

HISTORY EDUCATION IN GUIDING SUBJECTS TO LOYALTY: HISTORY
EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
IN THE LATE TANZIMAT ERA (1869-1876)

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ABSTRACT

HISTORY EDUCATION IN GUIDING SUBJECTS TO LOYALTY: HISTORY EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE LATE *TANZIMAT ERA* (1869-1876)

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The present study, which is based on evaluating history education as one of the key tools to transmit ideology and values as well as to construct an identity, aims to put forth the relationship between the state and history education in the Ottoman Empire with particular emphasis to history education in the Ottoman primary and secondary schools in the late *Tanzimat Era* (1869-1876).

The *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* (General Education Act of 1869) systematically institutionalized history teaching in all tiers of education by putting history courses into official curriculum. By the mentioned act, history education was systematically introduced to public education as a separate discipline. The initial aim of this study was to create a framework including the shape, scope, and application of history education from 1869 to 1876 by assembling bureaucratic and scholarly inspirations and expectations for introducing history teaching in public education as a separate discipline.

Keywords: The Late *Tanzimat Era* (1869-1876), the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, History Education, Modernization of Education, Ottomanism

ÖZ

TEBAAYI SADAKATE GÖTÜREN REHBER: GEÇ TANZİMAT DÖNEMİ (1869-1876)
OSMANLI İLKÖĞRETİM VE ORTAÖĞRETİM OKULLARINDA TARİH EĞİTİMİ

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Tarih eğitimini ideoloji ve değerlerin aktarılması ile kimlik oluşturma süreçlerinde kilit bir eğitim aracı olarak değerlendiren bu çalışmanın amacı, devlet ve tarih eğitimi ilişkisini geç Tanzimat Dönemi'nde (1869-1876) Osmanlı ilk ve orta dereceli okullarındaki tarih eğitimine referansla ortaya koymaktır.

1869 yılında yayınlanan *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* eğitimin her seviyesinde tarih derslerini resmi ders programına koyarak tarih öğretimini sistematik bir biçimde imparatorluğun her yerinde uygulanmak üzere kurumsallaştırdı. Söz konusu Nizâmnâme ile tarih eğitimi yaygın eğitim müfredatına sistematik bir şekilde ayrı bir ders olarak girmiştir. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın başlıca amacı konuyu 1869 ve 1876 yılları arasında sınırlandırarak tarih eğitiminin şekli, kapsamı ve uygulanması da dâhil olmak üzere tarih eğitiminin yaygın eğitime ayrı bir ders olarak konulmasındaki bürokratik ve bilimsel ilham ve beklentileri ortaya koyacak bir çerçeve çizmektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Geç Tanzimat Dönemi (1869-1876), *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, Tarih Eğitimi, Eğitimin Modernleşmesi, Osmanlıcılık

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was challenged by several problems in terms of nationalist movements of diverse communities within the Empire, imperialistic desires of other empires, territorial losses and ongoing economic problems. As a multi-ethnic and religious entity, the Empire had to cope with nationalism spread as a result of the French Revolution which mobilized the diverse communities within the Empire to seek for their independent nation-states.¹ In addition to nationalist movements at home, the Empire had to cope with foreign imperialistic desires upon its territories and confront the attempts of Western economic and political expansion. In short, the Empire had to face several domestic and foreign problems which threatened her integrity. In such a socio-political conjuncture, political and economic modernization was perceived as the sole way for the empire's survival and the Ottoman state took multiple reform efforts in order to change the state and society.

Accordingly, with the declaration of the *Gülhane Hatt* (The Edict of the Rose Chamber)² the Ottoman Empire entered into a continuing legislation and reform period which modernized the both Ottoman state and society, helped to centralize the administration as well as brought growing state participation in society, named as *Tanzimat Era (1839-1876)*.³ During the *Tanzimat Era*, reforms embracing the state

¹ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, Nizam-ı Cedid ve Tanzimat Devirleri (1789-1856)*, Vol. 5, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011, p. 101.

² Henceforth referred as *Gülhane Hatt*.

³ Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, Vol.2, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 55. Indeed, the roots of Tanzimat can be traced back to the reform efforts of the eighteenth century. Reform was not a new concept for the Ottomans. Reforms had been, in fact, implemented since the beginning of military defeats; land losses constituting the necessity to reform. However, the reforms were put into practice in a traditional manner by mainly focusing on the

and society were put into practice in order to restore the centralized state. These reforms had several dimensions including administrative, judicial, military, educational and financial, namely, as measures taken in land tenure and revenues.

This study aims to analyze history education during the educational reorganizations of the late *Tanzimat Era (1869-1876)* with particular emphasis to bureaucratic and scholarly expectations and causes necessitating the new understanding. History education did not appear as a separate discipline in public education until the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*⁴ (Education Act of 1869), which initiated a centralized and compulsory education system.⁵ By the mentioned act, the instruction of history was institutionalized to all tiers of education.⁶ Therefore, the causes for installing new method, scope, and style requires independent explanations which will facilitate explaining the motivation of the Ottoman state to promote history education by taking it into educational agenda. In addition to examine the history education and the causes introducing history education into general education curriculums as a separate discipline, this study also targets to focus on the shape of the history teaching.

History education seems as a well studied subject, especially there are several studies focused on history textbooks published and taught in the Republican Turkey.⁷ Mehmet Ö. Alkan analyzed history education and various history textbooks published during the reign of Abdülhamid II through the official ideology in his

preservation of the existing institutions by restoring them. In addition, this traditional understanding of reform had neglected the advance of the West and explained the military defeats by giving reference to institutional corruptions. Consequently, the response to corruptions was restoring the decaying institutions and it were perceived as sufficient measures to overcome military defeats. This traditional understanding of reform started to change with Selim III, who designed a movement referred to as new order, *Nizam-ı Cedid*, and Mahmud II followed the reform policy focusing, however, at times replacing the old institutions with the new and modernized. In fact, Mahmud II paved the way to the Tanzimat with his reforms. For a detailed reading on the issue, Seçil Akgün, "The Emergence of the Tanzimat in the Ottoman Empire," *OTAM*, Vol. 2, Ankara: 1991, pp. 1-14.

⁴ Henceforth referred as *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*.

⁵ Emine Ö. Evered, *Empire and Education Under the Ottomans, Politics, Reform, and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2012.

⁶ Betül Başaran Alpagun, "Geç Dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Tarih Yazıcılığı ve Tarih Kitapları", *Osmanlı*, ed. Güler Eren, Vol.8, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yay., 2001, p. 263.

⁷ Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*, İstanbul: Afa Yayıncılık, 1992; Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000; *Tarih Öğretimi ve Ders Kitapları Buca Sempozyumu*, ed. Salih Özbazaran, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995.

studies.⁸ Selçuk Akşin Somel, in his *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908), İslâmlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*, thematically analyzed various history textbooks published during the reign of Abdülhamid II.⁹ Betül Başaran Alpagun, in “Geç Dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Tarih Yazıcılığı ve Tarih Kitapları,” also analyzed thematically history textbooks published during the Second Constitutional Era by comparing Selçuk Akşin Somel’s findings. This study aims to contribute to the field by tracing back the relationship between the state and history education to the *Tanzimat Era*.

Educational institutions are not only the places where students are trained, become skillful, and socialized, but also they serve as a tool to transmit official ideology.¹⁰ The aforesaid era led to the emergence of several ideologies in order to prevent the Empire from collapse. Saving the Empire from disintegration and collapse became the major preoccupation of both the ruling elite and the intelligentsia. The idea of survival of the state found its reflection in ideological domain and new senses of allegiance between the state and the subjects were created in order to find solution to the problem. In this respect, mainly three ideologies were created in the nineteenth century in order to save the Empire through the new senses of allegiance. These were Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism.¹¹ Although Islamism and Turkism became much more apparent in the subsequent years, *Tanzimat Era* witnessed the emergence of these ideologies. That is why the study put ideology into consideration, while analyzing the causes introducing history education into general education curriculums as a separate discipline. It should be kept in mind that the study does not aim an internal analysis of the Ottoman history text-books regarding on their content and discourse; rather it aims an external analysis focusing on the conditions in which history courses emerged as a separate discipline in the public education.

⁸ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, “İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim,” *Osmanlı Geçmişi ve Bugünün Türkiye’si*, ed. Kemal Karpat, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004; Idem., “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Vol 6, No. 12, 2008, pp. 74-242.

⁹ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908), İslâmlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010.

¹⁰ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim,” p. 9.

¹¹ Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, İstanbul: Kilit Yayınları, 2012, p. 8.

Keeping in mind that the main objective of the study is not to give a thorough history of educational developments during the *Tanzimat Era*, the study starts with a general historical overview of history education and educational developments prior to the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*. Accordingly, the second chapter will question respectively the educational system in the Empire until the *Tanzimat Era*, followed by educational developments and history education prior to the late *Tanzimat Era (1869-1876)*.

In the third chapter, Ottoman educational developments from the start of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* to the end of the *Tanzimat Era (1876)* will be analyzed. In doing so, the study aims to stress on the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* in order to understand the framework when the history courses were institutionalized in the public schools.

The fourth chapter of the study will analyze the circumstances which necessitated history teaching as a separate discipline. In this respect, this chapter will involve a contextual analysis revealing the necessities, bureaucratic and scholar expectations regarding instructing history as a state strategy to cope with domestic nationalist movements and foreign intervention to keep the Empire intact as well as to elevate the people. In other words, the relationship between the state and history education will be investigated in terms of the state's motivation to introduce history education to public education. In addition, regulations of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti* (Ministry of Public Education) regarding history teaching with its curriculums, and the state's control on it will be analyzed in order to reach an integrated framework on the history teaching of the period.

The scope of the study is limited in terms of time span and institutions. First of all, it focuses on the years between 1869 when history as a separate discipline was introduced to public education, to 1876, which is mostly accepted as the end of the *Tanzimat Era* with the prelude of the first constitutional experiment. Secondly, the scope of the study is limited with the public schools which mean the state-run schools. In other words, the private schools founded by religious communities and individuals are left out of the scope of the study. It also focuses on the first and the second tiers of education, which are the *sıbyan* schools, the *rüşdiye* schools, the

idadiye and the *sultanîye* schools. Higher and vocational institutions are left out of the scope of the study.

In order to achieve the main objectives of this thesis primary sources obtained from the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive are used as far as possible. While the second chapter is based on second hand historical sources, the third and the fourth chapters are based basically on the first hand historical data provided from the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive as well as second hand historical sources. In order to give a historical overview of Ottoman educational developments from the first step to the end of *Tanzimat Era* (1773-1876) basically Mahmud Cevad İbnü's Şeyh Nâfi's *Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrââtı*, Osman Ergin's *İstanbul Mektepleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısıyla Türkiye Maârif Tarihi*, as well as Nafî Atuf's *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi (Bir Deneme)*, and Yahya Akyüz's *Türk Eğitim Tarihi* are used. Hence, firstly, the historical overview of Ottoman educational developments which provides a framework for the study will be given to facilitate reader's acquaintance to the process of modernization of education.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF OTTOMAN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AND HISTORY EDUCATION PRIOR TO THE *MAÂRİF-İ UMÛMİYYE NİZÂMNÂMESİ*

Historical methodology for analyzing any phase of history education calls for explanations assembling the issue with education in a scope covering developments prior to the period concerned. Therefore this study on Ottoman history education during the last decade of *Tanzimat* years will start with a brief reference to the procedures of both, starting from 1773 when the first premise of modern education, *Mühendishane-i Bahrî-i Humâyun* was established to 1869 when radical adjustments were installed to the existing educational system with the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*. This chapter will initially summarize and evaluate the basics of traditional Ottoman educational system and continue by discussing the primary modernization efforts for education between 1776 and 1839. The evaluation of the period following *Gülhane Hattı* to the declaration of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* will follow, and the chapter will conclude with an evaluation including the analysis of the developments regarding history education prior to the mentioned *Nizâmnâme*.

2.1 Traditional Education in the Ottoman Empire

Prior to the eighteenth century, education in the Ottoman Empire consisted mainly of religion based schools of Muslim and non-Muslim communities. There were also *Saray Mektebi* (Palace School), *Askeri Mektepler* (Military Schools), *Askeri Sanat Mektepleri* (Military Art Schools), and *Memur Mektepleri* (Clerk

Schools)¹² in İstanbul, which could not be perceived as components of regular education because they were designed to educate military and civilian bureaucracy rather than the ordinary subjects of the Empire.¹³ Institutions for educating Muslim subjects were *Mahalle Mektebs*¹⁴ for the primary and *Medreses* for the secondary and higher tiers of education.¹⁵

Teaching in *Mahalle Mektebs* was religious, limited to Koranic instruction, and did not aim to equip the students with worldly knowledge such as arithmetic, geography and history.¹⁶ Moreover, students were not taught to read and write the Arabic script which was the alphabet used.¹⁷ Above the mektebs, were the *Medreses*, offering secondary and higher education to those who would become jurists, priests, and teachers and compose the *Ulemâ*¹⁸ (learned men).¹⁹

Among other schools were *Saray Mektebi* (Palace School) to educate the future civilian and military bureaucrats of the Empire²⁰ and *Askeri Mektepler* (Military Schools) to educate and train military officers for Janissary corps as well as fraction of bureaucrats employed in administration.²¹ There were also *Askeri Sanat*

¹² Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi*, Vol. I-II, p.1. For a detailed explanation on traditional education in the Ottoman Empire see: Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Mektepleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısıyla Türkiye Maârif Tarihi*, Vol. I-II, İstanbul: Osman Bey Matbaası, 1939.

¹³ Ergin, *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi*, Vol. I-II, p.1; Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 38.

¹⁴ The *Mahalle Mektebs* was also called by different names such as sıbyan mektebi, mektebhâne, taş mekteb.

¹⁵ Ergin, *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi*, Vol. I-II, p. 1; Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, *İslâmlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*, p. 38.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 71; Andreas M. Kazamias, *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966, p.31.

¹⁷ Ergin, *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi*, Vol. I-II, p. 71.

¹⁸ Constituted the Learned Men Institution of the Ottoman Empire, which was responsible for justice and education. For a detailed reading on Learned Men Institution see: İ. Hakkı Uzun Çarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1965; Murat Belge, *Osmanlı'da Kültür ve Kurumlar*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008, pp. 211-227.

¹⁹ Kazamias, p.26.

²⁰ Ergin, *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi*, Vol. I-II, p. 6.

²¹ Ibid., p. 25.

Mektepleri (Military Art Schools) established to train manufacturers of military devices such as weapons, equipment and means of transportation.²²

Another educational institution in the Empire was the *Memur Mektepleri* (Clerk Schools), although they were not established as the existing accustomed schools for educational purposes.²³ The bureaus of the Scribal Institution (*Kalemiyye*) which with its administrative and financial sections constituted the backbone of the Ottoman bureaucracy were the places where apprentice bureaucrats learned how to keep books and accounts through practice while they developed reading and writing skills as well. In this sense, the term was used to define the frequently resorted method of bringing up the civil servants through an on the job training in Porte offices where they were employed.

Osman Ergin calls attention to the frequently observed *autodidact* system as well, which provided the participation of self-taught individuals in the bureaucratic wing. The *autodidact* system literally means “a self-taught person, a scholar without a teacher, and an enlightened person without a school.”²⁴ Among the ways of achieving autodidact system, the most frequent method was participation in the meetings held in mansions of the notables and viziers.²⁵ To illustrate, one of the most significant of the kind was the notable historian and statesman Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, who was a regular participant of meetings held in the mansion of Mustafa Reşid Pasha.²⁶

The state did not hold the responsibility of public education other than the abovementioned schools. Indeed, public education was a communal matter;²⁷ educating subjects was in the hands of private initiative and the religious agencies

²² Ergin, p.37.

²³ Kazamias, p.37.

²⁴ Ergin, *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi*, Vol. I-II, p. 315.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 316.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 316. For a detailed study on the education of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha see: Richard L. Chambers “The Education of a Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Alim Ahmed Cevdet Pasha,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* , 4, (1973), pp.440-464.

²⁷ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964. p. 100.

within the Empire.²⁸ Education of the Muslim *reaya* was supervised by the Ilmiyye, the learned institution, while that of non-Muslim *reaya* was supervised by community leaders.²⁹ In other words, a unitary mass educational system which was supervised by the state and embraced diverse communities in the Empire was nonexistent.

Ulemâ's supervision on education started to be challenged as the state started to display interest in education. However, the rise of this interest was not a sudden process. Infact, it was a sum of long-term developments and necessities. Nevertheless, it did not discontinue monopoly of the Ulemâ on public education. All the more so, the coexistence of traditional and modernized institutions introduced a bifurcation which continued until Republican Turkey came into being.

2.2 First Steps towards Modernization of Education in the Ottoman Empire (1773-1839)

The first phase of modernization of Ottoman education was the opening of military and civilian (lay) schools based on scientific education.³⁰ Impact of military developments and growing state apparatus had an impact on emergence of modernized military schools and civilian education. In this phase of educational modernization, opening of new schools followed a top-down path in accordance with the needs of state.

2.2.1 Military Schools

When *military* insufficiency was crystallized with the defeat in Russo-Ottoman War of 1768-1774, the state resorted to import western military innovations, and this necessitated the requirement to teach scientific basis of these

²⁸ Kazamias, p.31.

²⁹ Belge, p. 227.

³⁰ Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, Ankara: Pegem Akademi, 2010, pp. 132-144.

innovations.³¹ In this context, initial measures to modernize and reform education were the consequence of military defeats and land losses.

It was with this realization that *Mühendishâne-i Bahrî-i Humâyun* (Naval Engineering School), the first modern educational institution offering courses on natural sciences and practical knowledge, was founded in 1773 with the help of Baron de Tott, a Hungarian officer in French service.³² Several other military schools were opened in the following decades such as *Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Humâyun* (Land Engineering School) founded in 1795.³³ *Tıbbhâne-i Âmire* (Medicine School) in 1827 and in *Mekteb-i Ulûm-i Harbiye* (War School) in 1834 were founded.³⁴

The lack of modernized primary education compelled these schools to primarily offer very basic courses including reading and writing.³⁵ The lack of text books was another deficiency to overcome and translating those used in western countries being the only immediate resolution, *Tercüme Odaları* (*Translation Chambers*) were founded to teach Muslim civil servants French in order to provide necessary sources for the schools.³⁶ Although the Chamber was not designed to serve as a formal educational institution, it became functional in discontinuing the Phanariotes' monopoly on translation posts after the Greek revolt due to distrust of Phanariotes, and raised notable scholars and bureaucrats such as Alî, Fuat, Safvet Pashas and Namık Kemal.³⁷

There are several reasons why the first modernized educational institutions were military schools. First and above all, the Empire had been in a constant state of military vigilance since the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768-1774. So the Empire

³¹ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p.41.

³² Ibid., p.42.

³³ This school was to provide military officers and engineers for the troops of *Nizam-ı Cedid*, the new and modern army founded by Selim III, Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. V, Ankara: TTK, pp. 61-66; Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, *İslâmlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*, p.42.

³⁴ Akyüz, pp. 134-135; Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p.42.

³⁵ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p.42.

³⁶ Seçil Akgün, "The Emergence of the Tanzimat in the Ottoman Empire," *OTAM*, Vol. 2, Ankara: 1991, p.8.

³⁷ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p.42.; Akgün, p.8.

struggling for survival naturally gave priority to modernizing military schools in order to fortify and modernize the military.³⁸ The second reason is related with the strong collaboration of divine and temporal powers; put it differently, the silent alliance of the Ulemâ and Janissaries. This collaboration which gave rise to a dominant religious-ideological power over society was against any kind of modernization inspired from the *infidel* west.³⁹ These two powers had different reasons for rejecting opening modern military schools by the state. The Ulemâ did not want to lose the religious-educational authority it exercised over the society to lay concepts, and the Janissaries perceived any military modernization as a threat to their institutional existence.⁴⁰ In this context, it was very difficult for the Ottoman state to initiate reforms to modernize education.

Even if there was a general resentment towards modernization efforts mainly due to the provocations of the Janissary and Ulemâ rejection within the society created by aforesaid collaboration, permanent military defeats and land losses legitimized the opening of the modern military schools.⁴¹ Modernization and centralization efforts gained a new impetus after Mahmud II abolished the Janissary corps with *Vaka-i Hayriye* (The Auspicious Event), discarding one of the powers against modernization efforts and depriving the Ulemâ from an important supporter.⁴² Consequently another military school, *Tıbbhâne-i Âmire* (Medicine School) was opened to raise medical officers and operators, and in 1834 *Mekteb-i Ulûm-i Harbiye* (War School) was established in order to provide high level professional officers for the new army, *Asâkir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (The Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad).⁴³

³⁸ Alkan, “İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim,” p.88; Akyüz, p. 132.

³⁹ Somel, *Osmanlı’da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p.43.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.43.

⁴¹ Alkan, “İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim,” p.89.

⁴² Ibid., p.89; Akyüz, p. 135.

⁴³ Alkan, “İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim,” p. 89; Akyüz, pp. 134-135.

2.2.2 Civilian (Lay) Schools

The emergence of civilian schools can be evaluated with both military developments and enlargement of the state apparatus in the late eighteenth and during the nineteenth centuries.

To begin with, as previously mentioned above, insufficiency of primary education to teach students how to read and write obliged newly founded military schools to give preparatory training to the students adding to schooling and delaying the start of professional life. For instance, the 1838 report of *Meclis-i Umûr-ı Nafia* (Board of Useful Affairs), accepted as the first initiative to modernize education system in a secular and practical way,⁴⁴ underlined illiteracy of the candidates applying to these schools. According to the report,

Military, naval, engineering and medical schools were opened with great effort, but the students entering these schools lacked even ordinary knowledge for the proper reading of Turkish books. This was because of the defectiveness of the primary schools. (...), the Board has found that nothing can be done without acquisition of science and that the means of acquiring science and remedying education lie in giving a new order to the schools.⁴⁵

Military schools, which previously gave preparatory education to students, started to accept students who had basic education.⁴⁶ The awareness of Ulemâ's rejection to modernizing primary education, *Rüşdiye* (for adolescents) schools were designed in 1838 as intermediary educational institutions between primary education and military schools.⁴⁷ According to Niyazi Berkes, these schools were designed as “a link between the ‘religious education’ of the primary schools and ‘worldly education’ of the schools of higher learning,”⁴⁸ since the uselessness of any intervention to reform primary education was realized by *Meclis-i Umûr-ı Nafia*.⁴⁹ In fact, no *rüşdiye*

⁴⁴ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 50; Berkes, p. 105.

⁴⁵ Berkes, p. 105.

⁴⁶ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 49.

⁴⁷ Ergin, pp.312-322; Akyüz, p. 137.

⁴⁸ Berkes, p. 106.

⁴⁹ Berkes, p. 106.

school for public education was opened until 1845.⁵⁰ Instead, *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye* (School of Secular Learning) and *Mekteb-i Ulûm-u Edebiye* (School of Literary Sciences) of rüşdiye level aims were opened in 1838 and 1839 in order to raise civilian bureaucrats.⁵¹

In addition to the impact of military developments, growing state apparatus had an impact on emergence of civilian education. Since reforms to fortify and modernize military required additional financial sources which could be provided from an efficient revenue system, establishing a centralized administrative structure became an obligation.⁵² Accordingly, starting from the reign of Mahmud II, several regulations were implemented in order to reform governmental infrastructure as the Porte became more involved in public affairs.⁵³ The result was the enlargement of the state apparatus and the scope of the bureaucracy. Increasing inefficiency of existing traditional education system to breed up able administrative cadres resulted in the growing requirement for new schools. Within this framework, raising the adequate state officials for the broadening bureaucracy was the initial aim of the lay schools established in 1838.⁵⁴

It was under these conditions that *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye* (1838) and *Mekteb-i Ulûm-i Edebiye* (1839) were opened as vocational schools with specific aims. The first one, *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye*, was opened to train future civilian officials for governmental posts.⁵⁵ Although the school was named *Adli*, one of the pseudonyms of Mahmud II⁵⁶, instruction in this school was not related with justice

⁵⁰ Ergin, p. 323; Berkes, p. 106; Akyüz, p. 137.

⁵¹ Berkes, p. 106.

⁵² Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 45.

⁵³ Some of the institutional and administrative reforms of Mahmud II were establishing ministries (nezaret), creating a set of advisory councils such as *Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye* (Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances) and *Dâr-ı Şura-yı Bab-ı Âli* (Supreme Council of the Government) for preparing new regulations, *Dâr-ı Şura-yı Askeri* for regulating military affairs, opening of a translation bureau, taking the first census, establishing a postal service, passport and quarantine systems. Akgün, p. 8.

⁵⁴ Ergin, pp. 330-335; Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 45.

