileriye gidemeyen Yahudi toplulukları, Batı'daki şanslı din kardeşlerinin yolunu takip etmeliydi. Yahudilerin modern dünyaya geçişlerini sağlayan Fransız modelinde özgürleşme ve yenileşme birbirine sıkı sıkıya bağlıydı ve bu model tüm dünya Yahudileri için bir rehber haline gelmişti.

Bununla beraber, yerel şartlardan dolayı, Alliance'ın Osmanlı'daki faaliyeti farklı bir biçimde gelişti. İzmir Alliance okulundan Shemtob Pariente 1884 yılında Avusturya'ya yaptığı bir gezi sırasında Polonya Yahudileri ile Türkiye Yahudilerinin durumu arasında büyük bir farklılık olduğuna işaret etmiştir. Bunun üzerine, Alliance, Doğu'daki Yahudi kitlelerinin eğitilmesi işini kendi üzerine alarak hayli iddialı bir program oluşturdu. Oysa Batı'da bu görev, normal olarak modern devlete düşen bir görevdi.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, Yahudileri ve diğer gayri Müslimleri yönetim aygıtıyla bütünleştirme girişimleri başarısız olmuş, hukuksal eşitlik daha çok kağıt üzerinde kalmıştır. Çöküşe kadar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, farklı etnik ve dinsel grupların yaşadığı ve her grubun kendi özelliğini muhafaza ettiği bir yapıdaydı. Dinamik bir sivil kültüre alışkın olmayan Osmanlı devletinin öncelikleri, imparatorlukta yaşayan bütün gayri Müslimleri içine alacak üniter bir eğitim sisteminin yaratılmasını engellemişti. Devlet, gayri Müslim okullarını on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonuna doğru daha sıkı kontrol etmeye başlamış olsa bile, bu okulların varlığını hiçbir zaman tartışma konusu yapmadı. Gayri Müslimler kendi ayrı okullarına gitmeye devam ettiler. Bu grupları bir arada tutacak ve merkezi bir çekim kuvveti yaratacak birleştirici bir ideoloji bulunamadı. Dolayısıyla, ayrı bir millet kimliği, Yahudiler için de olduğu gibi devam etti. Alliance'ın Türkiye'deki varlığını izah eden bu boşluk, örgüte, kendi okul ağını serbestçe kurma olanağı tanıdı. Yerel olarak Yahudiler önce Yahudi, sonra insan olarak kalmaya devam etti. Evrensel değerler henüz Doğu'ya nüfuz etmemişti. Din ve etnik kimlikler, temel kaynaklar konumundaydı.

Sonuçta yenileştirme ideolojisi, millet kimliğinin ön planda tutulduğu bir ortamda, Siyonistlerce savunulan, fakat Alliance'ın korkulu rüyası olan ulusal yenileştirme ideolojisinin bir ölçüde kabul görmesini kolaylaştıran gri bölgeye kaydı. Örgüt, basiretsiz davranarak bu gelişmenin katalizörü oldu; verdiği eğitimle Türk Yahudilerine Yahudi dünyasıyla iletişim kurma yolları açtı, onları daha kapsamlı gelişmelerin içine sokarak modern ideolojilere daha açık hale getirdi.

Ancak 1908'den sonra, Alliance'a bağlı okul mezunlarının kitleler halinde Siyonist harekete katılması, Alliance'ın bizzat kendisinin vücuda getirdiği grupların topluma karşı başlattıkları büyük isyanın bir parçasıydı. Yirminci yüzyılın yeni Yahudi burjuvazisi, cemaat ileri gelenlerinin yönetimi altında yaşamayı reddetmeye ve bu ileri gelenlerin bağlı olduğu Alliance'tan uzaklaşmaya başlamıştı. Örgütün aşırı merkeziyetçi ve otoriter yapısı, gençlerin eğitiminde daha fazla söz sahibi olmak isteyen bu yeni dinamik unsurlarla uyumsuzdu. Alliance kurumlarında

alınan eğitim, olası toplumsal eylem türlerinin artmasına neden olan bir pencere açmıştı. Bu eylemlerin tamamının Merkez Komitesi'ni veya onun öğretmenlerini hoşnut edecek tarzda olduğunu söylemek zordur.

Alliance ile yerli seçkinler arasında bir ittifak kurulmasına yol açan 1860'lar ve 1870'lerdeki faktörler, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın arifesine gelindiğinde artık hükümsüz kalmıştı. Gelenekçi gruplar, Yahudilere ilişkin politikaların belirlenmesinde arka plana itilmişlerdi. Ekonomik koşullar birçok Yahudiyi zengin yapmış ve gittikçe büyüyen burjuva sınıfı, cemaati ilgilendiren bütün kurumların yönetiminde, cemaat okulları da dahil olmak üzere, söz sahibi olmayı arzulamaya başlamıştı. Alliance okullarına halâ ihtiyaç vardı. Bununla beraber, bu okullar artık yerel cemaatin daha sıkı denetimi altında olmalıydı. İster Siyonistlerin bu okulların yönetimini ellerine geçirmelerine karşı cereyan etsin, isterse Türkiye'deki yeni Yahudi seçkin zümresi arasında yer alan bütün önemli şahsiyetleri bünyesinde barındıran Bene Berit cemiyeti şubelerinin gittikçe yayılan etkisine karşı olsun, açık bir çatışma, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 1923'te doğuşu öncesinde baş göstermiş haldeydi.