⁵⁵ Berkes, p. 106.

⁵⁶ Another pseudonym of Mahmud II was the *Gavur Padişah* (the Infidel Sultan) due to his inspiration from *infidel West*.

and law.⁵⁷ In the establishment document of the school,⁵⁸ it was declared that only the graduates of this school would be employed in official posts and that apprentices would no longer be accepted to serve in the Ottoman bureaus.⁵⁹ The second school, *Mekteb-i Ulûm-i Edebiye*, was established in order to bring up the future officials and as well as to teach common people reading writing, and putting down an issue on paper correctly.⁶⁰ In 1838, *Mekâtîp-i Rüşdiye Nezâreti* (Ministry of Rüşdiye Schools) was established in order to supervise these two schools. These two schools maintained their roles in bringing up officials until *Mahrec-i Aklam* was opened in 1862.⁶¹

Rüşdiye schools designed for general education were as previously mentioned opened after 1846, even though they were sanctioned for opening in 1838.⁶² Osman Ergin and Niyazi Berkes relate this delay with the appointment of the notable ulema Mehmed Esad Efendi, as the director of these newly founded rüşdiye schools and primary schools. Although Mehmed Esad Efendi, *Mekâtîp-i Rüşdiye Nazırı*, was “one of the most progressive among the Ulemâ,”⁶³ he did not deviated from the traditional understanding of Ulemâ in education and did not interested in establishment of rüşdiye schools for popular education.⁶⁴

To sum up, during the first phase of modernization of education (1773-1839), several military schools were opened in order to fortify the military, and, two vocational schools were added to provide educated officials. It should be kept in mind that, as Niyazi Berkes puts,

These schools were founded with the view that they had nothing to do with educational system as a whole. Education in the sense of schooling was a religious

⁵⁷ Ergin, p. 331.

⁵⁸ The document was translated by İhsan Sungu. See: İhsan Sungu, “Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye’nin Tesisi,” *Tarih Vesikaları*, Vol.1, No. 3, 1941.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 219.

⁶⁰ Ergin, pp. 324-330; Akyüz, p. 138.

⁶¹ Ergin, p. 333; Sungu, p. 216.

⁶² Ergin, 323; Akyüz, p. 137.

⁶³ Berkes, p. 107.

⁶⁴ Ergin, p. 330.

matter; the new schools were thought of only as a means of teaching certain skills, primarily for military purposes.⁶⁵ As for primary education, the state lacked the strong motivation to reform it, albeit the general realization that the prevailing illiteracy was largely the product of inefficiency of primary schools.⁶⁶ The remedy was sought in opening secondary schools to provide a link between primary and higher schools. However, the implementation of the remedy was delayed until 1845.

2.3 Modernization of Education from *Gülhane Hatt* to the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*

The West, primarily Britain and France in Europe, exercised an ascension in the nineteenth century, which manifested itself imperialistic activities by establishing either a direct colonial rule or indirect rule. In the Ottoman context, Western superiority invited defensive modernization efforts in order to catch her contemporaries as well as preserving the integrity of the Empire. The proclamation of the *Gülhane Hatt* constituted an important milestone in the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire by opening a new era in the history of the Ottoman Empire known as the Tanzimat⁶⁷ Era. It was "a period of sustained legislation and reform that modernized Ottoman state and society, contributed to the further centralization of administration, and brought increased state participation in Ottoman society between 1839 and 1876."⁶⁸

The *Gülhane Hatt* was the official recognition of the old system's corruption, and admittance that a new order was needed. Enver Ziya Karal asserts that the term Tanzimat refers to the new order based on the principles declared in the *Gülhane Hatt*⁶⁹ which included imperial guarantee for security of life, property and honor, and promised a just administration for all subject regardless of religion.⁷⁰ The *Gülhane*

⁶⁵ Berkes, p. 100.

⁶⁶ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 59.

⁶⁷ Literally, Tanzimat is the plural form of tanzim that means ordering.

⁶⁸ Shaw and Shaw, p.55.

⁶⁹ Karal, Vol. VI, p.171.

⁷⁰ Berkes, p. 145; Akgün, p.2.

Hatt did not contain provisions regarding education; however, this omission can not be interpreted as the importance of education was not realized.⁷¹ On the contrary, education was perceived as the basis for the Empire's reorganization and for the formation of new cadres to sustain it. All the moreso, measures to reform education in the *Tanzimat Era* were the extension of the preceding period's developments.⁷² Infact, contemporary writer of the time Cyrus Hamlin's view that "the salvation of the sick man was not through extermination, but through education"⁷³ sets a fine explanation to general approach to Tanzimat.

The chief problems regarding education in the beginning of *Tanzimat* were (a) the elementary educational facilities' expansion and enhancement, (b) the building up the bridges between the primary schools and the higher institutions, (c) the integration of the female population into secondary and, to a lesser extent, professional education, and (d) the foundation of a university.⁷⁴ Hence, main target of educational reform was "to establish a new framework which would place education more under the supervision of the state than the ulema group."⁷⁵ In this respect, the government took steps to establish educational administration as an alternative to the ulema's religious education.

After the establishment of two civilian schools and Mekatib-i Rüşdiye Nezâreti during the reign of Mahmud II, no measures were taken to reform education until Mustafa Reşit Paşa, who announced the *Gülhane Hatt*, was appointed as the Foreign Minister for the third time.⁷⁶ Mustafa Reşit Pasha, the author of the *Gülhane Hatt*, regarded education as the guarantee of the reforms which would be implemented according to the principles in the *Gülhane Hatt*.⁷⁷ In fact, he believed

⁷¹ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VI, p.168.

⁷² Berkes, p.173.

⁷³ As cited in Kazamias, p. 57.

⁷⁴ Berkes, p.173.

⁷⁵ Kazamias, p. 58.

⁷⁶ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 60.

⁷⁷ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VI p.168.

that reforms took root only through education.⁷⁸ The notable Ottoman scholar and bureaucrat Ahmet Cevdet Pasha's *Tezâkir*⁷⁹ facilitates understanding the importance of Mustafa Reşit Pasha on educational reform. As Ahmed Cevdet Pasha puts it, the advancement in education accelerated after Mustafa Reşit Pasha was appointed as Foreign Minister and later, Grand Vizier.⁸⁰ In addition, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha expressed his concern that the progress in education would be interrupted, when Mustafa Reşit Pasha was discharged from his duty.⁸¹

On 13th of January 1845, the Sultan Abdülmecid issued a decree expressing importance of educational affairs, most probably with the incentive of Mustafa Reşit Pasha.⁸² He addressed the Supreme Council and ordered that

I order to you (Grand Vizier) and all the ministers of the council to precisely deliberate and negotiate all the required measures to obtain the state of prosperity and happiness of my subjects. Since the realization of this advance depends on abolishing ignorance in both religious affairs and worldly affairs, I prioritize establishing schools pertaining to instruction of religious knowledge, science and arts.⁸³

By this edict Abdülmecid ordered “to disseminate religious knowledge and useful sciences, which are necessities for religion and the world, so as to abolish the ignorance of the people.”⁸⁴ He prioritized the establishment of the necessary schools offering arts and science education.⁸⁵ Moreover, he asserted that these schools should not be restricted to Istanbul but must be established throughout the Empire.⁸⁶ In this

⁷⁸ Ayla Oktay, “Osmanlı Devletinde Eğitim ve Öğretimin Tarihsel Gelişimi,” *İ.Ü.Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Yıllığı II*, 1987, p.126.

⁷⁹ Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's *Tezâkir* was the memoirs composed of the notes about the events happened in the years between 1839 and 1890 and also including the notes about the events happened during the years in which he served as a *Vak'a-nüvis* from 1855 to 1865. *Tezâkir* included forty *Tezkire* and was sent to *Vak'a-nüvis* Ahmet Lutfi Efendi, who is the successor of Ahmet Cevdet Pasha in this post. *Tezâkir* is an important study in order to understand the social, political and economic condition of the *Tanzimat Era*.

⁸⁰ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir 1-12*, (prepared by Cavid Baysun), 3. Baskı, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992, p.10.

⁸¹ Ibid.,p.11.

⁸² Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 60.

⁸³ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VI, pp.168-170.

⁸⁴ Berkes, p.173.

⁸⁵ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VI, pp.168-170.

⁸⁶ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 60.

respect, this edict was the first imperial document covering all tiers of education and emphasizing the dissemination of public education all over the Empire.⁸⁷

Abdûlmecid's decree was followed by the establishment of a commission known as *Meclis-i Maârif-i Muvakkat* (Temporary Education Council) in order to materialize and schedule the sultan's claims regarding education.⁸⁸ Headed by sheyhülislâm Abdûlkadir Efendi and including commissioners such as Ali Efendi, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Fuad Efendi, Chief Interpreter of the Divan, the commission's aim was "to seek and examine the most efficacious methods of amending the system of public instruction in Turkey, and to propose to the Government a new and complete course of instruction suited to the growing wants of the country."⁸⁹

The first report issued in August 1846 by the commission offered a plan for the reorganization of the public education system. In the report⁹⁰, public education was divided into three tiers such as primary, secondary and higher levels. Reforming primary and secondary schools along with the religion's limits, the establishment of a state university and that of a permanent council responsible for the implementation and consultation of the articles were proposed in the report. Accordingly, the Sublime Porte established a centralized and permanent commission in accordance with the *Meclis-i Muvakkat*'s report known as *Meclis-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye* (Council of Public Instruction) in August of 1846.⁹¹

Meclis-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye shortly after its establishment prepared an extensive report regarding the issues handled by *Meclis-i Muvakkat*. The report underlined the necessity of an executive body entrusted with the implementation of

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 60.

⁸⁸ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VI, s.170.

⁸⁹ M. A. Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey: An Account of the Religious, Political, Social, and Commercial Condition of the Ottoman Empire; The Reformed Institutions, Army, Navy, andc. andc.*, trans. by Lady Easthope, London: John Murray, 1856, Part I, p. 197.

⁹⁰ For the full text of the report see Mahmud Cevad İbnü's Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrââtı, XIX. Asır Osmanlı Maârif Tarihi*, (prep. by. Taceddin Kayaoğlu), Ankara:Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2001, pp. 28-30.

⁹¹ Ubicini, p. 198.

reforms and charged with the control of primary schools.⁹² The Sublime Porte accepted the proposals of the council, and *Mekâtib-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti* (Ministry of Public Education) was created in 1846.⁹³ In addition, in this report, the council declared that religious and ethical education would be offered in the primary schools, while an education offering wordly education in addition to religious education would be offered in the higher levels of schools.⁹⁴

As to primary education offered by either sîbyan schools or community schools, the council proclaimed certain provisions in order to establish a standardized organization supervised by the state.⁹⁵ In this respect,

instruction in them should be obligatory and gratuitous, and that teachers should henceforth be paid a fixed salary drawn from the revenues of the schools. Regarding curriculum, the council ordered that better elementary texts, written in the common Turkish dialect, be adopted.⁹⁶

The council took concrete decisions in order to enhance primary schools such as teaching the alphabets through *Elifba* text-book, which was written in the Ottoman Turkish, reading Turkish texts through vowel points, and appointing each school a calligraphy teacher.⁹⁷ However, since these schools were under the supervision of the *Ministry of Evkaf* (Evkaf Nezâreti), it was hard to apply the provisions aiming to elevate the conditions of these schools for *Meclis-i Maârif*.⁹⁸ The subsequent reforms taking place in the primary schools throughout the *Tanzimat Era* encountered the same barrier.

Regarding secondary education, since reforming elementary education was frustrating, the council was inclined to revise secondary education which they had a complete jurisdiction over. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha states that the task was launched

⁹² Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, pp.62-63.

⁹³ Mahmud Cevad, p.31.

⁹⁴ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p.63.

⁹⁵ Kazamias, p.59.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.59.

⁹⁷ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 64.

⁹⁸ Ergin, pp. 370-371.

from its midrift.⁹⁹ All the moreso, the council promoted secondary education so as to compensates for the inefficiency of elementary education. The gap between primary and higher level schools in the educational system was to be filled through *rüşdiye* schools without interfering with the existing primary schools.¹⁰⁰ The first *rüşdiye* school was opened by the approval of the council in 1847, eight years after the primary decision.¹⁰¹ In order to compensates ineffectiveness of elementary schools, the council enhanced the secondary education. In this respect, *rüşdiyes* planned to be two years originally were extended to four years with preparatory and an advanced class added.¹⁰² Instruction was gratuitous, and all the expenses regarding salaries of the teachers, books and instruments used by the pupils were covered by the state.¹⁰³ Initially no significant steps were taken to spread them throughout the country at first. To illustrate, in 1851, there were only six *rüşdiyes* with 870 students.¹⁰⁴ As Osman Ergin noted, in 1874, number of these schools increased to eighteen with 1859 students, which shows the slow progress.¹⁰⁵

The efforts to open new educational institutions were maintained in accordance with the necessities of the educational system and another sort of schools were established in the years between 1839 and 1869. *Darülmualimin* (Teacher School for men) was established in 1847. It was started in order to train *rüşdiye* teachers within a three-year education.¹⁰⁶ The establishment of *Darülmualimin* was a crucial attempt, because this institution provided teachers in addition to medrese, which used to be the sole institution provided teachers. Although the graduates of higher military schools such as *Mekteb-i Harbiye* gave lectures in lay schools,¹⁰⁷ the teachers graduated from the medreses constituted the majority. Hence, instruction

⁹⁹ Ergin, p. 370; Akyüz, p. 151.

¹⁰⁰ Ergin, p. 355, pp.370-371.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p.324; Mehmet Ö. Alkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim”, p.25.

¹⁰² Ergin, p. 371.

¹⁰³ Ubicini, p.201.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 201.

¹⁰⁵ Ergin, pp. 374-375.

¹⁰⁶ Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı Eğitim Tarihi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 1991, p. 79; Akyüz, p. 162.

¹⁰⁷ Akyüz, p. 136.

through the teachers graduated from medrese meant the transmission of medrese mentality to modernized schools. In this respect, the establishment of the teachers' school was an effort for curbing the power of the ulema on the public education.¹⁰⁸

In 1849, *Darülmaârif* or *Valide Mektebi* (College of the Valide Sultan) was opened under the patronage of the Sultan's mother Bezmiâlem Valide Sultan. It also was designed as a three year intermediary school between rüşdiyes and higher schools admitting the graduates of rüşdiye, *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye* and *Mekteb-i Ulûm-ı Edebiye* schools.¹⁰⁹ However, *Darülmaârif* lost this qualification after the admittance of graduates of primary schools with the order of Mustafa Vehbi Efendi, vice-president of *Mekatib-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti*.¹¹⁰ In 1872, *Darülmaârif* was closed and its premises were turned into *idadiye* school.¹¹¹

In 1862, the state attempted to reform primary education once again by starting *iptidai schools* (primary schools) through a process of installing *usul-i cedid* (a new approach) into thirty-six sıbyan schools, which were chosen from twelve districts of İstanbul with the aim of raising the literacy rate, which was the main problem of primary education.¹¹² The referred method included supplying a slate, a slate pen and an inkwell for each student in these schools in order to facilitate teaching reading and writing.¹¹³ This reform attempt of *sıbyan* schools which was limited to İstanbul at first were spread throughout the Empire in the course of time.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Sadrettin Celal Antel, "Tanzimat Maârifî", *Tanzimat I*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940, pp. 458-459; Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim", p. 95 and Idem., "Osmanlı İmparatorluğun'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim", p. 25.

¹⁰⁹ Ergin, pp. 375-376.

¹¹⁰ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p.66.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.66.

¹¹² Ergin, pp. 387-388. For *Usul-i Cedid* as well as Selim Sabit Efendi see: Fahri Temizyürek, Selim Sâbit Efendi ve Usul-i Cedid Hareketi İçerisindeki Yeri, Unpublished Dissertation, Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1999; Yahya Akyüz, "İlk çağdaş eğitim bilimcimiz: Vizeli Selim Sabit Efendi," *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol. 34, No. 201, 2000, pp. 15-21; Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, 2007; Bahri Ata, "Selim Sabit Efendi'nin Okul Tarihi İnşası," *Türk Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2009, pp. 277-392.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 387.

¹¹⁴ Ergin, p. 389.

Another significant development of the period was the establishment of a rüşdiye school for girls, *Cevri Kalfa İnas Rüşdiyesi*, in 1858. Until the opening of the school, the education of girls was limited to primary schools.¹¹⁵ In the subsequent years, the number of these schools gradually increased and girls education was disseminated. Accordingly, the necessity to train women teachers for these schools entailed *Darülmuallimat* (Teacher School for women) in 1869.¹¹⁶

As regard with the university, the idea of establishing a university, as previously mentioned, was proposed by the report issued by *Meclis-i Muvakkat* in 1846 and the construction of the building was launched in the same year. The construction of the building extended for years. Hence, public lectures regarding physics and chemistry which was opened to everyone and titled “ders-i âm” were initiated in 1863.¹¹⁷ The building, however, was given to the Ministry of Treasury in 1864 and later on to the Ministry of Justice; hence, Dar ul-funun was moved to *Nuri Efendi Konağı*.¹¹⁸ Although the public lectures were initiated at this mansion in 1865, a fire put an end to them and it was decided to establish a new building located in *Divanyolu*.¹¹⁹ The first initiative to establish the university failed in this way. During the remaining of the century, a few of attempts for opening the university would be made, which will be evaluated in the second chapter.

Another institutional development was related with the establishment of the university. *Encümen-i Dâniş* (The Committee of Scholars or Academy) was established in 1850 in order to follow the developing opinions in the West and to translate text-books to be taught in the university.¹²⁰ The *Encümen-i Dâniş* was

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 381; Oktay, p. 126.

¹¹⁶ Ergin, p. 381; Oktay, p. 127.

¹¹⁷ İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ve Bilgi Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü*, Ankara: TTK, 1993, pp.70-71.

¹¹⁸ About this subject, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha asserts that constructing a school building in front of Hagia Sophia Mosque which would be filled with the Muslim and non-Muslim students created a general resentment in opponents as well as in members of *Meclis-i Maârif*. Therefore, the construction of the building was delayed for years and it was just compleated to be used for a new purpose. Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, Vol. 1-12, pp. 13-14. For a detailed reading the experiment of university see: Emre Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 1: Osmanlı Döneminde Darülfünun (1863-1922)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010.

¹¹⁹ Tekeli and İlkin, p.71.

¹²⁰ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VI, p. 177; Oktay, p. 127.

modeled on the French Academy and its responsibilities defined by a report issued by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha.¹²¹ According to the report, a) the Academy would try to develop the Turkish language which had been neglected for centuries, b) the Academy would persistently follow the developing opinions in the West and translate the books pertaining to arts and science into Turkish, which would be taught even in the university, c) the Academy would also publish or translate books to be useful for popular education.¹²² First products the comitee published were on language and history. A very significant one amongst them was Fuad and Ahmed Cevdet Pashas' *Kavaid-i Osmaniye* (Grammar of Ottoman Language), the first Turkish Grammar which was noted as "a landmark in the linguistic reform".¹²³ Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's *Tarih-i Devlet-i Aliyye* (History of the Ottoman Empire) was among other important publications of *Encümen-i Dâniş*. Although the establishment of the Academy was considered as a new blow against the Ulemâ,¹²⁴ it did not achieve a success at expected level.¹²⁵

Besides, several vocational schools were opened between 1839 and 1869. As the state was more centralized, the state apparatus was also enlarged. Thus, large number of qualified officials to administer the Empire became essential. As previously noted, the first civilian schools, which were *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye* and *Mekteb-i Ulum-u Edebiye*, were opened in order to meet this requirement. However, as the state's scope maintained to expand through the new provincial administration, the need to open new schools to supply qualified officials was emerged. For instance, as Carter Vaughn Findley put it,

In place of the roughly two thousand scribes who had been their predecessors as of 1770-1790, civil officials' ranks expanded to the point of including perhaps thirty-five thousand at a time under Abdülhamid. Much of that growth occurred during the

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 177.

¹²² Ibid., p. 177.

¹²³ Bernard Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, p.116.

¹²⁴ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VI, p. 178.

¹²⁵ About this matter, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha claims that since the comitee was composed of nonvoluntary members, the books appointed to the members of the comitee were not published apart from *Tarih-i Cevdet*. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezahir*, Vol. 1-12, p. 13.

Tanzimat, as civil officials assumed the leading role in the new provincial administration.¹²⁶

Accordingly, in 1859, *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (School of Civil Service) was established in order to train prospective bureaucrats who would be employed in administrative posts.¹²⁷ The school offering an advanced education on subjects such as law, economics, statistics and geography and French was, in fact, the first civilian school of higher level.¹²⁸ In 1862, *Mekteb-i Eklâm* was established as a one-year school above the *rüşdiye* in order to prepare prospective civil servants graduated from *rüşdiye* schools. The school was established due to the inefficiency of the graduates of *rüşdiyes* recruited in the official posts.¹²⁹ A year after, the school started to offer a three-year education and the name of it was changed as *Mahrec-i Eklâm*.¹³⁰ Moreover, the state's growing involvement in public service necessitated training a larger variety of occupational groups, so in 1842, *Ebe Okulu* (the Midwife School) for women was opened due to financial difficulties within the Medical School.¹³¹ *Ziraat Mektebi* (Agricultural School) which was established in 1847 and combined with the Mining School in 1859, *Mekteb-i Sanayi* founded in 1864, *Orman Mektebi* (the Forestry School) in 1859, and *Telgraf Mektebi* (the Telegraph School) in 1860 were other examples to vocational schools erected during the following two decades.¹³²

All in all, when the achievement in education from 1839 to the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnamesi* is put into consideration, the developments summarized above indicate that the accomplishment was much more greater in the period between 1773 and 1839 than those in the previous era. However, it was followed with an insufficient and piecemeal fashion. For instance, the state attempted to open

¹²⁶ Carter Vaughn Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism and Modernity, A History 1789 – 2007*, London: Yale University, 2010, p. 90.

¹²⁷ Ergin, p. 500-504.

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 503-504.

¹²⁹ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 75.

¹³⁰ Ergin, pp. 397-400.

¹³¹ Ibid., pp. 449-450.

¹³² Oktay, p. 126.

university before preparatory secondary and primary educational system was sufficiently established. Osman Ergin evaluates this condition in education as an irregularity, since the educational developments did not follow a certain method. According to Ergin, in the Ottoman educational system, establishing schools at various degrees at the same time created anarchy, instead the authorities had to have dealt with each tier of education step by step.¹³³ This anarchy would be put in order, to a certain degree, with the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*.¹³⁴ The educational acquisition of the period covering 1839 and 1869 was a better educated group of officials as well as elite, the start of a state school system with educational administration and increasing secularism in education.

2.4 Evaluation: History Education Prior to the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*

In general, history had been perceived as an instrumental device to educate candidates for the throne.¹³⁵ It has been also used as an auxiliary discipline in order to teach languages.¹³⁶ In the Ottoman context, separate history courses were nonexistent in *sıbyan* schools which served for public education in traditional Ottoman society as well as in medreses.¹³⁷

In the course of time, certain singular efforts to teach history were put into practice. In fact, history course for the first time appeared in the third year curriculum of *Mühendishane-i Berrî-i Humayûn* as *Tarih-i Harb* (History of War).¹³⁸ It was declared among the regulations of *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye* that history books as well as the books on geography, geometry and politics written in French would be used as textbooks in order to facilitate teaching the students

¹³³ Ergin, p. 355.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.355.

¹³⁵ Zihni Merey, “Dünyada ve Türkiye’de Tarih Eğitiminin Tarihsel Gelişimi,” *Tarih Nasıl Öğretilir?*, ed. Mustafa Safran, İstanbul: Yeni İnsan Yayınevi, 2010, p. 27.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

¹³⁸ Akyüz, p. 134.

French.¹³⁹ However, as İhsan Sungu indicated, this was not materialized.¹⁴⁰ Although this project was not put into practice, the attempt was an important indication that history was also perceived as a device for teaching languages. Apart from these, Osman Ergin, in his extensive book on education also referred *tarih-i umûmi* (world history) courses within the curriculum of *Mahrec-i Eklâm*.¹⁴¹ He also called attention to the history course in the first year curriculum of *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*.¹⁴² Both of these schools were higher educational institutions above the *rüşdiye* schools and were established specifically for purposes which are respectively training qualified officials and prospective bureaucrats.

Regarding the scope of this study which is popular education, encompassing primary and secondary tiers of education, history teaching was nonexistent as a separate discipline at primary level as well as at secondary level. As to primary education, history was introduced into curriculum of sıbyan schools by the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*.¹⁴³ As for *rüşdiye* schools, Nafi Atuf Kansu called attention by referring the regulation dated 1846 that the curriculum did not include courses such as history and geography.¹⁴⁴ It is important to note that, *Tertibat-ı Dersiye li-Mekâtib-i Rüşdiye* the oldest civil school program which was issued in October 9, 1858 did not include a history course.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Selçuk Akşin Somel asserts that history teaching did not exist in *rüşdiye* schools before the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, even the curriculum of Darülmualimin as a school to bring up teachers did not include history courses as well.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁹ Sungu, p. 221.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 215.

¹⁴¹ Ergin, p. 400.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 500.

¹⁴³ Fuad Baymur, *Tarih Eğitimi*, Ankara: Recep Ulusoglu Basımevi, 1941, p. 13.

¹⁴⁴ Nafi Atuf, *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi (Bir Deneme)*, Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931, p. 106.

¹⁴⁵ Necdet Sakaoglu, "İlkokul Tarih Programları ve Ders Kitapları", *Tarih Öğretimi ve Ders Kitapları 1994 Buca Sempozyumu*, ed. Salih Özbaran, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995, s. 136.

¹⁴⁶ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 244.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 244.

As it is expressed through the historical summary above assembling developments in education and history education from 1773 to the declaration of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, governmental efforts to elevate educational formation of military and civilian officials gradually expanded into educational reforms which appealed to general population of the empire benefited from.¹⁴⁸ The primary aim of the state in educational reform was to form respectively military and civil officials in order to fortify military and central administration. Reforming general education was entered into the agenda of the state only after realizing the inefficiency of existing system of public education to provide newly founded schools with qualified students. In order to overcome this inefficiency the state became a participant in educational matters which were originally communal through generating certain reform efforts in order to enhance it. However, the porte-conducted reform efforts did not produce significant results at the primary level of education due to the difficulties in their application such as limited supervision, lack of premises, teachers etc... In this respect, educational reform agenda of the state was altered to include opening intermediary schools in order to fill the aforementioned gap between primary education and higher education.

Besides, educational reforms from 1773 to 1869 followed a top-down path.¹⁴⁹ When the first examples of modernized schools are taken into consideration, it can be observed that they were higher learning institutions such as *Mühendishâne-i Bahrî-i Humâyûn* (1774), *Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Humâyûn* (1795), *Tibbhâne-i Âmire* (1827), and *Mekteb-i Ulûm-i Harbiye* (1834). Preparatory schools for the higher schools and schools for popular education were opened in the later decades. Regarding the reformative achievements in education until the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, although they were irregular and non-systematic, they constituted the infrastructure of the modernized education. As Bernard Lewis puts it, they “laid the indispensable foundation for the more thorough modernization that was to follow.”¹⁵⁰

Regarding development of history education prior to the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, it can be observed that history courses were only taught in the few

¹⁴⁸ Findley, p. 90.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁵⁰ Lewis, p. 124.

higher educational institutions which were designed for specific purposes. It is impossible to speak of such education in public education until the declaration of *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*. Neither religion based traditional institutions, nor modernized institutions, which served for public education did not include any separate history course in their curriculums prior to the declaration of *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, which introduced history courses to public education. Therefore, the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* and the procedure regarding modernization of education between 1869 and 1876 are worthy to be separately analyzed in the next chapter in order to understand the causes of installing history teaching in public education.

CHAPTER III

OTTOMAN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE *MAÂRİF-İ UMÛMİYYE NİZÂMNÂMESİ* (THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1869) TO THE END OF THE *TANZİMAT ERA* (1876)

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire implemented several reform programs in order to reconstitute and enhance the power of the state. One of the most important reform programs was the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* which “introduced a centralized and compulsory education system that was modelled after the French example.”¹⁵¹ By the declaration of the *Nizâmnâme* developments in educational modernization entered into a new phase.¹⁵²

With regard to the importance of the *Nizâmnâme* for the study in general, it systematically institutionalized history courses in all tiers of education. Therefore second chapter of the study stresses on the *Nizâmnâme* within a broad perspective, since such an analysis will facilitate understanding the framework when the history teaching was installed in public education in a broader context. Since the study methodologically aims to assemble the educational developments and history education, the following part of the study will also examine the educational developments from the declaration of the *Nizâmnâme* to the end of the Tanzimat Era. To be more precise, in this chapter, first of all, the *Nizâmnâme* in itself and its contributions on modernization of the Ottoman educational system, secondly, the process in which the *Nizâmnâme* was developed and issued, and finally the procedure regarding the modernization of education following the declaration of the *Nizâmnâme* to the end of *Tanzimat Era* will be evaluated in this chapter.

¹⁵¹ Evered, p. 1.

¹⁵² Antel, p. 451.

3.1 *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*

Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi was issued on September 1, 1869. Modernization of education which started at the end of the eighteenth century and developed in an eclectic and piecemeal fashion gained a consistent and general character by the declaration of the *Nizâmnâme*.¹⁵³ It did not only systematize what had been done before but also set down the procedure for modernization of education for the remaining years of the century as well.¹⁵⁴ Various issues regarding education in terms of organizational body, primary-secondary education, recruitment of teachers and financial matters were considered with a modernized understanding.¹⁵⁵

The act's thorough implementation over the empire, however, was postponed up to 1880's due to "the empire's dwindling financial and institutional resources, its immense geographic extent and demographic diversity, and escalating competition with foreign powers."¹⁵⁶ The delay, in fact, was also envisaged by the bureaucrats prepared the *Nizâmnâme* as it is understood from the justification part of the *Nizâmnâme* which explained the reasons necessitated the formation the act. In the justification part, it is stated that the thorough implementation of the act is impossible due to lack of financial and institutional resources; however, these deficiencies would not prevent from initiating "the auspicious endeavors which would lead the empire to happiness and civilization."¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the implementation of the act would be started from İstanbul and it would be gradually disseminated to the provinces.¹⁵⁸ In this regard, the period covering the years between 1869 and 1876 could be perceived as a sustained legislation period regarding educational

¹⁵³ Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," *Tanzimat, Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2011, p. 701.

¹⁵⁴ Shaw and Shaw, p. 108.

¹⁵⁵ Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, Ankara: TTK, 1988, pp. 22-28.

¹⁵⁶ Evered, p. 2.

¹⁵⁷ Antel, pp. 452-453.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 453.

developments, however their thoroughly implementation was materialized in 1880's.¹⁵⁹

Beyond the delay in its implementation, the importance of the *Nizâmnâme* is that it was the first effort for systematization of educational system.¹⁶⁰ By the declaration of *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, education was desinged for the first time as a radical state responsibility and a public service; in addition, what had been done in piecemeal fashion prior to the act regarding modernization of education was systematized.¹⁶¹ Although the state initiative regarding mass schooling predated Public Education Act, as previously mentioned in the former chapter, the novelty of the act is that “efforts to spread education to the masses and to employ modern ideas only became viable”¹⁶² after the act which “hypothetically systematized over the whole of the empire what earlier sultans had pushed for piecemeal.”¹⁶³

*The Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*¹⁶⁴ was the initial state initiative to systematize the Ottoman educational structure. The very first section of the *Nizâmnâme* categorized and defined Ottoman educational structure embraced with their levels and qualifications.¹⁶⁵ In this regard, the *Nizâmnâme* divided schools in the Ottoman Empire into two broad categories which are public schools and private schools. Public schools were supervised and administered by the state. Private schools were founded and administered by the individuals or religious communities; however, they were supervised by the state. The public schools were divided into three tiers as well. The first level was composed of the *sıbyan* and the *rüşdiye* classes, while the second level consisted of the *idadîye* and the *sultanîye* classes. The third tier was the *mekâtib-i âliye* (higher schools). It should be noted that at this point

¹⁵⁹ Kodaman, p. 164.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁶¹ Antel, p. 454.

¹⁶² Evered, p. 7.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ For the whole text of the act see: *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1289, pp. 184-219; Mahmud Cevad ibn el-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcraatı*. For the translated and edited version of the act's text in English see: Evered, pp. 206-246.

¹⁶⁵ *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1289, p. 184.

of the practice of the *Nizâmnâme* assembled a large number of the schools within the empire under the same system.

In addition, The *Nizâmnâme* introduced a compulsory primary education and imposed enforcements in order to ensure compulsory education. The 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th Articles of the act include the regulations and enforcements regarding compulsory elementary education. In these articles, it is declared that the attendance of the students would be strongly monitored by the state, and parents of the students who exempted from compulsory attendance would be fined.¹⁶⁶ The sanctions regarding compulsory primary education reflects the state's ambition which aimed to incorporate all the Ottoman children into primary education. In other words, no Ottoman child would be left without primary education which demonstrated the state's educational agenda and importance of education attributed by the state.

As regards to the conditions of the Empire in which the act emerged, the Reform Decree of 1856, which constituted a milestone in the modernization of education, and growing French influence on modernization of education in the following period of the declaration of the Reform Decree were important footsteps to the enactment of the act in addition to the internal dynamics shaped by the needs of the state as mentioned in the first chapter. Although the pre-1869 educational developments were taken up and evaluated in the previous chapter, some reminiscent remarks on these developments will serve to better reflect the nature and outcomes of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* to readers. In this respect, the subsequent subtitle will analyze process which paved the way for the enactment of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*.

3.1.1 A Turning Point in Modernization of Education: *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Decree of 1856)

The Reform Decree (*Islahat Fermanı*, *Hatt-ı Humâyun*) was issued by Abdülmecid on February 18, 1856, shortly before the Paris Peace Treaty of March 30, concluding the Crimean War (1853-1856).¹⁶⁷ The war mainly was the product of

¹⁶⁶ *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, pp. 185-186.

¹⁶⁷ Roderic H. Davidson, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 4.

the rivalry of great powers in the Middle East and especially Russian desire to practice protection over the the Ottoman sultan's Orthodox subjects.¹⁶⁸ By issuing this decree, the Ottoman state reaffirmed the major principles of the *Gülhane Hatt* by bringing greater clarity to its statements regarding the equality of all subjects within the empire before the law regardless of their religion.¹⁶⁹ The subsequent period followed the issuing of the Reform Edict witnessed several reform attempts regarding judicial, administrative, educational domains of the Ottoman society in accordance with the principles of the Reform Edict and the main target of all these reform attempts was to maintain the empire's integrity.¹⁷⁰

The Reform Decree of 1856 which constituted a major milestone in socio political life of the Ottoman Empire was an important turning point in the field of education as well.¹⁷¹ Although the provisions of the *Gülhane Hatt* did not contain any assertions regarding education, the Reform Decree involved articles on education, especially non-Muslim education. In the Reform Edict, the sultan promised that all the subjects within the society could be accepted to both military and civil schools in the empire regardless of their religion and ethnicity; in addition, each community could open their own schools:¹⁷²

All the subjects of my Empire, without distinction, shall be received into the civil and military schools of the government if they otherwise satisfy the conditions of age and examination specified in the regulations of these schools. Moreover each community is authorized to establish public schools of science, art, and industry, provided that the method of instruction and choice of professors in schools of this class shall be under the control of a mixed Council of Public Instruction, the members of which shall be named by my sovereign command.¹⁷³

As being a multi-ethnic, religious, and linguistic entity, the Ottoman Empire had organized her diverse communities along the lines of their religion which is known as the *millet system*. This sociopolitical structure granted a semi-autonomous

¹⁶⁸ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. V, pp. 222-230.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 251-252.

¹⁷⁰ Davidson, p. 5.

¹⁷¹ Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," p. 685.

¹⁷² Karal, "Islahat Ferman-ı Humayûnu Sureti," *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. V, s. 261.

¹⁷³ Shaw and Shaw, p. 125.

position to the empire's diverse communities and functioned properly enough as long as the communities kept their loyalty to the sultan and the empire.¹⁷⁴ Within the context of millet system, the education of the empire's diverse communities had been a religious matter which was persuaded by the religious leaders of the each community.¹⁷⁵ However, the promises of the decree necessitated a new educational system in accordance with the principle of mixed education of communities. In other words, a secular educational system above and beyond the line of religious diversity was required. In this respect, promulgation of Reform Edict of 1856 paved the way for dissemination of secular education system in both military and civil education.¹⁷⁶

The edict in compliance with the *Gülhane Hatt*, also aimed to assemble all subjects within the society around "Ottomanism" as an ideology which transcended the ethno-religious ties.¹⁷⁷ This was particularly important because the Ottoman *millet system* was challenged by separatist movements in the years ensued the French Revolution which "created new challenges in Ottoman statecraft and Ottoman legitimacy, altering drastically the empire's otherwise remote relationships with majority of its diverse communities."¹⁷⁸ In this regard, the state policies giving relative autonomy to its communities in a pluralistic context became impracticable, since the state managed internally as well as externally.¹⁷⁹ In this context, it necessitated to create an ideology in order to keep intact all communities within the empire as well as to enhance the empire both at home and abroad.

The very beginning of the edict the Sultan, promoting Ottomanism, underlined that all his subjects were delightedly affiliated with each other through the citizenship bond and emphasized that all the subjects were equal. The Sultan, afterwards, declared that all the requirements and means which would materialize the

¹⁷⁴ Evered, p. 4.

¹⁷⁵ Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," pp. 695-696.

¹⁷⁶ Shaw and Shaw, p. 107.

¹⁷⁷ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. V, p. 251.

¹⁷⁸ Evered, p. 4.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

happiness of the all subjects and prosperity of the empire would be developed.¹⁸⁰ The declaration of the Sultan demonstrates that the segregation of Muslim and non-Muslim was definitely ended in official discourse, and that all the Ottoman subjects were recognized as individuals on a par with each other.¹⁸¹ The edict implied that a “heartfelt,” i.e. sentimental, the bond was existed among the subjects by emphasizing the expression of the “heartfelt bond of citizenship.” Accordingly, it is understood from this expression, the bond of citizenship to assembly all the subjects required an “asabiyyah,” a social solidarity, beyond a legal citizenship, and it was governmentally aimed to create such an “asabiyyah.”¹⁸²

The Ottomanist approach in the edict reflected itself on the educational agenda within the justification part of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*. As the justification part of the *Nizâmnâme* put, its aim was

... to bring youngsters of diverse communities into common education and thereby to strengthen the cohesion and compatibility among them...¹⁸³

This statement does not only demonstrate how Ottomanism shaped the educational agenda of the state, but also it shows the emphasis in the Reform Edict which is that “all subjects were delightedly affiliated with each other through the citizenship bond” would be materialized through the education.¹⁸⁴ In other words, education was perceived as one of the means to Ottomanize the elements within the society.

According to Sadrettin Celal Antel, the *Tanzimat Men*’s efforts to weld Muslim and non-Muslim subjects together around the ideal of being Ottoman by establishing co-educational institutions such as *idadiye* and *sultânîye* schools failed since non-Muslims’ identity formation developed thanks to their religious organizations and family discipline. Hence, he asserts, the consequence of this policy was that Turkish children did not gained their national conscience and self.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Enver Ziya Karal, “Islahat Ferman-ı Humayûnu Sureti” in *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. V, pp. 258-259.

¹⁸¹ Somel, “Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler,” p. 693.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 694.

¹⁸³ Mahmud Cevad, p.95; Somel, “Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler,” p. 704.

¹⁸⁴ Somel, “Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler,” p. 704.

¹⁸⁵ Antel, p.446.

Although the impact of the decree on development of national consciousness is required separate explanations, the decree's significance is that it triggered the educational reform process which resulted in the declaration of *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* in 1869.¹⁸⁶

Consequently, by the declaration of *Hatt-ı Humâyûn*, the educational sphere in which the segregation of Muslim and non-Muslim and of ethnicity had been evident had to change in line with the promises of the sultan. In this regard, considerable efforts regarding to establish the new educational system beyond the denominational educational order followed the declaration of *Hatt-ı Humâyûn*. The Mixed Council of Public Instruction, known as *Meclis-i Muhtelit-i Maârif*, was established in the same year as mentioned in the *Hatt-ı Humâyûn*. It should be reminded that apart from the community schools, opening schools by non-Muslims required the sultan's edict before the declaration of *Hatt-ı Humâyûn* which enabled the non-Muslim educational facilities to advance by granting privileges to those communities to open liberally their own schools.¹⁸⁷ Accordingly, establishing a mixed council of public instruction, as stated in the edict, can be evaluated as a process to integrate non-Muslim's schools into the state educational system as well as to establish an administrative apparatus to control these schools.¹⁸⁸

The council was composed of six members who were the representatives of communities, Derviş Pasha (Muslim), İstefanaki Karatodori Bey (Greek), Barutçubaşı Ohannes Bey (Armenian), Düzoğlu Mihran Bey (Catholic), Panayot Efendi (Protestant) and Şapçı Damadı Davicen Efendi (Jewish).¹⁸⁹ At the same time, another executive council, *Meclis-i Maârif*, had continued its existence since 1846. The duty of these two councils were regulated and defined. In this regard, *Meclis-i Maârif* was responsible for the matters regarding religious education, and *Meclis-i Muhtelit-i Maârif* was liable for the common matters concerning the schools of

¹⁸⁶ Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," p. 685.

¹⁸⁷ Antel, p. 446.

¹⁸⁸ Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," p. 696.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 697.

Muslims and non-Muslims.¹⁹⁰ The administration of education depended on these two council, however, did not last long since the developments following the Reform Edict necessitated a holistic administrative body. In this respect, *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti* (Ministry of Public Education) was established in 1857. Both *Meclis-i Maârif* and *Meclis-i Muhtelit-i Maârif* were integrated into the ministry.¹⁹¹

A document dated in 1861 and determined the duties of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti* facilitates understanding the transformation of the educational system in subsequent years following the promulgation of the Reform Decree. In the document¹⁹², it is declared that a) Apart from Harbiye, Bahriye and Tıbbiye all the schools within the empire were supervised by the Ministry of Education, b) in *sıbyan* schools, the Muslims and non-Muslims were educated separately, c) in *rüşdiye* schools and *Mekâtib-i fûnûn-u mütenevvia* (Schools regarding various sciences) above the *rüşdiye*s, the Muslims and non-Muslims were educated together, d) in *rüşdiye* schools and *Mekâtib-i fûnûn-u mütenevvia*, the language of education would be Ottoman Turkish, e) a mixed council titled *Meclis-i Muhtelit* involving both Muslim and non-Muslim members would be established. *Meclis-i Muhtelit* was under *Meclis-i Maârif*'s authority and entrusted with execution of above mentioned articles and completion of the regulations of existing schools. Measures such as mixed education of the Muslims and non-Muslims and establishing an executive organ consisting of Muslim and non-Muslim members constituted the first steps to materialize the Reform Edict's promises on education.

This document was the proof that the ministry was entrusted with the duty of creating an Ottoman nation; in this regard, the determination of Ottoman Language as the language of education and co-education at secondary and higher level of education were the consequences as well as the demonstration of the state's Ottomanist-centralization policy.¹⁹³ However, when this document is compared with the Education Act, it was more Ottomanist in character than the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, since it designed a co-education of Muslim and non-Muslims at the

¹⁹⁰ Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," p. 697.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 698.

¹⁹² Kodaman, p. 17.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 18.

rüşdiye level. Albeit the fact that the mixed education of Muslim and non-Muslims was decided to be implemented at secondary tier of education, *idadis* and *sultanis*, by the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*. In this regard, the possible reasons about abovementioned difference between these two *Nizâmnâmes* require explanation.

First of all, in the justification part which explained the reasons necessitated the enactment of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, it is declared that common education of the Muslims and non-Muslims was impossible at the *rüşdiye* level since the instruction of religious principles required separate education of each religious community.¹⁹⁴ Although non-Muslim primary and *rüşdiye* education was designed to be maintained in separate schools, the state took the initiative of controlling the instruction in these schools. In the minutes, it is declared that apart from the religious courses, the right of controlling the instruction belonged to the Ministry of Public Education; in addition, the courses regarding religious education would be instructed by the clergy of each community.¹⁹⁵

Another probable reason of the difference between 1861 and 1869 *Nizâmnâmes* was related with the shift in structural categorization of the Ottoman educational system. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *rüşdiye* schools were designed as secondary schools below the higher schools. However, as the inefficiency of elementary schools to bring up the educated students to *rüşdiye* schools was realized, the *rüşdiyes* have started to serve as primary schools above the *sıbyan* schools in the process of time.¹⁹⁶ In fact, the *rüşdiyes* were defined as elementary educational institutions in the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*.¹⁹⁷ In other words, the level of *rüşdiyes* was relegated to elementary level, which was already designed to offer separate education.

¹⁹⁴ Antel, p. 452.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 453-454.

¹⁹⁶ This issue was evaluated in details in the justification part which explained the reasons necessitated the enactment of Public Education Law, see: *Mazbata Sûreti* in Mahmud Cevad İbnü's Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrââtı, XIX. Asır Osmanlı Maârif Tarihi*, (prep. by. Taceddin Kayaoğlu), Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2001, pp. 93-99.

¹⁹⁷ *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 184.

There were approximately eight years between these two *Nizâmnâmes* and it can be assumed that the former *Nizâmnâme* had been implemented until the declaration of the latter *Nizâmnâme* in 1869. However, the 1861 *Nizâmnâmesi* was not put into practice.¹⁹⁸ Even though it remained in theory, it was important to demonstrate the importance of education attributed by the Ottoman bureaucrats to indoctrinate an Ottoman identity through education.

As it was expressed through the evaluation above, it would be a sketchy explanation to evaluate the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* as a regulation in a strict sense. On the contrary, the *Nizâmnâme* should be evaluated in a broad sense as one of the consequences of the Reform Decree's bringings. Moreover, since the act was inspired by the French example, another component of evaluation is the growing French influence on modernization of education.

3.1.2 Growing French Influence on Modernization of Education After 1856

Another development paved the way for the proclamation of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* was the European intervention on modernization of education. The European Powers declared that they would not interfere in the Ottoman domestic affairs in the Paris Peace Conference.¹⁹⁹ However, they started to involve in the Ottoman internal affairs in 1859, three years after the Reform Edict was signed. Their intervention "mainly resulted from the riots occurred in Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovnia, Crete, and Lebanon."²⁰⁰ The European Powers justified their interference by stating that Ottoman Government failed in fulfilling the provisions of the Reform Edict, and they presented new reform proposals to the Porte in 1859 and 1860.²⁰¹ The Ottoman statesmen, especially Âli and Fuad Pashas, were inclined to observe the French proposals which aimed to protect the integrity of the empire and to accept the rule of the Ottomans.²⁰² France followed a policy which

¹⁹⁸ Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," p. 700.

¹⁹⁹ Davidson, p. 4; p. 413.

²⁰⁰ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VII, Ankara: TTK, 2011, p. 332.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 332.

²⁰² Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VII, p. 336.

aimed to strengthen the empire by centralization, while Russia pursued a policy which supported the minorities to mobilize against the empire.²⁰³ In regard to these reform proposals of the European Powers, several administrative, judicial and social reforms were put into practice.²⁰⁴

The Crete Revolt of 1866, however, prompted the European Powers to interfere in the Ottoman domestic affairs once again. They blamed the Ottoman state for being lax in carrying out the reforms. Besides, they believed that in case the empire was left alone in the reform process, it would cause an anarchy which might disturb the Europe's balance of power. In this respect, France offered an extensive reform program to the Porte on February 22, 1867.²⁰⁵ As regards educational reform, the program offered a) to promote and patronage the non-Muslims' educational institutions, b) to establish secondary schools which would accept the non-Muslim children too, c) to open an university for both Muslim and non-Muslim students; in addition, apart from medicine, several courses such as history, administration and law would be taught in the university. In this respect, civil officials and judges who would implement the reforms in the future would be trained.²⁰⁶ However, as Bayram Kodaman asserts, the French thesis was problematic, since it offered to give extensive educational and cultural rights to non-Muslims which were completely contrary to the ideas of a unitary educational system and the unity of the Ottoman Empire.²⁰⁷

In 1860's when Ali and Fuad Pashas were in office, Jean Victor Duruy, the French Minister of Education, came to İstanbul in order to inform about the recent developments in education.²⁰⁸ His report which offers co-education of diverse communities in the same secondary schools, a secular university, new professional

²⁰³ Benjamin C. Fortna, *Education for the Empire: Ottoman State Secondary Schools During the Reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)*, Unpublished Dissertaiton, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1997, p. 84.

²⁰⁴ Meclis-i Tanzimat and Meclis-i Ahkam-ı Adliyye were combined, reforms regarding justice, abolition of the tithe and establishment of policemen organization in provinces were initiated in regard with these proposals. Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VII, p. 334.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 336.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 337.

²⁰⁷ Kodaman, p. 21.