Siyonistlerle olan çatışma, Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında, Alliance ile Fransız Dışişleri'nin yakın bir işbirliğine gitmelerine yol açtı. Ancak bu beraberlik, örgüt okullarının Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarafından 1924-25 yılları arasında alınan etkin önlemlerle ulusallaştırılması engellemeye yetmedi.

Alliance, kendi geliştirdiği özgürleşme ideolojisine rağmen, ilk elli yılında Avrupa emperyalizmine sıkı sıkıya bağlı kaldı. Örgüt, dünyanın her yerindeki Yahudileri üretken yurttaşlar haline getirmek istese de, bunun için gerekli olan uygarlaştırma girişimlerinin Fransızca dışında başka bir araçla yapılabileceğini kabul etmiyordu. Bu girişimlerin bir sonucu olarak, İslam topraklarındaki çoğu Yahudi topluluğunun eğitim dili Fransızca oldu. Türkiye'de de Fransızca, Yahudi eğitim sisteminin esas dili oldu. Fransızcanın bu itibarlı konumu diğer gayri Müslim gruplar ve devletin en yüksek kademelerinde bulunan Batılılaşma yanlısı Osmanlı memurları için de geçerliydi. Bununla birlikte, Fransızca, Yahudi cemaati dışında

hiçbir cemaatte modern kitle eğitiminde kullanılan bir dil olmadı. Bir anlamda Alliance, Fransa yanlısı bir Yahudi burjuva sınıfı yaratılmasında önemli bir etken olmuş oldu. Fransızca kültür dili olurken, Ladino yerli dil olarak kaldı. Türkçe öğrenimi üzerine çok gürültü koparılmasına rağmen, bu dil arka plana itildi. Cumhuriyetin kurulduğu anda, çok az sayıda Yahudi Türkçe biliyordu; bu bilgi de iş dünyasında gerekli olan düzeyden fazla değildi.⁹⁰

Fransızcaya verilen önem sonucunda, yeni ulus devletin getirdiği zorunluluklara hazırlıksız yakalanan ve birbiriyle kaynaşmamış çok dilli bir Yahudi toplumu yaratılmış oldu. Yeni Cumhuriyet rejiminde uygulanan ulusal ve laik politikalar ve bunun Yahudiler arasındaki başarısına rağmen, Türkiye Yahudilerinin çok dilli yapısı günümüze dek süregelmiştir. Pek çok açıdan bu, cemaatin değerler sistemini ve kültürel ufku yeniden biçimlendirmede Alliance okullarının, Yahudi tarihinin kritik bir evresinde oynadığı rolden kalma bir miras idi.

Alliance'ın faaliyetlerinin bir sonucu olarak modernlik, Türkiye Yahudilerine, onları çevreleyen baskın kültürle etkileşimleriyle birlikte gelmemiştir. Ayrıca, Müslüman ülkelerdeki Yahudiler için de bu böyleydi, ama Batı ve Orta Avrupa'da yaşayan Yahudi toplulukları açısından bakıldığında, durum tam tersiydi. Fransız hayranlığı, örgütün özgürleşme ideolojisinin temel taşlarından birinin hayata geçirilmesini geciktirmiş veya engellemiştir. Bu ise, Yahudilerin içinde yaşadıkları topluma entegrasyonu olmaktadır. Modernleşmenin kendine özgün yolu, Müslüman ülkelerdeki Yahudileri böyle bir entegrasyona değil, tam tersine, ortamdaki, gittikçe artan bir kültürel ve politik kopuşa yöneltmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, Batı'yı en ileri uygarlığın temsilcisi olarak düşünen Alliance'ın ideolojisi ve faaliyetleri de bu gelişmede esaslı bir rol oynamıştır.⁹¹

1913 yılına çıkarılan kanun ile devletin tüm özel okulları sıkı denetim altına almasını öngörüyordu. Gayri Müslim okullara sıkı denetim getiren bu yeni yasa ile

⁹⁰ Rodrigue, Aron, Türkiye Yahudilerinin Batılılaşması, p.262

⁹¹ İbid, pp.256-263.

devletin, Alliance okullarında öğretmen olarak görev yapan yabancılara artık tolerans göstermeyeceği açıktı. Bu mesele 1908'den 1914'e kadarki dönemde acil bir konu olarak ortaya çıkmadı, fakat her zaman, gündemdeydi. Alliance okullarının, özellikle taşradakilerin, düzenli olarak teftişi devam etti. Maarif vekâleti kendi eğitim takvimini de bu okullara dayatmaktaydı. Ancak bu durum, 1914'te aniden son buldu. Hükümet bütün okulların yaz tatiline aynı anda girmesini kararlaştırdı. Haim Nahum'un girişimleri ile Yahudi okullarının yalnız kutsal günlerde kapalı olmalarına göz yumuldu. Ancak bunun dışında, Alliance yeni yasanın bütün hükümlerine uymak zorundaydı.⁹²

Örgüte bağlı birçok kurum, yetkili idari organlardan gerekli izni almamıştı ve dolayısıyla hukuki olarak kanun dışı konumdaydı. Bu zafiyet, devlet harekete geçmeye karar verdiğinde, Alliance okullarının kaderi açısından kötü bir sonla noktalanabilirdi.