²⁰⁸ Shaw and Shaw, pp. 107-108.

technical schools, and a public library system provided the basis of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*.²⁰⁹ As the modernization of education in France put into consideration, the process developed in curbing the dominance of clergy on education and centralization of education.²¹⁰ From the viewpoint of the French bureaucrats and scholars, education was the “hope” to heal all the problems encountered in all aspects of the society and generate loyal citizens to the Republic.²¹¹ Although France and the Ottoman Empire were widely different societies in terms of the literacy, industrialization, and class consciousness, the anticipations of these two states from education resembled to each other.²¹² In this regard, the French model was compatible with the Ottoman context. A document dated on August 6, 1865 sets a fine example to demonstrate that the French system was appreciated. Safvet Pasha, the head of the ministry of public education, proposed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to reward Jean Victor Duruy for his useful endeavours by decorating him with the first class *Medjidie* medal.²¹³ In this respect, on the 23th of September 1865, Safvet Pasha’s proposal was accepted.²¹⁴ In fact, the Ottoman state continued to award French educational specialists with *medjidie* order in the subsequent years which demonstrates the influence of France on educational matters of the empire.²¹⁵

As the process prior to the enactment of *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* put into consideration, it demonstrated the influence of France.²¹⁶ The documents obtained from the Ottoman Archives also support the influence of France on education. However, it should be kept in mind that England and Russia also proposed

²⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 107-108.

²¹⁰ Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848-1945, Vol. II: Intellect, Taste and Anxiety*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977, p. 139.

²¹¹ Ibid., pp. 150-151.

²¹² Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom, Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 28.

²¹³ **İ. HR.**, 215/12496 (Document 1), 26 Safer 1282 (6 August 1865).

²¹⁴ **İ. HR.**, 215/12496 (Document 2), 2 Cemaziyelevvel 1282 (23 September 1865).

²¹⁵ **İ. HR.**, 216/12562 26 Cemaziyelahir 1282; **İ. HR.**, 230/13555 02 Zilhicce 1284.

²¹⁶ Davidson, p. 235.

reform programs to the Ottoman state.²¹⁷ Choosing the French program as a model was related with its coherence with the state's Ottomanism policy which aimed to create a notion of allegiance in order to integrate diverse communities within the empire as well as to enhance the empire both at home and abroad.²¹⁸ According to Bayram Kodaman, the empire was subjected to choose one of the examples on education offered by the European Powers after the Paris Treaty was signed, and the French example was chosen, since it was in accordance with the Ottomanist policy of the state.²¹⁹ Emine Ö. Evered, on the other hand, asserts that the act was the product of "the eroding sovereignty of the Ottoman state over its own territories and peoples"²²⁰ as well as the product of influence of the developments in philosophies and governing systems of the West.²²¹ What was aimed to issue the education act was the hope to "reduce political and social disorder and create a cohesive society under a state centered ideology of Ottomanism"²²² through education. Benjamin Fortna asserts that the act was more than an imitation; there were parallels in scholarly and bureaucratic expectations from education.²²³

3.2 The First Step to Materialize Common Education: *Mekteb-i Sultani* (The Imperial School)

Mekteb-i Sultani, the product of the joint efforts of French and Ottoman governments and the first concrete step to materialize common education of all communities within the empire. Although the school was established in 1868, a year before the declaration the *Nizâmnâme*, it will be evaluated within this chapter. *Mekteb-i Sultânî* was the first premise to materialize the promise of common education of Muslims and non-Muslims declared by the *Hatt-ı Humayûn*.

²¹⁷ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VII, pp. 336-337.

²¹⁸ Davidson, p. 235.

²¹⁹ Kodaman, p. 21.

²²⁰ Evered, p. 1.

²²¹ Ibid., p 1.

²²² Ibid., pp. 1-2.

²²³ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom, Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, pp.26-35.

Consequently, this study evaluates the school as the product of the same process paved the way for the declaration the *Nizâmnâme*, which was the abovementioned reform process following the declaration of the *Hatt-ı Humayûn*.

Mekteb-i Sultani, i.e. *Galatasaray*, was established as an equivalent school to the European lycees in 1868.²²⁴ The establishment process of the school can be evaluated within the framework of the abovementioned reform period following the declaration of the Reform Decree of 1856. Moreover, the school was the concrete manifestation of the growing influence of French culture within the Ottoman society.²²⁵ Unquestionably, Abdülaziz's travel to France in 1867, and his observations during his travel influenced the establishment process of the school in a positive way.²²⁶

Mekteb-i Sultani, was "the first big breach in millet barriers to mixed education."²²⁷ The doors of the school were open to boys of all *millets*. By establishing such institution and bringing various religious groups in it, it was aimed to promote an allegiance to the Ottoman state beyond the religious affiliation.²²⁸

When the school was opened in September 1868, 341 students attended the school against the opposition of Greek Orthodox leaders, the Sephardic Jews, and the Pope all of which were afraid of losing their control on their rising generations.²²⁹ At the end of the year, the number of students reached 530.²³⁰ The first director of *Mekteb-i Sultani*, Loise de Salve, pointed out that 147 of 341 students were Muslim

²²⁴ Mahmud Cevad ,p. 86.

²²⁵ Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," p. 700.

²²⁶ Ergin, *Türkiye Maârif Tarihi*, Vol. I-II, p. 401.

²²⁷ Davidson, p. 246.

²²⁸ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom, Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, p. 103.

²²⁹ Davidson, p. 247.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 104.

and the remaining was consisted by “Armenian Orthodox (48), Greeks (36), Jews (34), Bulgarians (34), Roman Catholics (23) and Armenian Catholics (19)”.²³¹

The director, Loise de Salve, and the assistant director of the school were French. It is understood from the document signed by Safvet Pasha, Minister of Education, on October 23, 1868 that a second assistant director who was Muslim was appointed in order to supervise lectures offered in Turkish and the way of training of the students.²³²

The school’s curriculum was identical to the French schools and it offered education in Turkish and French equally.²³³ The document dated June 19, 1875 involved regulations on the language of lecture in *Mekteb-i Sultani*. The document titled *mazbata* (minute) stated that it is understood that all the courses within the course list had been instructed in French; accordingly, the courses apart from the courses regarding science would be taught in Turkish. It is asserted that this regulation would be applied to classes from the first year to the sixth year for the time being, and it would be applied gradually to the sixth and seventh years of the school.²³⁴

Albeit the fact that the school was the product of a joint endeavor of Ottoman and French governments, the influence of France on the school would reduce as France’s prestige demised due to the defeat in Franco-Prussia War (1870-1871) and the death of Fuad and Alî Pashas, in 1869 and 1871.²³⁵ During the reign of Abdülhamid II, the French inspiration on the school was removed from the school, and it was tried to be Ottomanized with its instruction, executive management, and students.²³⁶

²³¹ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom, Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, p. 103. See: Loise de Salve, “L’Enseignement en Turquie: le lycée impérial de Galata-Sérai,” *Reveu des deux mondes*, 5 (1874), 836-53.

²³² **İ. DÜİT.** 1157 / 62 6 Receb 1285 (23 September 1868)

²³³ Mahmud Cevad, p. 86; Ergin, p. 402.

²³⁴ **MF.MKT.** 29/1 15 Cemaziyelahir 1292 (18 July 1875)

²³⁵ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom, Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, p. 104.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105-112.

3.3 Educational Reforms from the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* to the End of the *Tanzimat Era*

General view of education in the Ottoman Empire before the declaration of the act was a) the number of *sıbyan* schools was not enough for the empire's massive population, b) instruction in existing *sıbyan* schools was only an introduction to religious instruction, c) these schools were administered by the teachers of whom capability and capacity were in doubt, and students graduated from *sıbyan* schools without learning efficient knowledge, d) *rüşdiye* schools, therefore, served as primary institutions in order to compensate the inefficiency of *sıbyan* schools, which lowered the level of education offered in *rüşdiyes*, e) higher education for various sciences was not available.²³⁷

The justification part of the *Nizâmnâme* set a course for the educational agenda for the remaining of the *Tanzimat Era*. In this respect, reforming the existing schools and disseminating more schools over the empire, raising teachers in order to perform education at the desired level, and translating books and pamphlets to be used in the schools into Ottoman Turkish constituted the targets of educational developments during the subsequent period following the declaration of the *Nizâmnâme*.²³⁸ Such an immense target could not be put into practice rapidly. The educational developments between 1869 and 1876 will be shortly mentioned in this part.

As to developments regarding the primary education, considerable efforts had been made to reform *sıbyan* schools since 1846 within the framework of *Usul-u Cedide* (the New Method), as mentioned in the first chapter. In addition, *Darülmüallimin-i Sıbyan* was opened to raise teachers in expected quality for elementary schools in 1868. In doing so, it was aimed to generate teachers which were able to instruct according to *Usul-u Cedide*.²³⁹ By the *Nizâmnâme*, non-religious courses such as history, geography, and counting were, for the first time, introduced into the curricula of the *sıbyan* schools. The idea of instructing “worldly”

²³⁷ Atuf, pp.130-131.

²³⁸ Mahmud Cevad, p. 104.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 115.

education, in fact, predated the *Nizâmnâme*; in 1868, Suphi Pasha, the Minister of Education, prepared a report for reforming *sıbyan schools* which proposed to add non-religious courses such as orthography, geography, mathematics into the curricula.²⁴⁰

The state started to involve more in reforming the primary education with the declaration of the *Nizâmnâme* and put excessive importance on implementation *Usul-u Cedide* in *sıbyan* schools. In May 1870, a new commission was formed in order to reform the *sıbyan* schools and a pamphlet, *Rehniüma-yı Muallimin*, which was a guide for the teachers of the *sıbyan* schools in order to equip them with the *Usul-u Cedide*, was published.²⁴¹ In 1872, a *numune* (sample) school was opened to serve as an example for this modern instruction, and afterwards, this sort of schools would be opened in the provinces as well.²⁴² The schools offered instruction according to *Usul-u Cedide* would be named as *iptidâî* later, while the schools followed the traditional method (*usûl-i atîka*) continued to be called as *sıbyan*.²⁴³

Although the general objective of the ministry of education was disseminating the primary education over the empire, the state did not take the responsibility entirely.²⁴⁴ To illustrate, with regard to the financial burden of the primary education only one fourth of the expenses was met by the state and meeting the remaining of the expenses was under the responsibility of the locals.²⁴⁵

With regard to the *rüşdiyes*, the development was greater than that in other tiers of education. The number of these schools was increased rapidly. For instance, while there were 57 *rüşdiyes* in 1860, the number of that increased to 386 in 1874; in addition, 20.000 students attended to these schools.²⁴⁶ When the numbers of *rüşdiyes*

²⁴⁰ Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," p. 699.

²⁴¹ Mahmud Cevad, p. 105.

²⁴² Alkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim," p. 26.

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 26.

²⁴⁴ Atuf, p. 85.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 135.

²⁴⁶ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VII, pp. 200-201. 47 of these *rüşdiyes* were in İstanbul, 160 of that in Rumelia and 203 of that Anatolia.

stated in the state yearbooks (*salnames*) of 1863 and 1873 were compared, the increase in *rüşdiye* numbers is evident. In 1863, there were 61 *rüşdiye* schools in the Empire, 13 of 61 were in İstanbul and 48 *rüşdiye* were in the provinces; in addition, 4250 students attended these schools.²⁴⁷ In 1873, there were 294 *rüşdiye* schools over the Empire and 14.947 students attended these schools.²⁴⁸ While 18 of 294 schools were in İstanbul, the remaining 276 schools were in the provinces.²⁴⁹ As the growth in the number of *rüşdiyes* in provinces, which was approximately 6 times greater than 1863, is put into consideration, it could be said that, the *Tanzimat Era* was the age of *Rüşdiye* schools. For, the numbers of other schools such as *sıbyan*, *idadiye* and *sultaniye* could not increase along the lines of *rüşdiyes*.

As to the second tier of education, *idadiyes* and *sultanîyes*, the development was smaller than the first tier of education. The term of *idadiye*, which means “prepare” literally, was used to define the preparatory schools which prepare the students for higher schools above themselves.²⁵⁰ The first examples of *idadiyes* were military and opening *idadiyes* for popular education was mentioned for the first time in the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*. Accordingly, in 1872, when Ahmed Cevdet Pasha in control as Minister of Education, first *idadiye* schools for general education were opened.²⁵¹ However, disseminating *idadiyes* throughout the empire remained theoretical and these schools were limited with İstanbul. In 1874, there were four *idadis* in İstanbul, which had approximately 10 teachers and 261 students.²⁵² As to the *sultanîyes*, *Mekteb-i Sultanî* was the only existing example of the *sultanî* schools.²⁵³ In fact, throughout the *Tanzimat Era* and the reign of Abdülhamid II, no other *sultanî* apart from *Galatasaray* was opened.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁷ Alkan, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme Sürecinde Eğitim İstatistikleri 1839-1924*, Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 2000, p. 18.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 33.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 33.

²⁵⁰ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VII, p. 202.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p. 202.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 202.

²⁵³ Davidson, p.249.

²⁵⁴ Alkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim,” p. 27.

As to the university, the idea of establishing a university, *Dar ülfünun*, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was proposed by the *Meclis-i Muvakkat* in 1846; however, the first experiment of university in the years between 1863 and 1865 failed. After the unsuccessful first initiative, the second initiative to re-open *Dar ülfünun* was materialized in 1869, when the construction of the university building was completed. In *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*, whose articles between 79th and 128th organized the university, it was stated that an Ottoman university would be opened, again called the *Dar ülfünun*, including “faculties for philosophy and the humanities, legal studies, and science and mathematics.”²⁵⁵ In this respect, *Dar ülfünun* started to instruction in February 18, 1870 with attendance of 450 students which were chosen from among a thousand applicants by examination.²⁵⁶ In addition, public courses (*Ders-i Âmm*) were also reopened and the texts of the courses were published for whom did not attend these courses in the official newspaper, *Takvim-i Vakayi*.²⁵⁷ A year later, it was closed due to the speech of Jemaleddin el-Afghani during the public lectures. Afghani asserted that the prophecy is an art and his speech caused a general opposition on the part of the *Şeyhülislam* and the ulema.²⁵⁸ Therefore, the university was closed in 1871.²⁵⁹ The university was reopened between 1874 and 1881 thanks to the efforts of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, the minister of education at the time.²⁶⁰ The university, titled *Darülfünun-ı Sultânî* and incorporated to the body of *Mekteb-i Sultânî*, composed of three branch including legal studies, letters, and roads and bridges engineering (*turuk-u muabir*).²⁶¹ On September 1, 1900, it was “definitively opened in its modern form.”²⁶²

²⁵⁵ Shaw and Shaw, p. 110.

²⁵⁶ Tekeli and İlkin, p.71.

²⁵⁷ Mahmud Cevad, p. 108.

²⁵⁸ Davidson, pp. 249-250; Tekeli and İlkin, p. 71.

²⁵⁹ Davidson, p. 250.

²⁶⁰ Shaw and Shaw, p. 109.

²⁶¹ Mahmud Cevad,, p. 105-106.

²⁶² Shaw and Shaw, p. 110.

As to other sorts of schools, a few schools were established in the years 1869 to 1876. In April 1870, *Darülmüallimat* (Teacher School for women) was established around the Hagia Sophia.²⁶³ In addition, in the same year, a Forestry School (Orman Mektebi) was opened under the supervision of the Ministry of Treasury.²⁶⁴ In 1874-75, an *idadi* section was opened within the *Darülmüallimin* in order to meet teacher necessity of *idadis*; in doing so, *Darülmüallimin* became a three-branch school including *sıbyan*, *rüşdiye*, and *idadi*.²⁶⁵ Moreover, “the preparatory schools for military academies; the refresher courses for the provincial officials; part-time courses for the poor, especially guild apprentices”²⁶⁶ were the other types of schools established in this period.

As to the developments in the method of instruction, there was a significant departure from the traditional. To illustrate, the low-pitched, gloomy school buildings located around the mosques and medreses were shifted by broader and bright school buildings including several classrooms.²⁶⁷ In addition, the new means of instructions such as desks, blackboard and maps were introduced.²⁶⁸ However, the general resentment of the Ulema towards modernization of education should be kept in mind. For instance, the initiative to use desk in the *sıbyan* schools resulted a reaction from the Ulema which asserted that “the Koran can not be learnt by swinging legs on the desks.”²⁶⁹ The most significant development in method of instruction was that teaching did not only depend on memorizing as was in the past, on the contrary, an instruction depended on observation, deduction, causation was started to be used gradually.²⁷⁰

²⁶³ Mahmud Cevad, p. 105.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 123-124.

²⁶⁶ Davidson, p.249.

²⁶⁷ Atuf, p.86.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 86.

²⁶⁹ Tekeli and İlkin, p. 67.

²⁷⁰ Atuf, p. 86.

As to administrative developments, the administration of education was divided into two parts by the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* as *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maârif* (Grand Council of Education) and *Vilayet Meclis-i Maârifleri* (Provincial Councils of Education). *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maârif* was also divided into section of *İlmi*, responsible for preparing required books by either publishing or translating, and section of *İdari* entrusted with the duty of supervising the schools, appointing the teachers and preparing the educational regulations.²⁷¹ *Vilayet Meclis-i Maârifleri* were designed to serve as executing apparatus of the *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maârif* in the provinces and each was headed by a director known as *Maârif Müdürü*.²⁷² In 1872, *Vilayet Meclis-i Maârifleri* were started to be established in the provinces in accordance with the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*.²⁷³ In addition, a few commissions were established in order to reform existing schools and their curriculums. In May 1870, a commission was founded in order to reform the *sıbyan* schools as previously mentioned. Another commission was entrusted with the duty of reorganization and regulation of the courses taught in *rüşdiyes* was formed within the *Daire-i Maârif* (the Board of Education) when Ahmed Cevdet Pasha was in office as the Minister of Education.²⁷⁴

3.4. Evaluation

As it expressed through the evaluation above including educational developments from the declaration of *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* in 1869 to the end of the *Tanzimat Era* (1876), the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi* was not only a regulation but also “a strong indication that the state rather than the millet was now considered responsible for schools.”²⁷⁵ In addition, the *Nizâmnâme* which remained as the basis of education till the end of empire should be put into a broad perspective rather than being evaluated as a regulation in a strict sense. The *Nizâmnâme*, first of all, was the consequence of the *Hatt-ı Humâyûn*’s bringings.

²⁷¹ Atuf, p. 137.

²⁷² Ibid., p. 137.

²⁷³ Mahmud Cevad, p. 116.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 122.

²⁷⁵ Davidson, p. 249.

Secondly, growing influence of France on modernization of Ottoman education constituted another part of the process in which the *Nizâmnâme* was brought forth.

Regarding educational developments in between 1869 and 1876, only the number of the schools which were at the first tier of education was significantly increased due to financial difficulties and lack of teacher. Especially the *rüşdiyes* rapidly developed. The *idadis* were limited with İstanbul and opening the *idadis* in the provinces remained as a theory, which would be materialized in 1880's. The existing example of the *sultanis* was *Mekteb-i Sultani* and throughout the era as well as the reign of Abdülhamid II any other *sultanî* was not opened. As to university, a few of attempts to re-open university inevitably failed. Between 1869 and 1876, different kind of schools were also opened which were the teacher schools for women, the preparatory schools for military schools, vocational courses for the poor and guild apprentices.²⁷⁶ It should be kept in mind that the efforts for modernization of education until the end of the empire could only achieve to create a society whose literacy rate was below 10 percent, and the significant developments were materialized by the Republican modernization which increased the literacy rate to 90 percent.²⁷⁷ In this sense, Republican modernization was a process in which “the quantitative accumulations transformed into a qualitative leap.”²⁷⁸ In this regard, the efforts for modernization of education throughout the *Tanzimat Era* as well as until the end of the empire only lay a foundation for following modernization efforts which were more thorough.

The importance of the *Nizâmnâme* for this study is that the main subject of the study, which is history education in primary and secondary schools in the late *Tanzimat Era* (1869-1876), was institutionalized in all tiers of education by *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*. That is why the second chapter of the study laid stress on this issue within a broad perspective including the structural changes brought by the *Hatt-ı Humâyûn* and French influence on educational affairs. Such an analysis facilitates to understand the general framework when the history teaching was installed in popular education in a broader context. In this regard, it can be asserted that the *Nizâmnâme* was the Ottoman state's response to its eroding sovereignty

²⁷⁶ Davidson, p. 249.

²⁷⁷ Alkan, “İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim,” p. 76.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 76.

over its subjects. By declaring this *Nizâmnâme*, the state declared the ambition to systematize the education which was perceived as one of the means of creating a cohesive society. Within the context of the Empire's disintegration, what was expected from history teaching, what was the shape of history teaching in the state's primary and secondary schools are worth to be separately analyzed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE *LATE TANZIMAT ERA* (1869-1876)

Up to this part, the study tried to evaluate the process of modernization of education in the Ottoman Empire from 1773 to 1876 as well as the history education prior to 1869. In doing so, it was aimed to show that history education had not been a part of the public education systematically until the *Nizâmnâme*. This assertion requires the explanation of possible reasons for the introduction of history courses into public education. Whether history courses were introduced to the public schools' curriculums since the *Nizâmnâme* was modeled on the French example²⁷⁹ or not is a crucial question to answer. Therefore, in this chapter, the study will try to seek for possible answers for this question as well as giving the shape of history education in the late *Tanzimat Era* (1869-1876). In this regard, this question will be kept in mind throughout the chapter, and in order to find possible answers for this question, the relationship between history education and modernization of the education will be examined as well.

Since any explanation on the history education of any epoch includes several components, the study will try to focus on the following components: the relationship between the state and history education, the dominant ideology of the period, embryonic forms of official history and history understanding of the period, and the use of history. An analysis of these components will be meaningful in order to gain a

²⁷⁹ It should be remembered that French report on modernization of education offered to give history education in university. Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VII, p. 337.

broder insight on the issue and to in order to understand the mechanisms behind the introduction of history teaching into public education.

4.1 Education, History Education and the State

Every educational system and procedure is shaped by the influence and determination of several social, political and economic factors. In fact, the most important factor is the state and its policies.²⁸⁰ Evaluated within the nineteenth century context, Zeldin labels it the “age of education.”²⁸¹ Education, along with centralization of political systems, started to be supervised by the state and became a “service” sector to which public investments were made in the nineteenth century.²⁸² In this process, “religious/traditional community education” was replaced by “mass/public, secular and centralized (after a while national) educational system.”²⁸³

Education is one of the key institutions within society which transmits knowledge and values. To illustrate, the French Revolutionists used education as a tool to propagate their ideology to the masses in subsequent years following the Revolution. They believed in that the curriculums in the schools must reflect the nationalist spirit.²⁸⁴ A similar process took place in Prussia, in the nineteenth century, and nationalist philosophers greatly contributed to the process.²⁸⁵ In that case, education can be defined as the process in which individuals and groups, in broad sense social classes, are socialized to values, life styles and habits idealized by the political powers.²⁸⁶ In other words, education is a one of the key tools used by almost every government in order to penetrate into society.

In the educational process, governments perpetuate their authorities through identifying the knowledge and values which serve for their interests within the

²⁸⁰ Kemal İnal, *Eğitim ve İdeoloji*, İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayıncılık, 2008, p. 107.

²⁸¹ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom, Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, p. 27.

²⁸² Alkan, “İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim”, p. 84.

²⁸³ Ibid, p.84.

²⁸⁴ İnal, p. 107.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 108.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 108.

institution of education; accordingly, education and power are inseparable, and they can be treated as a dual term.²⁸⁷ Since there is a strong relationship between education and power, educational practices are directly influenced by the ideology of the state. In this regard, curricula, content of the courses and text-books are shaped in line with the ideology of the state. According to Kemal İnal, text-books are the educational tools in which official ideology legitimizing and advocating the power and official history are transmitted and reproduced.²⁸⁸ In this context, the content, curricula and textbooks regarding any courses requires separate explanations and analysis with particular emphasis on dominant ideology.

As to the scope of the study which is history education, the main objectives of history teaching can be specified as teaching past and present, developing linguistic skills, transmitting social values and culture and ideology, and giving identity.²⁸⁹ Since history courses become one of the key tools to transmit ideology and values as well as to construct identity, the governments aim to control history courses. What to teach and why to teach become important debates while defining the content of the course. Since the history course with its content and sources is one of the key tools to transmit and reproduce the official history, the content, shape and curricula of the history courses become important units of analysis in order to reveal the official ideology of the dominant power. One of the most significant quotations revealing the relationship between history and power is written by George Orwell. Orwell, in his *1984*, said that “who controls the present controls the past.”²⁹⁰ This quotation reveals that the agency of power possesses the right to reproduce, invent and omit history in line with the dominant ideology. History is a construction and how to construct history is a crucial process which cannot be disconnected from the relationship between the dominant power and history. Since official ideology is a key factor to determine official history, any explanation on history requires analyzing the dominant ideology of the state.

²⁸⁷ İnal, pp. 107-108.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 106.

²⁸⁹ İsmail Hakkı Demircioğlu, “Tarih Eğitiminin Amaçları,” *Tarih Nasıl Öğretilir?*, ed. Mustafa Safran, pp. 27-34, İstanbul: Yeni İnsan Yayınevi, 2010, pp. 65-69.

²⁹⁰ George Orwell, *1984*, 1949, p.19.

4.2 Ideology of the Tanzimat Era: Ottomanism

“The Ottoman statesmen scoffed at the French Revolution.”²⁹¹ However, as being a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-linguistic entity, organized her diverse communities within the *millet system*, the Ottoman Empire was challenged by the profound impact of the revolutionary ideas of the French Revolution, which mobilized her diverse communities to seek for their nation-states. The weakness of central control and ongoing socioeconomic problems and structural reality that it was dominated by Muslims made the problem graver.²⁹² Accordingly, throughout the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was challenged by several nationalist and separatist movements of the minorities, massive territorial losses, and demographic changes due to massive territorial losses. In this context, saving the Empire from collapse became the major preoccupation of both the ruling elite and the intelligentsia. The idea of survival of the state found its reflection in ideological domain and the new senses of allegiance between state and the subjects were created in order to find solution to save the Empire from the collapse.

It is not surprising that, the emergence of official ideology and its inseparable part, official history coincided with this period.²⁹³ Yusuf Akçura in his article “Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset” published in 1904 evaluates the three ideologies followed by Ottoman state which were respectively Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism.²⁹⁴ Akçura in retrospect defines Ottomanism as a policy aimed to unite all diverse communities within the empire under a single nation which gets its name from the ruling dynasty, and to surpass the religious and ethnic differences through providing equality before the law and freedom by giving them the same rights and duties regardless of their religion and ethnicity.²⁹⁵ In this regard, the main characteristic of the policy was to take a precautionary measure to separatist movements within the

²⁹¹ Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 51.

²⁹² Hanioğlu, p.51.

²⁹³ Alkan, “Resmi İdeolojinin Doğuşu ve Evrimi Üzerine Bir Deneme” in *Meşrutiyet’in Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Cumhuriyete Devreden Düşünce Mirası: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet’in Birikimi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006, p. 378.

²⁹⁴ Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, İstanbul: Kilit Yayınları, 2012.

²⁹⁵ Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, p. 9.

empire.²⁹⁶ With the declaration of *Gülhane Hatt* and *Islahat Fermanı*, the Ottoman state tried to establish a new kind of allegiance with its subjects through state-centered Ottomanism policy.²⁹⁷ In this regard, *Tanzimat Era* was the peak of Ottomanism policy, with the promulgation of the *Gülhane Hatt* and *Islahat Fermanı*, the Sublime Porte demonstrated the will to establish a new order depended on the Ottomanist values.²⁹⁸

As to the root of Ottomanism policy, Akçura traces back the root of the policy to the reign of Mahmud II. Mahmud II's sentence "I want to see the religious difference within my subjects when they enter into their mosques, synagogue, and churches" constituted the root of Ottomanist policy of the Ottoman state according to Akçura.²⁹⁹ Selçuk Akşin Somel, on the other hand, claims that the root of Ottomanism can be traced back to prior to the nineteenth century, since Ahmed Resmi Efendi and Ebubekir Ratip Efendi similarly underlined the necessity to behave well towards the non-Muslims.³⁰⁰ Moreover, the bureaucrats and intelligentsia raised in the Translation Bureau such as Âli and Fuad Pashas, Namık Kemal, and İbrahim Şinasi endeavoured to develop Ottomanist policies, since they were influenced by the notions disseminated after the French Revolution such as homeland, citizenship, equality before the law while they were translating French newspapers.³⁰¹

The Reform Edict of 1856 constituted a mile stone in terms of Ottomanism policy. The decree virtually imposed by the allied countries suppressed more or less existing consensus within the Ottoman bureaucrats and intelligentsia on the Ottomanist policies and created an intelligentsia opposition towards post-1856 implementations regarding Ottomanism.³⁰² Even Mustafa Reşid Pasha, the author of

²⁹⁶ Somel, "Osmanlı Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)," *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Cumhuriyete Devreden Düşünce Mirası: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006, p. 92.

²⁹⁷ Alkan, "Resmi İdeolojinin Doğuşu ve Evrimi Üzerine Bir Deneme," p.380.

²⁹⁸ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VI, pp. 179-180.

²⁹⁹ Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, p.10.

³⁰⁰ Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)," p.92.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 93.

³⁰² Ibid, p. 96.

the *Gülhane Hatt*, maintained a skeptical attitude towards Ottomanist policies during the subsequent period of 1856.³⁰³ Moreover, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha was also ill-disposed to post 1856 Ottomanist policies. For instance, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha objected to codification modelled on French Civil Code and insisted on preparation of *Mecelle* to the Sublime Porte.³⁰⁴

In addition to bureaucrats' opposition towards post-1856 Ottomanist policies, opposition within the intelligentsia created a "Constitutionalist Ottomanism" movement.³⁰⁵ In this regard, the Ottomanism policy followed throughout the *Tanzimat Era* could be divided into two as "*Tanzimat Ottomanism*" and "Constitutionalist Ottomanism."³⁰⁶ The former was an "authoritarian-centralist Ottomanism" persuaded by the bureaucrats known as the Men of *Tanzimat*, while the latter was followed by the Young Ottomans, the first opposition group emerged in the Ottoman Empire.³⁰⁷ In other words, the latter emerged as a reaction towards the former's authoritarian-centralist policies. Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, for instance, was the first Ottoman opponent defended to provide Muslim and non-Muslim equality through a constitutional system. He demonstrated his reaction to Âli and Fuad Pashas, *Tanzimat* bureaucrats, through the press from 1867 onwards and became the protector of the Young Ottomans.³⁰⁸ Similarly, Namık Kemal, one of the members of Young Ottomans, was the defender of constitutional system and published his articles in the newspaper *Hürriyet*.³⁰⁹

As to difference between these two Ottomanism policy, while the *Tanzimat* Ottomanism aimed to unite diverse communities within the empire around the sacralized sultan, the Young Ottoman Ottomanism targetted on establishing a consultative system in which all the subjects within the empire were equal before the

³⁰³ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VI, p.8.

³⁰⁴ Somel, "Osmanlı Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)," pp.100-101.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., p.104.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., pp.104-106.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, pp.104-106. For a detailed reading on Young Ottomans see: Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin Doğuşu*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, p.104.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, pp.104-105.

law regardless of their religion.³¹⁰ In this regard, Selçuk Akşin Somel puts an end to the *Tanzimat* Ottomanism with the first constitutional experiment with the proclamation of the constitution in 1876.³¹¹ On the other hand, Yusuf Akçura points out that the German victory over France in 1870-71 was a turning point for Ottomanism and the idea of creating an Ottoman nation ended with the defeat of France since it lost its main pillar.³¹²

While the ideology of the Tanzimat Era is evaluated, the big picture should be put into consideration, which is modernization. The term of *temeddün* (becoming modernized) was an important component of the Ottoman official ideology, which was embraced not only by the state but also political opposition.³¹³ In contrast to Ottomanism, modernization continued to be influential on official ideology. In this respect, it can be said that modernization as an ideology in the big picture evolved through three stages in the Ottoman Empire throughout the nineteenth century. The Tanzimat's *memurî* (bureaucratic) modernization was followed by Abdülhamid II's *sultanî* (monarchic) modernization, and it was also followed by the Young Turks *meşrutî* (constitutional) modernization.³¹⁴

4.3 Embryonic Forms of Official History: State Intervention and Control in Educational Content

Official history is the version of history which is imposed by the dominant ideology of power. The essential functions of official history are omitting and bringing to fore specific periods, the legitimization of dominant power, and legitimization of ethnic and collective identity.³¹⁵ As regards the relationship between the history education and official history, as previously mentioned, since

³¹⁰ Somel, "Osmanlı Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)," pp.104-106.

³¹¹ Ibid., pp.104-106.

³¹² Akçura, p.10.

³¹³ Alkan, "Resmî İdeolojinin Doğuşu ve Evrimi Üzerine Bir Deneme," p. 380.

³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 380.

³¹⁵ Nuri Bilgin, "Kimlik Arayışı Olarak Resmi Tarih," *Tarih Öğretimi ve Ders Kitapları Buca Sempozyumu*, ed. Salih Öbzbaran, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995, pp. 119-120.

history course is one of the key tools to disseminate the official history through its content, curricula and textbooks, debates on what to teach and why to teach are determined in line with official history.

The political culture has a decisive role on the definition of the past; in this regard, the changes in political sphere such as great transformations and revolutions, give a new identity to society, and the elements of definition of the past change.³¹⁶ Consequently, history changes in a parallel manner with the change political culture.³¹⁷ To illustrate, according to the official history known as Turkish History Thesis declared in the First Turkish History Congress in 1932, “history should have a two-fold objective: to form a strong national consciousness by depending on the pre-Ottoman periods and to depend this consciousness on natural sciences (for instance archeology).”³¹⁸ According to this explanation, official history seems as a concept which is highly related to the nation state. However, official ideology and history (or myth) is as old as the power/state.³¹⁹ In the Ottoman context, as being established an official historian post, *Vakâyi’nüvîs*,³²⁰ within its bureaucracy starting from the eighteenth century, the term of official history should not be surprising matter. In addition, education is a highly crucial matter for the states to supervise even it is not performed in the national scale.³²¹

As regards to official history, Mehmet Ö. Alkan claims that there is no need to seek for any institution such as *Tarih-i Osmânî Encümeni* (the Committee of Ottoman History) and the Turkish History Association which were established in order to formulate an official history.³²² Any endeavor to determine the curricula,

³¹⁶ Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih Türkiye’de “Resmi Tarih” Tezinin Oluşumu* (1929-1937), İstanbul: Afa Yayıncılık, 1992, p. 19.

³¹⁷ Ibid., p.19.

³¹⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

³¹⁹ Alkan, “Resmi İdeolojinin Doğuşu ve Evrimi Üzerine Bir Deneme,” p. 378.

³²⁰ The term defining the post of official history recorder of the Porte “*vekâyi’nüvîs*” left its place to “*vak’anüvîs*” during the nineteenth century, and the term of “*vak’anüvîs*” was used for the last representatives of this post. Kütükoğlu, Bekir, “*Vekâyinüvîs*”, İA, XII, p. 272.

³²¹ Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p.1.

³²² Alkan, “İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim,” p. 144.

content and sources of the history courses is enough to speak of the existence of the official ideology; in this respect, Alkan traces back the root of official history to the reign of Abdülhamid II, in which radical regulations regarding history education were implemented.³²³

In the same vein, the *Tanzimat Era* could be accepted as the period in which the first examples of official history emerged. For, the aforesaid procedure regarding the determination of the content and source of history courses could be observed in this period as well. In the document dated June 8, 1873 which addressed all *rüşdiye* schools located in İstanbul, the content of the history book of Nişancı Mehmed Pasha, which was taught in *Rüşdiyes*, was determined.³²⁴ It was declared that the subject regarding the ancient history of Iran which was previously taught was going to be removed from the content of the course. Whatever the reasons behind omission of the history of Persia, it seems that the roots of official history could be traced back to the late *Tanzimat* years in the light of this document.

Moreover, entrusting *Meclis-i Maârif* with the duty of controlling the content of the books and pamphlets to be published may be evaluated as another indicator of official history as well as politization of history. The *Matbaalar Nizâmnamesi* (Press Regulation) issued on February 15, 1857 declared that printing of the books and pamphlets are possible only after the supervision of the content by the *Meclis-i Maârif*.³²⁵ In the course of time, the supervision of publication became more academic and reached its peak during the reign of Abdülhamid II. To illustrate, a document sent to the Sublime Porte by the *Meclis-i Maârif* declares that the book sent from the Porte to *Meclis-i Maârif* facilitates understanding the role of *Meclis-i Maârif* on publication.³²⁶ It is understood from the document that the Porte sent to *Meclis-i Maârif* a book which was planned to be taught in the schools and requested the supervision of this institution. The document involved the response of *Meclis-i Maârif*. In the document, it is declared that the book was considered and it was observed that it involved certain articles involving contradictory ideas against Islam

³²³ Alkan, “İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim,” p. 144.

³²⁴ **MF. MKT.** 11/22 14 Rabiulahir 1290 (11 June 1873)

³²⁵ Nuri İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*, İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2005.

³²⁶ **MF.MKT.** 16/75 16 Zilkade 1290 (5 January 1874) See Appendix 2

and certain personalities such as Solomon, Umar and Uthman. It asserted that in order to teach the book in schools, these parts must be removed from the book; otherwise, the book even cannot be published in this state. In the light of this document, it appears that *Meclis-i Maârif* was one of the important institutions in transmission of official history as well as official ideology.

In addition, it is important to analyze the institutionalization process of history and the state or the relationship between historians and the state.³²⁷ As previously mentioned, the existence of the official post of *Vak'anüvis* (the official court historian) also demonstrates the ambition of the state to control history. According to Baki Tezcan, by the establishment of the post of the official court historian, the Ottoman state could monopolize history writing and achieve to provide a singular atmosphere in history writing in the eighteenth century.³²⁸ To illustrate, while in the seventeenth century there were six narratives on the assassination of Osman II, in the eighteenth century, there was only one narrative on the assassination of Mehmed IV which was written by the official court historian Raşid.³²⁹ In this regard, establishment of *Encümen-i Daniş* (the Committee of Scholars) in 1850 in order to prepare the books to be taught in the university as well as public education can also be evaluated as an important attempt within the context of official ideology. Although the institution could not be successful at expected level, as previously mentioned, one of its first products was Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's *Tarih-i Devlet-i Aliyye* (History of the Ottoman Empire), which was written in a state-centered point of view.³³⁰

It should be kept in mind that the, in general meaning, historical presence of the Ottoman Empire and understanding of the state and power constituted the

³²⁷ Ferdan Ergut, "Tarihin Profesyonelleşme Süreci Olarak II. Meşrutiyet", *Yadigar-ı Meşrutiyet*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010 p. 133.

³²⁸ Baki Tezcan, "Tarih Üzerinden Siyaset: Erken Modern Osmanlı Tarih yazımı." *Erken Modern Osmanlılar: İmparatorluğun Yeniden Yazımı*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman, trans. by Güneş Ayas, İstanbul: Timaş, 2011, p. 248.

³²⁹ Ibid, p. 248.

³³⁰ Christoph K. Neumann, "Ahmed Cevdet Paşa'nın Tarihçiliğine Yansıyan Zihniyet Dünyası," *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e: problemler, araştırmalar, tartışmalar*, p.67. For a detailed reading on Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's history understanding and meaning of his history see Christoph K. Neumann, *Araç Tarih, Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet'in Siyasi Anlamı*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000.

worldview of the Ottoman historians.³³¹ When the development of the Ottoman history writing put into consideration, Ottoman historical writing was composed of independent history writing and official history recording.³³² The term of independent history writing refers to the histories prepared by historians who were not appointed as official history recorders. Cemâleddîn Mehmed Kârslızâde, who compiled the first biographical dictionary on historians in 1843³³³, defined the historians writing independent histories as *müverrih*.³³⁴ With regard to official history recording, compiling official histories of the Ottoman state was the duty of historians who were charged by the political authorities. *Müneccimbaşı*, *Şehnâmeçi* and *Vakâyi'nüvîs* were the institutions in which the official history recording of the Empire was started and maintained until the Ottoman Historical Society was founded at the beginning of the twentieth century.³³⁵ According to İlber Ortaylı, the historians within the four hundred years of Ottoman historiography wrote history under the influence of the same ideology or the same dogma, which was the state and *nizam-ı âlem* (the world order); in addition, it was in the nineteenth century that the Ottoman historians started to question the order and how it should be.³³⁶ Shortly, both independent and official historians interpreted the historical process "in a state-centered point of view."³³⁷ Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke assert that both *vaka'nüvîses* which were paid from imperial treasury and *müverrihs* which submitted their histories to the statesmen in the hope of financial or professional support; consequently, the historians wrote history under the influence of *nizam-ı âlem*.³³⁸

³³¹ Ersanlı, p. 41.

³³² Hasan Akbayrak, From Court History Recorder to an Official Historical Writing Society in Turkey: The Case of the Ottoman Historical Society, Unpublished Master Thesis, İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 1987, p. 4.

³³³ The name of his work is *Osmanlı Tarih ve Müverrihleri: Âyine-i Zürefâ* (İstanbul, 1314/1896–97).

³³⁴ Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke, "Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing," *Oxford History of Historical Writing*, Vol. 4: 1800-1945, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 559.

³³⁵ Akbayrak, p. 4.

³³⁶ İlber Ortaylı, *Gelenekten Geleceğe*. İstanbul: Ufuk Kitapları, 2004, pp. 44-45.

³³⁷ Akbayrak, p. 1.

³³⁸ Kafadar and Karateke, pp. 559-560.

4.4 Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnamesi and History Education

As to the entrance of history teaching in educational system, Europe and the Ottoman Empire had different experiments. In Europe, history teaching took part in the school curriculums in parallel with the emergence of modern-nation states, and it was perceived as a complementary element of social discipline in order to indoctrinate patriotism.³³⁹ This patriotist approach in history education was the product of the Romanticism, which was an influential approach in history writing from the mid-eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth century.³⁴⁰ In the nineteenth century, which was the period of professionalization of historical studies, “historical studies everywhere became increasingly political and ideological,” and they were “closely related to the strong currents of nationalism.”³⁴¹ Both German and French historians went into cultural and political history of their nations wholeheartedly in order to enhance the self-confidence of their nations.³⁴² Consequently, the Romantic approach in national history reached its peak in the nineteenth century and each nation started to involve in a profound endeavour in order to define the history of their nations.³⁴³ However, their interpretation was different from each other. While the Germans focused on language and culture, the French laid stress on their national and political victories.³⁴⁴

³³⁹ Zihni Merey, “Dünyada ve Türkiye’de Tarih Eğitiminin Tarihsel Gelişimi,” *Tarih Nasıl Öğretilir?*, ed. Mustafa Safran, pp. İstanbul: Yeni İnsan Yayınevi, 2010, p. 27.

³⁴⁰ Ersanlı, p. 26. For a detailed reading for Romanticism see Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction*, London; New York: Routledge, 1999.

³⁴¹ George Iggers, “The Professionalization of Historical Studies,” *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, ed. Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza, Oxford; Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002, p. 235. As George Iggers puts “It appears that the historians went into the archives by no means open to what the sources would tell them but to find confirmation for their preconceptions.” George Iggers, “The Professionalization of Historical Studies,” p. 235. Since the study does not aim to give an overview on development of western historical thought, for a detailed readings see: Ernest Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*, Chicago, 1983; Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: from scientific objectivity to the postmodern challenge*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005; Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction*, London; New York: Routledge, 1999.

³⁴² Ersanlı, pp. 27-28.

³⁴³ Ibid, p. 28.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 27-28.

The concept of “national identity” was introduced to history education by Romanticism, which focused on the past sympathetically in order to gain self-confidence.³⁴⁵ According to Michelet, one of the prominent figures of French Romantics, history gained a political meaning with the “love of fatherland,” in this respect, the key figure at the center of his *History of France* was the French nation, with its unique spirit.³⁴⁶ He asserts in *the People*, the “Frenchmen of all conditions, of all classes, remember one thing: you have but one sure friend on this earth-France.”³⁴⁷ Moreover, the members of French Ecole Methodique constitute a crucial place in assembling the role of education with politics through the history.³⁴⁸ There was a consensus among the members of Ecole Methodique including Victor Duruy, Guizot, Gabriel Monod, Charles Seignobos, Hipolyte Taine and Ernest Lavisse that history education had a decisive role on national education.³⁴⁹ To illustrate, Seignobos claimed that history should be taught in schools as civics and history instructors should undertake the mission of educating the future citizens.³⁵⁰ In this regard, it can be said that the French Ecole Medhodique approach to history was highly pragmatic since they perceived history as a key tool in generating patriotic citizens.

In the Ottoman context, *Mâarif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnamesi* systematically institutionalized history courses in all tiers of education.³⁵¹ The act extended history courses, which were originally limited with a few of higher educational institutions, into the curriculums of all educational institutions over the Empire at all levels of education. In other words, history education became a part of public education. As to answering the question why history instruction was introduced to Ottoman public education as a separate discipline, it is hard to speak of the abovementioned process

³⁴⁵ Ersanlı, p. 29.

³⁴⁶ Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: ancient, medieval and modern*, 2nd ed., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994, p.241.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 241.

³⁴⁸ Ersanlı, p. 31.

³⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 31.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 33.

³⁵¹ Alpagun, p. 263.

which was experienced by the Empire's contemporaries in the West. Nevertheless, it may be explained through the French influence and the change in the history understanding of the period.

The traditional history understanding which was mainly dominated by narration of events in an annalistic manner with a divine causation started to change during the *Tanzimat Era*.³⁵² However, this was not a great departure from the traditional, like the “two-fold nature of the *Tanzimat*”³⁵³ traditional or old-fashion and new existed together.³⁵⁴ In his *Tarih-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye*, Hayrullah Efendi demonstrated the expanding horizons of the Tanzimat history understanding. Apart from the some exceptional historians such as Peçevi, Hazerfenn Hüseyin Efendi, Kâtip Çelebi of preceding periods, the Ottoman historians were limited with their own time and place. In other words, their pens were limited with the world in which they lived.³⁵⁵ Their perception of time and place was not based on the synchronization the history of other countries with that of the Ottoman Empire.³⁵⁶ In his history, Hayrullah Efendi covered the events of the Empire with of her European contemporary's in a synchronized manner.³⁵⁷ In the preliminary of his history he also heralds the “new history” which go beyond the traditional annalistic style, he asserts that he was to evaluate the history of the empire by devoting separate chapters to each sultan. This kind of history understanding shaped around the Ottoman dynasty was evaluated as a consequence to unite the whole subjects of the empire around the Ottoman Dynasty regardless of their ethnic and religious differences in order to keep empire intact and prevent her from dissolution.³⁵⁸

³⁵² Mükrimin Yinanç, "Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete Kadar Bizde Tarihçilik", *Tanzimat I*, İstanbul: Maârif Matbaası, 1940, p. 573.

³⁵³ Ercüment Kuran, “Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period,” *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis, London: Oxford University Press, 1962, p.422.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 422.

³⁵⁵ İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı Tarih Yazıcılığının Evrimi Üzerine Düşünceler", *Tarih ve Sosyoloji Semineri.Bildiriler*.ed. Sevil Atauz, İstanbul: iOEF Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 1991, p. 423.

³⁵⁶ Ersanlı, p. 42.

³⁵⁷ Zeki Arıkan, “Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Tarihçilik” *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. I, İstanbul, 1986, p. 1584; p. 1587; Yinanç, pp. 578-579.

³⁵⁸ Arıkan, p. 1584.

The use of history also changed during the Tanzimat Era as well. History was used originally as an instrument to attribute a specific mission to the sultans in a legendary or praised manner, to giving advice and future orientation to the sultans in the genre known “*nasihatnâme*” and to achieve the political legitimization.³⁵⁹ This pragmatic approach to history gained new dimensions during the *Tanzimat Era*, history became a unit of analysis to prevent the Empire from collapse, and historians started to use history in a pragmatic manner in order to analyze the stagnation that entirely encompassed the whole aspects of their society.³⁶⁰ In addition, history which was originally limited with the elite gained a broader audience. It started to be perceived as a tool to educate civilian and military bureaucracy as well as ordinary people. In the preliminary of his history, Hayrullah Efendi asserts that he wrote his history for the sake of benefit of people.³⁶¹ The notion or emphasis on “benefit of people” could be observed in the correspondances between Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and Ahmed Midhat Efendi. Ahmed Midhat Efendi submitted his history to Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and asked for an advice. Ahmed Midhat Efendi asserted that Ahmed Cevdet Pasha’s advices would be beneficial not only for himself but also for the people.³⁶²

Some of the members of abovementioned French Ecole Methodique (Victor Duruy, Guizot, Gabriel Monod, Charles Seignobos, Hipolyte Taine and Ernest Lavisse...) were influential figures in the history of Ottoman education as well as history writing. As previously mentioned, Victor Duruy, French Minister of Education, was invited to İstanbul and his report proposed the Ottoman government constituted the basis of the *Nizâmnâme*.³⁶³ He was a celebrated educator and historian as well as defender of newly founded Republican regime in France.³⁶⁴ As the other members of Ecole Methodique, he believed in decisive role of history teaching in

³⁵⁹ Ortaylı, *Gelenekten Geleceğe*, 2004, pp. 41-42.