Alliance'a bağlı okullar, örgütün mahalli unsurların katkılarıyla oluşturduğu parayla inşa ettiği veya satın aldığı okullardı. 1908'den önce Osmanlı hukuku, mülkiyetlerin kuruluşlar adına kaydedilmesine izin vermiyordu. Örgüt, mahalli cemaatlerin ileride patlak verebilecek bir ihtilâf anında okul binalarına el koyması ihtimaline karşı bu binaları Narcisse Leven ve Salomon Goldschmidt gibi Paris Merkez Komitesi üyelerinin özel mülkiyetine geçirmişti. Bu durum 1880'lerin sonuna doğru bir sorun olmaya başladı; yabancılara duyulan kuşkudan dolayı tapu kayıt işlemlerinde epey gecikmeler yaşanıyordu. Bir okulun resmi olarak kayda geçmesi, 1869 yılında çıkarılan Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesine göre, maarif vekaletinden bir irade alınmasını gerektiriyordu. Ancak, elde olmayan nedenlerle ve bürokrasinin ağır işlemesi sebebiyle bir çok Alliance okulu, ruhsatsız olarak faaliyet göstermekteydi. Devlet görevlileri bu okulların işleyişine karışmamaktaydı; bu da devletin, Yahudi eğitime karşı kayıtsız kalışının bir başka göstergesiydi. 1889'da, İstanbul'daki bütün Alliance okulları içinde, sadece Hasköy erkek okulu

⁹² İbid, p.243.

böyle bir irade almış durumdaydı. Bir pürüz çıktığında meseleyi kapatmak amacıyla genellikle rüşvet dağıtılmaktaydı. Alliance, İstanbul Haham Okulunda ruhsat olmadan uzun yıllar eğitim yapabiliyordu. Zaten, ilk yıllarda kurulan okulların birçoğu da aynı durumdaydı.

Ortamin milliyetçiliğe doğru iyice kaymasıyla birlikte Alliance kendini koruma çabasına girişti. Örgüt, eğitimin gelişmesine sağladığı hizmetleri takdir eden resmi bir belgeyi devletten alma ihtiyacı hissetti. Amaç, Osmanlı idaresi altındaki bu okullara yönelik potansiyel saldırılara set çekmektir. Haim Nahum'un bu işin gerçekleştirilmesinde büyük yardımı dokundu. Nahum'un çabaları ile, 1900 yılında, maarif vekâletinden örgütün faaliyetlerini takdir eden bir resmi belge almayı başardı.

AIU okullarının Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yeşermesi ve hızla artarak çoğalması, 1. Dünya Savaşı yıllarında etkilense bile bir şekilde hayatını sürdürebiliyordu. Savaşın Osmanlı'nın yenilgisiyle sonuçlanması ile, yabancı okullarda hızlı bir artış gözlemlendi. Paris'teki Alliance Merkez Komitesi 1918 yılından başlayarak otoritesini sağlamlaştırdı ve savaş öncesi duruma geri döndü. Aslında Yunan işgali sırasında Yahudiler, yüzyıllardır sürtüştikleri Rumların yerine Türkleri tercih ediyorlar ve destekliyorlardı. İşgalci Yunan birlikleri de Yahudilere karşı tacizkar tutum içindeydiler. Savaş sonrasında Cumhuriyetin kurulması Yahudilerin arasında coşkuyla kutlanmıştı.

Yeni cumhuriyetin batı standartlarını eğitime de taşıma gayreti ve laikleşme çabaları Alliance'ın gözünden kaçmıyordu. Bununla beraber, bu olumlu süreç AIU okulları açısından sonun başlangıcı anlamına da gelmekteydi. 3 Mart 1924 tarihinde kabul edilen ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin temel taşı olacak laiklik ilkesinin ön koşulu olacak Eğitimin Birleştirilmesi Yasasına göre tüm okullarda dinsel eğitim yasaklandı ve ilgili kurumlar Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'na bağlandı. Böylece, Tanzimattan beri tartışılan eğitimdeki ikilik ortadan kalkmış oldu. Bu sırada Türkiye Cumhuriyeti sınırları içinde 28 AIU okulu ve 9904 öğrencisi bulunmaktaydı. Kurum

olarak Alliance, okullarının yeni rejimde de başarı ile devam edeceğini umarken, bu yasa işleri zorlaştırmıştı. Aslında, yeni rejim Alliance'a karşı değildi. Amaçlanan sadece ulusal, birleştirilmiş ve laik esaslı bir eğitim sistemi idi.

Bütün bunlar olurken Alliance Fransız ilişkileri nedeniyle Fransa'nın neden etkisiz kaldığı düşünülebilir. Fransız Dışişleri'nin, Fransız dilini yayma politikası kapsamında Alliance'ı doğal bir müttefik olarak gördüğü ve dolayısıyla örgütü aktif olarak desteklediği zamanlar olmuştur. Ancak, böyle bir gelişme geç cereyan etmiştir. Hem Fransız Dışişleri Bakanlığı, hem de Merkez Komitesi, Alliance'ın uluslararası niteliğini oldukça ciddiye almışlardı. Sadece, Paris'te öğretmen yetiştiren Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale resmi bir kurum olarak kayıtlara geçmişti. Ancak, Alliance'ın bir kuruluş olarak Fransa'da yasal bir statüsü yoktu. Bunun sonucunda örgüt, ilk elli yılda, Paris'ten maddi bir mali yardım almadı ve kapitülasyon rejimi içinde Fransız hükümetinin resmi himayesinden faydalanamadı. Destek gerektiğinde gayri resmi olarak kişisel ilişkilerle gerçekleştiriyordu. Alliance okullarına yönelik tehditler olduğu ilk yıllarda, Fransız konsoloslarının himayesine sığınma garantisine sahip olmayı istemişti. Charles Netter 1862'de Tetuan'daki AIU okulu hakkında yazarken; “Barbar ülkelerdeki bütün insanların ve bütün kuruluşların bir Avrupalı hükümet tarafından korunması şarttır; aksi halde buralarda kalıcı hiçbir şey kuramaz.” diyordu.