³⁶⁰ Ersanlı, p. 51.

³⁶¹ Hayrullah Efendi, *Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye Tarihi*, prep. Zuhuri Danişman, İstanbul: Son Havadis Yayınları, 1971, p.6.

³⁶² Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir 40-Tetimme*, p.237.

³⁶³ Shaw and Shaw, pp. 107-108.

³⁶⁴ Ersanlı, p. 32.

generating citizens. It should be remembered that the French reform program sent in 1867, as previously mentioned in the second chapter, offered instruction of history in university in order to train generations who would implement the reforms in the future.³⁶⁵

In addition, one of the most notable Ottoman historians Ahmed Cevdet Pasha defined Taine and Michelet as one of the most influential historians on him.³⁶⁶ Although Michelet was not a member of Ecole Methodique, he also aimed the progress, solidarity and formation of identity through the history education, as other French historians.³⁶⁷ Such a pragmatic approach to history could be observed in the preamble of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's *Tarih-i Devlet-i Aliyye*. From the viewpoint of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, "history does not only consist of gathering accurate information about the events, and the duty of a historian is to give people useful news and investigate the real causes of the events from which people can take a lesson."³⁶⁸ Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's definition of history is crucial to understand his expectation from history and history education, which is highly pragmatic. As he puts in his *Tarih-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye*, "Since man has a natural aptitude for comprehending past and future affairs, and perhaps also for unlocking the secrets of eternities past and future, humanity's spiritual need for this science [history] is evident,"³⁶⁹ which demonstrates that he perceived history as a necessary matter for humanbeing. In addition, as Ahmed Cevdet Pasha puts, "historians must explain these exemplary events in an explicit and fluent manner,"³⁷⁰ which indicates his aim to reach wider audience by writing in a simple and explicit language.³⁷¹

³⁶⁵ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VII, p. 337.

³⁶⁶ Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Tarihçi Cevdet Paşa," *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa Semineri*, 27-28 Mayıs 1985, *Bidiriler*, İstanbul: İUEF Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 1986, p.111.

³⁶⁷ Ersanlı, p. 30.

³⁶⁸ *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol. 1, İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, n.d., p. 23.

³⁶⁹ The translation is quoted from the cover page of Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, n.p.

³⁷⁰ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol 1, p. 23.

³⁷¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Tarihi Nasıl İncelenir?*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003, p. 223.

Similarly, Namık Kemal was influenced from another Ecole Methodique member, Guizot who asserted that one's affection to his/her fatherland was directly related with being conscious of the past of that fatherland.³⁷² Namık Kemal, in the preface of his *Ottoman History*, claims that "History is essential not only for the state but also for the individuals within the society."³⁷³ Another member of Ecole Methodique, Charles Seignobos, was a very influential figure on Ottoman history education and history writing. However, he became only after the Second Constitutional Era, in which the fast of history was broken.³⁷⁴ His several books were taught in various schools throughout the era.³⁷⁵ As Yusuf Akçura puts "by the declaration of the Second Constitution, a reign of Seignobos started in the Ottoman schools."³⁷⁶ Explaining introduction of history teaching in public education by solely giving reference to the French influence and the change in understanding of history, however, prevents us to see the big picture.

4.4.1 Secularization of Curricula and History Education to teach reading in Ottoman Turkish as well as to teach Ottoman Turkish

When the modernization of the Ottoman education is considered, the process required the secularization of curriculum, especially, as in the second part of the study mentioned; educational developments followed the declaration of *Islahat Fermanı* required a more secular educational system beyond and above communal diversity in the secondary tier of education. However, as regards to the condition of the primary education, the secularization of the curriculums had another meaning which depended on a long-term necessity.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, modernization of education followed a top-down path. Put it differently, the establishment of modernized higher institutions were followed by preparatory schools in order to bring up students to be

³⁷² Ersanlı, p. 53.

³⁷³ Merey, pp. 31-32.

³⁷⁴ Yusuf Akçura, "Bizde Tarih Yazmak ve Okutmak Usullerine Dair," *Milli Tarihin İnşası: Makaleler*, ed. Ahmet Şimşek and Ali Satan, İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitapevi, 2011, p. 159.

³⁷⁵ Mülkrimin Yinanç, p. 95; Fuat Köprülü, "Bizde Tarih ve Müverrihler Hakkında," p.33.

³⁷⁶ Akçura, "Bizde Tarih Yazmak ve Okutmak Usullerine Dair," p. 159.

educated in these institutions. The main problem was the inefficiency of the primary education to provide newly founded schools with qualified students. Consequently, the state started to involve in public education which was a communal matter originally. Although steps for reforming primary education had started to be taken since 1846, the state could not achieve reform in primary education due to lack of supervision, teachers etc... Therefore, intermediary schools were opened in order to fill the gap between modernized educational institutions and primary education. *Rüşdiye* schools for public education were designed in order to fill this gap. However, the inefficiency of primary education demoted the level of education offered in the *rüşdiye* schools. The problem was that since primary education was religious and limited to the Koranic instruction, pupils graduated from these schools without gaining the ability of reading and writing in Ottoman. The incompetency of graduates of *sıbyan* schools became more apparent during the entrance examinations to *rüşdiye* schools which solely tested the capacity of pupils regarding reading and writing in Ottoman.³⁷⁷ To illustrate, the reports proposed to reform primary education insistently complain about the inefficiency of graduates of *sıbyan* schools and asserts that they did not read the texts without vowel points as well as did not know the counting.³⁷⁸ The insufficiency of primary education laid a burden on *rüşdiye* schools to train students in reading and writing.³⁷⁹ Consequently, although *rüşdiyes* were opened as secondary institutions, in the course of time, they turned into primary institutions. Therefore, the process resulted in establishment of another intermediary institution, *idadis*, above the *rüşdiyes*. In his proposal submitted to the Porte in 1873, Ahmed Cevdet expressed his concern about the issue and claimed that as the agenda regarding public education remained limited with establishing *rüşdiyes*, the progress in science in accordance with the necessities of the state could not be materialized.³⁸⁰

As the decrees regarding reforming public education put into consideration, it seems that the remedy of inefficiency of primary education Ottoman bureaucrats was

³⁷⁷ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 72.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 72.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 72.

³⁸⁰ Y. EE. 37/47 27 Şevval 1290 (18 November 1873)

the secularization of curriculum. In 1868, *Meclis-i Maârif* issued a report to the Porte proposing the reform of *sıbyan* schools, which were defined as “preparatory schools to *rüşdiyes*,” and called for preparation a new curriculum for these schools.³⁸¹ Similarly, in the same year, Suphi Pasha, Minister of Education, prepared a report for reforming *sıbyan schools* and proposed to add non-religious courses such as ortography, geography, mathematics into the curricula.³⁸² In the same vein, Mithad Pasha, in 1866, put down a report, which proposed to reform *rüşdiye* schools, and asserted that the courses such as “Turkish, history, geography, natural history, geometry, mathematics and foreign languages” must be put into the curriculum of these schools.³⁸³ The inefficiency of the *sıbyan* schools which decreased the quality of education offered in *rüşdiyes* was underlined even in the justification part of the Nizamname.³⁸⁴ The proposals were materialized by the *Nizâmnâme* which made essential changes in the curricula of schools.³⁸⁵ While religious courses continued to constitute the backbone of the *sıbyan* schools as well as *rüşdiyes*, their curricula started to involve secular courses such as history, geography, counting, physics, and history of nature.³⁸⁶ In other words, the curricula were secularized.

As abovementioned context is put into consideration, it seems that one of the reasons for adding history courses to public education was to achieve the twin goals of providing sufficiently literate and qualified students for higher levels, which could only be realized through secularizing the curricula. From a practical perspective, history courses did not only equip the students with information but also provided reading material. Consequently, history courses also perceived as the courses which offer reading practice. To illustrate, in his *Reh nüma-yı Muallimin*, which was a guide for the teachers of the *sıbyan* schools in order to equip them with the *Usul-u Cedide*

³⁸¹ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 72.

³⁸² Somel, “Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler,” p. 699.

³⁸³ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. VII, p. 198.

³⁸⁴ Mahmud Cevad, p. 94.

³⁸⁵ Antel, p. 461.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 461.

published in 1870, Selim Sabit Efendi, who accepted as the first Ottoman pedagog, defines history as a source for the reading courses.³⁸⁷

Moreover, as previously mentioned in the first chapter, as early as 1839, in *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye*, history courses were to be designed in order to teach French to students. Although the attempt failed as previously mentioned, it was a strong indication that history was perceived as one of the key tools to teach languages. The study of Selçuk Akşin Somel shows that state aimed to disseminate education in provinces in order to prevent separatist or nationalist movements in the provinces and the remedy was to educate the local populace as well as to teach them Ottoman Turkish.³⁸⁸ In doing so, the state anticipated to provide loyalty to the state as well as to secure its integrity.

The documents obtained from the Ottoman archives could support these assertions. The document which is previously evaluated under the title of Official History is very crucial to facilitate understanding the state aim which seems to teach Ottoman through history.³⁸⁹ To remember the document, it was about a history book planned to be taught in schools *Meclis-i Maârif* in order to be considered. As previously mentioned *Meclis-i Maârif* founded harmful ideas within the content of the book and asserted that the book is inappropriate to teach schools without removing its harmful content. For one more reason, which is very important for supporting the assertion of the study, *Meclis-i Maârif* considered the book inappropriate that was book written in Arabic. It is declared that “since it is aimed and wished to teach Turkish language (*lisan-ı Türkîyye*) to local populace live in such locations in which *elsine-i selâse* (three language: Ottoman, Persian and Arabic) were spoken such as Arabia. In this respect history is taught in Ottoman in such localities, there is no need to purchase this book.” A document sent to all provincial governors over the Empire declared that the books regarding *hikmet-i tabiiyye* (physics) and *tarih-i tabii* (history of nature) to be sent to all *rüşdiyes*, since “the practice and instruction of these books have beneficial effect on reading in Turkish

³⁸⁷ Baymur, p. 14.

³⁸⁸ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 100-102. As the evaluation of this issue requires separate studies, we do not go in details, for a detailed reading see Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908), İslâmlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*.

³⁸⁹ MF.MKT. 16/75 1290 Zilkade 16 (5 January 1874)

(*kıraat-ı Türkiyye*) as well as science”³⁹⁰ Similarly document sended to Cyprus *mutasarrıflığı* indicates that history books was taught to the students to make them aquinted with reading Turkish by themselves.³⁹¹ Similarly, in a correspondance addressed to the teacher of Trablus Şam *Rüşdiyesi*, it is declared that “it is intended to teach students Turkish” through instructing history books.”³⁹²

One more point to be made about teacing to read Ottoman, even in 1893, when the history course was removed from the curriculum of *sıbyan* schools in provinces during the reign of Abdülhamid II, it is declared that in the reading couses history and geography books would be taught the students.³⁹³ In this regard, it is important to propose a proper reason why history courses were used in order to teach reading in Turkish. As mentioned above, the memorization of Arabic language in education made impossible to formate literate generations knowing read and write in Ottoman Turkish, since the existing primary educational system for public education based on memorization of Arabic which did not correspond to the need of the state. Hence, the existing system had to be reformed through introducing more secular courses in order to enhance reading as well as writing skills in Ottoman. However, as Enver Ziya Karal puts “the dominance and the reaction of medrese mentality was too greate that Turkish courses existed with Arabic and Persian courses rather than taught as a separate course in the schools curricula.”³⁹⁴ In this context, history courses laid a suitable ground for the state to achieve these goals.

One should remember that the aforesaid era was the period in which cruical attemps were made in order to simpification of language and determination of the language of education as Ottoman Language, as Antel puts, was “the most important and auspicious reform in education of the *Tanzimat*.”³⁹⁵ In this regard, there was an

³⁹⁰ **MF.MKT.** 1/ 22 02 Rebiülahir 1289 (9 June 1872) See Appendix 3

³⁹¹ **MF. MKT.** 21/167 22 Şevval 1291 (2 December 1874).

³⁹² **MF.MKT.** 3/150 1289 Cemaziyyelahır 13 (18 August 1872)

³⁹³ Baymur, pp. 15-16.

³⁹⁴ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Cilt VI, p. 180.

³⁹⁵ Antel, p. 461. For a detailed reading on simplification of language see: Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Dil Sorunu*, Osmanlı Tarihinde Dil Sorunu, İstanbul: TTK, 1978. Karal, historically analyzes the problem of Turkish language and defines two important era in which Turkish had to compete with other languages. Karal claims that after the reign of Mehmed II, Turkish entered into a

interesting parallelism in the activities of *Encümen-i Daniş* (Committee of Scholars). The emphasis was on the language of the books that “they would be written in simple Turkish,”³⁹⁶ which became the primary goal of the *Encümen-i Daniş*.³⁹⁷ The first product of the committee was *Kavaid-i Osmani* (Ottoman Grammar) written by Fuad and Ahmed Cevdet Pashas and the second was the history book of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha’s *Tarih-i Devlet-i Aliyye* (History of the Ottoman Empire). In the preliminary of his history, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha emphasizes the importance of the writing in a simple language and claims that “history is neither a demonstration of knowledge or skill by using heavy and elaborated sentences”³⁹⁸ and asserts that he will write his history in a simple language, which indicates his aim to convey his history “from which people could take a lesson.”³⁹⁹

4.4.2 History Education in Guiding Subjects to Allegiance

As previously mentioned, in the nineteenth century, the Empire struggled for survival and sought for a new kind of allegiance to the state and the sultan in order to provide social cohesion within the society, which found its reflection in the realm of ideology as Ottomanism. Not surprisingly, Ottomanism was also “the ideology behind the education”⁴⁰⁰ until 1876. In this respect, the reasons behind the introduction of history courses into public education can be evaluated within the

competition with Greek and Arabic and foreign elements penetrated into Turkish language. The agencies of the procedure were the Orthodox Church which easily developed the Greek language on the Turkish land thanks to the recognition by the Ottoman state and *İlmiyye* (The Learned Man) institution which tried to establish the domination of Arabic on scientific and educational domains. The process entered a new phase during the reign of Selim II, the conquest of Egypt strengthened the position of Arabic and Persian became dominant in the literature; indeed, several Arabic and Persian words and language rules entered into spoken language and folk literature. The dominance of Arabic and Persian languages on Turkish changed with the *Tanzimat Era*. By the promulgation of the Rescript of the Rose Chamber and Reform Edict of 1856, the Ottoman state declared its intention to generate a new order which composed of the subjects shared common values regardless of religion. In this context, the question in which language the state was going to address the subjects necessitated the simplification of the language.

³⁹⁶ Antel, p. 448.

³⁹⁷ Christoph K. Neuman, *Araç Tarih Amaç Tanzimat, Tarih-i Cevdet'in Siyasi Anlamı*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p. 20.

³⁹⁸ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol. 1, p. 23.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol 1, p. 23.

⁴⁰⁰ Evered, p. 198.

same context. History is a course which includes the discourse of identity.⁴⁰¹ In this respect, it can be said that the state attribute an importance to history courses in order to indoctrinate an allegiance to the state and the sultan.

The notion of love of fatherland, as Mehmet Ö. Alkan points out, could be traced back to the report of *Meclis-i Umur-ı Nafia* (Council of Useful Affairs) published in 1838.⁴⁰² The report declared that people who were ignorant and deprived of education could not be able aware of the state to which they owed their presence and could not have *hubb-u vatan* (love of homeland).⁴⁰³ It can be deduced from the report that education perceived as a tool to indoctrinate allegiance to the state and of patriotism. In the following years the similar notion *muhabbet-i vataniye* (affection for homeland) appeared in the specification of the history books.⁴⁰⁴ In the specification, it is declared that the books should put a special emphasis on the issues and subjects regarding affection for homeland.⁴⁰⁵ In this regard, it seems that history education was perceived as a tool to indoctrinate patriotism. Put it differently, history education was used to train subjects which were loyal to their state, sultan, and fatherland.

It should be kept in mind that although the *Tanzimat* bureaucrats introduced the notions of fatherland and love of fatherland into political dicourse, their chief opponent's, Namık Kemal, interpretation of these notions which gained a highly patriotic meaning with his famous play, *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, created a political crisis due to the demonstrations made after the play was performed.⁴⁰⁶ Mehmet Ö. Alkan points out that the final of the play was different in the official and illegal editions. While the final of illegal edition was "Long live the Faterland! Long live Ottomans!," the play was ended with "Long live my Sultan! Long live my

⁴⁰¹ Copeaux, p. 5.

⁴⁰² Alkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim", p. 30.

⁴⁰³ Mahmud Cevad, p. 8.

⁴⁰⁴ *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 241.

⁴⁰⁵ Mustafa Safran, "Osmanlı Tarihi Öğretimi ve Osmanlı İmajı," XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 2002, s. 823.

⁴⁰⁶ Alkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim", p. 30.

Sultan!”⁴⁰⁷ In this regard, it can be said that the state aimed keep the state and sultan at the center rather than the patriotic love of fatherland.

In this respect, the text-books in which matters associated with the *muhabbet-i vataniye* were praised and eulogized could be accepted another indicator of the state’s Ottomanism policy, since text-books “transmit culture, mirror values and serves as a springboard in intellectual development of both people and nations.”⁴⁰⁸ The key figures of the books were the Ottoman sultans their deeds and their endeavors to the civilization were graced. Selim Sabit’s *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî* devoted a separate chapter to each sultan. At the end of each chapter, Selim Sabit mentioned the endeavors of the sultan to the civilization. Similarly, Nişancı Mehmed Pasha’s history, which was a sixteenth century history, was written as a dynastic history. His euology of the sultans was much greater than Selim Sabit’s work, since it was a dynastic history. Even choosing history of Nişancı Mehmed Pasha as a source indicates the the state’s aim to praise the state and the sultan. In addition, they were written from a state-centered point of view. To illustrate, Ahmed Vefik Pasha, in his *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmanî*, condemned misdeeds of Janissaries as much as possible.⁴⁰⁹ In addition, the books had complementary elements such as maps showed the lands of the Empire and tables indicated the members of the Ottoman dynasty which can be evaluated as an attempt to inspire the allegiance to the state and the sultan. Moreover, the state’s attempt for supervision of these textbooks, as previously mentioned, demonstrates that the state attached importance to the role of texts in the process of formation of loyalty.

⁴⁰⁷ Alkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim”, p. 30.

⁴⁰⁸ Somel, *Osmanlı’da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 236.

⁴⁰⁹ Ahmed Vefik. *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmânî*, İstanbul, 1287 (1872), pp. 288-289.

4.4.3 History Education in the First Tier of Education: *Sıbyan* and *Rüşdiye* Schools

4.4.3.1 History Education in the *Sıbyan* Schools

The *Nizâmnâme* organized a separate educational system for the Muslims and non-Muslims in the elementary level. In this regard, it was declared that at least one *sıbyan* school would be in every districts or villages for the Muslims as well as non-Muslims. In addition, there would be separate *sıbyan* schools for the Muslims and for the non-Muslims in the heterogenous vilages and districts.⁴¹⁰ The duration of *sıbyan* education was four years. It is compulsory for girls between the ages of six and ten and for boys between the ages of seven and eleven to attend *sıbyan* schools. As the courses to be taught in the *sıbyan* schools⁴¹¹ were put into consideration, it was desired to train students who were literate and acquainted with principles of their religion and calculation through the combination of traditional and modern education.⁴¹²

As regards history teaching in *sıbyan* schools, the course of *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî* (Concise Ottoman History) was listed in the *Nizâmnâme*.⁴¹³ It was noted that this lesson would be given to non-Muslims in their own language.⁴¹⁴ This note can be evaluated that the state wanted to eliminate the barrier of language while transmitting patriotic values to non-Muslims. In the same vein, the anniversary of accession of the Sultan to the throne defined as holiday for all-schools in the Article 8, which can be evaluated as a sign to praise the sultan presence.

⁴¹⁰ *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 184.

⁴¹¹ The course list of the *sıbyan* schools: “Arabic alphabet according to the new-method (non-Muslim children will be taught the Fundamentals of their own religion, and they will be taught by teachers designated by their own religious leaders), the Holy *Qur'an*, *Tevcit*, treatises concerning morality, catechism, hand writing, concise arithmetic, concise Ottoman history, concise geography (these courses [i.e. history and geography] will be taught to non-Muslims in their own language), treatise containing useful information.” Evered, p.207.

⁴¹² Alkan, “İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim,” p. 106.

⁴¹³ *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 184-185.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid*, 185.

The content and sources of the Ottoman history courses taught in the elementary schools could be understood from the statements published in the *Düstur* (legal laws and regulations of the Ottoman state). In Safer 16, 1287 (May 18, 1870), the *Telif ve Tercüme Nizâmnâmesi* (the Publication and Translation Regulation) was published.⁴¹⁵ In the *nizâmnâme*, it is declared that several books and pamphlets regarding languages and sciences to be taught in the all tiers of education would be published or translated as stated in the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi*. After stating that the process would be initiated with the sources to be used in the elementary schools, the terms regarding the books and pamphlets to be published or translate were defined.⁴¹⁶ According to the declaration, the books and pamphlets would be written in a simple and unsophisticated language as much as possible and they would not bore the students, on the contrary, students would be enthused by them.⁴¹⁷ In this respect, it stated that competitions for translation and publication of the books and pamphlets would be organized and the winners would be awarded.

The specification regarding the Ottoman history course book was crucial to understand the content of the course as well as the bureaucratic expectations from the course. It is declared that the Ottoman history book would include

an introduction explained in which circumstances the Ottoman Empire emerged and the conditions of contemporary countries of the period; all the important events occurred from the emergence of the Ottoman Empire up to this time; a table including the birth, enthronement and death of all the Ottoman sultans; a table including chronology of the serious events explained in this book; a map shows the lands of the Ottoman Empire located in the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa; [In addition] the reign of the each Ottoman sultan graced the throne up to now would be narrated in a chapter; events would be narrated impartially however the issues associated with the *muhabbet-i vataniye* (affection for homeland) would be praised and eulogized; since this book would be written in narrative any judgement would be made only the virtue and beauty [would be mentioned] and misdeed transferred within the book would be condemned; (...)⁴¹⁸

The statements in the specification facilitate to penetrate into the bureaucratic expectations of the government from history courses. The official ideology of the state demonstrated itself in the specification. First of all, it was aimed to provide

⁴¹⁵ *Düstur*, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, pp. 231-245.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 231.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 231.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 241.

loyalty to the Empire through “a map shows the lands of the Ottoman Empire located in the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa” which indoctrinated the pupils with love of homeland.⁴¹⁹ In the same vein, it could be said that it was aimed to create a sense of loyalty through the sultans, since the Empire’s history was designed to be taught as a dynastic history. Because the book was divided into separate chapters, which covers “the reign of the each Ottoman sultan graced the throne up to now.” Another statement in which the state’s Ottomanist policy demonstrates itself is “the issues associated with the *muhabbet-i vataniye* (affection for homeland) would be praised and eulogized.” In addition, it can be said that it was aimed to discipline the pupils through history courses, since it stated that “the virtue and beauty [would be mentioned] and misdeed transferred within the book would be condemned.”

Selim Sabit Efendi’s *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî* was the winner of the competition and the first Ottoman history book taught in elementary schools.⁴²⁰ The book is defined as “the ancestors of the history books”⁴²¹ for elementary schools. The book was published for several times and in the course of the next thirty years from 1880’s, children grown up with the Selim Sabit’s books.⁴²² When the book’s content is put into consideration, each part covers a reign of a specific Ottoman sultan, as stated in the specification. At the end of each part, the birth, enthronement and death of the sultan whose period is covered are mentioned.

As previously mentioned, elementary education was given to Muslims and non-Muslims separately; however, these schools gave education in line with the same curricula declared in the *Nizâmnâme*. As to history education given to the non-Muslims in *sıbyan* schools, the history course would be taught to non-Muslims in their own language as stated in the *Nizâmnâme*.⁴²³ Consequently, this necessitated

⁴¹⁹ Benjamin Fortna’s *The Imperial Classroom* explains the crucial impact of maps on pupils through the memoirs written by the students trained during the reign of Abdülhamid II.

⁴²⁰ Bahri Ata, “Selim Sabit Efendi’nin Okul Tarihi İnşası,” *Türk Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2009, p. 383.

⁴²¹ Sakaoğlu, “İlköğretim Okullarında Tarih Eğitimi,” s.146.

⁴²² Ata, p.378.

⁴²³ Evered, p.207.

the translation of the books and pamphlets regarding history books. In this regard, *Telif ve Tercüme Dairesi* (Publication and Translation Bureau) was established within the Ministry of Education in order to meet the necessity of text books.⁴²⁴ The document dated February 7, 1875 facilitates us to understand the nature of the non-Muslim history education. It was issued that books regarding history, geography and arithmetic which were brought from Austria would be published after the content of the books were supervised and their harmful content was removed.⁴²⁵

4.4.3.2 History Education in *Rüşdiye* Schools

Rüşdiye schools which can be defined as the “basic secondary or advanced primary institutions,”⁴²⁶ offered a four-year education and a separate education for the Muslims as well as non-Muslims.⁴²⁷ In the *Nizamname*, it is declared that every town with more than five-hundred houses would have a *rüşdiye*. As to the courses to be taught in *rüşdiye* schools, there was a mixture of religious and secular lessons,⁴²⁸ that is why a separate education was designed in these schools.⁴²⁹

With regard to *rüşdiye* schools for girls, they were similarly opened for the Muslims as well as non-Muslims separately. *Rüşdiye* schools for girls offered a four-year education as well, and taught useful knowledge for housewifery such as household economy, drawing to help embroidery, and sewing.⁴³⁰ As the courses to be taught in *rüşdiye* schools for boys and girls were put into consideration, there was a

⁴²⁴ Mahmud Cevad, p. 111.

⁴²⁵ MF. MKT 25/1 1 Muharrem 1292 (7 January 1875)

⁴²⁶ Evered, p.309.

⁴²⁷ Düstur, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 188.

⁴²⁸ The course list of *rüşdiye* schools: “Introduction to religious sciences, Ottoman grammar, Arabic and Persian through modern methods, bookkeeping, arithmetic, drawing/drafting, introduction to geometry, General history and Ottoman history, geography, gymnastics, the language commonly used in the area of the school.” Evered, p.210.

⁴²⁹ Düstur, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p.187.

⁴³⁰ The course list of *rüşdiye* schools for girls: “Introduction to religious sciences, Ottoman grammar, introduction to Arabic and Persian grammar, orthography and composition, selections from literature, household economy, concise history and geography, arithmetic and bookkeeping, drawing to help embroidery, sewing, music (not required).” Evered, pp.213.

distinction in terms of their educational target. While boys wanted to be prepared to professional life, girls were acquainted with domestic life.

As to history teaching, *Tarih-i Umumî* (General History) and *Tarih-i Osmanî* (Ottoman History) courses were to be taught according to the *Nizâmnâme*.⁴³¹ As to history teaching in *rüşdiye* schools for girls, *Muhtasar Tarih ve Coğrafya* (Concise history and geography) would be offered in these schools.⁴³² In the Article twenty-three and twenty-nine, it is declared that the courses would be taught in own language of each community.⁴³³ The same course list was published in the “*Umum Mekatib-i Rüşdiyyenin Nizamname-i dahilisi*” on September 22, 1870.⁴³⁴

As regards to the text-books were taught in *rüşdiye*s, the sole book is mentioned in the second hand literature is Ahmed Vefik Pasha’s *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmanî* (Summary of the Ottoman History) for the *Tanzimat Era*.⁴³⁵ In fact the book which was the first initiative in compilation history text-books became very influential on the subsequent initiatives. Ahmet Mithat Efendi, Mansurizade Mustafa Pasha, Murat Bey, Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi followed the Ahmed Vefik Pasha’s division and classification of history in their works, in this respect, it constituted an example or a model for the other text-books.⁴³⁶ In the light of the documents, it can be said that the book was published several times throughout the last decade of the *Tanzimat Era* and distributed various *rüşdiye* schools over the Empire. The book was published at least three times,⁴³⁷ and sent to various schools.⁴³⁸ The point to be made

⁴³¹ Düstur, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 188.

⁴³² Ibid, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 189.

⁴³³ Ibid., Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, pp. 188-189.

⁴³⁴ Ibid, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, p. 249.

⁴³⁵ Nil Türker Tekin, “Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet’in ilk yıllarına Tarih Öğretimi ve Ders Kiaplarına Genel Bir Bakış,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, Vol. 105, 2005 p. 51; Alpagan, pp. 264-265; Somel, *Osmanlı’da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 244.

⁴³⁶ Yinanç, p.573.

⁴³⁷ **MF.MKT** 42/92 9 Şaban 1293 (30 August 1876), **MF. MKT.** 8/17 13 Zilkade 1295 (12 January 1873).

⁴³⁸ The schools to which the copies of *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmanî* were sent are Birecik and Rumkale rüşdiye schools in Halep Province (**MF. MKT.** 3/23 22 Cemaziyel Evvel 1289/ 21 July 1872), Florina Rüşdiye School (**MF. MKT.** 7/20 24 Şaban 1289/ 27 October 1872), Berkofça rüşdiye school

is, when the documents are put into consideration, the sole book was taught in *rüşdiye* schools was not *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmanî*. For example, in 1872, one hundred copies of *Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Tarihi* (History of Nişancı Mehmed Pasha) was purchased for *rüşdiye* schools.⁴³⁹ A year later, in 1873, three thousand copies of *Nişancı Mehmed Pasha Tarihi* were published in order to be instructed in *rüşdiyes*.⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, according to a document dated on October 10, 1873, “since there is no copy of *Esmarü’-t-Tevarih* (Fruits of Histories) in the library of *Meclis-i Maârif*, this time Fezleke was sent” to Silivri *rüşdiye* school.⁴⁴¹ Similarly, in 1875, Şevki Efendi’s *Tarih-i Osmanî* (Ottoman History) was accepted as an appropriate book for *rüşdiyes* and given publication licence.⁴⁴² The point to be made is that it seems that there was lack of standardization in the books instructed in *rüşdiyes*, which may be resulted from the frequent shifts in the office of Minister of Education. As the tenures of the Ministers of Education in between 1869-1876 are analyzed,⁴⁴³ the average was six month. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha occupied the post for eleven months, which was the longest term of office, while Ahmed Kemal Pasha was in office for three months, which was the shortest tenure.

As to *Tarih-i Umumî* text books, Zeki Arıkan points out that *Mirat-ı Tarih-i Osmanî* (Mirror of the Ottoman History) was instructed in *rüşdiyes*.⁴⁴⁴ This 459-page book was published, as written its last page, on September 16, 1876 (26 Şaban 1293).⁴⁴⁵ On the cover page of the book, it was written that “The book was licenced

(MF. MKT. 9/18 2 Muharrem 1290/2 March 1873), İnebolu Rüşdiye School (MF. MKT. 5/1 12 Receb 1289/ 15 September 1872), Seydişehir Rüşdiye School (MF. MKT. 9/18 2 Muharrem 1290/2 March 1873).

⁴³⁹ MF.MKT 2/38 24 Rebiülahır 1289 (25 July 1872).

⁴⁴⁰ MF.MKT 10/65 11 Rebiülevvel 1290 (9 May 1873).

⁴⁴¹ MF. MKT 13/128 17 Şaban 1290 (10 October 1873)

⁴⁴² MF. MKT. 25/116 15 Muharrem 1292 (21 February 1875)

⁴⁴³ Calculations were made by depending on the list of Ministers of Education in Mahmud Cevad, p. 460.

⁴⁴⁴ Zeki Arıkan, “Ders Kitaplarında Avrupa Tarihi,” *Tarih Eğitimi ve Ders Kitapları Buca Sempozyumu*, ed. Salih Özböran, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.146.

⁴⁴⁵ Sami and Aziz and Şevki, *Mirat-ı Tarih-i Osmanî*, Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1293 (1876), p. 459.

by *Meclis-i Maârif* in order to be instructed in *rüşdiyes*.⁴⁴⁶ Since any other second hand sources do not involve the answer of the question what was taught in the course of *Tarih-i Umumî*, archival documents become crucial. In the light of a document on General History course, it appears that Ahmed Hilmi's *Tarih-i Umumi*, the first translated "universal history" adopted from the work of William Chambers and published 1866-78⁴⁴⁷, was taught in the *rüşdiye* schools.⁴⁴⁸ In the document, it is said that "since no copy of the book named *Tarih-i Umumî* was available in the library of *Meclis-i Maârif*, this time *Nişancı Tarihi* was sent." As the documents in the Ottoman Archives regarding the book are analyzed, *Ahmed Hilmi* was financially supported by the *Meclis-i Maârif* while writing his book, since *Meclis-i Maârif* intended to teach the book in various schools.⁴⁴⁹ However, any clear definition that the book was taught in *rüşdiye* schools; instead, it is declared that book was taught in various schools in another document.⁴⁵⁰

It seems that the first change regarding the curriculum of *rüşdiyes* was made in 1873. A commission was established in order to regulate the courses taught in these schools in 1873.⁴⁵¹ The document dated on September 2, 1873 declares that "the curriculum of *rüşdiye* schools is going to be reformed and changed viably" and listed the new course list.⁴⁵² According to the course list, in the third year of *rüşdiyes* *Tarih-i İntişa-i İslam* (history of emergence of Islam) was taught, while in the fourth year, *Tarih-i Umumi* was offered. As to *Tarih-i Osmanî*, there is no separate course as *Tarih-i Osmanî* in the curricula. Instead, *Coğrafya-i Umumî ve Osmanî* was added. The importance of the document is that the course of *Tarih-i Osmanî* was replaced with *Tarih-i İntişa-i İslam*. In the second hand literature, Islamization of history courses is related with the reign of Abdülhamid II mostly by giving reference to the

⁴⁴⁶ Sami and Aziz and Şevki, *Mirat-ı Tarih-i Osmanî*, Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaası, 1293 (1876).

⁴⁴⁷ Kafadar and Karateke, p. 567.

⁴⁴⁸ MF. MKT 15/51 18 Şevval 1290 (9 December 1873)

⁴⁴⁹ MF.MKT. 381/50 05 Muharrem 1284 (9 May 1867); MF. MKT. 4/83 01 Recep 1289 (4 September 1872)

⁴⁵⁰ ŞD. 205/52 26 Rebiülahir 1290 (23 June 1873)

⁴⁵¹ Mahmud Cevad, p. 122.

⁴⁵² Y. EE.37/86 Fi 9 Receb 1290 (2 September 1873).

curriculas published in Mahmud Cevad İbnü's Şeyh Nâfi, in his *Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrââtı*.⁴⁵³ In this regard, the document became crucial and requires more explanation.

Whether these new curricula were put into practice or not is an important question. As previously mentioned, Mahmud Cevad İbnü's Şeyh Nâfi, in his *Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrââtı*, points out that a commission was established in order to regulate the courses taught in these schools in 1873 within the *Daire-i Maârif* (the Board of Education).⁴⁵⁴ In fact, at the beginning of the same document it was declared that three idadîye schools to be opened in İstanbul and the curriculum to be implemented in these schools were pointed out. Since, these schools were opened in 1873,⁴⁵⁵ it seems that the curriculum regarding *rüşdiyes* might be put into practice. Nevertheless, it is hard to say decisively that the new curricula were put into practice. However, as we look the books were sent to the *rüşdiye* schools before and after these new curricula were issued, they were involved history of Islam in their contents. To illustrate, On 25 November 25, 1872 *Nişancı Tarihi* was purchased.⁴⁵⁶ On 9 May 1873, three thousand copies of *Nişancı Mehmed Pasha Tarihi* were published in order to send *rüşdiye* schools.⁴⁵⁷ On September 10, 1873, *Esmarü't-Tevarih* was requested from Silivri *Rüşdiye* school.⁴⁵⁸ It seems that it was aimed to equip the students with knowledge regarding history of Islam as well as history of the Empire. It is important to note that idea of reforming the curricula of *rüşdiyes* was firstly proposed by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and some of these books were purchased during his Ministry of Education. According to Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, in

⁴⁵³ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim", p. 149; Merey, p. 32.

⁴⁵⁴ Mahmud Cevad, p. 122.

⁴⁵⁵ Bayram Kodaman, p. 115. Bayram Kodaman gives reference to Yıldız, kısım 18, no. 553/457, 9 Recep 1290. The date and the content of the document used by Bayram Kodaman is the same with the abovementioned document. It seems that Bayram Kodaman used another copy of the same document. Although he does not mention the curricula regarding *Rüşdiyes*, he accepts that the document was put into practice.

⁴⁵⁶ MF. MKT24 Rebiülahir 1289 (25 November 1872)

⁴⁵⁷ MF. MKT 10/65 11 Rebiülevvel 1290 (9 May 1873)

⁴⁵⁸ MF. MKT 13/128 17 Şaban 1290 (10 October 1873)

every tiers of education at least one book regarding religion should be taught in order to strenght the religious faith of the pupils.⁴⁵⁹

4.4.4 History Education in the Second Tier of Education: *İdadîye* and *Sultanîye* Schools

The second tier of education involving the *İdadîye* schools and the *Sultanîye* was desingned to educate Muslim and non-Muslim children together, who completed *rüşdiye* class.⁴⁶⁰ According to the *Maârif-i Umumîye Nizâmnâmesi*, the *İdadîye* schools were decided to be established in towns with over one-thousand home and to offer three-year education. However, the establishment of these schools remained as a theory until 1873, in which Ahmed Cevdet Pasha issued a report to the Porte underlined the necessity to establish *idadî* schools.⁴⁶¹ Accordingly, the first *idadî* school was established on the premises of *Darülmaârif*, which was a *rüşdiye* school originally.⁴⁶² A document dated on September 2, 1873 declared that three or four *idadiyeye* schools to be opened.⁴⁶³ In this regard, the *Tanzimat Era* only witnessed the establishment process of the *İdadîye* schools and only five *idadîyes* were opened throughout the era.⁴⁶⁴ This is why any change in the curriculum of the school is observed.

In line with common education principle, there was none religious lesson in the course list of *idadîs*. According to the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnamesi*, “advanced Turkish Composition, French, Ottoman Laws, Logic, Introduction to International Economics, Geography, World History, Natural Sciences, Algebra, Arithmetic and Bookkeeping, Mathematics and Geometry, Physical Science, Chemistry and Drawing”⁴⁶⁵ were the courses to be taught in *İdadîye*. According to

⁴⁵⁹ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, pp. 234-235.

⁴⁶⁰ Evered, p. 213.

⁴⁶¹ Y. EE. 37/47 27 Şevval 1290 (18 December 1873) See Appendix 4

⁴⁶² Y. EE. 37/47 27 Şevval 1290 (18 December 1873)

⁴⁶³ Y. EE. 37/86 09 Receb 1290 (2 September 1873) See Appendix 5

⁴⁶⁴ These schools were Fatih İdadisi, Eskialipaşa İdadisi, Beşiktaş İdadisi, Darülmaârif İdadisi in İstanbul and Hanya İdadisi in Crete Province. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme Sürecinde Eğitim İstatistikleri*, 2000, pp.22-27.

the aforementioned document dated on September 2, 1873, the course list of *idadîs* was written in details, however the list was not same as in the *Nizamname*. In the course list titled *Mekatib-i İdadiye'nin Umumi Dersleri* (General Courses of the İdadî Schools) it is declared that Ottoman Grammar (*Kavaid-i Osmanî*), Arabic, Persian, Reading and Books in Turkish (*Kıraat ve Kitabat-ı Türkî*), General History and Ottoman History (*Tarih-i Umumî ve Osmanî*), Advanced Accounting (*Mükemmel Hesab*), Advanced Algebra (*Cebr-i Ali*), *Coğrafya-i Umumî ve Osmanî* (General and Ottoman Geography), Gymnastics (in acceptable places), Advanced Geometry (*Mükemmel Hendese*), Plane Trigonometry (*Müsellesat-ı Müstevi*), Drawing and Hatching, French, German, English were offered by *idadiye* schools.⁴⁶⁶

As to history teaching, it was pointed out in the *Nizamname* that the *İdadiye* included the course of *Tarih-i Umumi* (World History). However, it was declared in the document mentioned above that the *idadi* schools offered both *Tarih-i Umumi* and *Tarih-i Osmanî*. Addition of Ottoman History into curricula was a crucial attempt which indicated the aim of Ottoman bureaucrats to create an Ottoman identity. According to the document, in the first and second years of *idadiye*, history courses were taught. Moreover, it also noted that the General History courses to be instructed with the geography.⁴⁶⁷

As to the text-books taught in the *idadiye*, Yusuf Akçura asserts that Süleyman Hüsni Pasha's *Tarih-i Âlem* (History of the Universe) was instructed in the *idadîyes*.⁴⁶⁸ However, Mehmet Ö. Alkan calls for *Tarih-i Âlem* as a book instructed in military *idadiyes*.⁴⁶⁹ As Ahmed Cevdet Pasha aforementioned report is put into consideration, he asserts that the curriculum and the materials to be used in the civilian *idadîs* to be identical with the military *idadiyes*. In this vein, it can be assumed that *Tarih-i Âlem* was also taught in civilian *idadiyes*. In fact, on the first page of *Tarih-i Âlem*, it is indicated that "the book was appropriate for the second

⁴⁶⁵ Evered, p. 214.

⁴⁶⁶ Y. EE. 37/86 09 Receb 1290 (2 September 1873).

⁴⁶⁷ Y. EE. 37/86 09 Receb 1290 (2 September 1873).

⁴⁶⁸ Akçura, "Tarih Yazmak ve Okutturmak Usullerine Dair," pp. 155-156.

⁴⁶⁹ Alkan, "İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim," p. 145.

year of *idadiyes*” without making any distinction between military and civilian *idadiyes*.⁴⁷⁰

Over the *İdadiye* there was the *Sultanîye*, and unlike the prior, it was a tuition-based institution. Without considering the origin of their community, every Ottoman citizen who completed the *idadiye* schools could attend to *sultanîye*. Moreover, the students graduated from *rüşdiye* could also attend this school, since the *sultanî* schools were composed of two sections in terms of *kısm-ı adî* (lower section) and *kısm-ı sanî* (higher section).⁴⁷¹ In this regard, graduates of *rüşdiye* started to education in the lower section of the *sultanî*.

As is the case with *idadiye*, there was none religious lesson in the course list of *sultanîyes* in accordance with the common education principle. In *kısm-ı adî* (lower section) of *Sultanîye*, the course list was identical with that of *idadiye*. In this regard, “Advanced Turkish composition, French, Ottoman laws, logic, introduction to international economics, geography, world history, natural sciences, algebra, arithmetic and bookkeeping, mathematics and geometry, physical science, chemistry and drawing”⁴⁷² were the courses to be taught *kısm-ı adî* (lower section) of *Sultanîye*. In the same vein, *kısm-ı sanî* (advanced level) of *sultanîye* did have a secular course list involving “Turkish writing and composition, Arabic and Persian literature, semantics, French, international law, history”⁴⁷³ in Humanities, and “descriptive geometry, perspective, algebra, and algebraic geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry, astronomy, concise applications of physics and chemistry in agriculture and industry, science of nature, topography”⁴⁷⁴ in Sciences section.

As previously mentioned, throughout the Tanzimat Era the unique example of *sultanîye* schools was *Mekteb-i Sultanî*. In this regard, history teaching in *Mekteb-i Sultanî* will be mentioned here. According to the *Nizamname, Tarih-i Umûmi* (World

⁴⁷⁰ Süleyman Hüsnü Paşa, *Tarih-i Âlem*, İstanbul: Mekteb-i Funûn Harbiye-i Şahane Matbaası, 1293 (1876).

⁴⁷¹ Evered, p. 216.

⁴⁷² Ibid., p. 214.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., p. 216

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 216.

History) was taught in lower section of sultaniye schools and in the advanced-level section of the *sultanîye*, which was divided into two clases such as Humanities and Sciences, the course of history was taught in the humanities classes.⁴⁷⁵ However, in the regulation of Mekteb-i Sultânî, course list indicated that the school offered Ottoman History and World History.⁴⁷⁶

The speech made by the director of *Mekteb-i Sultânî*, Sava Pasha, during the award ceremony on August 13, 1875 facilitates understanding the shape of history teaching in *Mekteb-i Sultânî*.⁴⁷⁷ In his speech, Sava Pasha asserts

Since it is essential to instruct students the history of their own state rather than various histories, the history of the Ottoman state was taught during the course of general history. However, since the course was not efficient at expected level, this time, the history of our sublime state was offered by recruiting a known and tested teacher, and during the instruction a book of Ottoman history was compiled and prepared. [In doing so], a good book from which reaped the benefit was acquired for our school.

4.4.5 Distribution of the History Text-Books

The process of sending books to the schools was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The ministry sent the books according to the requests made by the schools. Although it was declared that the teachers had to instruct the books deemed as appropriate by the ministry,⁴⁷⁸ the book suggestions of the schools are important to reveal the controlling structure that the state tried to construct which will be discussed under the subtitle of control. When the correspondences regarding book requests are put into consideration, certain problems of history education as well as that of educational system in general become evident that there was a difficulty to satisfy the book needs of the schools. Several correspondences sending to the various schools prove this observation.⁴⁷⁹ The ministry coped with this book

⁴⁷⁵ Düstûr, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, pp. 215-216.

⁴⁷⁶ Adnan Şişman, *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânîsi'nin Kuruluşu ve İlk Eğitim Yılları 1868-1871*, İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1989, p.18.

⁴⁷⁷ Mahmud Cevad, pp. 138-139.

⁴⁷⁸ Düstûr, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani, s.251.

⁴⁷⁹ MF.MKT 15/51 18 Şevval 1290 (9 Decfember 1873), MF.MKT 9/18 2 Muharrem 1290 (2 March 1873), MF.MKT.15/51 18 Şevval 1290 (9 December 1290), MF.MKT.49/64 18 Cemaziyel evvel 1294 (31 May 1877), MF.MKT 5/1 12 B 1289 (15 September 1872), MF MKT 44/97 24 Şevval 1293

shortage either reprinting the books or sending more or less equivalent books. To illustrate, the ministry declined book suggestions of several schools and responded that their suggestions was going to be sent just as the books were reprinted.⁴⁸⁰ Moreover, several copies of *Tarih-i Nişancı Mehmed Pasha* were sent to the *rüşdiye* schools due to the shortage in *Tarih-i Fezleke-i Osmanî*.⁴⁸¹

Consequently, it is hard to say that standardization in history books could be achieved during this period due to book shortages. General inclination of the Ministry was to send books which were deemed appropriate to the schools regardless of their content. To illustrate, the *rüşdiye* school in Manastır requested for book named *Tarih-i Umumî*; however, the ministry sent Nişancı Mehmed Pasha's history, since any copy of them was not available in the book storage.⁴⁸² As mentioned above, Nişancı Mehmed Pasha's history was sent instead of *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmânî* as well. In this regard, Nişancı's history book was served as an Ottoman History book as well as a general history. In such a context, it is hard to speak of a specification regarding history books. In the same vein, this observation might be applied to other courses. For example, instead of *Malumat-ı Muhtasara*⁴⁸³ (Concise Knowledge) the ministry sent *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmânî* and *Gülistan* to the İnebolu *rüşdiye* school in Kastamonu province.⁴⁸⁴ Nonetheless, it is important to note that the ministry did not get out of the appropriate books, which could be evaluated as a demonstration of the state's wariness over the content of the texts.

(12 November 1876); **MF.MKT** 13/128 17 Şaban 1290 (10 October 1873); **MF.MKT**.45/141 25 Zilkade 1293 (11 January 1877); **MF.MKT**. 7/20 15 24 Şaban 1289 (27 October 1872).

⁴⁸⁰ **MF. MKT**. 9/18 2 Muharrem 1290 (2 March 1873); **MF. MKT** 44/97 24 Şevval 1293 (12 November 1876).

⁴⁸¹ **MF.MKT**. 49/64 18 Cemaziyel evvel 1294 (31 May 1877).

⁴⁸² **MF. MKT** 15/51 18 Şevval 1290 (9 December 1873)

⁴⁸³ Necip, *Malumat-ı Muhtasara*, İstanbul: İzzet Efendi Matbaası, 1288 (1872). The book was published firstly in 1281 (1864). In the preface, the scope of the book is defined as "history of nature, physical sciences, counting, geometry and matters regarding astronomy" The book starts with *tarih-i tabii* (history of nature) and continues the other sciences written above.

⁴⁸⁴ **MF.MKT** 5/1 12 Receb 1289 (15 September 1872) **MF.MKT**.45/141 25 Zilkade 1293 (11 Ocak 1877).