Fransız temsilciler diğer konsoloslarla birlikte, arada bir başarılı öğrencilere ödülleri verildiği yıl sonu törenlerine katılıyorlardı. Ancak bu katılım, bir Fransız mevcudiyetini göstermekten fazla anlam ifade etmiyordu. Bir açıdan Alliance, Fransa Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın ilgi ve uğraşı alanı içinde değildi. Fransız konsoloslarının zaman zaman okullarla ilişki kurdukları gözlemlense de, dönemsel olarak bu tip ilişkilerin hiç yaşanmadığı da görülmektedir. Açıktır ki, Fransa Dışişleri Bakanlığı Yakınoğu'da faaliyet gösteren Alliance'ı ihmal etmiş ve yirminci yüzyılın ilk on yılına kadar da örgütün faaliyetlerini çoğunlukla görmezlikten gelmiştir. Birçok Alliance öğretmeni, yaptıkları çalışmalara özellikle

Istanbul gibi büyük kentlerdeki Fransız konsoloslarının pek ilgi göstermemesinden dertli bir şekilde yakınmıştır. Bu öğretmenlerin tespitine göre, hem Fransız diplomatlar hem de Yakındoğu'da yaşayan Fransızlar, yönelim itibariyle Katolik kilisesinin temsilcilerinden yana bir tavır takınıyorlardı. Fransızlar, öncelikli olarak siyaseten Katoliklerin hamiliğini yapmaktaydılar. Alliance okullarında öğretimin Fransızca yapıldığı, konsoloslar tarafından Paris'e bildirilmişti; ancak Paris'in ana uğraşı alanı, misyoner kuruluşların faaliyetlerini desteklemek ve onları korumak idi.

Gerek Alliance ve gerekse de diğer özel ve azınlık okullarının akıbetleri açısından Lozan anlaşması da önemli bir yer tutmaktaydı. Yeni Cumhuriyet'in benimsediği laik eğitim anlayışı, azınlık okullarındaki müfredatları hemen değiştirmemişti, çünkü Lozan Antlaşmasındaki ilgili maddeler bu okullarda din eğitimi yapılmasına izin vermekteydi. Ancak 1936'dan sonra bu kurumlarda da din eğitimi yasaklanınca, eğitim sistemini düzene koyan yasalar ile, devletin bundan böyle Türkiye'deki bütün eğitim kurumları üzerinde büyük bir kontrol mekanizması oluşturacağı belli olmuştu. 1924 yılının ilk aylarında taşradaki Alliance müdürleri, idari makamların sorun çıkardıklarını, bu okulları Alliance kurumları olarak tanımayı reddettiklerini ve bunların cemaat okulları olduğunda ısrar ettiklerini rapor etmeye başladılar. 5 Mart 1924'te Maarif Vekaleti'nden Alliance okullarına gönderilen bir talimatla Paris'le olan bütün ilişkilerin kesilmesi istendi. Bu ise, son okulunun 1937 ye kadar devam ettiği gerçeği yanında, Alliance'ın Türkiye'deki varlığının hukuken son bulması anlamına geliyordu. Alliance, resmi bir Fransız kuruluşu ve okulları da Fransız okulları olmadığı için, Fransız elçiliğinden doğal olarak bir yardım göremezdi. Fransızlarla 1921'de imzalanan Ankara Antlaşması, 1914'ten önce kurulmuş bütün Fransız okullarının faaliyetlerini sürdürmelerine olanak tanıyordu. Bu okullar her ne kadar Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşunu izleyen yıllarda bir hayli tedirginlik yaşamış, azınlık okullarına getirilen yönetmeliklere uyup kendilerini laikleştirmek zorunda kalmış olsalar da, devlet, bu okulların meşruiyetini kabul etmişti. Böylesi bir yasal statüye sahip olmayan Alliance, Ankara Antlaşmasından bir fayda umamazdı. Örgütün, kendisine bağlı okulların savaş

yıllarında da faaliyetlerine devam etmesini sağlayan politikası şimdi aleyhine işlemeye başlamıştı. Alliance'a konan yasak karşısında susmayı yeğleyen Merkez Komitesi, okullarının bundan böyle kamuya ait okullar olarak eğitim faaliyetlerini sürdürebileceklerini sanarken, tüm bir müfredatı etkileyen bu yeni kararname böyle bir politikayı olanaksız hale getirmişti. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1924 yılının Haziran ayında bütün Yahudi ilkokullarına öğretim dili olarak ya Türkçeyi ya da İbraniceyi seçme hakkı tanıdı. Yahudilerin ana dillerinin İbranice olması nedeniyle bu istek mantıklıydı. Ancak, yaşayan bir dil olarak İbraniceye çok az sayıda Türk Yahudisi biliyordu, çoğunluk Ladino konuşuyordu. Öğretim dili olarak ya Türkçe'nin ya da anadilin seçilmesi zorunluluğu, Rum ve Ermeni okulları için sorun olmadı; çünkü her iki azınlık da okullarında kendi anadilleri olan Rumca ve Ermeniceyi öğretim dili olarak kullanırlarken, Yahudiler için Ladino, Alliance'ın Fransızca seferberliği sonucunda uzun süreden beri unutulmaya mahkum kalmıştı. Türkiye Yahudileri bu dili, 1920'lerde, öğretim dili olarak elverişli görmüyorlardı. Üstelik, yeni devlet, Yahudilerin asıl ana dillerinin Ladino olduğu gerçeğinden haberdar değil gözüküyordu. Yahudi cemaati böylece kendisine kalan tek seçeneği kabul etmek durumunda kaldı ve Türkçe, Yahudi ilkokullarında öğretim dili oldu. Bu yeni reformun zamana yayılarak, yavaş yavaş uygulamaya konması yolundaki Yahudi cemaat liderlerinin ricasını Ankara kabul etti. Bu geçiş dönemi 1925'te sona erdi; bu tarihte artık birinci sınıftan başlayarak her sınıfta dersler Türkçe okutulmaktaydı. Fransızca ancak dördüncü yılda, o da ikinci bir dil olarak öğretilibilirdi. Çoğu Yahudi ilkokulunda sadece dört sınıf olduğu göz önüne alındığında, bu, Fransızca öğretiminin pratik olarak son bulması demektir. 1929 yılına gelindiğinde bu okullar, din eğitimine ayrılan birkaç saat dışında, devlet müfredatını takip eder hale gelmiş ve artık tamamen millileşmişti. Türk vatandaşlarının, ilköğretim düzeyinde yabancı okullara, mesela Fransız okullarına, devam etmelerine imkân veren bazı yasal boşluklar da 1931 yılında giderildi. Getirilen yeni yasa ile Türk vatandaşlarının yabancı ilkokullara gitmesi önendi. Alliance kurumlarının millileştirilmesi süreci,

milli ve üniter bir ilköğretim sistemi oluşturulmasını amaçlayan sürecin bir parçasıydı.

Cumhuriyet'in önder kadrosunun yeni devleti Fransız modeline dayanarak güçlendirme çabası kapsamındaki politikaları, Lozan Antlaşması'nda azınlıklara tanınan haklarla uyum içerisinde değildi. Antlaşmanın ilgili maddelerinin tanıdığı haklardan gayri Müslimler, 1925-26 tarihleri arasında, açıkça anlaşılmayan nedenlerden dolayı feragat ettiler. Bu, 1924'te Ha- life'nin Türkiye'den çıkarılması, şer'i mahkemelerin kaldırılması, İsveç, İtalyan ve Alman yasaları alınarak oluşturulan yeni bir hukuk sisteminin getirilmesi uygulamalarını izleyen bir gelişmeydi. Gayri Müslim cemaat liderlerinin resmi açıklamalarında ortaya konan görüş, devletin getirdiği yeni yasaların artık İslam hukukuna dayanmadığı, fakat laik Batılı devletlerden alınmış yasalar olduğu ve dolayısıyla cemaatlerin kişi ve aile ile ilgili konularda kendi ayrı yasalarını uygulama ihtiyacı kalmadığı yolundaydı. Tüm bunlar, Osmanlı'daki millet sisteminden kalan son ayrıcalıkları da ortadan kaldırmış oluyordu. Müslümanlarla gayri Müslimleri birbirinden ayıran hukuki farklılıklar son buldu. Bu sayede, Yahudi cemaati tam anlamıyla dini örgüt haline geldi. Alliance 1930'lara dek okullara para göndermeye ve okul müdürleri ile düzenli bir ilişki içerisinde olmaya devam ettiyse de, okullar hala Yahudi okullarıydı ve din eğitimi de verdikleri için Alliance'ın gözünde önemi korumaktaydı. Örgütte, bu yeni yasaların gevşetileceği yönünde bir beklenti vardı, ancak bu hiçbir gerçekleşmemişti. Devletçe yürürlüğe konulan müfredat olduğu gibi kaldı. 1925'te öğretim dili olarak Türkçe'nin kullanılmaya başlamasıyla birlikte bu okulların Alliance'a bağlı kurumlar olma niteliği de sona erdi. İlköğretimden sonra öğrenimlerine devam etmek isteyen birçok Yahudi, yabancı liselere yazıldı ve Fransızca tercih edilen dil olma özelliğini sürdürdü. Alliance'm 1860'lardan bu yana büyük emek harcıyarak yerleştirdiği Fransız temel eğitim sistemi, 1925'te nihayet buldu. Türkiye Yahudilerinin Türkleşmesi sürecinin başlangıcından ancak bu tarihten sonra ciddi olarak söz edilebilir. Alliance, kendi ideolojisinin taşıdığı

çelişkilerden zarar görmüştü. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sindeki Batılılaşma ve reform sürecini coşkuyla karşılayan örgüt, batılılaşmanın mutlak surette iyi olacağını düşünmüştü. Avrupalı güçler gibi, Alliance da, Batılı olmayan bir toplumla yüz yüze geldiğinde çifte standart kullanıyordu. Fransa'da devletin okulların yaz tatiline ne zaman gireceğine karar vermesini tamamıyla normal karşılayan ve hatta bunu arzulayan örgüt, aynı şey Türkiye'deki okulları için geçerli olduğunda rahatsız olmuştu.

Türkiye'deki AIU okullarının ilki olan Edirne okulunun uzun süre ayakta kalması bir anlamda yerel inisiyatifler ve yerel cemaat ilişkilerinin sağlam oluşuydu. Yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyet'in laik yasalarına uyumda gösterdiği başarı ile bu okul 1937 yılına kadar yaşayabilmişti. Alliance Israélite Universelle' in Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki hikayesi 1937 yılında tamamen sona ermiş oldu. 1960 yılında yayınlanan Kuruluş Çağrısı' na bakılınca işlevini yerine getirmiş olduğu ve her şeye rağmen hedefine ulaştığı söylenebilir.

APPENDIX C

Alliance Schools in Turkey

Location of School	Year of Opening	Year of Closing
Çanakkale (boys, girls)	1878,1988	1927
Bursa	1886	1927
Manisa (boys)	1892	1927
Aydın(boys, girls)	1894, 1904	1923
Tire (boys, girls)	1897, 1910	1927
Turgutlu (mixed)	1897	1923
Tekirdağ (mixed)	1904	1927
Gelibolu (boys, girls)	1905, 1913	1927
Kırklareli (boys,girls)	1913, 1911	1927
Çorlu (mixed)	1911	1927
Urla (mixed)	1909	1923
Bergama (mixed)	1896	1927
Milas (mixed)	1909	1927
Nazilli	1901	1927
Menemen (mixed)	1909	1927
Silivri (mixed)	1901	1927
Edirne (boys, girls)	1867, 1870	1937
Balat (boys, girls)	1875, 1882	1911
Kuzguncuk (boys, girls)	1875, 1895	1927
Dağhamamı (boys, girls)	1875, 1880	1893
Galata (boys, girls)	1875, 1879	1927
Hasköy (boys, girls)	1876, 1875	1927
Haydarpaşa (mixed)	1893	1917
Ortaköy (boys, girls)	1881, 1882	1927
Izmir (boys, girls)	1873, 1878	1927
Izmir (boys)	1898	1927
Izmir Karataş (mixed)	1895	1900

APPENDIX D

Alliance Israélite Universelle Foundation Manifest

L'Appel fondateur de 1860

APPEL À TOUS LES ISRAÉLITES

ISRAÉLITES !

Si, dispersés sur tous les points de la terre et mêlés aux nations, vous demeurez, attachés de cœur à l'antique religion de vos pères, quelque faible d'ailleurs que soit le lien qui vous retienne ;

Si vous ne reniez pas votre foi, si vous ne cachez pas votre culte, si vous ne rougissez pas d'une qualification qui ne pèse qu'aux âmes faibles ;

Si vous détestez les préjugés dont nous souffrons encore, les reproches qu'on généralise, les mensonges qu'on répète, les calomnies qu'on fomente, les dénis de justice qu'on tolère, les persécutions qu'on justifie ou qu'on excuse ;

[...]

Si vous croyez que la liberté de conscience, cette vie de l'âme, n'est nulle part mieux sauvegardée pour tous les hommes que dans les États où les juifs l'ont tout entière ;

Si vous croyez que la foi de ses ancêtres est pour chacun un patrimoine sacré, que le foyer, que la conscience sont inviolables, qu'il ne faut plus revoir ce qu'on a vu trop récemment encore ;

Si vous croyez que l'union est un bien, que, partageant des nationalités différentes, vous pouvez cependant mettre encore en commun, en dehors de tous les partis, vos sentiments, vos désirs et vos espérances ;

[...]

Si vous croyez qu'un grand nombre de vos coreligionnaires, encore accablés par vingt siècles de misère, d'outrages et de proscriptions, peuvent retrouver leur dignité d'hommes, conquérir leur dignité de citoyens ;

[...]

Si vous croyez que ce serait un honneur pour votre religion, une leçon pour les peuples, un progrès pour l'humanité, un triomphe pour la vérité et pour la raison universelles, de voir se concentrer toutes les forces vives du judaïsme, petit par le nombre, grand par l'amour et la volonté du bien ;

Si vous croyez enfin que l'influence des principes de 89 est toute-puissante dans le monde, que la loi qui en découle est une loi de justice, qu'il est à souhaiter que partout son esprit pénètre, et que l'exemple des peuples qui jouissent de l'égalité absolue des cultes est une force ;

Si vous croyez toutes ces choses, israélites du monde entier, venez, écoutez notre appel, accordez-nous votre adhésion, votre concours ; l'œuvre est grande et bénie peut-être :

Nous fondons l'Alliance Israélite universelle !

Les Membres de la Commission Provisoire d'Organisation :

Astruc (Aristide), rabbin-adjoint à M. le grand rabbin de Paris, rue Lamartine, 27, à Paris.

Cahen (Isidore), ancien élève de l'École normale, professeur au Séminaire rabbinique, 16, rue du Parc-Royal, à Paris.

Carvallo (Jules), ancien élève de l'École polytechnique, ingénieur des ponts et chaussées, 37, rue Neuve-des-Mathurins, à Paris.

Leven (Narcisse), avocat à la Cour impériale de Paris, 5, rue Saint-Hippolyte, à Paris.

Manuel (Eugène), ancien élève de l'École normale, professeur agrégé de l'Université, 45, rue du Rocher, à Paris.

Netter (Charles), négociant, membre du Comité de la Société de Patronage des apprentis israélites de Paris, 10, rue Vendôme, à Paris.

APPENDIX E

Ottoman Archives, Related Documents of AIU

DATE	SUBJECT	File	Doc	Class.
10.4.1876	Delivery of books demanded for AIU students	34	161	MF.MKT
26.11.1878	Free distribution of books for AIU school in Bagdad	58	87	MF.MKT
16.1.1882	Inspection of Jerusalem school by AIU	74	17	MF.MKT
13.6.1891	Salary of Selanik Ottoman teacher will not be increased	129	16	MF.MKT
31.8.1893	Permit for construction of AIU school in Milas	2618	25	ŞD
30.7.1894	Move of Kuzguncuk school damaged after earthquake	215	43	MF.MKT
19.9.1894	Acceptance of an AIU graduate to Mekteb-i Sultani as teacher	227	1	MF.MKT
7.10.1894	A book in Italian is forbidden	231	22	MF.MKT
1.1.1895	Examination of Kuzguncuk school walls after earthquake	242	56	MF.MKT
9.1.1895	Hasköy school, free representation, required to inform before	331	19	DH.MKT
13.2.1895	Without permission theater plays can not be performed by AIU, inform security	250	7	MF.MKT
2.4.1895	AIU reference letter to work as Yafa sec. School French teacher	253	33	MF.MKT
8.10.1895	An AIU graduate teacher to work in Mekteb-i Sultani	286	54	MF.MKT
22.2.1896	Demanding permission from security authority, for a theater play for Ortaköy school	306	15	MF.MKT
22.6.1896	A school to be opened in Hasköy	322	3	MF.MKT
27.6.1897	Theater performance in Hasköy school	19	14	Y.PRK.ZB
24.4.1898	Registration of Çanakkale school	393	51	MF.MKT
24.5.1898	Kuzguncuk school is registered but for evening class, permission is required	396	26	MF.MKT
15.12.1899	Permission for evening class in Kuzguncuk, Balat, Hasköy schools	2284	73	DH.MKT
21.1.1899	Demand for permission to open a school in Aydın	186	80	HR:HMŞ.
1.5.1899	Theater performance in Balat school is postponed	446	51	MF.MKT
7.11.1899	Wson of a school worker	226	134	DH.MKT
13.12.1899	Party income organized by Hasköy girls school is reported and account bill	479	19	MF.MKT

15.12.1899	Evening classes issue to be decided in Meclis-i Vükela	2284	73	DH.MKT
22.05.1900	Jewish students sent from Bulgaria are allowed to enter AIU in Izmir, stipendium	505	21	MF.MKT
04.07.1900	Prohibition of a book named Alliance Israelite	2368	93	DH.MKT
14.08.1900	Performance of a play for Halep school	2389	31	DH.MKT
03.09.1900	Ottoman teacher appointment is a task of school management, Çanakkale AIU	523	37	MF.MKT
14.02.1901	Jewish history book sent from Paris is found harmful and not allowed	545	23	MF.MKT
12.09.1901	Forbidden issues of listed newspapers	579	25	MF.MKT
01.01.1902	Jerusalem school Ottoman teacher's salary	596	43	MF.MKT
20.02.1902	Permission for lotary and entertainment for Galata scool poor students	609	49	MF.MKT
24.02.1902	"Zor Tabib" play is not permitted in Turgutlu school, others may be played revised	486	63	DH.MKT
27.03.1902	Balat school entertainment has benn made	617	29	MF.MKT
09.04.1902	Due to scarlet fever disease Balat school is closed	619	31	MF.MKT
20.06.1902	List of newspapers' forbidden issues	637	4	MF.MKT
20.06.1902	Demand of permission for metal ribbons, Selanik school	527	14	DH.MKT
13.07.1902	Asking a procedure on medals to be distributed to outstanding students	643	13	MF.MKT
25.08.1902	Permission for entertainment to be made for Kuzguncuk school postponment	655	24	MF.MKT
22.09.1902	Opening of a rabbi school inside Hasköy AIU school	8	5	İ.MF
22.09.1902	A Rabbi school inside Hasköy AIU construction and opening	8	1320	İ.MF
02.02.1903	The entertainment made for Balat school is made without troubles	682	42	MF.MKT
02.07.1903	Permission for entertainment to be made for Kuzguncuk school	716	49	MF.MKT
02.07.1903	Entertainment is allwed for Kuzguncuk school	716	49	MF.MKT
08.07.1903	Permission of move of Bursa agriculture school to Akhisar	737	42	DH.MKT
30.09.1903	Arrested Ruscuk school principal status is to be asked from security	771	54	DH.MKT
17.12.1903	Appointment of Tripoli school Ottoman teacher	753	92	MF.MKT
02.01.1904	Permission for change of teachers of Hasköy school	755	17	MF.MKT
11.01.1904	Result of investigation for Balatschool's new principal is written to ministry	756	51	MF.MKT
27.05.1904	The qualifying exam to be given again to the appointed Ottoman teacher of Tripoli	783	1	MF.MKT

30.05.1904	Muslim students accepted to Galata school is not lawful	772	41	MF.MKT
01.06.1904	Jerusalem school's land private ownership. Transfer to AIU needs permission	856	46	DH.MKT
29.08.1904	Permission for publishing of a History book	800	5	MF.MKT
30.08.1904	Permission for publishing of a book in French written by a teacher of Balat school	800	31	MF.MKT
24.01.1905	Edirne school Ottoman teacher's salary is increased	826	70	MF.MKT
31.01.1905	Permission for a new bulding attachment to be made in Ortaköy school garden	829	21	MF.MKT
20.06.1905	Complaint for attitude of local authorities to AIU officials, Dimetoka school	974	55	DH.MKT
22.06.1905	Permission for Ortaköy school's move to new building	866	4	MF.MKT
16.07.1905	One episode of theater play will not be played, needs revision. Edirne school	987	28	DH.MKT
03.08.1905	Complaint AIU Dimetoka school principal from local authorities for nationality	70	6904	TFR.İ.ŞKT
29.12.1905	Izmir school lotary income misuse by transferring to AIU. Transfer to Hicaz Railways	27	2607	Y.EE.KP
10.05.1906	A book of Galata principal may be published after revision of pictures	926	98	MF.MKT
21.05.1906	Asking to Edirne education authorities for a change in Gelibolu school curriculum	929	40	MF.MKT
07.06.1906	Reception entertainment is permitted to be made in Kuzguncuk to compensatae budget	933	71	MF.MKT
02.08.1906	Reception entertainment is permitted to be made in Kuzguncuk	944	87	MF.MKT
02.08.1906	Performance is permitted to be made for Ortaköy school	944	67	MF.MKT
13.08.1906	Garden party is permitted to be made in Beykoz for Ortaköy school	947	35	MF.MKT
06.12.1906	Galata school principal's books are permitted for publishing	966	47	MF.MKT
07.01.1907	Permission of move of Ortaköy school for being damaged	971	53	MF.MKT
13.03.1907	Vocational school of Jerusalem, registration of land ownership	2753	7	ŞD
30.05.1907	Approval of qualification of Halep school Ottoman teacher	996	32	MF.MKT
25.07.1907	Permission for printing of encyclopedia demanded by Galata school principal	1009	25	MF.MKT
05.10.1907	Permission for printing of a book written by Galata school teacher, Moiz Fresko	1020	45	MF.MKT
05.10.1907	Permission for printing of a book written by Galata school teacher, Salih Yakub	1020	43	MF.MKT
29.10.1907	Postpone of entertainment of Ortaköy school	477	105	ZB
26.11.1907	Permission for printing a booklet by a schhol teacher of AIU	1023	68	MF.MKT
27.11.1907	Demand for permission for printing a booklet by a schhol teacher of AIU	1024	7	MF.MKT

22.03.1908	Tekirdağ school French principal's dismissal, having resisted to transferring of school	1044	87	MF.MKT
26.05.1908	Permission of printing of encyclopedia revised by Galata principal	1057	23	MF.MKT
08.07.1908	Permission for printing of Hasköy school Ottoman teacher's book	1064	71	MF.MKT
08.07.1908	Permission of printing of a book written by Hasköy Ottoman teacher	1064	71	MF.MKT
09.07.1908	Yanya school principal's demand for permission to bear French medal	1065	14	MF.MKT
09.07.1908	Edirne school new Ottoman teacher appointment	1065	6	MF.MKT
25.08.1908	Musul school principal's arrest	1074	26	MF.MKT
08.10.1908	Permit for construction of AIU girls school in Hasköy	2766	34	ŞD
23.11.1908	Bursa school Ottoman teacher appointment and way for salary payments	1083	35	MF.MKT
21.01.1909	Explanation given to State Council on AIU 's position and future	1094	39	MF.MKT
04.02.1909	Security investigation of Galata school principal	1099	8	MF.MKT
19.02.1909	Rabbi's complaint that Yanya AIU is not behaved fair is not true	1101	69	MF.MKT
07.03.1909	Woman Principal and teachers' clearance to work, for Galata school	340	72	ZB
05.04.1909	Ottoman teacher to Bagdad AIU school appointment not possible	1113	82	MF.MKT
20.04.1909	Bagdad AIU teachers salary not to paid by Ministry budget, but supplied from Bagdad	1116	40	MF.MKT
30.04.1909	Yanya Jewish schools transform to AIU but principals not allowed to be foreigners	1112	35	MF.MKT
01.05.1909	Construction of a new school building for Hasköy girls school	2798	38	DH.MKT
22.06.1909	Principal Ferisko reports on French education	1131	58	MF.MKT
01.11.1909	Principal of Kavala school may continue working	1142	51	MF.MKT
02.11.1909	Permission for a party, Kuzguncuk school, in Belva Hotel	340	112	ZB
21.02.1910	Hasköy school not in proper condition, required to inspect	58	57	DH.MUI
10.03.1910	Evening class permission in Kuzguncuk, Balat, Hasköy schools, for 2 hours	215	30	ŞD
05.06.1910	Yemen school AIU inspector	50	29	DH.MUI
11.10.1910	Construction of AIU school in Tripoli	16	1328	I.MF
19.10.1910	Tripoli AIU school construction	30	7	DH.ID
04.12.1912	AIU misinforms European media by paying for bribes	543	2	HR.TO
03.08.1913	School named Noriel built by AIU in Bagdad is permitted	30/2	49	DH.ID

21.07.1914	Jerusalem school	2822	31	ŞD
04.12.1914	Demand to close Bursa school	5	24	DH.EUM
15.03.1915	Salary increase of Galata AIU school Turkish teacher	1026	43	MF.MKT
30.04.1916	Appointment of Belke to Bursa AIU school is not permitted for he is sionist	5	62	DH.EUM
15.06.1916	A teacher in Bursa school follow-up	6	27	DH.EUM
28.06.1916	Opening of closed AIU school in Edirne	65	110	DH.ŞFR
29.07.1916	Edirne school building will be seized	1217	64	MF.MKT
26.10.1916	Edirne school might be closed as in case with hostile institutions	29	46	DH.EUM
28.10.1916	Edirne school alleged under French protection, will continue operation	25	49	DH.EUM
15.04.1917	Ortaköy and Galat school students carrying sionist star. Inform to AIU	1225	7	MF.MKT
05.11.1922	Financial report for Jerusalem school	230	13	ŞD
05.11.1922	Bagdad school official registration	229	27	ŞD
05.11.1922	Permission for Jafa AIU sec. School	229	23	ŞD
26.05.1923	Appointed Kırklareli school principal is not allowed to work, French Comm. Complaints	74	31	HR.IM
11.07.1923	Edirne girls school principal's complaint on Ministerial inspector	78	28	HR.IM
29.12.1923	An AIU teacher is not found appropriate (Ist)	93	63	HR.IM
24.03.1924	Criticism of AIU on press, Jews are being mishandled	100	81	HR.İM

APPENDIX F

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Güven

Adı : A. Hilmi

Bölümü : Tarih

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Educational Activities of the Ottoman Jews From the Last Decades of the Empire to the Early Years of the Turkish Republic : The Alliance Israélite Universelle Experience In Light of Turkish and French Archival Documents (1860-1937)

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

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