4.4.6 The Supervision

In the *Nizamname*, the supervision process defined in the second part titled *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maârif* (Higher Council Education):⁴⁸⁵ It is declared that two departments in terms of *Daire-i İlmiyye* (Department of Education) and *Daire-i İdare* (Department of Administration) to be organized within the *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maârif*. The *Daire-i İlmiyye* was to be mainly responsible for the publication, translation, or having translation of the necessary books and pamphlets for public education and for the inspection and approval books and translations, which was originally the responsibility of *Meclis-i Maârif* as previously mentioned. In this respect, the attempt for establishing a separate department demonstrates the state's growing attention to supervise the content of the books. In fact, in following years the supervision of the publication became much greater as a consequence of the state's growing wariness over the content during the reign of Abdülhamid II; consequently *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezareti* would become a censorship institution.⁴⁸⁶

With regard to *Daire-i İdare*, was mainly responsible for administration of schools especially in İstanbul and its surrounding areas. In the provinces *Vilayet Maârif Meclisleri* would be responsible for inspection of the schools and libraries and enforcement of the *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nezareti*'s orders and instructions. When the administrative structure is put into consideration, it seems that the *Nizamname* attempted to achieve a highly centralized educational system which would be enforced and inspected through administrative body.

Although the establishment of *Vilayet Maârif Meclisleri* was started as mentioned in the previous chapter, their dissemination through the Empire remained superficial until 1880's. In such context, according to the documents obtained from the Ottoman Archives, it seems that the state tried to inspect education in the provinces through the course lists and book requests of the schools.

For instance, the ministry sent a document to *Mutassarıf*⁴⁸⁷ of Cyprus and claimed that the teacher of Cyprus *rüşdiye* school must be warned since he did not obey the curricula. It is understood from the document that the teacher suggested

⁴⁸⁵ Düstur, Tertib-i Evvel, Cüz-i Sani , pp. 205-215.

⁴⁸⁶ Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, p. 124-125.

⁴⁸⁷ The governor of *mutasarrıfiye*, a geographic administrative division of the state.

Telemak in order to be taught in history courses from the ministry. Accordingly, the ministry wanted this teacher to obey the curricula and avoid from the behaviors and methods opposed to the law.⁴⁸⁸ Another document was sent to the *rüşdiye* school located in Ehlune (Travnik) which was one of the *sanjaks*⁴⁸⁹ of the Bosnian Province⁴⁹⁰. The document reveals the process of control by the state significantly. A report involving the information regarding the attendance of the students and the courses taught in the school was sent to the Ministry of Education and it was controlled by the ministry. In the document, it was declared that it is acknowledged that the school went out of the course list and instructed courses which were inconsistent with the *Nizamname*. In this respect, the teacher of the school was warned by the Ministry of Education.⁴⁹¹ Similarly, a correspondence sent to Syria province by the ministry of education claimed that it understood from the exam lists that certain *rüşdiye* schools in the province of Syria instructed “opposite to the *Nizamname*” and wanted these schools to be warned to instruct in accordance with the *Nizamname* and the ministry wanted these schools to send their course lists regularly.⁴⁹² In another document, the *rüşdiye* school located in Cyprus was warned since their book request were out of the course list.⁴⁹³

In the light of these documents, it can be said that all these documents demonstrates not only the importance attributed on education by the state but also the resistance from the the provinces to the state’s attempt for establishing centralized educational system. Besides the control through the course lists and textbook suggestions, there was one more way to control education as well as history education which was the supervision of written material, as previously evaluated in the related parts of the study.

⁴⁸⁸ **MF.MKT** 22/151 10 Zilkade 1291 (19 December 1874).

⁴⁸⁹ An administrative region below the *vilâyet* (province).

⁴⁹⁰ The school had one teacher and sixty-two students attended the school according to the yearbook of 1873. *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme Sürecinde Eğitim İstatistikleri 1839-1924*, p. 25.

⁴⁹¹ **MF. MKT** 2/48 25 Rebiülahir 1289 (2 July 1872)

⁴⁹² **MF. MKT** 22/131 6 Zilkade 1291 (15 November 1874).

⁴⁹³ **MF. MKT** 21/167 22 Şevval 1291 (2 December 1874).

4.5 Evaluation

Changes in curricula say us something about the agenda behind it, whatever their impact on the pupils. In this respect, the mechanisms of necessity to install history courses into public education in the Ottoman state schools covering the first and second levels were tried to be analyzed in this chapter. Since the issue necessitated a broad perspective, several components were put into consideration, in terms of the relationship between the state and education as well as history education, dominant ideology, and embryonic forms of official history. The possible reasons of the chapter for this question as follows;

First of all, since the *Nizâmnâme* was adopted on French example, the appreciation to French educational systems by the state and scholars could be influential while conducting the *Nizâmnâme*. However, the internal dynamics shaped by the necessities of the state had more decisive role while introducing history courses into public education.

With regard to the needs of the state, it seems that in order to produce literate and qualified students for higher levels of education curricula had to be secularized. The inefficiency of the primary education to produce qualified students demoted the quality of education in *rüşdiye* schools. There was a gap between higher schools and primary education. In addition, the state aimed to teach Ottoman Turkish in provinces in order to secure its integrity. In this tripartite context, it seems that the history courses laid a suitable ground for the state to achieve these goals.

In addition, since history understanding and use of history has changed in line with the conditions of the empire. In this context, history which originally used to legitimize rule and deeds of sultans or to give advice or orientation to sultans gained more pragmatic meaning in the nineteenth century which was to educate people. In accordance with this pragmatic approach to history and the state's effort to create a new allegiance between the sultan and the subjects through an Ottoman identity, the history courses seems to introduce into curricula in order to create a some sort of integrity.

As to the shape of history education in the Ottoman primary and secondary state schools in between 1869-1876, the Nizamname arranged a) *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî* in the *sıbyan* schools which was instructed to each community in its own language; b) *Tarih-i Umumi* and *Tarih-i Osmanî* in *rüşdiye* schools, which were instructed in each community's own language; c) *Tarih-i Umumî* in *idadiyes* and d) *Tarih-i Umumî* and History in lower and higher sections of *sultanîyes*.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire confronted with several problems in terms of growing desires of her diverse communities to separate and establish their own independent nation-states, competing with imperialistic desires of other empires, territorial losses and continuing economic problems which threatened her imperial integrity. Consequently, during the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state attempted to a series of reforms for the sake of centralization and enhancement of its rule. These reforms had several dimensions including areas of justice, administration, military, taxation, land tenure and education. This study has focused on history education in Ottoman primary and secondary state schools during the educational reorganizations of the late *Tanzimat Era*, from 1869 to 1876, starting with the proclamation of *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnamesi* in 1869 and ending with the proclamation of the First Constitution in 1876. History education, which did not appear as a separate discipline in public education until 1869, was institutionalized in all tiers of education with the proclamation of *Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnamesi* in 1869. Therefore, this study has focused on the causes for adding history courses into public education with particular emphasis to bureaucratic and scholarly expectations as well as the shape of history education in Ottoman primary and secondary schools in between 1869 and 1876.

The related part of the study shows that the process of modernization of education in the Ottoman Empire was started in realm of military as a result of defeats and land losses. The process started with the establishment of *Mühendishâne-i Bahrî-i Humâyun* (Naval Engineering School) in 1773 was followed by other military academies and a few of civilian schools during the subsequent period until 1839. The common characteristic of these schools was that they were established for

military and bureaucratic purposes which were shaped in line with state's necessities. Education in sense of schooling was still a communal matter provided by the religious establishment of each community. Even though these newly founded schools were the products of the thought shaped by the necessities of the state to form military and civilian officials and did not have anything to do with educational system as a whole, the process resulted in realization of the traditional public education were ineligible for contemporary conditions. Inefficiency of existing system for public education compelled the newly founded schools to offer a preparatory education including very basic courses including reading and writing which caused delays in producing their graduates. Accordingly, the state realized that it required being involved in public education in order to reform it. However, this realization was turned into action during the educational reorganizations of the *Tanzimat Era*.

In the period followed the declaration of *Gülhane Hatt*, the objective of educational agenda was to educate officials in order to meet the needs of the expanding bureaucracy in parallel with the growing scope of the state and to attempt involving in public education for the sake of educating as much of the people as possible. The state started to involve in public education more through generating certain reform efforts in order to enhance it. However, none of them produced significant results in primary education as a consequence of the limited supervision on primary education, lack of teachers. In this regard, the educational reform agenda of the state evolved into opening intermediary schools for public education in order to compensate the inefficiency of primary education. With regard to her educational agenda, the state opened several higher vocational schools in order to form military and civilian officials, and opened intermediary schools above the primary schools in order to fill the gap between higher education and primary education until the declaration of the *Nizamname* in 1869. Although, the educational development was much greater than the preceding period in 1773-1839, it was followed an insufficient and piecemeal fashion. For instance, before preparatory primary and secondary educational system was established sufficiently, the state attempted to open the university. The last point to be made about the educational reform process from the first premise in 1773 to 1869, it was followed a top-down path. The establishment of higher learning institutions which were the first examples of the modernized schools

was followed by preparatory schools for the higher schools and schools for public education.

The *Nizâmnâme* constituted a milestone in the history of history education as well as in the history of education within the Empire. It was modeled on the French example and modified in line with the needs of empire. The educational modernization process which started at the end of the eighteenth century and developed in an eclectic and piecemeal fashion gained a consistent and general character by the *Nizâmnâme*. It systematized previous efforts regarding public education and centralized education. Although the administrators were aware of the fact that the plan declared in the *Nizamname* cannot be implemented thoroughly in a short time due to lack of resources, teachers, and basis, they aimed to implement their educational goals materialized in the *Nizâmnâme* starting from İstanbul at first and gradually disseminating to the provinces.

In the preceding period before the proclamation of the *Nizâmnâme*, history education was not the element of public education. History courses were only taught in the few higher educational institutions which were designed for specific purposes. Neither religion based traditional institutions nor modernized institutions which served for public education did include any separate history course in their curriculums. Whatever the reason for history education did not appear as a separate discipline until 1869, the important aspect of the theme of this study is the reconstruct the causes necessitating the introduction of history education into public education.

Radical changes in curricula inform us more about the agenda that lies behind their formation than their impact on the pupils. To understand the mechanisms of introduction of history education into public education the process of modernization of education constitutes a great significance. The process started in the late eighteenth century revealed the inefficiency of existing educational system of public education to provide literate students for modernized schools even as early as 1838. Although the state attempted to reform primary education starting from 1846, any significant achievement was made. The problem was evaluated in the reform reports of the Ottoman administrators for several times and introducing non-religious courses into the curriculum of primary schools offered as the remedy of the problem

which materialized by the *Nizamname*. In addition, as the related part of the study shows, educational development post-1856 period required a more secular educational system beyond and above communal diversity in the secondary tiers of education. In this context, this study claims that one of the reasons behind introducing history education into public education was to secularize the curricula in order to provide qualified students to higher levels of education as well as to provide a secular education appropriate for common education of Muslims and non-Muslims in the secondary tier of education. In this regard, the state used history education for practical reason which was to secularize the curricula in order to provide literate and qualified students to higher levels of education and to raise personnel for bureaucracy and military. History courses became the part of this process by providing a reading practice. In addition, the state aimed to teach Ottoman language in provinces in order to prevent separatist and nationalist movements and the state inclined to use history courses to teach Ottoman Turkish. In this conjuncture, it seems that history courses laid a ground to achieve these goals, since history is one of the key courses to teach reading as well as language. In fact, the state attempted for teaching French through instructing history as early as 1839 in the *Mekteb-i Maârif-i Adliyye*.

As previously mentioned, the ideology of the state as well as education was Ottomanism in the *Tanzimat Era* in order to secure social cohesion and integrity. The necessity for the introduction of history courses into public education can be evaluated within the same context. The state had a pragmatic reason for introducing history to public education which was to create an allegiance to the state. The state-centered Ottomanism policy reveals itself in the regulations regarding history courses and text-books in which issues associated with the *muhabbet-i vataniye* were praised and eulogized. In addition, the books involved complementary elements such as maps and tables of the Ottoman dynasty to inspire the allegiance to the state and the sultan. The key figures of the books were the Ottoman sultans and their endeavors to the civilization were graced. As being written from the state-centered perspective, they condemned misdeeds of wrongdoers such as Jannissaries as in the example of *Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmânî*. In addition, teaching Ottoman Turkish through history courses can be evaluated in the context of Ottomanism as well. In this respect, it can be said that the state attributed importance to history education in guiding the

subjects into loyalty to the state and the sultan. The supervision process implemented on the text-books and instruction by the government can be evaluated as the other indicators of the state's ambition to indoctrinate her values as well as the importance attributed to the role of history in education.

Lastly to mention were the effects of the change in the understanding and use of history during the *Tanzimat Era*. The understanding of history started to change during the *Tanzimat Era*. History gained a didactic and pragmatic dimension and both Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucrats started to perceive history as a tool to educate masses as well as to convey state-centered values. As seen in the examples of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, Namık Kemal and Hayrullah Efendi history was for the sake of the society as well as the state. This study claims that this pragmatic approach to history could provide us an insight while analyzing the mechanisms behind the introduction of history into public education.

As to the shape of history education in the Ottoman primary and secondary state schools in between 1869-1876, the *Nizamname* arranged a) *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmanî* in the *sıbyan* schools which was instructed to each community in their own language; b) *Tarih-i Umumi* and *Tarih-i Osmanî* in *rüşdiye* schools, which were instructed in each community's own language; c) *Tarih-i Umumî* in *idadîyes* and d) *Tarih-i Umumî* and History in in lower and higer sections of *sultanîyes*. Since the period covered by the study was the age of *rüşdiye* schools the study could gain much more insight about history education in the primary schools. The first *idadîyes* were opened only after 1873, and there was only one *sultanî* which was *Mekteb-i Sultanî*. The conclusion regarding history education as follows;

First of all, although it was declared that history courses were given to each community in its own language, it seems that the state started to incline to offer them in Ottoman Turkish in the locality like Arabia in which *elsine-i selâse* was spoken in order to teach Ottoman Turkish.

Secondly, it seems that there was a lack of standardization in textbooks which could be evaluated as a consequence of frequent shifts in the tenure of Ministry of Education as well as book shortages as evaluated in the distribution of the books.

Thirdly, it seems that the state tried to supervise education as well as history education in the provinces through book requests at a time in which *Vilayet Maârif Meclisleri* were not efficiently established.

In conclusion, when the reasons of the state for introducing history education to public education - a combination of practical and pragmatic factors as well as the intellectual ones that are interdependent to each other - are considered, it can be said that they were the product of the political goal which was creating an allegiance to the state in the big picture. During the *Tanzimat Era*, the relationship between the state and her subjects has started to change, which was originally based upon dispensing justice and collecting revenue as well as raising armies. Consequently, the state had to find new sources of allegiance in order to penetrate into the society as well as to keep her diverse communities intact. In this context, the state used history teaching as a tool to create a new allegiance with the society, a new identity under "Ottomanism." This kind of relationship between the state and history education constituted a model or a source of inspiration for the subsequent periods of the Empire as well as for the Turkish Republic. In this respect, the relationship between the state and history education could be traced back to the *Tanzimat Era*.

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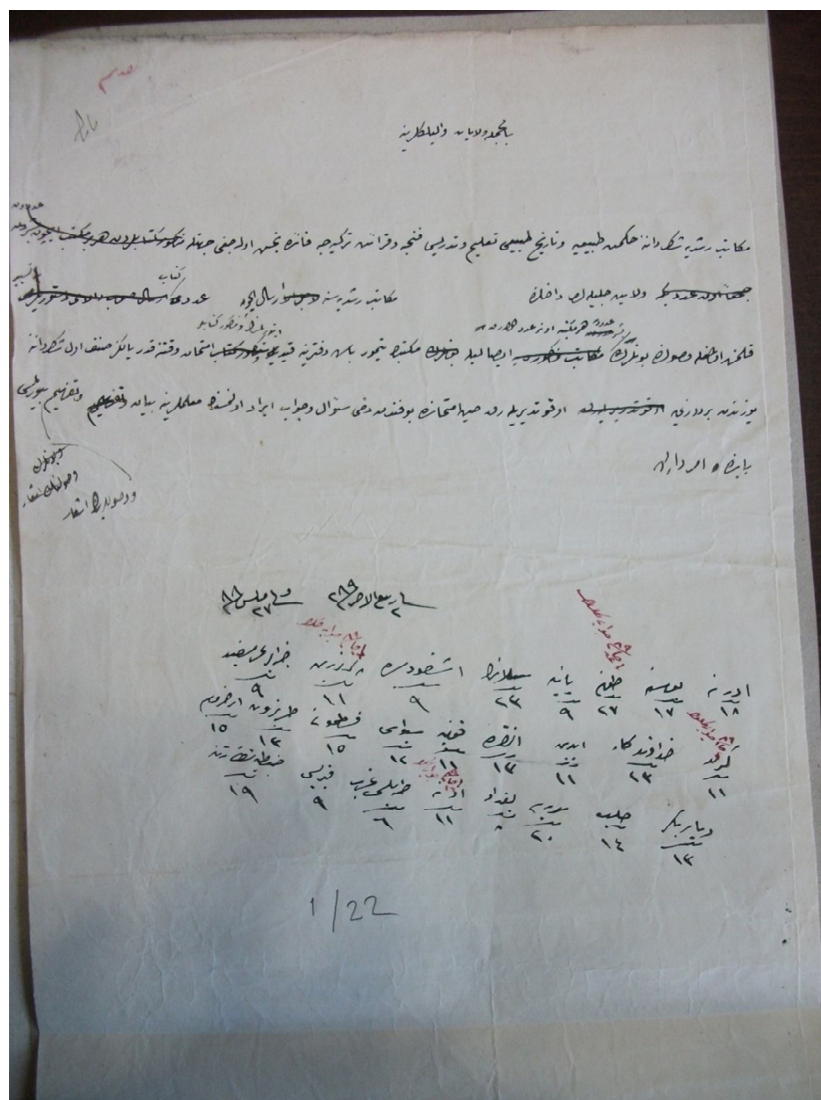
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APPENDIX 1

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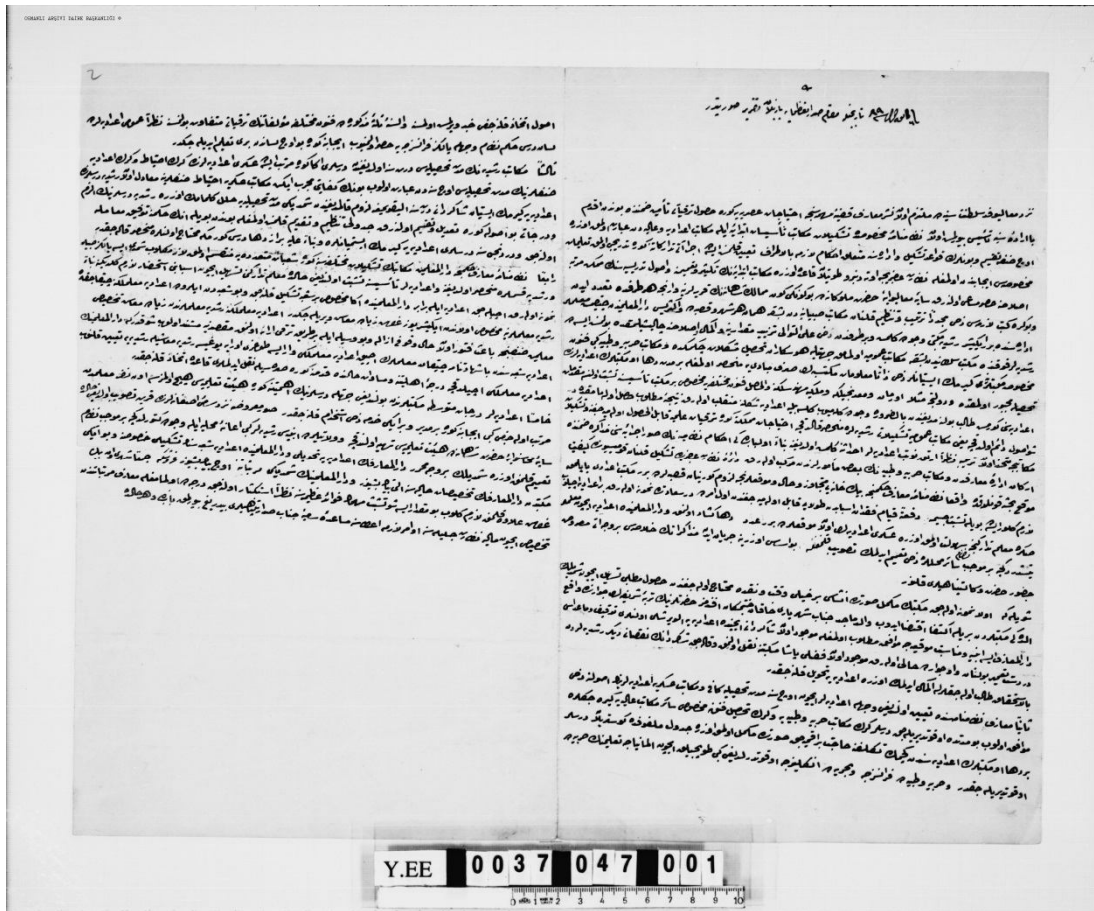
APPENDIX 2

MF.MKT. 1/ 22 02 Rabiulahir 1289

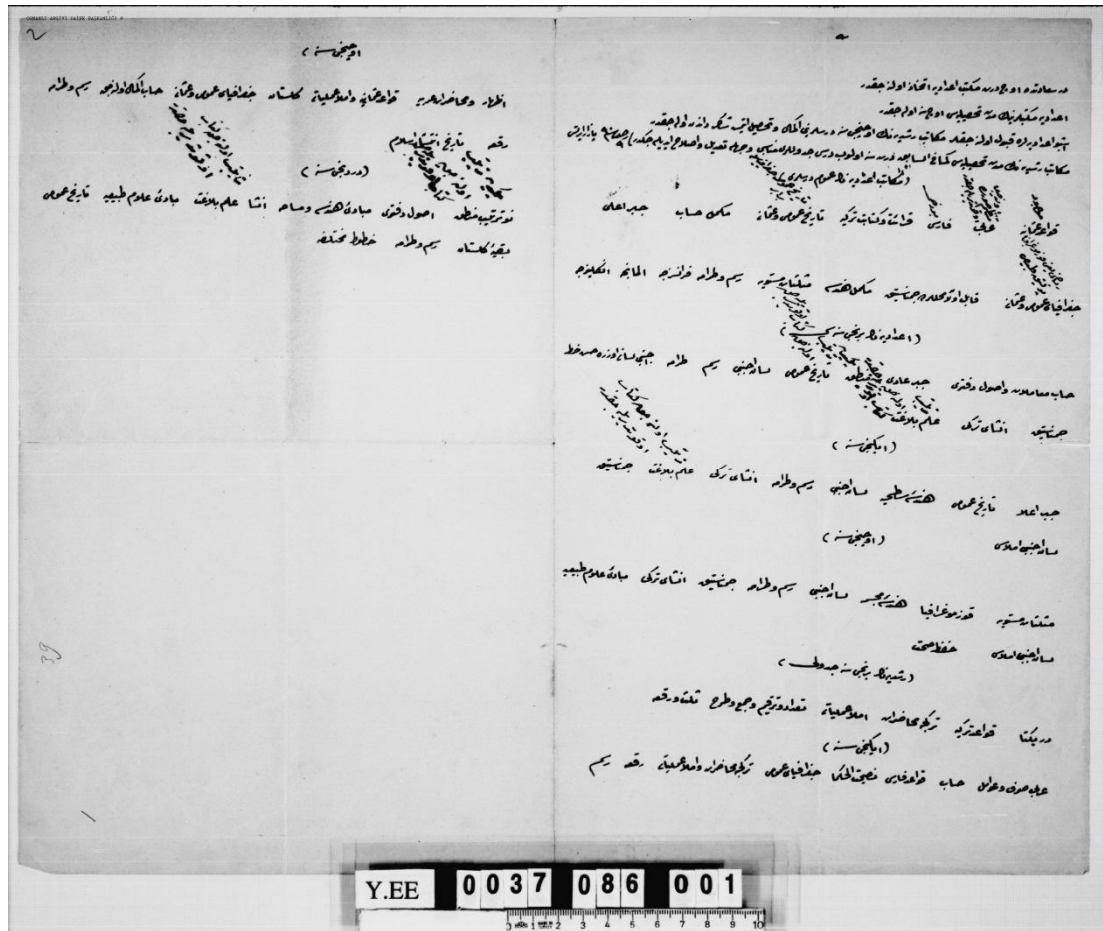


APPENDIX 3

Y. EE. 37/47 27 Şevval 1290



Y. EE. 37/86 09 Receb 1290



APPENDIX 5

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 : Şans
Adı : Ömür
Bölümü : Tarih

TEZİN ADI : History Education in Guiding Subjects to Loyalty: History Education in the Ottoman Primary and Secondary Schools in the Late Tanzimat Era (1869-1876)

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. ☒

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: