

ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE SCHOOLS
WITHIN THE EXISTING SCHOOL NETWORKS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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Thesis Abstract

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“*Alliance Israélite Universelle* Schools within the Existing School Networks in the Ottoman Empire”

This thesis examines the different schooling networks which were active in the Ottoman territories throughout the nineteenth century, with a specific focus upon the schools which were established by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. Highly influenced by the ideas of French Revolution and modernization, the organization which was instituted by a number of French Jews, inaugurated several schools for Ottoman Jewish communities at several localities. The primary aim of the association was to help oriental Jews to become like their European brothers. Their schools within Ottoman boundaries, thus, used to offer instruction with such a perspective.

The aim of this thesis is realized through a number of primary and secondary sources, but its main contribution has been the integration of Ottoman archival materials into the topic. Together with other primary and secondary source materials, by the way of comparison, it was concluded that although *Alliance* schools may be labeled as foreign institutions on the basis of the fact that they were not under the jurisprudence of Ottoman Chief Rabbinate, in fact they differ from foreign schools in many ways. Furthermore, when the motive of establishment of foreign schools is taken into consideration, *Alliance* schools can be located in a limbo-like position between the schools established by foreign organizations and the community schools, which were under jurisprudence of *millet başıs*.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, history of education, *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, community schools, foreign schools, missionary schools, the nineteenth century

Tez Özeti

Onur Şar, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Mevcut Okul Ağları İçinde
Alliance Israélite Universelle Okulları”

Bu tez, ondokuzuncu yüzyıl süresince Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerinde mevcut bulunan farklı okul ağlarını inceleyerek, *Alliance Israélite Universelle* okullarının bu ağlar içindeki yerini saptamaya çalışmaktadır. Bunu karşılaştırmalı bir açıdan ele almaktadır. *Alliance*, ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ortalarında bir grup Yahudi Fransız vatandaşının, doğulu dindaşlarını da kendileri gibi geliştirmek ve aydınlatmak amacıyla kurduğu bir kurumdur. Bu amaca en kısa olarak eğitimle ulaşılabileceğini düşünerek, Osmanlı Devleti’nin birçok şehrinde okullar kurmuştur. Bu çalışmada esas olarak bu okullar ele alınmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada birçok birincil ve ikincil kaynak kullanılmıştır. Bu birincil kaynakların çoğu, şimdiye kadar ihmal edilmiş olan, Osmanlıca arşiv belgeleridir. Diğer önemli birincil kaynaklar ise kurumun kendi yayınları olan aylık, dönemlik ve yıllık bültenlerdir. Bu kaynaklar ve diğer birçok ikincil kaynak üzerinden yapılan inceleme sonucunda, bugüne kadar yapıla gelen incelemelerde tek tip okullarmışçasına ele alınan yabancı okullar kategorisinin daha ince bir biçimde incelenmesi gerektiği görülmüştür. Buna ilaveten, *Alliance Israélite Universelle* okulları diğer yabancı kurumların açmış oldukları eğitim kurumlarıyla karşılaştırılmıştır. Bunun sonucunda, *Alliance* okullarının patrik veya hahambaşılarının denetimi altındaki cemaat okulları ve yabancı kurumlar idaresinde bulunan okullar arasında bir yerde konumlandırılmasının daha mantıklı olduğu ve bu tür bir değerlendirmenin *Alliance* okullarının Osmanlı toplumu için önemini anlamada ve aktarmada daha yararlı olacağı ileri sürülmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, gayr-i Müslim cemaat okulları, yabancı okullar, misyoner okulları, eğitim tarihi, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Previous Scholarship

There is an immense literature written in Turkish language on Ottoman schools and education. The majority of studies made by Turkish scholars are focused on Ottoman public schools and education system. They describe tremendous developments throughout the nineteenth century and narrate how poor public schooling had previously been. There are a number of trends one can encounter within these studies. The first trend is what we may call Republican or Kemalist. Such scholars almost totally deny the developments of the late Ottoman Empire, and refer to it as *ancien régime*. For them, the nineteenth century is equal to obscurity where the state was gradually dying in a deathbed. Therefore, official efforts for establishing schools and building school premises, propagating instructions in remote areas of Ottoman geography were underestimated in their studies. The famous work of Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* is such an example.¹

There are others who actually appreciated developments in Ottoman public schooling. The famous work of Osman Nuri Ergin, a teacher at a public high school in the early twentieth century, about schools in Istanbul, *Istanbul Mektepleri ve İlim, Terbiye, ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısıyla Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* is such a piece.² In this multi-volume work, Osman Nuri Ergin meticulously demonstrates the developments in public schooling with official Ottoman documents. Despite its flaws, it is one of the main sources on this matter of research. Besides public schools, Ergin provides information on foreign and *millet* schools as

¹ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964). Here are some other similar examples: Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi* (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2001); Cahit Yalçın Bilim, *Tanzimat Devri'nde Türk Eğitiminde Çağdaşlaşma: (1839-1876)* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 1984); Nafi Atuf Kansu, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (Ankara: A. Halit Kitaphanesi, 1930).

² Osman Nuri Ergin, *İstanbul Mektepleri ve İlim, Terbiye, ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısıyla Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* (İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1939-1943).

well. His highly nationalistic description can be accepted as an illustrative instance of Republican historiography. However, the fact that he appreciated the developments in schooling during the Hamidian period differentiated his account from other republican accounts. It is one of the most referred books by the scholars of the history of Ottoman education.

The studies of Turkish scholars on foreign and *millet* schools are extremely similar. They rely tremendously on materials in Ottoman, and rarely refer to materials in other languages. I think that it constituted the most essential defect of such studies. Because they depend on the same type of documents, they inevitably repeat each other. They describe *millet* schools as ‘minority schools,’ a term which was created only after the 1920s.³ The term, I argue, is not relevant to the era of multi-cultural empires because it belongs to the era of nations-states. And, for that reason, today there are ‘minority schools’ in Istanbul, belonging to Greek, Armenian and Jewish Turkish citizens. The use of that term in defining Ottoman context is highly anachronistic. Most of the studies deal with community schools together with foreign schools, as if they were one and the same. Although the two groups of schools were put together by Ottoman Empire by instituting a specific “inspectorate of non-Muslim and foreign schools,” I believe they should be studied separately.

Apart from that designation problem, such studies depict *millet* schools as malicious institutions which had always been trying to destroy Ottoman sovereignty. Especially when referring to the period following the independence of Kingdom of Greece, those scholars argue in a homogenous manner that non-Muslim schools became instruments and hotbeds of insurrection in the struggle for independence. For that reason, *millet* schools are even

³ There are several studies which fit into that group. For one, see: Hidayet Vahapoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Azınlık ve Yabancı Okulları* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1992). Emphasis is mine.

identified as ‘spy schools’ by some studies.⁴ Although after a certain point community schools might have a nationalistic agenda, one has to contextualize the developments which led to such an agenda, and to analyze the process from a multitude of sources.

Such studies suffer other shortcomings as well. One of their biggest gaps is their utmost reliance on Ottoman archival documents. Turkish scholars totally base their arguments and ideas on documents of Ottoman Archives and ignore the materials in other languages. In terms of primary sources, one expects to see materials in other languages such as Greek, Armenian, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac and Bulgarian, for that matter. Because Ottoman archives are huge and easily accessible, they do not bother to go beyond official Ottoman perspective. Unsurprisingly, such an incomplete approach results in low quality studies.⁵

Foreign schools are studied and described in a similar way. There are not many studies whose bibliographies include materials in languages apart from Ottoman and Turkish. The activities undertaken by those schools are only learned through the official Ottoman records and, as a result, such studies inevitably reflect the official viewpoint of Ottoman administration. Failing to grasp the subject matter from multiple perspectives, their focus, unfortunately, remains restricted.⁶ Among those scholars, Şamil Mutlu is an exception, I believe. Although he solely relies on Ottoman sources, as other scholars do, his study is so

⁴ Necdet Sevinç, *Ajan Okulları* (İstanbul: Dede Korkut Yayınları, 1975).

⁵ Necmettin Tozlu, *Kültür ve Eğitim Tarihimizde Yabancı Okullar* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1991). This is a good example. The book, in fact, refers to church schools. Its name, on the other hand, tends us to think they refer to foreign schools.

Halit Ertuğrul, *Azınlık ve Yabancı Okulları: Türk Toplumuna Etkisi* (İstanbul: Nesil, 1998); İlknur Polat Haydaroğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yabancı Okullar* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990); Ayten Sezer, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Azınlık ve Yabancı Okullar* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997); Süleyman Büyükkarcı, *İstanbul Ermeni Okulları* (Konya: Yelken, 2003)

⁶ Nahid Dinçer, *Yabancı Özel Okullar* (İstanbul: Er-Tu Matbaası, 1978); Süleyman Büyükkarcı, *Deutshce Schule Istanbul=İstanbul Alman Lisesi* (Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi Vakfı Yayınları 1998); Süleyman Büyükkarcı, *İstanbul Sankt Georg Avusturya Okulları ve Bu Okulların Türk Eğitim ve Öğretim Sistemine Etkileri* (Konya: Süleyman Büyükkarcı, 1995); Nurettin Polvan, *Türkiye'de Yabancı Öğretim* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952)

detailed that it may be used as a trustworthy and elaborate catalog of the Ottoman primary sources about foreign schools.⁷

Of course, there are some exceptional names. The works of Selçuk Akşin Somel,⁸ and Uygur Kocabaşoğlu,⁹ for example, make references to the materials in other languages. Whereas Kocabaşoğlu extremely make use of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* records in his study on American missionary schools in Anatolia, Somel integrates materials in different languages into his study of public schooling in the Hamidian era.¹⁰ Moreover, young Turkish scholars who are studying in the United States are keener to study Ottoman history with multiple perspectives and their works will reflect that multiplicity.¹¹

There is a common mistake or defect that almost all Turkish scholars suffer. They do not break down ‘foreign schools’ into subdivisions and, thus, they do not see the different types of foreign schools. The majority of foreign schools are missionary schools which were established by missions and orders without intervention of governments. On the other hand, there are also schools which were directly established by governments or governmental agencies, like the schools of the *Alliance Française*. Although the latter constitutes the

⁷ Şamil Mutlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Misyoner Okulları* (İstanbul: Gökkuşbu Yayınları, 2005).

⁸ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline* (Leiden; Boston: E.J. Brill, 2001).

⁹ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları* (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 2000).

¹⁰ Selçuk Akşin Somel has other publications as well, in which he integrates materials in many languages. For his account of Armenian communal schools in the Hamidian period, see: “Osmanlı Ermenilerinde Kültür Modernleşmesi, Cemaat Okulları ve Abdülhamid Rejimi,” *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 5 (245) (Spring 2007). For his article on the reports of a local officer in the Balkans, see: “Maarif Müdürü Radovişli Mustafa Bey’in Raporları ve Müslim ve Gayrimüslim Eğitimi: II. Abdülhamid Devri Selanik Taşrasında Maarif Meselesi (1885-1886),” *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, (242) (Fall 2005).

¹¹ For such an example on the history of education, see: Emine Özhan Evered, “The Politics of Late Ottoman Education: Accommodating Ethno-Religious Pluralism amid Imperial Disintegration,” (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 2005).

smaller part, I think one should discern different types of foreign schools. Turkish scholars, probably because they do not know the existence of government-founded schools, take missionary schools as if they were specifically established with governmental interference. In order not to fall into this trap, I decided to concentrate my research on the schools founded by foreign organizations, and not by governmental offices.

I think it would be relevant to mention two foreign scholars who have been working on the subject of Ottoman education. The first is Andreas Kazamias, who, in his book; *Education and The Quest For Modernity in Turkey* described the overall development process of education in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods until the mid-twentieth century. While doing that, however, he did not use any Ottoman sources.¹² Benjamin Fortna is the other name I should mention. In his brilliant study on the evolution of Ottoman education in the late nineteenth century, he refers to many archival materials in several languages, including Ottoman.¹³ I think his main contribution to this area of interest lies on his analysis of the developments in Ottoman public schooling in comparison with other European states. In other words, he explains Ottoman reforms in public education as a global pattern which was easily witnessed throughout the nineteenth century. Hence, the nineteenth century is characterized as ‘the century of education.’

The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* is apparently not a popular topic for Turkish scholars, because there is not an original book written in Turkish but a few scattered articles. There are a few translations from French and English. In general, the sources referring to community and foreign schools hint at the schools of the *Alliance* as well, yet do not throw light on them. In some cases, the scholars did not even mention Jewish community schools

¹² Andreas Kazamias, *Education and The Quest For Modernity in Turkey* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

¹³ Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

but concentrated on the *Alliance* schools, as if they were the only schooling institutions of Ottoman Jewry.

Unsurprisingly, the literature on the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* is in two languages: French and English. The headquarters in Paris has tremendous archives constituted of reports, letters, illustrations and similar materials. Scholars making research on them produced several articles and books. The pioneering figure of this field of study is Aron Rodrigue. The translation of his doctoral dissertation into English, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: the Alliance Israélite Universelle and The Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925* may be the most important piece which provide guidance in this field of research.¹⁴ In his dissertation, Rodrigue describes the circumstances which led to the emergence of such an organization in Paris. Relying on the *Alliance* archives and other primary and secondary source materials, he illustrates how crucial the schooling network was for the life of Ottoman and Turkish Jews. He also published several articles on different aspects of the *Alliance* schools.¹⁵ He has numerous articles as well as books on Ottoman Jewry besides schooling.¹⁶

Another important name to be cited is Esther Benbassa. Like Rodrigue, she has numerous publications about Ottoman Jewry besides the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. While Rodrigue generally writes in English, Benbassa's publications are mostly translated from French to English.¹⁷ Her study on last Ottoman Chief Rabbi, Haim Nahum is also quite

¹⁴ Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: the Alliance Israélite Universelle and The Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990).

¹⁵ Aron Rodrigue, "Jewish Society and Schooling in a Thracian Town: The Alliance Israélite Universelle in Demotica, 1897-1924," *Jewish Social Studies*, 45 (Summer-Fall 1983), pp. 263-286.

¹⁶ Aron Rodrigue, *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry: Community and Leadership* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1992); Esther Benbassa & Aron Rodrigue, *Juifs des Balkans. Espaces Judéo-Ibériques XIVe-XXe Siècles* (Paris: La Découverte, 1993).

¹⁷ "L'Alliance Israélite Universelle et Les Sionistes en Orient," *Pardès* (12), 1990, pp. 190-195; "L'Alliance Israélite Universelle et Les Projets Juifs en Palestine," in: *De Bonaparte à Balfour. La France, l'Europe occidentale et la Palestine, 1799-1917*, eds. Dominique Trimbur & Ran Aaronsohn (Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2001), pp. 391-405; "L'École de Filles de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle à Galata, 1879-1912," *Histoire*,

essential in the field of study.¹⁸ The personal journal of Gabriel Arié, a teacher of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* who had worked in Izmir as well as other cities, is a co-edition of Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue. The material is quite important because it is one of the very few written accounts available the *Alliance* teachers left behind.¹⁹

The studies in French or English are products of the huge archives of the *Alliance*, which is quite attractive to many scholars without any doubt. Innumerable reports, letters, circulars, curricula, school materials, etc. constituted a solid base for such studies. Consequently, those studies reflect the perspective of the *Alliance* Central Committee, and sometimes the school directors and teachers. The voice of Ottoman authorities and local Jewish communities are rarely heard. Even if they are, they only come to attention within the correspondences of the *Alliance*. Materials in Turkish are sometimes used, because only some of the scholars can access to resources written in Turkish. Aron Rodrigue and Esther Benbassa, for example were both born in Istanbul and they could read such materials for their own research. Nevertheless, Ottoman archival documents are neglected in their works. I believe, this lack constitutes a gap in the entire literature. This point is encouraging me to do my research on this topic.

This Study

In this study, I am trying to use the materials in Ottoman and integrate them into a comparison of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools with other foreign schooling institutions within Ottoman territories. I want to limit this study with 1908, Second

Economie et Société, (4), 4e trimestre 1991, pp. 529-559; “L’Artisanat Juif en Turquie a la Fin du XX^e Siècle: L’Alliance Israélite Universelle et Ses Oeuvres’Apprentissage,” with Aron Rodrigue, *Turcica*, 17 (1985), pp. 113-126.

¹⁸ *Haïm Nahum: a Sephardic Chief Rabbi in Politics, 1892-1923*, edited by with an introduction by Esther Benbassa, trans. Miriam Kochan (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995).

¹⁹ *A Sephardi Life in Southeastern Europe: The Autobiography and Journal of Gabriel Arié, 1863-1939*, edited by Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, translated by Jane Marie Todd (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998).

Constitution Period, during which a new paradigm emerged in terms of the relations between non-Muslim communities and Ottoman state, and state and education.

In individual chapters, I will deal with the *Alliance* and other foreign schooling networks. By foreign, I mean French, English and American, because they outnumbered those of other foreign schools such as German, Italian, Bulgarian or Iranian for that matter. Another reason why I focus upon those three is their geographical distribution on Ottoman geography. There were Bulgarian and Greek schools for sure, but they were restricted only to European parts of Ottoman Empire.

In the first chapter, I describe the overall evolution of Ottoman public schooling throughout the nineteenth century in order to illustrate how the perception of state changed over time regarding schooling. Different types of schools were instituted to meet new requirements of the period. It is important to understand how tough the circumstances were for a functioning schooling network to be set up. Then in the next chapter I deal with non-Muslim community schools throughout the same century. As we saw in the case of the public schools, *millet* schools had been through a period of development during the nineteenth century in every possible term.

The schools established by foreign organizations, religious missions are reviewed in the following chapter. Here, I relate how missionary schools were supported by foreign governments, although they were not founded by governmental initiatives. In this chapter, I specifically exclude the schools directly founded by governments and governmental agencies, so that I can make a comparison between missionary schools and the schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. I am more concerned with French, American and British schools. Surprisingly, I have realized that there are not so many studies about British schools within

Ottoman territories.²⁰ This constitutes quite an important gap in the field, I believe. The majority of the literature about British missionary schools is about the missionaries in India and other British colonies. Further studies including materials from multiple sides should be made.

Throughout the chapter on the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, I have narrated the story of the organization, its foundation, and its development process throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. In this chapter I used the secondary source materials, which were authored by prominent scholars such as Aron Rodrigue and Esther Benbassa, and primary sources, like the monthly and annual publications (*bulletins*) of the *Alliance*, and reports written by its local teaching staff. There are a few doctoral dissertations, as well, which were quite helpful for me.²¹ Ottoman archival documents, obviously, are one of my best sources in depicting the life around the *Alliance* schools, and Ottoman Jews in general. I would have liked to use *Alliance*'s own archives, in Paris, but unfortunately due to financial and time constraints, I was not able to do so. I believe the merge of primary sources belonging to the Ottoman state and the *Alliance* will contribute a great deal to the field of research. Since I am not interested in public opinion throughout this study newspapers are excluded. However, I think that further studies which would include newspapers and magazines in different languages will be able to present us a new dimension of different schooling networks within Ottoman context.

Ultimately, in a comparative chapter, I have argued that although the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools are institutions established by a foreign organization, they are to be

²⁰ The above-mentioned work of Şamil Mutlu, despite its defects, is a good study prepared on the basis of Ottoman sources.

²¹ Paul Silberman, "An Investigation of the Schools Operated by the Alliance Israélite Universelle from 1862 to 1940" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1970); Maurice M. Sawdayee, "The Impact of Western European Education on the Jewish Millet of Baghdad: 1860-1950" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1977); Tomer Levi, "The Formation of a Levantine Community: The Jews of Beirut, 1860-1939" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 2010).

studied together with missionary schools. In reality, it would be better to designate them 'somewhere between schools,' if not community schools. In this chapter, I concentrate on the teaching of Ottoman language at the *Alliance* schools in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as an illustrative example which supports my argumentation.

CHAPTER II.

EVOLUTION OF OTTOMAN PUBLIC EDUCATION DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Sıbyan Mektebis

In the period preceding the Edict of Tanzîmât (*Tanzîmât Fermâni*), what we can label as primary education was totally based on religious training. Children at the age of five or six were attending *sıbyân* schools as the first step of educational process.²² For girls, that was the ultimate level of schooling. They could not follow their male counterparts into *medreses*. *Sıbyân* schools were financed by individual *vakıfs*, which were themselves contributed by local people and parents of students. Those schools were not uniform: there was no a pre-determined curriculum, the financial conditions were varying. Each and every one of them was independent. Some of them were funded by important figures such as *sultâns* and *vâlide sultâns*. In those institutions, then, learners were offered better conditions.²³

As already referred, there was not a unique curriculum imposed by an official institution on those local primary schools. Yet, this does not mean that there was much differentiation between their curricula. The education was totally religious. The important thing was to read the sacred text, and to recite it by heart without even understanding it. Pupils were under the supervision of a *hoca*, a lower member of ‘*ulemâ*’.²⁴

²² İlhan Tekeli & Selim İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), p. 7.

Though in official documents we cannot encounter this fact, there was another naming for that school: *taş mekteb*. Literally it means ‘school made of stone’. However in the colloquial language of the period it apparently meant the lowest level of schooling.

For several examples, see *Meşhurların Okul Anıları, 1870-1940*, edited by Mehmet Akif Bal (İstanbul: Özgü Yayınları, 2003).

²³ Cahit Yalçın Bilim, *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Eğitim Tarihi (1734-1876)* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2002), p. 2.

²⁴ Bilim, p. 3.

A typical *sıbyân* school consisted only of one room which was located near a mosque. Since there was not much space, children of different ages had to be taught together in small, and most of the time, unclean buildings. In order to secure discipline, the teacher could do anything, including corporal punishment. Younger children were taught by an assistant-pupil (*kalfa*) chosen by the teacher, while he was dealing with higher classes. In general, classes lasted until midday.²⁵

In most of the studies, the conditions in those schools are negatively depicted for various reasons. In comparison with European states, such studies assert, religious education offered by *sıbyân* schools was much more inferior to modern European education. Moreover, teachers were very incapable. As an instance, the famous figure of the history of Ottoman education Osman Nuri Ergin states that after seventeen years of exhaustive training, some children had barely learned how to read and write.²⁶ They did not have any practical knowledge; they had superficial religious training. Overcrowded classrooms with children of different ages and levels, obviously, were other obstacles for successful schooling. Pedagogy was not even heard. According to Necdet Sakaoğlu, there were 360 *sıbyân mektebis* around the Ottoman capital. If each of them was supposedly attended by 50 or 60 children, then we would have 20,000 youth getting some kind of education at those schools. It was approximately 2.5 % of the city population - a low ratio.²⁷ There are several studies available referring to those schools from highly negative perspective.²⁸

²⁵ Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 82-96; Tekeli & İlkin, p. 8.

²⁶ Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 462, 463.

²⁷ Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı Eğitim Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), p. 6.

²⁸ Somel, *The Modernization* pp. 19-20; Tekeli & İlkin, p. 7-9; Kansu, vol. 1, pp. 27-30; Sakaoğlu, pp. 18-20. On the other hand, as a positive interpretation of those primary schools, Cahit Yalçın Bilim clearly highlights that “the most important characteristic of schools is that they raised children in religious discipline and in an environment of love to each other, respect to elders.” Bilim, p. 3.

In fact, the picture had not been that pessimistic for Ottoman Empire. In other European states, like France, Germany or Britain, education had been excessively primitive before the nineteenth century. For that simple reason, Theodore Zeldin labeled this century as “the Age of Education.”²⁹

Early Westernization of the Military

A detailed analysis of the first steps of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire, through military, beginning from the late eighteenth century is not within the limits of this research. Nonetheless, it is still worth to be mentioned because the military was the first area where Ottomans were introduced with modern European ideas and techniques. In this section, I will briefly refer to that first period of modernization.

After the defeat against Russian Navy in 1770 at Navarino, Ottoman statesmen felt the need of making efforts to reverse the actual situation, which was quite negative for the empire. Education, apparently, seemed the best instrument to reach at that ideal. The first Ottoman institution that offered instruction in mathematics and military engineering, *Hendeshâne*, or the School of Mathematics, was founded on 29 April 1775 upon the request of Hasan Paşa, admiral of the navy. The main aim was to breed new generations of capable naval officers to compete with European armies. It became the first institution in the empire to provide a professional engineering education. Then in 1781, during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid I (1774-1789), the Engineering School (*Mühendishâne*) was instituted. Similar initiatives succeeded.³⁰

At those new institutions, students had only slightly different education than *medrese* learners: they were studying courses, making copies of drawings from models and examples,

²⁹ Fortna, p. 27.

³⁰ *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Gábor Ágoston & Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File Books, 2009), “education,” “Mühendishane”.

were examined by instructors. It reminded the French education system. The instructors of those schools were employed among Europeans, mostly French - such as Claude Alexandre Comte de Bonneval who were helpful in establishment of *Hendesehâne*. Engineering School was the first institution of education where students sit on benches; educational tools were utilized; courses were theoretically and practically taught; foreign language, especially French, was instructed; also, the school enjoyed a large library.³¹ Medium of instruction was Turkish in both *Mühendishânes*: the Imperial Military Engineering School (*Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyun*) and the Imperial Naval Engineering School (*Mühendishâne-i Bahrî-i Hümâyun*) which were established in 1806. Translations of books into Turkish made it unnecessary to master Persian and Arabic languages: they were taught only to complement Ottoman Turkish. French had already replaced them as *the* foreign language.³²

Despite all modernization efforts, one must always keep in mind that even at those schools, where Westernization was introduced; almost in every classroom *falaka* was applied as a form of punishment. Furthermore, modernization efforts did not come without any tension. The vizier of the time, Silahdâr Mehmed Paşa exiled Comte de Bonneval to Kastamonu. The imperial allocation provided to the school was taken back. Janissaries showed harsh reactions fearing of losing their jobs. Some sections of the army did not want to be trained in modern methods. Consequently, *Hendesehâne* had to cease to give education. This was an earlier example: in the following decades, there would be many reactions to the ongoing process of modernization from various strata of Ottoman society.³³

An interesting anecdote from the reign of Sultan Mustafa III (1757-1774) may illustrate the dominant mindset among Ottoman statesmen. The Sultan, impressed by his

³¹ Bilim, p. 33.

³² Tekeli & İlkin, p. 52.

³³ Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), p. 56; Bilim, p. 22.

hilarious military successes, wrote a letter to Prussian King Frederick II inquiring who his astrologers (*müneccim*) were, and asked if he could borrow them for the development of his own country. To the question, the king gave the answer that his three *müneccims* were “to read history and taking lessons from the past, to have a good army and train it as it should be, and finally to have a full treasury.”³⁴ On the other hand, İlber Ortaylı stated that Sultan Selim III, Sultan Mahmud II, and Ottoman statesmen of the period were aware of the changing circumstances, and they knew they had to change.³⁵

The already mentioned defeat against Russians at Navarino demonstrated the need of developing a modern military, hence a modern military education for Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, diplomatic ‘defeats’ against European states illustrated, this time, the incapability of ‘*ilmiyye*’ class to resolve international political problems. Consequently Ottoman bureaucrats, known as *kalemiyye*, became more powerful at the expense of ‘*ilmiyye*’ class. The social escalation of *kalemiyye* had been a development that one can encounter since the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) signed with Austrians. Scripts began to have more authority.

From KüçükKaynarca Treaty (1774) onwards, Phanariot Greeks were employed in the ranks of Ottoman bureaucracy because they spoke European languages, so they could represent the empire in Europe. It was their linguistic knowledge which provided them power. However, after Greek War of Independence (1821), the Sublime Porte could no more rely on those non-Muslim subjects and tried to look for alternatives.³⁶

³⁴ Akyüz, p. 125.

On the other hand Cahit Yalçın Bilim refers to the same event without putting the part about the *müneccim*. Instead, he stated that the behavior of the sultan illustrated his interest in sciences. Bilim, p. 24.

³⁵ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), p. 42.

³⁶ Tekeli & İlkin, p. 25.

It was under those circumstances that the Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) thought of establishing schools which would give officials high quality education. After the suppression of Janissaries in 1826, *Va'ka-i Hayriyye*, to make an entirely new arrangement in the military was absolutely necessary. Apparently, schooling was part of that re-organization: Imperial Medical Schools (*Tibhâne-i Âmire* and *Cerrâhhâne-i Ma'mûre*, 1826), War Academy (*Mekteb-i 'Ulûm-ı Harbiyye*, 1834) and Imperial Musical School (*Muzika-ı Hümâyûn Mektebi*, 1834) were established consecutively.³⁷ Eric Zürcher, referring to those schools argues that:

Studying modern medicine, biology and physics almost inevitably induced a rationalist and positivist mentality in the students, and the army medical school spawned an extraordinary number of reformist thinkers, writers and activists later in the century.³⁸

The new organization of the army required military officers that would be educated to develop a new mentality. The School of Military Training (*Ta'limhâne*) was established by Sultan Mahmud II in 1831, consequently, in order to provide basic education. The most important characteristic of that school was its curriculum which included modern military techniques together with religious courses.³⁹

Sultan Mahmud II grasped how important education was and would be: establishment of many schools during his reign reveals this fact.⁴⁰ Moreover, he also sent several children to Europe so that they would have modern, European education. At the beginning, he intended to

³⁷ Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 280-315.

³⁸ Eric Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2001), p. 44.

³⁹ Sakaoglu, *Osmanlı*, p. 63.

⁴⁰ His speech at the Medical School (1838) in which he highlighted the importance of the Turkish language is highly famous. For the entire text of that speech see Rıza Tahsin, *Tıp Fakültesi Tarihçesi: Mir'ât-ı Mekteb-i Tıbbiye*, ed. Aykut Kazancıgil (İstanbul: Özel Yayınlar, 1991).

send 150 students, yet after having encountered opposition, this number had to be reduced to 4 in 1827.⁴¹

Regarding the history of education, his *fermân* of 1824 is among the most important documents. In that *fermân*, the Sultan stated that in order to be a good Muslim, one should know the rules of Islam. However, for a certain period, families did not allow their children to go to school at the age of five or six, but instead wanted them to work as apprentices, so that they would contribute to family budget. If things remained as they were, serious problems would inevitably occur in the future. The *fermân* stipulated necessary measures: parents were to send their children to schools, not to masters before a certain age; children who worked as apprentices would be sent to school immediately.⁴² The edict concerned only the residents of the capital but even there, it was not obeyed. Many scholars, however, saw it as a step taken forward, since Sultan Mahmud II emphasized the need of education for children. On the other hand, there are some others who do not praise the *fermân*.

The *fermân* dictated the need of religious knowledge as a prerequisite to be a good Muslim. Therefore, religion would continue to dominate education: it would not be based on scientific knowledge. Niyazi Berkes read this development as “obligatory preparation of children for the other world,” and did not see it as a further positive step. In the past, he suggested, there had been other *fermâns* which were about compulsory education.⁴³

⁴¹ Even after his reign, this practice was followed. Between 1839 and 1876, almost two thousand students were sent to France. Out of that number, seventy percent was Muslim. Selim Sabit Efendi, who would be the most famous Ottoman pedagogue, was among those students in 1855. Bilim, p.114

⁴² “[...] *ümme-i Muhammed’denim diyen kâffe-i ehl-i İslâm’a göre ibtidâ şerâit-i İslâmiye’yi ve ‘akayid-i dîniyesini öğrenüb [...] çocukları beş altı yaşına vardığı gibi mektebden alub ehl-i hiref yanına şâkirdliğe verdiklerinden [...]*”

For the entire text of the ferman, see: Mahmud Cevad İbnü’ş-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrââtı: -19. Asır Osmanlı Maârif Tarihi-*, edited by Taceddin Kayaoğlu (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2001), pp. 3-5.

⁴³ “*Oysa ferman, ilköğretimin asıl amacının çocukları dünya işlerinin gereklerine değil, ahiret hayatına hazırlamak olduğunu ileri sürüyordu.*”

Furthermore, Bayram Kodaman claims that it was issued only to please the ‘*ulemâ*. At that period (just before the abolishment of Janissaries) the Sultan needed their political support and could assure it by issuing such laws.⁴⁴ Aziz Berker does not approve that *fermân* either. Considering the conditions of the period, nonetheless, he concludes that such an obligation would be evaluated as a development.⁴⁵ Nafi Atuf Kansu does not directly criticize the Sultan, yet, he compares contemporary European and Ottoman educations:

While in Europe, pedagogues like Pestalozzi and Froebel had their influence on education, and modern education meant more than mere reading and writing, the *fermân* of Sultan Mahmud II, above all, still recommended the need of having religious education based on nothing but the Qu’ran.⁴⁶

Necdet Sakaoğlu is another name to refute Sultan Mahmud II’s progressive mentality. If the Sultan had been such an ardent supporter of progress, he would not have left primary education (i.e. *sıbyân* schools) at the hands of ‘*ulemâ*, would not have paid heed to the reactions, would have sent more students to Europe for education, and he would have chosen

Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma* (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Kültür Yayınları, 2003), p. 208.

⁴⁴ Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), p. 3.

⁴⁵ “Ancak zamanın şartları göz önüne alınırsa ve hedefi dini olmakla beraber çocukların adına mektep denilen bir kurağdan geçirilmesi ihtiyacının baş gösterdiği düşünülürse bu mecburiyeti ilk öğretim alanında bir ilerilik telakki edebiliriz.” Aziz Berker, *Türkiye’de İlköğretim* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945) pp. 3, 7.

⁴⁶ “Avrupa’da Pestalozzi, Froebel... gibi pedagoglar tesirlerini yaparken, mecburi ve meccani tahsil milli ve cismani bir seciye ile teammüm ederken, okumak yazmak ve hesap öğrenmekten ibaret eski ananevi tahsil programı [...] 2. Mahmud fermanı hala ‘her bir şeyden evvel dini zaruretleri öğrenmekliği’ tavsiye ediyor.” Kansu, vol. 1, p. 58.

On the other hand, more recent studies prove that there was not a huge difference between Ottoman society and other European societies in terms of public education. Benjamin Fortna who contextualized the developments in Ottoman schooling system within a broader international picture noted down:

“While it would be foolish to attach too much importance to what may appear to be chronological coincidences, it is nevertheless instructive that the year 1869 marked not only the promulgation of the chief Ottoman plan for state education, but also the appearance of a key program in Russia, following on trips of two key Russian educationalists to Prussia and France. The following year marked the appearance in Japan of the ‘first comprehensive plan for all levels of education.’ In all cases the legislation called for a high degree of centralization and preceded a strong push in the crucial area of secondary education, among other similarities to be noted. Even in France, the source of some of the Russian and much of the Ottoman initiatives, there was a surprising degree of chronological convergence.”

Fortna, p. 28.

to re-organize *sıbyân* schools rather than establishing a new type of school called *rüşdiyye*.⁴⁷ His insecure political position on the eve of the abolishment of Janissaries, I suppose, made it difficult for Sultan Mahmud II to resist to ‘*ulemâ* and could not realize what he really had in mind.

Sakaoğlu also criticizes the Sultan for not trying to come up with a solution to modernize primary education. It was really difficult, nevertheless, to do anything different regarding those schools. One must not forget that ‘*ulemâ* could not bear losing its power in that area. Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Evkâf Nezâreti*) was established in 1826 to give a structure to that stratum. *Sıbyân* schools, which were under authority of ‘*ulemâ* was, unsurprisingly, situated under that institution.⁴⁸ Osman Nuri Ergin criticizes the chaotic environment of that period. Without even touching *sıbyân* schools -which, by the way, he identifies as *ana mektebi*, nursery school- a higher level institution was established: *rüşdiyye*. However, reaction from ‘*ulemâ* was significant in explaining why *sıbyân* schools had to be left at their hands. They were like ‘temples’ for conservatives who kept *Tanzîmât* people within a distance.⁴⁹

Indeed the Sultan tried to reorganize the existing conditions of *sıbyân* schools. No matter how much he wanted to re-shape these schools Sultan Mahmud II was unable to realize this under such a pressure from ‘*ulemâ* -at a time when he really needed their support. As soon as he understood he could not influence the education program at *sıbyân* schools, he decided to establish institutions which had not existed previously. In this way, he hoped to

⁴⁷ Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı*, pp. 64-65.

⁴⁸ Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye’de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, 1991), p. 40.

⁴⁹ “*Bu okullar [sıbyan okulları] mukaddes birer mabedmiş gibi mutaassıplar güruhu dinsiz saydıkları Tanzimatçıları bunların yanına asla yaklaştırmıyorlardı.*” Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 355, 383.

prevent the intervention of ‘ulemâ because, as İsmail Güven points out, this group could only oppose to the alternatives to already existing institutions -such as *sıbyân* schools or *medreses*. New types of schools -like *rüşdiyyes*, *idâdîs* and *sultânîs*- on the other hand, would not lead to such opposition.⁵⁰

Rüşdiyyes

Sultan Mahmud II understood the need of education officials for the new type of state he had in mind. His ideas were very parallel to the Edict of *Tanzîmât*. We can understand this by looking the necessary political and administrative moves he had made prior to the edict: the moves which laid the political and administrative basis of the following reforms.⁵¹

However, he could not remain on the throne long enough to see the edict be promulgated in 1839. Even before 1839, as reflections of his future projects, he established two new schools: School for Learning (*Mekteb-i Ma’ârif-i ‘Adliyye*; 11 February 1838) and School of Literary Sciences (*Mekteb-i ‘Ulûm-ı Edebiyye*, 19 March 1838). Those pioneering steps were important for fostering new generations of *Tanzîmât* officers.⁵²

As a matter of fact, in 1838 Council of Public Works (*Meclis-i ‘Umûr-ı Nâfi ‘a*) presented a memorandum (*lâyiha*) to the Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı ‘Adliyye*) proposing new types of education institutions to be established

⁵⁰ İsmail Güven, *Osmanlı Eğitiminin Batılulaşma Evreleri* (Ankara: Naturel Yayınevi, 2004), p. 47; Tekeli & İlkin, p. 62.

⁵¹ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire* (Lanham, Maryland and Oxford: The Scarerow Press, 2003), p. 289.

⁵² Tekeli & İlkin, p.63.

“İmamzâde Es’ad Efendi’nin Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyye Nezâreti’ne ta’yininden sonra küşâd olunacak mekteplerden neş’et edecek efendilerin aklâm-ı devâirede istihdâmı takarrur etmiş ise de bundan mukaddem aklâma alınmış olan efendilere mahsûs olmak ve rüşdiyye tahsili derecesinde ders gösterilmek üzere Sultan Ahmed Câmi’-i şerifi dâhilinde ‘Mekteb-i Ma’ârif-i Adli’ nâmiyle bir mekteb küşâd edilmiş ve bilâhare ‘Ma’ârif-i Adliyye’ ve ‘Ulûm-u Edebiyye’ unvânlarıyla iki şubeye taksim edilmiştir. Devlet-i Osmâniyye’de açılan ilk mekteb-i rüşdî işte budur.” Cevad, p.23

following *sıbyân* school. The text illustrated the irrefutable connection between development and education. Scientific knowledge was considered essential for social development. It criticized the disorder within the area of education. Instructors should have similar scholar qualities so that there would not be many differences among different schools. A high officer (*nâzır*) should be appointed in order to administer schools. According to the memorandum, students should be offered non-religious knowledge as well. The main aim was to prepare young generations for higher levels of education and to teach them new skills. It was quite an essential breaking point in the history of Ottoman education since it tried to bring a new type of learning.⁵³ Agreeing with the suggestions made by the councils, Sultan Mahmud II decided to open *rüşdiyye* schools as institutions of secondary education. “*Selâtin-i izâm mektepleri adıyla sınıf-ı sâni derecesinde*” is the term used in that memorandum.⁵⁴

Most of the sources cite School of Literary Sciences and School for Learning as first examples of *rüşdiyye*.⁵⁵ Bayram Kodaman, on the other hand, while acknowledging they were at the level of *rüşdiyye*, claims that that they could not be identified as proper *rüşdiyye* because of their different characteristics’. *Rüşdiyyes* would be opened only after 1845, he claims. His main argument is that the aim of other two institutions was to educate officers, while the aim of the new type of school was to prepare students for higher levels of education and to provide them new knowledge –as the memorandum of Council of Public Works implies.⁵⁶ In that matter, Osman Nuri Ergin’s position is similar to Kodaman’s.⁵⁷

⁵³ The entire text of the memorandum can be seen at Cevad, pp. 7-9.

⁵⁴ Mahmud Cevad gives the long lasting correspondences between those offices and institutions concerning the establishment of *rüşdiyyes*: pp. 7-21; Kodaman, p. 5.

⁵⁵ For an example, see Tekeli & İlkin, p. 63.

“*Bu iki okul, 1838’de Meclis-i Valaca kurulması kararlaştırılan rüşdiye okullarının ilk örnekleri olarak kabul edilmektedir.*”

⁵⁶ Kodaman, p. 18.

After a long period of correspondence between Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances and Council of Public Works, the former made the ultimate presentation (‘arz) to Sultan concerning this issue. As a result, Directorate of Rüşdiyye Schools (*Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyye Nezâreti*) was instituted in 1839, an organ under Ministry of Pious Foundations to organize *rüşdiyye* schools. İmamzâde Esâd Efendi, a member of ‘ulemâ was appointed as the director (*nâzır*).⁵⁸ Though the lower body prepared an innovative text, which Niyazi Berkes evaluated as “progressive even by today’s criteria”⁵⁹ in terms of education, what the upper chamber presented to the Sultan Mahmud II was not in line with that.

The Sultan left the issue in the hands of the *Şeyhü’l-islâm*, Mekkizâde Mustafa Asım Efendi, stating it was a matter of religion -agreeing the view of the Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances.⁶⁰ Therefore, the whole reform project could not be such a huge modification in terms of the nucleus of education. It should be recalled that the ‘ulemâ was still very influential in the state administration. Sultan Mahmud II could not tolerate losing their support. He desperately needed them to remain as the ruler and, consequently, to follow the reform projects he had in mind. That was why *sıbyân* schools could not be touched -it was left totally under religious hegemony. At least for *rüşdiyye* education, a new directorate could be set up to administer new schools. It seems the Sultan did not willingly leave education to

⁵⁷ Ergin, vol.2, p.335: “*gerek her iki mekteb gerek rüşdiyye mektepleri için.*” See our footnote 51 to see the position of Mahmud Cevad which is not similar to Kodaman’s.

⁵⁸ Until 1847, no new *rüşdiyye* would be opened. The two schools began to be controlled by the Directorate of Rüşdiyye Schools. Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 321-341.

⁵⁹ “*bugün için bile ileri denebilecek olan bu rapor*” Berkes, p. 182.

⁶⁰ “*Meclis-i Vâlâ’mızın işbu ‘arzu ve Dâr-ı Şûrâ-yı mezkûrenin mazbatasıyla müzekkireler manzûr ve ma’lûm-ı hümayûnumuz olmuştur. Bu husûs umûr-ı dîniyeden olmakla dînen ve mülken envâ’-ı fevâidi bâhir ve bedîhî olduğundan bi’l-muhâbere ‘arz ve istîzân olunduğu vechle tanzîmine bakılmak üzere efendi dâ’imimize [Mekkizâde Mustafa Asım Efendi] ifâde olunarak bu madde-i hayriyeye nâzır nasb ve tayin kılınmak üzere İmam-zâde Es’ad Efendi’ye Anadolu pâyesi tevcihiyle me’mûr kılınmış. Hakk-ı te’âlâ hazretleri her hâlde muvaffak ve âsâr-ı celîlesini mukadder eyleye âmîn.*” Cevad, p. 19. Emphasis is mine.

the ‘*ulemâ*’: he had to compromise with them because he was in a weak position. One can encounter other examples demonstrating the power the religious bureaucracy was holding.⁶¹

Rüşdî education was programmed for four years following *sıbyân* education. Its curriculum included Turkish grammar -together with religious instruction. Students were sitting on benches unlike old times, and educated with modern European techniques: at least this was the intention. The school was established to train the existing body of officers. Officers could send their children to that school, if they wished. From then on, only the graduates of that institution would be recruited by governmental offices. French was also part of the curriculum, yet one had to master in Arabic and Persian languages before that.⁶² Still under the influence of *ulemâ*, the curriculum of those schools was highly religious. Nonetheless, “for the first time in the Ottoman Empire, a Muslim non-military school offered [...] French, geometry, geography, history.”⁶³

Edict of *Tanzîmât*

As Yahya Akyüz puts it, during *Tanzîmât* Era, education was considered an important tool to save Ottoman Empire, especially after the promulgation of the Edict of *Islahat* in 1856. Political and social importance was assigned to it.⁶⁴ The *fermân* of Sultan Mahmud II in 1824

⁶¹ ‘*Ulemâ* had to be convinced at every step. For instance, blackboards were suggested to be used in the new schools. In order to convince the ‘*ilmiyye* on that issue, an argument was made stating that in the holy cities of Islam, i.e. Mecca and Medina, the black boards had been in use for many years.

“ ‘*Frenk icadı nesneye Kur’an harflerinin yazılması caiz değildir’ hezeyanından korkularak yönetmeliğe, alaylı bir aydının önerisi konarak ‘Medine ve Mekke’deki mekteplerde istimal edildiği üzere’ denildi.” Sakaoğlu, Osmanlı, p. 69.*

Interestingly, Yahya Akyüz claims that blackboards had been -in fact- in use in Mecca and Medina since many years: “*Mekke, Medine ve Arabistan’ın öteki yerlerinde kullanılan siyah taş tahta denen, üzerine yazı yazılan levhalar*” Akyüz, p. 140.

⁶² Koçer, p. 43; Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 324-341.

⁶³ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 35.

⁶⁴ Akyüz, p. 137.

referred solely to Istanbul. After the promulgation of *Tanzîmât*, however, it became obvious that not only the capital city, but the whole empire was in desperate need of education. In that sense, schools were to be opened throughout the empire -yet of no avail until the Hamidian Era. During the era of Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861), the successor of Sultan Mahmud II, education system was also on the agenda, as one of the most essential problems to be resolved. Since statesmen of the era had already been to other European states, they were familiar with European education. For instance, they knew that between primary and high education Europeans received had an intermediary level of schooling which was called “*lycée*.” On the other hand, they were also aware that they were not able to realize it under actual circumstances.⁶⁵

In 1845, the Temporary Council of Education (*Meclis-i Ma’ârif-i Muvakkat*) was instituted to prepare reform proposals regarding education. It was the result of a *fermân* (13 January 1845) -issued probably under the influence of Mustafa Reşid Paşa, the grand vizier. There emerged, accordingly, a need for eradication of ignorance, which could only be achieved by public education. The need was obvious for the establishment of secondary schools, colleges and professional schools. Both worldly and religious issues should be included into curriculum. Schools should be set up in provinces, not only in capital.⁶⁶ During October and November 1845, proposals of the Temporary Council of Education were presented to the Sublime Porte. There were four major points in the final text:

1. Education, as a whole, should be structured threefold: primary, secondary and higher. At every level of schooling modern techniques should be adopted.
2. *Sibyân* schools need reforms.
3. *Rüşdiyyes* should teach arts and sciences which are important for everybody.
4. A permanent educational council should be established.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Koçer, p. 54.

⁶⁶ Cevad, p. 28.

The last suggestion was the most practical. In June 1846 the Council of Public Education (*Meclis-i Ma'ârif-i 'Umûmiyye*) was set up. Since it included only one member of the '*ulemâ*, the council was regarded as the first step towards secularization of public education. Unlike the Directorate of Rüşdiyye Schools, the Council of Public Education was under direction of the Sublime Porte: head of the Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances, Sadık Rıfat Paşa, and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mustafa Reşid Paşa were its supervisors. In November 1846, a body of execution was instituted owing to a proposal of the Council of Public Education: the Directorate of Public Schools (*Mekâtib-i 'Umûmiyye Nezâreti*).⁶⁸

Another important achievement of that decade was the inauguration of the *Dârü'l-mu'allimîn* (Teachers' Seminary for Rüşdiyye Schools) in 1847.⁶⁹ New concept of schooling was prerequisite new generation of teachers. There was not, however, a single institution which would train instructors for that new system. For this task, a seminary was opened by Directorate of Public Schools. Yet, Osman Nuri Ergin explicitly acknowledges that the school was not very different than *medrese*: its first students were simultaneously attending *medreses*; teaching staff was composed of *hocas* and the emphasis in the curriculum was on Arabic language. To have a diploma of proficiency in Turkish language was not even obligatory.⁷⁰ As a result, newly trained teachers were not what the statesmen of *Tanzîmât* Era had in mind. We have to wait for the Edict of *Islâhât* to witness important steps in the field of education.

⁶⁷ Bilim, p. 150. For the official document on the establishment of that body, see Cevad pp. 25-27.

⁶⁸ Somel, *The Modernization*, pp. 38, 39.

⁶⁹ "*Mekâtibde etfale talim ve tedris ettirilecek ulum-ı aliye ve fûnun-u mukteziyenin suhulet-i talimi ve ileride mekâtib için hoca lazım geldikçe oradan almak üzere Darülmualimin tesis ve küşadına irade-i seniyye*" Bilim, p. 272; Cevad, p. 36.

⁷⁰ "*Darülmualimin medreseden çok farklı bir müessese değildi.*" Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 476, 477.

Edict of *Islâhât*

Edict of *Islâhât* (*Islâhât Fermânı*) of 1856 was the consequence of the Crimean War and Paris Peace Treaty. European states (England, France and Austria), emphasizing that the requirements of the *fermân* of 1839 were not fulfilled, imposed reforms on the Ottoman government. Unlike Edict of *Tanzimat*, this edict focused on the education system. Non-Muslims, from then on, would be able to receive education at public schools, whether military or not. The *fermân* openly gave permission to communities (*cema'ât*) to establish their own schools. Like public schools, they would be under public supervision executed by the Mixed Educational Council. To Muslims, the *fermân* did not bring any novelty.⁷¹

One of the most powerful figures of *Tanzîmât* Era, Ali Paşa, who was an ardent supporter of Ottomanism, defended the fraternity of all subjects, no matter what their religious beliefs were. What the *fermân* brought was reflected in his sentences:

It is a religious duty to develop our nation. If we are not able to do this, then we will be devastated. No matter what we do, even we set up Chinese walls to defend ourselves; communities who are [now] getting more education will be superior to us [in the future]. Let us educate our nation. If we insist on keeping things the way they are today, if we keep Christians away from the enlightenment, then we cannot be successful. As soon as possible, we should organize, develop schools, and educate Muslim and Christian children.⁷²

⁷¹ “Saltanat-ı seniyyem tebasından olanlar mekatib-i şahanemin nizamât-ı mevzularında gerek since ve gerek imtihanca mukarrer olan şerâiti ifa eyledikleri takdirde cümlesi bila-fark ve temyiz devlet-i aliyyem mekatib-i askeriyeye ve mülkiyesine kabul olunması ve bundan başka her bir cemaat maarif ve hiref ve sanayi’ e dair milletçe mektebler yapmağa mezun olup fakat bu makule mekatib-i umumiyyenin usul-i tedrisi ve muallimlerin intihabı, azası taraf-ı şahanemden mansub muhtelit bir meclis-i maarifin nezaret ve teftişi tahtında olması.” Bilim, p. 157.

⁷² “Milletimizin eğitimini ve bilgisini ileri noktalara götürmek bir farzdır. Bu başarılmazsa dayanamayıp biteriz. Her nasıl etsek, etrafımıza Çin Seddi gibi hisarlar çeksek, yine malumatlı kavimler bize galebe eder ve herşeyimizi refte refte elimizden alırlar. Milletimizi eğitelim, bu gerçekleşinceye kadar, bugünkü durumumuzu tutup gidelim dersek; Hristiyanlar’a aydınlanma ve hizmet kapısını açmayalım düşüncesinde ısrar edersek

The official freedom provided by *fermân* was an impulse for Ottoman Greek, Armenian and Bulgarian populations. After 1856 they began to establish more schools than they previously had. The Sublime Porte tried to counteract by opening up new schools. The extant administrative structure, Directorate of Public Schools, obviously, seemed to be insufficient for such a huge task of performing educational activities all over the empire. Consequently, instituting a new administrative structure seemed inevitable. Ministry of Public Education (*Ma'ârif-i 'Umûmiye Nezâreti*) was finally founded in April 1857 with expanded autonomy and extensive powers. Sami Abdurrahman Paşa was the first minister. Henceforth, the person who would deal with educational issues would be a minister and member of cabinet. It signified a move to modernization within Ottoman education. "Ottoman state began to put its whole weight on the establishment of a modern school system by introducing public education, including non-Muslim schools," wrote Somel, "under a better coordinated government control and to shape these in harmony with its centralistic designs."⁷³

As the *fermân* necessitated a council was formed: the Mixed Educational Council (*Meclis-i Muhtelit-i Ma'ârif*) in 1856 to organize all schools of Ottoman Empire, whether Muslim or not. One Muslim, one Greek-Orthodox, one Apostolic Armenian, one Catholic, one Protestant, and one Jew constituted the body. Each of them represented their *millets*. The situation reflected the Ottomanist ideal in the minds of *Tanzîmât* statesmen.⁷⁴

başaramayız. Bir an önce okulların düzenlenmesi ve yaygınlaştırılması ve Müslüman ve Hristiyan çocuklarının beraberce okutulması şarttır." Sakaoğlu, p. 74; Akyüz, p. 167.

⁷³ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 43.

⁷⁴ "This body had the authority to determine the quality of schools, the curricula and the selection of instructors." Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 43.

Since Bulgarians were not recognized as separate *millet* until 1870s, there was not any Bulgarian member. Bilim, p. 159.

The Council of Public Education, in parallel to this development, suggested re-arrangement of public education on a threefold basis. At the primary level, the medium of instruction at *sıbyân* schools would depend on communities and their curriculum was to include mostly religious subjects. Apparently the body foresaw separate schools for every *millet*. Then, in the secondary level the medium of instruction was to be Ottoman Turkish language, for the simple fact that graduates of *rüşdiyyes* were to become civil servants. At the last level there were professional schools. Each one of them would be free to choose its own medium of instruction depending on which fields of arts and sciences were to be taught. Except the primary level, instruction would be mixed (*muhtelit*). Primary education “should preserve the culture of religious community” and that is why it was suggested to be given in the communal language. Via *rüşdiyye* education, non-Muslims were expected to be educated as Ottoman subjects, they would be “socialized into the Ottoman imperial culture.”⁷⁵

In an 1861 document, namely Articles on the Duties of the Ministry of Education (*Ma'ârif Nezâreti'nin Vazîfelerine Dâir Mevâdd*), those ideas were approved by Ministry of Public Education. For the first time, all schools -except the Army, Naval and Medical schools which were under the authority of the army- of the empire were integrated under one system and connected to the ministry (“to supervise the order and the style of all schools in which all strata [of the society] get education”) –at least that was the intention.⁷⁶ Secondary and third level education would be mixed; the language of instruction would be Ottoman Turkish. The document, *inter alia*, put forward the necessary measures to be taken in preparing the curriculum of *rüşdiyye* in order to teach “requirements of civilization and material progress.”

⁷⁵ Somel, pp. 43, 44.

⁷⁶ “*her bir sınıfın tederrüs ve ta'allümleri için bulunacak kâffe-i mekâtibin nizâmât ve 'usûlüne nezâret etmek üzere*” Koçer, p. 62.

Like the proposals of the Council of Public Education, that document reflected Ottomanism, the main ideology of the era.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, those ideas, except connecting all schools to the ministry and making Ottoman Turkish language as the medium of instruction, remained theoretical. In general, non-Muslim students did not prefer going to public *rüşdiyyes*. Moreover, the Mixed Council did not function properly.⁷⁸ In February 1864, together with the Council of Public Education, it was dissolved and a new body was set up in June 1864 which combined them: the Board of Public Education (*Ma'ârif-i 'Umûmiye Heyeti*), later to be called the Educational Council (*Meclis-i Ma'ârif*). The new body consisted of two offices; the first one (*Dâire-i Mekâtib-i Husûsiye*) was concerned with Muslim primary schools and Islamic religious books, while the other (*Dâire-i Mekâtib-i 'Umûmiye*) dealt with all educational issues of Muslims and non-Muslims. The latter was mixed and consisted of non-religious members: six Muslims, two Greek Orthodoxes, two Catholic, two apostolic Armenian, one Protestant, and one Jew, as well as two secretaries.⁷⁹

Throughout the 1860s, much endeavor was spent to restructure *sıbyân* schools.⁸⁰ Now the only concern was not to train officers for public administration: education of ordinary people also became an essential issue. The need to reform primary education, therefore, was urgent. At the beginning, the aim was to provide religious education; now it gradually changed into offering a curriculum of Islamic and practically worldly content. The

⁷⁷ Cihat Yalçın Bilim, *Tanzimat Devrinde Türk Eğitiminde Çağdaşlaşma (1819-1876)* (Eskişehir: Eskişehir Anadolu Üniversitesi, 1984), p. 26. For the text of the document see Berker, p. 46.

⁷⁸ Cevad, p. 75.

⁷⁹ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 46. For the entire list of the members of those offices, see: Cevad pp. 76-78.

⁸⁰ In the abovementioned document of 1861, *sıbyân mektebi* signified all primary schools not only Qur'an schools. In order to differentiate the schools of Muslims, I deliberately use Muslim *sıbyân* schools. Mehmet Ö. Alkan states that, in 1863 there were 33,005 pupils in all primary schools of the empire. Mehmet Ö. Alkan, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme Sürecinde Eğitim İstatistikleri, 1839-1924*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), p. 20.

bureaucracy of education increased its authority over Muslim primary education at the expense of ‘ulemâ. In 1862, a new type of primary schools was established: *ibtidâi mektebi*. In the first place, 12 out of 360 Qur’an schools in the capital were chosen to be modified as *ibtidâi*. Since professionally trained instructors were really scarce, until 1871 no new *ibtidâi* schools would be founded.⁸¹ Rather than increasing the quantity, state tried to reach a certain level in quality.

In a similar vein, in order to train modern instructors for primary education the Teachers’ Seminary for Primary Schools (*Dârü’l-muallimîn-i Sıbyân*) was founded in November 1868.⁸² Until that time, Qur’an schools had been managed by *hocas*. Due to the insufficient number of professional teaching staff, even after the establishment of the seminary *hocas* kept tutoring children in primary schools in the following decades.

Rüşdî schools did not offer very good conditions either. Lack of modern instructors was also a drawback. Low quality of education offered in *rüşdiyyes*, led to another serious problem. During the 1860s, curriculum of *rüşdiyyes* and that of *medreses* did not differ so much: the former did not include modern sciences, and gave little emphasis to Ottoman Turkish language. In fact, a new school had already been founded in 1863 because it was believed that the graduates of *rüşdiyyes* were not sufficiently skilled to be civil servants: Outlet of Bureaus (*Mahrec-i Aklâm*).⁸³

In 1864, two famous *paşas* of *Tanzîmât* Era, Ali and Fuad Paşas asked French government for help in the field of education, in parallel with the Edict of *Tanzîmât*.⁸⁴ France,

⁸¹ Sakaoglu, *Osmanlı*, p. 86.

⁸² Bilim, *Türkiye’de*, p. 276; Koçer, p. 79; Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 49.

⁸³ Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 397-400.

⁸⁴ “*ma’ârif ve ‘ulûm ve sermâye-i Avrupa’dan istifâdeye bakılması.*” Berker, p. 12.

having considered the Sublime Porte unsuccessful to follow the requirements of Edicts of *Tanzîmât* and *Islâhât*, was ready to present a project. French Minister of Education, Jean Victor Duruy came to Istanbul and wrote down a report on the actual conditions of public education and prepared reform proposals. His efforts resulted in promulgation of the Regulation of Public Education (*Ma'ârif-i 'Umûmiye Nizâmnâmesi*) which formed a regulatory framework. Another significant result of the French initiative was the establishment of *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânî* (Imperial School, also known as *Lycée Galatasaray*), the first Ottoman *sultânî*, in September 1868.⁸⁵ According to many scholars, it was the only school which was founded on the basis of Ottomanism. There were students from every community who were following classes together without an ethnic separation. Yet, at the beginning, all non-Muslim communities reacted against that initiative and parents did not want to send their children to such a school. Then, obviously it would change.⁸⁶ Medium of instruction was French and it was intended, from the French imperial point of view, to be the first step of a French educational network in the Levant.⁸⁷

The Regulation of Public Education was promulgated on 1 September 1869, under the ministry of Safvet Paşa. It was a long term road-map for Ottoman education which aimed to arrange public education both in Istanbul and in provinces. The regulation had 198 articles

⁸⁵ For more details on that school see [Louis] de Salve, "L'enseignement en Turquie: le lycée impérial de Galata-Sérai", *Revue des deux mondes*, 5 (1874), pp. 836-53; Edouard Engelhardt, *Tanzimat ve Türkiye*, translated by Ali Reşad, (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınevi, 1999), pp. 249-252; Adnan Şişman, *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi'nin Kuruluşu ve İlk Eğitim Yılları, 1868-1871* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınevi); İhsan Sungu, "Galatasaray Lisesinin Kuruluşu", *Bellekten*, 7/28 (1943), pp. 315-347; Ergin, vol. 2, pp. 401-405; Fortna, pp. 110-126.

⁸⁶ There are various petitions written by non-Muslim parents demanding their children be accepted to *Mekteb-i Sultânî* as a student. For instance, see: BOA, MF.MKT. 286/54, 17 Rebiyyülahir 1313 [7 October 1895] Sometimes it was the *milletbaşı* who sent the petition. This demand was stemming from the Chief Rabbinate of İstanbul: BOA, MF.MKT. 331/8, 23 Rebiyyülevvel 1314 [1 September 1896]. Jak Nahmias, an Ottoman bureaucrat in ministry of finances, was among its Jewish graduates. *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, edited by Ekrem Çakıroğlu (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 1999), vol. 1.

⁸⁷ İlkin & Tekeli, p. 66.

subdivided in five chapters. It was very detailed and tried to integrate different education networks of the empire into a unique imperial legal framework.⁸⁸

A couple of months prior to the promulgation of Regulation of Public Education, on 24 May 1868, imperial government published a statement making primary education compulsory.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, it did not work. That is why the Regulation of Public Education followed the same path: boys between seven and eleven, and girls between six and ten years of age were supposed to attend primary schools. In every village and neighborhood (*mahalle*) there had to be one primary school. Then, every district with more than 500 households (*hâne*) had to have a *rüşdiyye*. If the district had more than 1000 households, then an *idâdi*⁹⁰ -a novelty brought by the Regulation of Public Education- should have been established. *Sultânîs*, -of which *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânî* was the first example- were to be set up in provincial centers. There would be a central council in capital and provincial branches in provinces to secure coordination and to administer educational issues in an empire-wide scale.⁹¹

Regulation classified schools into two categories: public (*‘umûmî*) and special (*husûsî*). The latter included the schools established by non-Muslim communities, by foreigners, and by Muslim individuals. Public primary schools and *rüşdiyyes* were not mixed: every community was expected to possess its own schooling. Medium of instruction in

⁸⁸ Cevad, pp. 424-459.

⁸⁹ “*tahsîl-i ibtidâiyenin mecbûrî tutulması için hükûmet-i seniyyece bir beyânnâme-i resmî tebliğ olunmuştur*” Cevad, pp. 87-88; Berker, p. 64.

⁹⁰ *İdâdi* was designed to prepare graduates of *rüşdiyye* schools for higher education, i.e. *sultânîs*. In theory, it was supposed to equalize the levels of the graduates from different *rüşdiyye* schools. The word literally means preparation.

⁹¹ Articles 1, 3, 6 of the Regulation of Public Education

courses of sciences and religion was to be the language of that specific community. From the level of *idâdî*, however, the education would be mixed.⁹²

Instructors, in all levels of schooling, had to be Ottoman subjects. A university (*Dârü'l-fünûn*) was to be founded in the capital. In order to train professional teachers for girls' schools, the Teachers' Seminary for Women (*Dârü'l-mu'allimât*) would be established. Old fashion instruction techniques were to be quit so that new paradigms for teaching would prevail. Another innovation was popular support for funding of education. Families would be asked to make financial contributions to local schools in order to create an intimate connection between people and education in general. The regulation accentuated promotion of secular knowledge, locating religion in a subordinate position.⁹³

It seems essential not to be overwhelmed by the meticulous administration plan that regulation brought. As many scholars argue, the regulation should be considered as an idealized design rather than a realistic agenda, because there were many problems in its application. For instance, religious education in *medreses* was not mentioned because reaction from conservative groups was still an important threat to refrain from. Another reason of this lack was the fact that *medreses* were part of the ministry of religious foundation (*evkaf nezareti*). A second shortcoming, it omitted any mention of vocational, technical or commercial education. The regulation did not address to those issues.⁹⁴

Some of those ideas stayed on paper, some others were partially realized. As already mentioned, *idâdîs* and *sultânîs*, two new types of schooling were to be instituted. Nevertheless, in 1876 only five *idâdîs* existed throughout the entire empire –four were in

⁹² Articles 33, 129 and 130 of the Regulation of Public Education.

⁹³ Articles 4, 8, 79 and 178 of the Regulation of Public Education.

⁹⁴ Koçer, p. 83; Kazamias, p. 93; Bilim, *Türkiye'de*, p. 169.

Istanbul and one in Yanya (Ioannina).⁹⁵ *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânî* remained the only *sultânî* for a long time. Despite efforts to educate modern instructors, the number of graduates of teachers' seminary did not correspond to the increasing number of schools all over the empire. This would remain one of the most delicate issues of education even during the twentieth century. Almost until the end of the nineteenth century, teachers and students of military schools, together with lower bureaucrats, were employed by public schools in order to overcome the problem of insufficient number of teachers.

The Regulation of Public Education left *sıbyân* schools at the hands of local people. They were expected to support primary education of their children. However, in most of the cases, they failed to do so. Financial contribution to primary education was always exceedingly limited, and it had negative influence over the quality of primary schools which remained undeveloped.⁹⁶

“The RPE [Regulation of Public Education] could be seen as a part of the Ottomanist project by trying to integrate Muslim, non-Muslim and foreign schools within a legal framework, and to found government schools for non-Muslim communities.”⁹⁷ Somel, not only does he highlight the Ottomanist aspect of that regulation, but he does not deny its failure either. “Being a late Tanzimat Enlightenment project in a sense, the latter stipulations were never put into application.”⁹⁸

It maybe be relevant to open a parenthesis here and remember a similar but earlier effort. The idea of mixed education was actually not a novelty, it was also included in the

⁹⁵ Kodaman, p. 118.

⁹⁶ Bilim, *Türkiye'de*, pp. 169-173. Aziz Berker criticizes the regulation for not touching the issue of financing primary education: p. 73.

⁹⁷ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 83.

⁹⁸ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 84.

abovementioned document of 1861 -*Ma'ârif Nezâreti 'nin Vazîfelerine Dâir Mevâdd*. That document foresaw mixed education even in *rüşdiyyes*, in order to strengthen ties between individuals from different *millets*. Nevertheless, very few non-Muslim students went to public schools. Since they were not obliged to do military service, going to military schools was meaningless for them. They mostly preferred medical schools. Even there, non-Muslim students could not share the same benefits which the Muslim counterparts were entitled by the state.⁹⁹

The Regulation of Public Education was no different for that matter. It was prepared with an Ottomanist point of view, yet mixed education was not foreseen until *idâdî* level. Provincial educational councils, whose establishment was initiated by regulation, were to be composed of Muslim as well as non-Muslim individuals. But, among others only the council of Selânik was in accordance to that.¹⁰⁰ In the meantime, during the Hamidian Era, the case would be similar. In 1902, even at those provinces where an important percentage of non-Muslims inhabited, provincial educational councils did have neither Christian nor Jewish members: Haleb, Ankara, Aydın, Beyrut, Diyarbekir, Yanya, Kosovo, and Manastır (Bitola).¹⁰¹

As indicated above, it can be concluded that the regulation of 1869 was an essential step in overall transformation of Ottoman education in the nineteenth century. The document, admittedly, is suffering from many drawbacks and most of its statements stayed on paper. One can argue that it aimed at bringing a new administrative scheme to the imperial

⁹⁹ Ergin, vol. 2, p. 602.

For the petition of the Chief Rabbinate of İstanbul thanking the sultan for having allowed Jewish children to study at medical school, see appendices. Here are a couple of Jews who were graduates of Medical School: İzidor Greiwer, Rafael Dalmediko, Moiz Barzilay, Behor Kamhi, and İliyas Kohen. *Yaşamları*, vol. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 96.

¹⁰¹ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 102.

schooling. It was an attempt of centralization. With the help of their financial contributions to *sıbyân* schools, people were tried to be directly integrated into the system. In fact, members of provincial councils were supposed to be chosen by local people. In practice, however, it did not work. “In terms of the membership structure, most of the ECs [Educational Council of a Province, *Vilâyet Meclis-i Ma’ârifî*] and the ECos [Educational Commission of a *sancak* or a *kazâ*, *Ma’ârif Komisyonu*, *Ma’ârif Encümeni*] before 1881 consisted of religious local dignitaries (*müderris*, *şerîf*, *nakîb-üleşrâf*, *hâfız*, etc.) headed by the *müftî*.”¹⁰²

Non-Muslim students did not prefer entering to public schools in great numbers. They exclusively chose communal or foreign schools. After 1869, in order to be able to enter public *rüşdiyyes*, students were required to prove their knowledge of Turkish language, medium of instruction at public schools. It certainly created an obstacle. However, Selçuk Akşin Somel refers to some Armenian and Albanians who were “active teachers and educational administrators [...] in the provinces during the Tanzimat and the Hamidian years. [Such as] Davut Şükrü Efendi, Bayram Topulli, Mihran Boyacıyan, Karabet İmirzian.”¹⁰³ Armenians worked mostly in Adana, Diyarbekir, Malatya, Mamüretülaziz, Tokat and Urfa. Without explaining why he considered Armenians as Turkish speakers, Somel claims that the strong existence of Armenian teaching staff may be the result of “the fact that the relatively well educated Armenians of the Ottoman Empire constituted in a sense a reserve group for Turkish speaking qualified instructors in the face of the limited number of qualified Muslim teaching staff.”¹⁰⁴

Before proceeding to the Hamidian Era, I will briefly refer to some points that seem important. As already mentioned, inauguration of new *ibtidâîs* was postponed. In 1872 at

¹⁰² Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 96.

¹⁰³ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 127.

¹⁰⁴ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 127.

Nuruosmaniye neighborhood, a *numûne ibtidâi mektebi* was opened. It was intended to be an example for future primary schools providing education with the new style (*'usûl-i cedîde*). Thanks to its success three other schools were founded in 1876, in Istanbul. Thenceforth Ottoman bureaucracy of education made it clear that schools of new style would be under its control.¹⁰⁵

Under the influence of European intellectual world, Selim Sabit Efendi wrote a book about teaching technique in 1870, *Rehnumâ-yı Mu'allimîn* (Guidebook for Instructors). A few years later, he wrote another brochure about techniques of primary education *Rehnumâ-yı Mu'allimîn-i Sıbyân* (Guidebook for Instructors of Primary Schools).¹⁰⁶ It demonstrated the importance devoted to primary education at the period. His book was a part of modernization efforts within Ottoman education system. So was the establishment of teachers' seminary for primary schools in the 1870s. New style primary schools (*'usûl-i cedîde*) were financed by state. It should be recalled that other primary schools (those of the old style, *'usûl-i 'atîka*) were not economically allocated as such.

In 1875, a new initiative was introduced in primary education. The primary schools of the capital were thought to be directed by local committees (*meclis-i tedrîsiyye*). They would be elected by locals who would administer local schools. Indeed, this initiative was based on the fourth article of the regulation of 1869. Although it was an effort to create some interconnectedness between local people and primary schools, it really could not be put into practice due to the war in 1877.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless, one can observe that towards the end of the

¹⁰⁵ Kodaman, pp. 71-73.

¹⁰⁶ Berker, p. 84.

¹⁰⁷ Cevad, pp. 130-136.

“Dersaadet ve Bilâd-i Selâsede bulunan mekatib-i sıbyaniyenin idaresi için ahalice intihab olunacak azadan mürekkeb olmak üzere teşkil olunacak mecalis-i tedrîsiyye ve şu'belerin suret-i teşkiliyle vazifeleri hakkında 22 Rebiyyülevvel 292'de i'lan olunan ta'limatdır.”

century, primary education was given a paramount position, unlike the first days of the *Tanzîmât* era.¹⁰⁸

Another important point was the Constitution (*Kanûn-i Esâsî*) promulgated in 1876.

Articles 15, 16, 110 and 114 are concerned with education:

Art. 15: Education is free. Every Ottoman can attend public or special schools on condition of conforming to the law

Art. 16: All schools are under state supervision. Proper means will be devised for harmonizing and regulating the instruction given to all the Ottomans, but without interfering with the religious education in the various districts

Art. 110: The functions of the Provincial Council-General shall be fixed by the same special law, and shall comprise: The right of deliberating on matters of public utility, such as the establishment of means of communication, the organization of “*caisses de crédit agricole*,” the development of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, and the diffusion of education.

The right of applying to the competent authorities for the redress of acts committed in contravention of the laws and regulations as regards assessment or collection of taxes or any other matter.

Art. 114: Primary education will be obligatory on all Ottomans. The details of application will be fixed by a special law.¹⁰⁹

Ergin, vol. 3, pp. 895-905. Ergin enlists the members of the committees. Without doubt what was attempted was to create connection between Muslim people and education: non-Muslim communities formed an example for that matter.

¹⁰⁸ Koçer, p. 97; Bilim, *Tanzimat*, p. 220.

¹⁰⁹ “15: *Emr-i tadrîs serbesttir. Mu’ayyen olan kânûna tebâ’iyyet şartı ile her Osmânlı ‘umûmî ve husûsî tadrîse me’zûndur.*

16: *Bi’l-cümle mektepler devletin taht-ı nezâretindedir. Teba-i ‘Osmâniyye’nin terbiyyesi bir sıyâk-ı ittihât ve intizâm üzere olmak için iktizâ eden esbâba teşebbüs olunacak ve milel-i muhtelifenin ‘umûr-u itikâdiyyelerine müte’allik olan ‘usûl-i ta’lîmiyyeye halel getirilmeyecektir.*

110: *Vilâyet Mecâlis-i ‘Umûmiyyesi’nin vezâfi yapılacak kânûn-ı mahsûsunda beyân olunacağı veçhile turûk-ı meâbir tanzîmî ve itibâr sandıklarının teşkîli ve sanâyi ve ticâret ve felâhâtın teshîli gibi ‘umûr-ı nâfi’aya müte’allik mevadd hakkında ve ‘umûma âit ma’ârif ve terbiyyenin intişârı yolunda müzâkerâta şâmil olmakla beraber, tekâlif ve mürettebât-ı miriyyenin sûret-i tevzî’ ve istihsâlinde ve mu’âmelât-ı sâirede kavânîn ve nizâmât-ı mevzûa ahkâmına muhâlif gördükleri ahvâlin müte’allik olduğu makâm ve mevki’lere teblîğ ile tashîh ve ıslâhı zımmında ‘arz-ı ıstikâ etmek selâhiyetini dâhil muhtevî olacaktır.*

Education became part of the recently promulgated constitution. This situation demonstrates that Ottoman government, like its European counterparts, comprehended the importance of education, and proved it by elevating the issue to the constitutional level.

Hamidian Era

Some sources refer to the Hamidian Era as the “period of expansion” for Ottoman education, in terms of geographical expansion and number.¹¹⁰ Education opportunities, until then, had been concentrated in the capital. From then on, more and more schools began to be opened in provinces, and provincial public administration was built. In 1898 every province, but Hicaz, enjoyed local educational administration. Vocational schooling became part of imperial education system in that period, through *Hamidiyye Mekteb-i Sanâî’-i Âlî*. High education was also covered by the Hamidian state: many schools of the kind were opened at different localities. A medical school was established at Şâm (Damascus) in 1903, a law school in 1879 at Selânik. In every city which had a branch of army, a military academy was founded after 1904: Şâm, Bağdâd, Erzincan, Edirne, and Manastır. In 1900, *Dârü’l-fünûn* was re-opened.¹¹¹

In order to supervise the sons of prominent figures of his time, Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) established *Şehzâdegân Mektebi* at Yıldız, near Yıldız Palace, where students were trained as loyal servants to him away from harmful ideas.¹¹² In 1892, ‘*Aşîret Mektebi*

114: *Osmânlı efrâdının kâffesince tahsîl-i ma’ârifin birinci mertebesi mecbûrî olacak ve bunun derecât ve teferru’âtı nizâm-ı mahsûs ile ta’yîn kılınacaktır.*”

The English translation can be found at <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/OttomanConstitution1876.htm>

¹¹⁰ For an example, see Tekeli & İlkin: “*Bu sistemin tüm imparatorluğu kapsayacak biçimde uygulanması II. Abdülhamid döneminde olmuştur denebilir.*” p. 75.

¹¹¹ Tekeli & İlkin, pp. 75-83.

¹¹² Ergin, vol. 3, pp. 858-886.

was inaugurated at Kabataş: it aimed at educating sons of various Albanian, Kurdish and Arab tribe leaders and at recruiting them in Ottoman administration. Through this initiative, he tried to keep ‘unreliable tribes’ under his control and to integrate those young boys into Ottoman administration.¹¹³

In 1891, a new regulation was promulgated: Special Instruction for the *İbtidâî* schools in Istanbul (*Dersa’âdet Mekâtib-i İbtidâîyyesi İçin Ta’lîmât-ı Mahsusa*). Thanks to that regulation, the distinction between *ibtidâîs* and *sıbyân* schools ceased to exist in Istanbul; they were to be called *ibtidâîs*. Yet, their differences would persist until a certain point: the former was giving education in new method (‘*usûl-i cedîd*’) while the latter in old method (‘*usûl-i ‘atîka*’).¹¹⁴

Primary schools began to spread all over the empire. Although we do not know exactly how many primary schools existed, we have at least some estimates. According to Necdet Sakaoğlu, towards 1900 there were 264 primary schools in the capital city giving education to 13,000 students.¹¹⁵ Bayram Kodaman, referring to *Ma’ârif Salnâmesi* of 1898, claims, there were almost 22,000 *ibtidâîs* throughout the empire.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, between 1877 and 1893, Sultan Abdülhamid II himself instituted numerous primary schools on his personal property (*emlâk-i hümâyûn*) -it is important to notice that none of them was in the Ottoman capital.¹¹⁶ Rather than focusing on calculation, which can be quite misleading in the late

¹¹³ Ergin, vol. 3, pp. 979-982.

For more details on that school, see: Selim Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains; Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1900* (New York: I.B.Tauris, 1998); Eugene Rogan, *Aşiret, Mekteb, Devlet: Osmanlı Devleti’nde Aşiret Mektebi*, (İstanbul: Aram, 2001).

¹¹⁴ Cevad, pp. 287-304.

¹¹⁵ Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı*, p. 102.

¹¹⁶ Kodaman, p. 85-87. Mehmet Ö. Alkan gives a more detailed account describing the schools of different levels of each and every vilayet. pp. 121-160.

Ottoman period, we must be aware of the increasing number of schooling institutions and their extension to provinces:

Discrepancies concerning a variety of details, ranging from the time elapsed between the first proposal to open a school in a specific location and its first day of operation, to varying figures concerning the costs involved, and, as we have just seen, the changes in the level of some schools [some schools were integrated into another], have hindered attempts to provide an accurate statistical picture of the schools present in the empire at any given time.¹¹⁷

This development was not accidental. The Sultan really endeavored to improve primary education. When we look into the Hamidian public education in a broader perspective, we can realize it. For instance, primary education was made compulsory -though it was not a novelty, one should not forget that previous efforts could not produce the desired result. The bureaucracy of ministry extended into provinces. In Selçuk Akşin Somel's terms, "a more comprehensive and consistent policy of educational institutionalization at the provincial level" was realized in that period.¹¹⁸ The primary schools giving education in old method were introduced with the new method. Local people were asked to contribute to the education of their children financially, at least in primary level. In addition to the one in the capital, new teachers' seminaries were established in provinces. These schools intended to resolve the problem of insufficient number of teachers.¹¹⁹

The extension of primary education into provinces was another essential feature of the Hamidian Era. Until that time, education was more or less limited to Istanbul and some other important port cities. Nevertheless, during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, the whole picture altered. One can find several reasons behind that change. It was believed that

¹¹⁷ Fortna, p. 123.

¹¹⁸ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 97.

¹¹⁹ Kodaman, p. 70.

education could only be extended into provinces via primary schools. Provincial bureaucrats were warning the central government about the necessity of modern primary schooling in their provinces. Rather than establishing schools of higher levels which would not be very useful for rural people, it was necessary to found primary schools which would give more basic instructions: to read and write, and to perform the four basic mathematical calculations.

Another important stimulus for Sultan Abdülhamid II to concentrate on public schooling was the competitive environment created by foreign schools. Ottoman sultan felt responsible to compete with those foreign, and ‘malicious,’ institutions so that the state would not be dissolved. As Benjamin Fortna argues, the competition provided an *élan* for Ottoman public instruction to be developed. As a consequence of that mentality, the opportunity to get basic education had to be offered to Muslim children via public schooling -so that they would not prefer foreign institutions. Moreover, since Turkish would be the medium of instruction, primary education would also make it the common language for Ottoman citizens. In a similar vein, it would also strengthen the common Ottoman identity among students from different communities. To be able to do that, regulation regarding establishment of mixed primary schools was enforced. However, this remained in theory only; every religious community kept its own schooling system. Ottomanist aspect of education moved increasingly to a luminal position. Furthermore, especially after the 1890s, Islamic religious information would dominate the curricula. Therefore, public primary education would be essential to teach Islamic and moral social values.¹²⁰

The aforementioned regulation of 1891, together with other modifications, brought a new curriculum for primary schools of the capital city and its surroundings: Curriculum Specific to the *İbtidâî* Schools of Istanbul and Its Provinces (*Dersa’âdet ve Kasabât İbtidâî*

¹²⁰ Kodaman, p. 78. It can be read as an attempt to compete with primary schools of the old method, *mahalle mektepleri*.

Mekteblerine Mahsûs Müfredât Programı). Until 1909, it would remain more or less unchanged: *elifbâ* (alphabet), *Kur'an*, *tecvîd* (the art of reading, reciting or chanting the Qur'an), *'ilm-i hâl* (religious teaching), *ahlâk* (ethics), *sarf-ı 'Osmânî* (grammar of Ottoman Turkish), *imlâ* (orthography, spelling), *kıra'ât* (reading), *mûlahhas târîh-i 'Osmânî* (brief Ottoman history), *muhtasar coğrafyâ-yı 'Osmânî* (brief Ottoman geography), *hesâb* (calculations), and *hüsn-i hatt* (calligraphy).¹²¹

On the other hand, provincial primary schools did not offer the same curriculum. As previously stated, they aimed at giving more basic instruction. Until that regulation, what had been taught at those schools was as the following:

[First year] *elifbâ*, *kıra'ât*, *kitâbet-i Kur'aniyye* (writing Koran),

[Second year] *'akâid* (beliefs), *Kur'an*, *'ilm-i hâl*, *hesâb*, *imlâ*, *yazı* (writing),

[Third year] *Kur'an*, *tecvîd*, *vezâife-i etfâl* (the duties of children), *kisâs-ı enbiyâ* (anecdotes of prophets), *ma'lûmât* (knowledge), *kısa kavâid* (brief rules of Ottoman Turkish), *Türkçe* (Turkish composition), *yazı*.¹²²

The regulation of 1891 brought some changes and the curriculum began to be formulated as follows: *elifbâ*, *eczâ-yı şerîfe* (parts of Qur'an), *Kur'an*, *'ilm-i hâl*, *hesâb*, *kıra'ât*, *hatt* and *imlâ*. In some of them, basic training on agriculture was also provided.¹²³

Rüşdiyyes have already been referred to in the previous pages. As a part of the general pattern, they were highly promoted during Hamidian rule. Before 1876 there had been 423 *rüşdiyyes* which were giving education to almost 20,000 students.¹²⁴ Unfortunately, most of the school premises were not qualified for proper education. Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-

¹²¹ Ergin, vol. 3, p. 906; Cevad, pp. 294-304.

¹²² Kodaman, p. 87.

¹²³ Kodaman, p. 88; Sakaoglu, *Osmanlı*, p.111.

¹²⁴ Kodaman, p. 95.

1878 caused the loss of many *rüşdiyyes* which were located in the provinces of Tuna (Danube), Sofya and Bosna-Hersek, which were no more part of the Ottoman realms. In other words, after the 1877-1878 War, the number of *rüşdiyyes* were approximately down to 300.¹²⁵ The need of establishing new schools was apparent. In 1879, Selim Sabit Efendi was appointed to the head of Office of Rüşdiye Schools (*Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyye Dâiresi*) as part of re-organization of Ministry of Public Education. Thenceforth, new schools would be founded in the whole empire. From 1878 to 1883, almost 170 new schools were opened.¹²⁶

When we look at the memoirs of Grand Vizier Mehmed Said Paşa, we learn that between 1879 and 1885 Sultan Abdülhamid II established 17 *rüşdiyyes* in the capital and another 119 in the provinces –thanks to Said Paşa’s encouragement.¹²⁷ In 1909, the very last year of the Hamidian rule, we find 72 civilian *rüşdiyyes* at Istanbul: 33 of them were public and the rest were private.¹²⁸

In provinces, *rüşdiyyes* had been gaining importance until 1889. That year it was decided to close them in the localities where there was already an *idâdî*. The reasons behind this were as follows: to decrease *rüşdî* education into two years; to use *rüşdiyye* buildings as primary school buildings in the villages where there were not many students; and to build larger primary schools so that they can include *rüşdiyye* classes. The *rüşdî* education was added into the *idâdî* education. Thus, the former became meaningless. Their teaching staff and financial sources were transferred to *idâdî* schools: they would gain importance from then

¹²⁵ Kodaman, p. 96.

¹²⁶ Kodaman, p. 96.

¹²⁷ Küçük Said Paşa, *Said Paşanın Hatıratı* (Dersaadet: Sabah Matbaası, 1912), vol. 1, p. 156.

¹²⁸ Kodaman, p. 101.

on. Towards the end of the Hamidian period, 619 *rüşdiyyes* were giving education to 40,000 students in the whole empire.¹²⁹

Again in accordance with a report (*lâyiha*) of Said Paşa, French language was included in their curriculum in 1879, so that young generations could easily learn commerce and arts, and they could be “raised [as] economically productive individuals.”¹³⁰ That same year, the *rüşdiyyes* at commercial centers, such as Selânik, Beyrût, Şâm, Edirne and Trabzon began to teach French.¹³¹ Those cities were deliberately chosen because several foreign and communal schools were offering education of high quality. As a result, state felt the need to compete with them at those localities. Including French courses into the curriculum of public *rüşdiyyes* caused many reactions among conservative circles which harshly criticized that decision. Even in the early 1880s, religion was suggested to have a preponderant place in curricula of all schools. Despite all negative responses, French language lessons were not yet excluded from the curriculum. The curriculum of the *rüşdiyye* of Şam in 1883 may be illustrating:

[First year] *Sarf-ı ‘Arâbî* (Arabic grammar), *ta’lîm-i Fârsî* (Persian), *amâl-ı erba’â* (basic calculations), *imlâ*, *‘ilm-i hâl*, *ahlâk*, *hatt-ı sülûs* (an advanced kind of calligraphy).

[Second year] *Arapça*, *kavâ'id-i Fârsî* (grammar of Persian language), *muhtasar hesâb* (brief calculations), *Avrupa coğrafyası* (European geography), *tercüme* (translation), *inşâ ve kıra’ât* (writing and reading), *rik’a ve sülûs* (two different kinds of calligraphy).

[Third year] *Gülistân*,¹³² *hesâb*, *coğrafyâ*, *imlâ ve inşâ*, *fezleke* (summarizing), *Fransızca* (French), *hatt-ı rik’a* (a kind of calligraphy).

¹²⁹ Kodaman, pp. 97-105, 107.

¹³⁰ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 175.

¹³¹ “*Yine sene-i mezkûrede [1879] mekâtib-i rüşdiyyede Fransızca tadrîsi kolaylaştırılarak bi’l-imtihân mu’allimîn ta’yîn edilmiş.*” Cevad, p. 175.

¹³² “The Rose Garden” is a landmark literary work in Persian literature. Written in 1259 C.E., it is one of two magna opera of the Persian poet Sa’di, considered one of the best medieval Persian poets.

[Fourth year] *risâle-i erbâ'a* (four booklets-?), *Gülistân, cebir, coğrafyâ, hendese, usul-i defter* (accounting), *kavâ'id-i 'Osmâniyye* (rules of the Ottoman language), *inşâ, Fransızca, fezleke, târîh-i 'Osmânî* (Ottoman history), *hatt-ı rik'a*.¹³³

This curriculum could only be applicable in large schools at provincial centers. In rural schools which had only one or two teachers, such a curriculum was highly impossible. Theirs was more modest: religious courses, Arabic, basic calculations, Persian, orthography, grammar, ethics, and history.¹³⁴

In 1892, a new curriculum for *rüşdiyyes* was prepared. There would now be more classes for Turkish at the expense of Arabic language. Apart from that more courses on religion were offered. Ottoman imperial education gained more moral and religious aspect beginning from the early 1890s. Criticisms against French as an obligatory course became gradually effective. Ultimately in 1892, French courses were taken out the curriculum of public schools.¹³⁵

Another level of public education was *idâdî*. A new kind brought by the regulation of 1869, it was not given emphasis until 1885 due to the lack of necessary funds. In 1884, thanks to the efforts of Grand Vizier Mehmet Said Paşa, financial problem was somehow resolved. Until that year, *idâdîs* were only in capital and they numbered no more than six. Although we can barely find one in Yenişehir of Yanya which was founded in 1873 -i.e. prior to the Hamidian Period- we do not have any further information about this institution.¹³⁶ Beginning from 1885, new schools began to be established in the provinces: Yanya, Bursa, Edirne,

¹³³ Kodaman, p. 111.

¹³⁴ Kodaman, p. 112.

¹³⁵ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 177.

¹³⁶ “İki sene mukaddem Dersaadet'te te'sis edilmiş olan mekteb-i idadinin nazırı ve taşra idadilerinin birincisi olarak o vakit Yanya vilayetine tabi' Yenişehir'de bir mekteb-i idadi te'sis olunmuştur.” Cevad, p. 141.

Kal'a-i Sultâniyye were pioneering examples. Then, we find many other provincial schools in places such as Selânik, Izmir, Rodos, Konya, Trabzon, Ankara, Bitlis, and so on. Until 1892 a total of 34 schools were instituted in provinces.¹³⁷ In a parallel with *ibtidâîs* and *rüşdiyyes*, we witness a rapid increase in their number.

Provincial *idâdîs* were of two kinds: boarding (*leylî*) and day-school (*nehharî*). Depending on their financial conditions, some *idâdîs* could offer boarding facilities, while the majority was day-school. The *leylî* type offered seven years of education, and the *nehharî* five years. The latter was indeed “a lower kind of a secondary school,” whereas the others functioned as “a preparatory school for higher professional schools.”¹³⁸ In 1892, we observe boarding schools only in Yanya, İzmir, Şâm, Selânik and Beyrut.¹³⁹ As Bayram Kodaman highlights, boarding schools were a real burden for the budget. Through some calculations, he concludes that the cost of an average boarding-school was five times higher than an ordinary day-school.¹⁴⁰

Despite that, in 1892, an imperial decree was promulgated “which approved the addition of boarding facilities to those provincial *idâdî* schools located at the vilayet-centers to serve students from distant *kazas*.”¹⁴¹ Consequently, the *idâdîs* at provincial centers would be schools offering seven years of education, whereas the *idâdîs* at *sancak*-centers would be institutions with five years of instruction. Some provinces like Kosova and İşkodra (Shkodër), on the other hand, did not contribute to educational contribution-tax funds as the others did. Therefore their centers -Üsküb (Skopje) and İşkodra- did not have *idâdî* schools. The pupils

¹³⁷ For more examples, see: Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 121; Kodaman, p. 117.

¹³⁸ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 121.

¹³⁹ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 119.

¹⁴⁰ Kodaman, pp. 123-4. He refers to the boarding *idâdîs* of Sivas, Ma'mûretü'l-'azîz, Erzurum, Diyarbekir and day-*idâdîs* of Van and Bitlis.

¹⁴¹ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 121.

lacking sufficient financial resources but willing to go to *idâdîs* were provided the opportunity to go to the boarding school of a neighboring province. For Kosova and İşkodra this was Selânik, for Mamûretü'l-aziz, Van and Bitlis, it was Erzurum. In 1894, a decision was taken so that the day schools of Bitlis and Mamûretü'l-aziz would provide boarding facilities.¹⁴²

A new development in public Ottoman education, *idâdî* created some tension as well in provinces. As will be referred later, they were financed by education contribution-tax (*ma'ârif hisse-i îânesi*) collected from provinces. This formed the essence of criticisms stemming from provincial bureaucrats. Children of common people could not have higher education, but their parents still contributed to *idâdîs* by paying the education tax. Furthermore, instead of supporting local primary schools, contribution of local people, in fact, was used to support the establishment of *idâdîs* in provincial centers.¹⁴³

Şâkir Paşa, Inspector General of Eastern Anatolian Provinces, in his reports to Yıldız Palace written in 1896, drew a parallel between expansion of education and harmful movements such as socialism, nihilism and anarchism. He claimed that if poor and wealthy students had education under the same roof, the former would be negatively affected. Consequently, they would be able to realize the inequality between different strata of Ottoman society. It may lead them to rebel against the state authority. In order to avoid it, he suggested that the sole responsibility of state should be to establish primary schools in every village, so that children would learn to read and write, and be familiar with basic rules of Islam.¹⁴⁴ The exact same idea appeared in the reports of provincial educational administrators addressed to the Sublime Porte. They claimed that instead of funding the schools of higher level, local

¹⁴² Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 122.

¹⁴³ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 122.

¹⁴⁴ Somel, *The Modernization*, pp. 118-119.

contributions should have been directed to the establishment of local primary schools. They also put forward some suggestions about alternative methods of financing *idâdîs*.¹⁴⁵

Bayram Kodaman, referring to those local bureaucrats, claims that they tried to take advantage of the vulnerable state of mind of Sultan Abdülhamid II to get what they aimed. In other words, Kodaman suggests that reports might not reflect the actual situation, but they might exaggerate it so that the Sultan took necessary measures. Provincial administrators witnessed actual situation in their localities and wanted to elevate the level of local education opportunities. Primary schools offering basic education were to be more beneficial and necessary to local people. Neither Şâkir Paşa nor those administrators could have what they wanted. The state did not change its education policy. We cannot deduce from this situation that the Sublime Porte did not care about primary education, nor did the local administrators wanted rural people to get higher education. Their priorities were nonetheless not the same.¹⁴⁶

In 1892, the need to reform the curriculum of *idâdî* schools seemed unavoidable. A commission, presided by Minister of Education Ahmed Zühdü Paşa, was assigned for the duty. Through a report written by the commission, we learn their basic tenets in preparing the new curriculum. *Îdâdîs* were located between primary (*mekâtib-i ibtidâiyye*) and high schools (*mekâtib-i 'âliyye*). The aim was to prepare the graduates of primary schools to higher education (*mekâtib-i 'âliyyeye müsta'idd talebe istihzârına*) and to improve their knowledge (*tevsî'-i dâire-i ma'lûmâtına*). The curriculum was prepared in conformity with such a mentality.

¹⁴⁵ Kodaman, p. 124.

¹⁴⁶ Kodaman, p. 125.

The following list is the curriculum of a typical boarding *idâdi*.¹⁴⁷

Table 1: The Curriculum of a Typical Boarding *İdadi*:

COURSES	Y 1	Y 2	Y 3	Y 4	Y 5	Y 6	Y 7
Religion (<i>'ulûm-ı dîniyye</i>)	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Arabic	3	3	3	3	2	0	0
Persian	0	2	2	2	0	0	0
Turkish	6	5	3	2	2	0	0
French	0	0	4	5	5	5	3
Calculations	2	2	2	3	0	2	2
Arithmetic (<i>hendese</i>)	0	0	2	2	3	2	1
Algebra	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Trigonometry (<i>müsellesât</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cosmography (<i>kozmozğrafya</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Mechanics (<i>makine</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
History	0	2	3	2	2	2	2
Accounting	0	0	0	0	2	2	2
Technical information (<i>ma'lûmât-ı fenniyye</i>)	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
physics and chemistry (<i>hikmet-i tab'iyye ve kimya</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	2	2

¹⁴⁷ Kodaman, p. 131.

Zoology, biology, geology, mineralogy (<i>mevâlid ve hıfzı's-sıhha</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Introduction to Laws (<i>kavânin</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Literature and Ethics (<i>edebiyât ve ahlâk</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Calligraphy	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Table 2: The Curriculum of a Typical Day-*Idâdî* at *Sancak*-Centers.¹⁴⁸

COURSES	Y 1	Y 2	Y 3	Y 4	Y 5
Religion	3	2	2	2	2
Arabic	3	3	3	2	2
Persian	0	2	2	2	0
Turkish	6	5	3	2	2
French	0	0	4	5	5
Calculations	2	2	2	3	0
Arithmetic	0	0	2	2	3
Geography	2	2	2	2	2
History	0	2	3	2	2
Accounting	0	0	0	0	2
Technical information (<i>Malûmat-ı fenniyye</i>)	0	0	0	0	3
Calligraphy	1	1	1	1	1
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1

¹⁴⁸ Kodaman, p.132

This was not the ultimate shape of the curriculum at *idâdîs*. There would be many modifications in the curriculum during the following years. In 1904, for example, courses on religion, ethics and agriculture -in provincial schools- were added. The final shape of curriculum we can find in Beirut (1908):

[First, second and third years] (*Rüşdiye kısmı dersleri*) *tecvîdli Kur'an ve 'ulûm-ı dîniyye* (Kur'an and religious teaching), *Türkçe, ahlâk, Arapça, Farsça, Fransızca, hesâb, hendese, coğrafyâ, târîh, hüsn-i hat, resim.*

[Fourth and fifth years] (*Nehhari idadi kısmı dersleri*) *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve 'ulûm-ı dîniyye, Türkçe, ahlak, Arapça, Farsça, Fransızca, resim, hesâb, hendese, coğrafyâ, târîh, kitâbet, zira'ât* (agriculture), *hüsn-i hat.*

[Sixth and seventh years] (*Leyli idadi kısmı dersleri*) *'Ulûm-ı dîniyye, ahlâk, edebiyât* (literature), *kitâbet-i resmîyye* (reading official documents), *Arapça mekanik* (mechanics in Arabic), *Fransızca, 'usûl-i defter, kavânîn, cebir, müsellesât, hendese, kozmografya, 'ilm-i servet, fizik, kimya* (chemistry), *hikmet* (philosophy), *mevâlid, hıfzı's-sihha, coğrafya, târîh, hüsn-i hat, resim.*¹⁴⁹

Osman Nuri Ergin, on the other hand, gives another curriculum remaining from the eve of 1908. Two curricula differ in some points. The latter is for eight years of education. Some courses exist in one, but not in the other. For instance, foreign language (*elsine*, i.e. Arabic, Armenian, Greek or Bulgarian, depending on the location of the school) is a course of the last four years in Osman Nuri Ergin's version, whereas in Bayram Kodaman's, such a course is not on the list. Apart from that, the version of Ergin contains *'ilm-i servet* and *'ilm-i eşyâ* when the version of Kodaman, obviously, does not.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Kodaman, p. 133.

¹⁵⁰ Ergin, vol. 3, pp. 930-931.

Table 3: The Curriculum of *Idadi* on the Eve of 1908, version of Osman Nuri Ergin

Courses	Y 1	Y 2	Y 3	Y 4	Y 5	Y 6	Y 7	Y 8
Qur'an and religious teaching (<i>maa-tecvîd Kur'an-ı Kerim ve 'ulum-ı diniye ve ahlakiye</i>)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Turkish	6	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
style of writing (<i>usul-i tahrîr</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Essay Writing (<i>kitâbet</i>)	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1
Arabic	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	0
Persian	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	0
French	0	0	3	3	3	3	4	4
Laws (<i>kavânîn</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Calculations	2	2	2	3	2	0	0	0
Accounting	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Algebra	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Trigonometry (<i>müsellesât</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Arithmetic	0	0	1	1	1	2	2	1
Cosmography	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Physics	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Kimya	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Zoology, biology, mineralogy, geology (<i>Mevâlid</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Mechanics (<i>mihanik</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1
History	0	2	2	0	2	2	1	1
Economy (<i>'ilm-i servet</i>)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Knowledge on nature (<i>'ilm-i eşya</i>)	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Calligraphy	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0

Drawing	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
Languages (<i>elsine</i>)	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
information on agriculture and health (<i>ma'lumat- ı zira'ıye ve sıhhiye</i>)	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	0

As a consequence, what we can suggest is that in comparison to the regulation of 1869, the curricula of the period are richer in terms of courses on science. The modifications of 1892 gave the same emphasis to courses on science, religion and culture. The content of the last one, though, was subject of variation. Courses on practical knowledge were not touched. Beginning from 1904, courses on ethics were emphasized.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, we can observe that curriculum does not contain courses such as literature, world history or philosophy. Osman Nuri Ergin stated that he was familiar with the actual atmosphere of education in the capital, because he was then teaching history at two different *idâdîs*. In history classes, what was taught was mainly Islamic history: even Ottoman history was mentioned briefly. Philosophy, if and when taught, meant only Islamic philosophy (*'ilm-i kelâm*). Instead of studying literature, students were asked to memorize official documents by heart.¹⁵²

Another development of the Hamidian period was the rampant number of private schools. Private schools were founded by both Muslim and non-Muslim individuals. The main reason behind this development was the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878: due to the war reparations paid to Russia, part of the state budget allocated to education became extremely limited. As a result, private initiative partially replaced the role of the state.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Kodaman, p. 133.

¹⁵² Ergin, vol. 3, p. 931.

The statistical description of that period may leave a highly positive impression for Hamidian Era in terms of education. Nevertheless, the situation was not that successful. Negative aspects co-existed with positive ones. To begin with, Necdet Sakaoglu relates both the increase and the geographical expansion of schooling to the demand of supervision. In parallel with modern centralized state, public education system aimed at keeping people under supervision and “fostering hardworking subjects loyal to the state and the Sultan” rather than enlightening the masses.¹⁵⁴ By examining the regulations of the last decade of the century, one can notice that the tone prevailing in education system became more and more authoritarian. Every decision was taken by center, i.e. by Sultan Abdülhamid II, without leaving any initiatives for the locality. At *rüşdiyyes* and *idâdîs* it was not education that came first but discipline.¹⁵⁵ A similar approach was shared by Aziz Berker.¹⁵⁶

In a similar vein, *millet* schools were integrated into the system of official inspection. In 1886, Münif Paşa, Minister of Public Education, issued a memorandum. In accordance with that, for the first time community schools passed thorough inspection by a ‘special inspector’ (*müfettiş-i mahsûsa*) –it was operated only in Istanbul. Then the year after a specific office of inspection was instituted: Inspectorate of Non-Muslim and Foreign Schools (*Milel-i Gayr-ı Müslime ve Ecnebi Mektepleri Müfettişliği*). The first inspector was Konstantinidi Paşa, the vice-governor of Selânik -an Ottoman Greek subject. But he was then

¹⁵³ “Şemsü’l-Ma’ârif,” presided by Abdi Kâmil Efendi, was the first private school at the level of *rüşdiyye* established by Muslims. Sakaoglu, *Osmanlı*, pp. 101-102; Akyüz, p. 208.

¹⁵⁴ “Her tarafta bir eğitim seferberliği yaşandığı gözlenir. Bunda ise halkı uyandırmak amacından çok, devletten uzak köşelere kadar, merkezî otoritenin uzantılarını götürmek, bir anlamda bürokrasiyi ve resmî kurumlaşmayı yaygınlaştırmak düşüncesi egemendir.” Sakaoglu, *Osmanlı*, p. 99.

¹⁵⁵ Sakaoglu, *Osmanlı*, pp. 110, 113.

¹⁵⁶ “Bundan sonraki tedkiklerde, ne genel maarifin ne de bu arada ilk öğretimin bu karakterinde esaslı bir değişiklik olacak değildir. Ancak iç siyasette, Tanzimat sisteminden islami-dini politikaya doğru bir kayış veya ayrılış sezilmekte ve gittikçe etkisini artıran bir istibdat rejimi göze çarpmaktadır, ki bunun tezahürlerini kendi konumuz içinde, bu tarihten [1890] sonra çıkarılmağa başlanan okul talimat, nizam ve programlarında görmek mümkündür. 1891’den sonra yapıldığı görülen işlerin göze çarpan vasfı o tarihe kadar yapılmış olan işlerin bu ruh içinde pek az yeni unsurlar ilavesiyle talimat ve programlar halinde tedvinine çalışılmasından ibarettir.” Berker, p. 137.

removed from that position and later inspectors would be Muslims only. From the available documents, we assume that inspections held places mostly in the Balkans.¹⁵⁷ This constituted another step of supervision policy of Hamidien reign.

In parallel with the authoritarian aspect of the period, censorship of every media was essential for the regime. It was among the duties of Ministry of Public Education. Several ministerial committees, established at different times, were assigned the task of supervising printed materials. Not only materials written in Ottoman Turkish, but also in other languages were to be censored.¹⁵⁸

Other problems prevailed as well. Instructors did not improve their level of average knowledge. The state was still obliged to employ graduates of *medreses*. Even graduates of teachers' seminaries were not very successful. Comparing the curricula of provincial seminaries and primary schools in the capital Aziz Berker concluded that there were not many differences.¹⁵⁹ By highlighting their insufficiencies, the famous figure of the late nineteenth century, Namık Kemal criticized them very harshly. He argued that if an examination was held to measure the level of teachers, only less than five percent would be successful.¹⁶⁰

Furthermore, there was no uniformity among public schools in the capital and at provinces. Their curricula were not identical; students in the capital could graduate in less time than those in provinces. For instance, it took six years to complete the provincial *idâdîs*

¹⁵⁷ Kodaman, p. 53; Fortna, p. 96; Koçer, p. 125. The first Muslim inspector was Bekir Bey.

¹⁵⁸ As a parenthetical reference, it would be better to mention the parts of the ministry concerned with printing houses and censorship. In 1879, the Ministry of Public Education had been going through a reform itself. An Office of Printhouses (*Dâire-i Matba'a*) was set up. Then in 1882, it transformed into Assembly of Investigation and Inspection (*Encümen-i Tefîiş ve Mu'âyene*). In 1896, a second committee of censorship was also set up: the Committee of Investigation of Printed Materials (*Tedkîk-i Müellefât Komisyonu*). Koçer, p. 125.

¹⁵⁹ Berker, p. 143.

¹⁶⁰ Namık Kemal's comment is as follows: "Çoğu taşralı ya da medrese kaçkını öğretmenlerin okuyup yazmaları yetersizdir. Coğrafya, tarih bilmezler. Bir sınavdan geçseler yüzde beşi başaramaz." Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan*, p. 104.

whereas those in the capital required eight years of education. We have several contemporary accounts that narrate the poor conditions of public schools as late as in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁶¹

Still, another negative development in education was the increasing importance of religious courses in curricula of all levels. Even at the School of Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*), economy and history classes were replaced by courses on religion, in Hasan Ali Koçer's words, "mystic and theocratic atmosphere prevailed in the school." After 1882, the weight of religious and moral courses increased.¹⁶² The intention was to develop religious feelings through public education. Even in high education, students were supposed to have courses on religion. The novels, translated from other languages, could be regarded as harmful, thus ought to be censored.¹⁶³ In order to modify the curricula of the public schools, a commission was set up in 1887, presided by *Şeyhü'l-islâm*, and whose members were mostly of the 'ulemâ. The commission proposed to strengthen religious sentiments of students, and accordingly revised the curricula. Among their different suggestions, some were put in practice. For instance, curriculum of *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânî* would no longer contain Latin courses. The above mentioned French courses in *rüşdiyye* schools were eliminated on the basis of the propositions of the commission.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Sakaoglu, *Osmanlı'dan*, p. 113.

¹⁶² Koçer, p. 134.

¹⁶³ "Maarifin terbiye-i diniye ile mütefarik ve bu esasa muvafik bir suret-i salimede neşr ü tamimine ve akaid ü feraiz-i diniyenin hüsn-i talimine bir kat daha itina olunmasına [...] Dersaadet ve taşrada etfal-i müslimenin Hristiyan mekteplerine devam etmelerine ve yeniden girmelerine meydan verilmemesine [...] mekatib-i iptidaiye ve mekatib-i rüşdiyyede akaid-i İslamiye tedrisatına itina edilerek mekatib-i idadiye ve aliyede dahi talebe-i müslimenin terakkiyat-ı ilmiyeleri nisbetinde akaid derslerine devam ettirilmesine [...] İstanbul'da yabancı dillerden tercüme ve neşredilmekte olan romanlar alalekser ahlak-ı milliyeye ve adab-ı İslamiye'ye muvafik olmadığından bu misüllü asar-ı muzırranın ba'dema tab ü neşrine cevaz verilmemesine" Berker, p. 163.

¹⁶⁴ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 180. Somel gives many examples illustrating this trend.

In the early 1880s, educational bureaucracy expanded into the provincial regions. Directorates of education were to be established in the provinces together with *rüşdiyyes* and *idâdîs*. The need of their financial support became an issue. Grand Vizier Mehmed Said Paşa had already been aware of the problem and tried to solve it. In 1884, he proposed to levy a new form of tax (which is mainly based on agricultural yield) to be used solely for expenses of public education: educational contribution tax (*ma'ârif hisse-i iânesi*). In order to cover the expenditure required for provincial schools, Said Paşa introduced this new form of tax at a meeting of cabinet (*Meclis-i Vükelâ*). His idea, however, was highly criticized.¹⁶⁵

But he did not pull back. He wrote letters to governors (*vâlîs*) asking them to collect tax revenue adding up to *âşâr*. Within a year, equivalent of 400,000 *lirâs* was collected. Thanks to this encouraging result, Said Paşa was able to convince the opponents of the proposal and the tax levy was imposed.¹⁶⁶ The amount would be spent to establishment of *idâdîs* in provinces and of higher schools in Istanbul. The following is how *Ma'ârif Salnâmesi* referred to that event:

In the year of 1300, educational contribution tax was introduced by increasing the percentage of 'öşr and *müsakkafât* taxes, in order to finance the establishment of *idâdî* schools both in the capital and in the provinces. The quarter of what would be collected would solely be spent in the capital and the rest would be sent to the provinces.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ “Ma'ârif-i 'Umûmiyye için âhâlden bir vergi alınmasını bir kere Meclis-i Vükelâ'ya teklîf ettim. Azim mücâdelât husûl eyledi. Teklîfime şedîden muhâlefet olundu. Biraz zaman geçtikten sonra vilâyetlere re'sen tahrîrât-ı 'umûmiyye neşrederek âşâra zammen Ma'ârif için nisbet-i hâzıra-ı ma'lûme dâhilinde vergi alınmasına dâir vâlîlere kat'i me'mûriyet verdim.” Said Paşa, vol. 1, p. 159.

¹⁶⁶ “Birinci sene nihâyetinde dört yüz bin lirâ vâridât hâsıl olmuştu. Bu madde muhâlefetini iknâ' etmiş ve Ma'ârif vergisi ahzı ba-mazbata istîzân olunarak sâdır olan irâde mucibince tekâlîf-i dâime hâlini almıştır.” Said Paşa, vol. 1, p. 160.

¹⁶⁷ “1300 senesinde rub'u Dersa'adet hissesine bittefrik mütebakisi mahalleri umuri maaarifine sarfedilmek üzere âşar ile müsekkafât vergisine zamimeten maarif hissei ianesi tarh ve tesis olunmuş ve senei merkume teşrinievvelinin 15inde meratibi tahsilin ikincisini teşkil etmek üzere gerek Dersa'adet'te gerek vilâyat-ı şahane merkezlerinde mekâtibi idadiye küşadına bilmübaşere vesaiti tahsil kemyelik teksir ve ikmâl edilmiştir.” Ergin, vol. 3, pp. 751-752. Ergin does not specify which year the *Salname* was published.

Until 1890 tax revenue had been collected by local branches of Bank of Agriculture (*Zira'ât Bankası*). That year, however, local Educational Fund (*Ma'ârif Sandığı*) took over the responsibility of accumulating necessary funds. The tax was not only based on agricultural yield: non-cultivators should have paid 5 % of the property tax.¹⁶⁸ As the previous quotation made it clear, one quarter of the tax revenue was to be spent for high schools within the capital, and the rest was to be used for provincial *idâdîs*, teachers' seminaries and some other provincial expenditure on education. It did not include *ibtidâîs* and *rüşdiyyes* though.¹⁶⁹ In 1890, the proportion to be allocated for higher education was increased to fifty percent at the expense of localities. Even before this arrangement, as Selçuk Akşin Somel illustrates, the amount to be kept in the province would be taken by the center arbitrarily. We can trace many examples illustrating that the revenues were kept by the center.¹⁷⁰ This decline created many problems in provinces. Even though education contribution tax would be used only for *idâdîs*, *rüşdiyyes* also benefited from it.

This new form of taxation surely created popular discontent among provincial population. To people who were already under very harsh economic circumstances, this was nothing but a new burden. We have some interesting examples from different places of Ottoman Empire complaining about the application of tax. The *iâne* was to be paid not only by Muslims but by non-Muslims as well. Moreover, with the addition of real estate taxes, even foreigners were to contribute it. In 1891, non-Muslim Ottoman subjects at Sivas wrote a

“Buna çâre olmak üzere âşâr ile musakkafât vergisi'ne zamâyim icrâsı kararlaştırılmış ve tezkire-i sâmiye ile tebliğ-i keyfiyet buyurulmuştur.” Cevad, pp. 216-217. The tezkire is also available in Mahmud Cevad's book.

¹⁶⁸ “1899'da ise istimlak-i emlak eden teba-i ecnebiyeden maarif vergisi alınması için valiliklere yazı gönderilmiştir.” Kodaman, p. 160.

¹⁶⁹ Kodaman, pp. 158-9.

¹⁷⁰ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 154. The instance is from Sivas. There is ambiguity in the exact year of this modification. Ergin states that it was 1888 (vol. 2, p. 927), whereas Kodaman claims it was 1887 (p. 159).

petition stating, although they contributed to the education funds as along with the Muslim subjects, their communal schools were not financially supported. A commission appointed by Sultan Abdülhamid II suggested to direct some of the funds to non-Muslim schools. We do not have further information about this initiative.¹⁷¹

Another reaction was from the island of Midilli (Lesbos, part of the *vilâyet* of Archipelago –*Cezâir-i Bahr-i Sefid*). The local people sent many petitions demanding that the amount they paid should be spent solely for their local needs, including education, and not for the needs of the capital (1887).¹⁷² We come across a similar argument in Syria. Local notables did not want to lose their power at the expense of central administrators. Therefore, they demanded that the collected amount to be used only for local public works (1888).¹⁷³ Another instance was from Kosovo. Local notables demanded the funds to be used only for establishment of local primary schools. Their resistance postponed the tax collection until 1892-1893. In the final analysis, they achieved their desire: “the result of the first five years [1894-1899] of the collection of the EdC [educational contribution-tax] was the establishment of fifty-seven boys’ and girls’ schools and the construction of numerous schools” in their locality (1887).¹⁷⁴

Apart from those examples, tax resistance among tribal populations was common in various places from Jerusalem to Kosovo. They did not want the ‘presence’ of the state at their localities, because public schools would, in a way, bring state control over them. One should not forget that it was the period of agricultural crises and famines which began in 1873

¹⁷¹ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 147.

¹⁷² Somel, *The Modernization* p. 148.

¹⁷³ Somel, *The Modernization* p. 149.

¹⁷⁴ Somel, *The Modernization* p. 150.

and continued through the 1880s. It was reasonable that rural communities rejected additional taxes.¹⁷⁵

Introduction of such an additional tax was important, especially in a period of prevailing negative economic circumstances. The Hamidian regime had made “a commitment to education by creating a permanent income stream for schooling.”¹⁷⁶ However, this is a statement not shared by all scholars. Selçuk Akşin Somel, for instance, argues against it, and instead he suggests “the EdC [Education Contribution Tax] emerged as an unpopular tax, which in addition was not always used in an effective way for the promotion of public education.”¹⁷⁷

As already mentioned *ma'ârif hisse-i îânesi* was a financial resource mainly for provincial *idâdîs*: thus *ibtidâîs* and *rüşdiyyes* were to be locally financed. On the other hand, in some cases, the latter were exceptionally supported with the taxes collected. We know that primary education during the Hamidian era still used the same resources that were locally raised, and unreliable. It would mean that in the places where tax collection remained low, primary education remained undeveloped. Under specific circumstances, on the other hand, government subsidized local primary schools. In the course of time, the number of such schools escalated in peripheral regions, mostly in eastern Anatolia. Yet the Balkans lacked such a privilege.¹⁷⁸ This financial policy concerning primary education would remain intact until 1908.

¹⁷⁵ Kodaman gives details of the education contribution tax collected in some provinces at some years and the detailed description of the amount spent in Sivas in the year of 1896: pp.160-161.

¹⁷⁶ Fortna, p. 118. Ergin is also enthusiastic about the introduction of the tax: vol. 3, p. 925.

¹⁷⁷ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 152.

¹⁷⁸ Somel, *The Modernization*, pp. 156-160. Those circumstances were related mostly to legitimation of the state among some population, such as tribes and Kurdish population. For further details, see: Selim Deringil's book.

Most of Turkish scholars criticized the Hamidian period due to authoritarian aspect of the regime. Their tone is similar to that of Young Turks. Therefore, they were not able to draw a realistic depiction of the era. They rather try to convince the reader about the so-called “cruelty of the Sultan” in every aspect.¹⁷⁹ While finishing the part about the period of Sultan Abdülhamid II, I want to refer to some other writers who had slightly different understanding. The first one is Osman Nuri Ergin. His account about the Hamidian era is quite positive in terms of education. He identifies the period as the epoch of progress:

During that period, vocational and artisanal schools in the provinces did not produce the expected results and their contributions remained limited. However, in each center of province, more than one, and at *sancaks* and *kazas* at least one *rüşdiyye* was systematically established. Until that time, how to read and write had been possible only for graduates of the *medreses*. Thanks to that development, a new type of person was created: the graduates of *rüşdiyye*. They studied Turkish, calculation, history, geography; and these enabled them either to become civil servants or to go into trade business. They did not have to leave their native provinces. They were more than some hundreds of thousands [...] That is why I call the this a period of extension and progress.¹⁸⁰

Selçuk Akşin Somel puts a more balanced picture of education in Hamidian era. “Individuals emerged who possessed fair secular and scientific knowledge of an encyclopedic kind” he admits, but “even those with an intellectual mind could not exceed the limits of pragmatism.” Throughout his book, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*, he also highlights the social disciplining aspect of education in the Hamidian regime.

¹⁷⁹ We can cite almost every author that has been referred to until this point.

¹⁸⁰ “Bu devirde vilayetlerde açılan meslek ve ihtisas mektepleri henüz semere vermemiş olduğu için faydaları da mahdut kalmış ise de her vilayet merkezinde birkaç ve sancaklarla kazalarda en azdan birer rüşdiyye mektebinin sistematik bir biçimde açılmış olması yüzünden o zamana kadar biraz okuyup yazma bilenler ancak medrese mensupları arasında görülürken bu rüşdiyelerde Türkçe okuyup yazma ile hesap, tarih ve coğrafya gibi beşeri ve dünyevi bilgi vasıtalarını da elde eden ve bu sayede isterse memuriyet hayatına, isterse ticaret alemine atılan fakat hep memleketinde ve muhitinde kalan yeni bir sınıf halk tipi vücuda gelmiştir. Bunların sayısı birkaç 100 bini geçer.” Ergin, vol. 3, p. 715.

Education, for Somel, was the most important tool of Ottoman Empire in order to create the ideal type of subject loyal to Sultan and to state.¹⁸¹

Another more balanced account belongs to Benjamin Fortna. He acknowledges that Hamidian Era was the period when the stipulations of the Regulation of Public Education were finally put into practice. On the other hand “his school system was qualitatively different in many respects.”¹⁸² The regulation reflected the ideology of *Tanzîmât*. However, the period of Sultan Abdülhamid II, which followed “reflects a distancing from the closer relations between the Sublime Porte and the European powers that obtained in the Tanzimat era.”¹⁸³ Whereas throughout *Tanzîmât* period education was a bridge between Ottoman Empire and Europe, now it became a weapon of the former against the latter. Nevertheless, Fortna does not forget to illustrate the Western-like parts of Ottoman education: “such features of Western education as boarding schools, centralized curricular planning and textbook distribution became standard fare in late Ottoman education.” Then, he adds up:

The fact that it incorporated these elements of the Western approach, however, does not diminish the project’s overall intention. The aim of Abdülhamid II’s educational policy was to train a young generation that would have the academic skills and the political loyalty to serve its state in troubled times.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Somel, *The Modernization*, p. 276.

¹⁸² Fortna, p. 200.

¹⁸³ Fortna, p. 175.

¹⁸⁴ Fortna, p. 241.

CHAPTER III.

NON-MUSLIM COMMUNITY SCHOOLS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Prior to the Nineteenth Century

Community schools had already been existent prior to the nineteenth century. The meaning of their very existence for Ottoman Empire can be understood under such a framework:

Religious communities were thus given a large measure of autonomy and encouraged to maintain their own affairs through a top-down administration (that could account to the Ottoman state, when necessary) so long as they were loyal to the state and to the sultan.¹⁸⁵

In such a framework every non-Muslim community, in reality, had been free to have its own schools, which had been highly similar to *sıbyan mektebis*. In other words, all of them were local schools where children of neighborhood could attend if their parents wanted their children to get some kind of education. Although we do not have exact statistical information, we are still aware that the percentage of schooling among Ottoman children was very low, as well as among non-Muslims: very few boys were fortunate enough to attend such institutions.

I will briefly refer to three major Ottoman *millets*: Ottoman Greeks, Armenians and Jews. I deliberately choose to focus upon those communities, because they were the first three most populated non-Muslim communities of the empire. Furthermore, unlike others, they were geographically distributed throughout the empire in a more or less heterogeneous way.

Unlike Bulgarians who were concentrated in the territories neighboring Bulgaria, or eastern

¹⁸⁵ Evered, p. 77.

Although *millet sistemi* is stated to exist only in Ottoman Empire, in fact pre-modern France organized its Jewish subjects in a similar way. The systems were so similar that the name given to Jewish community, *nation*, is a translation of *millet*.

“A cette époque, la ‘nation’ était une sorte de république responsable de ses membres, une espèce de corps politique omniprésent.”

Esther Benbassa, *Histoire des Juifs de France: de l’antiquité à nos jours* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2001), p. 92. It is quite striking that such a comparison is not seen in the literature on Ottoman history. This fact, in a way, demonstrates that famous *millet sistemi* is a legacy of pre-modern Europe.

Christians residing mostly in South Eastern Anatolia, the three communities were scattered through almost every part of the empire. Their numerical superiority reflected in the number of communal institutions such as schools. Therefore, my focus will be on those groups.

Education prior to the nineteenth century was mostly religious training. Like their Muslim counterparts, non-Muslim elementary schools as well were mostly attached to churches or synagogues. Almost without exception, teacher was a local religious figure and taught basic religious knowledge together with limited reading skills. Although prior to the nineteenth century there was not a single arrangement regarding *millet* schools, when schooling became a communal issue it became a necessity to regulate them in the nineteenth century. The fact that Edict of *Islahat* enforced such community regulations to be prepared was an essential factor. It is not a mere coincidence, thus, that all community regulations were promulgated in the aftermath of 1856. Now, we can turn our attention to the ways how schooling issues were handled in the regulations.

General Rules (1862) (*Genikoi Kanonoismoi* or *Rum Patrikhanesi Nizâmnâmesi*) of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate refer to community schools. There is not a specific single clause regarding schools, yet there are a few sentences about them. Briefly, a mixed council is responsible to improve education among Ottoman Christians, and especially among girls. *Fener Rum Mekteb-i Kebiri* is referred to as the most important place of education for religious teaching, and the poor children who were keen to study religion were to be provided with opportunities. Local bishops were held responsible to try to promote schooling for children even in the remote provinces.¹⁸⁶

The following is the “Educational Council” clause in the Armenian Community

Regulations (1863):

¹⁸⁶ Murat Bebiroğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslim Nizamnameleri*, ed. Cahit Külekçi (İstanbul: 2008), pp. 90-112. Ottoman version is available at: Yuda Reyna & Ester Moreno Zonana, *Son Yasal Düzenlemelere Göre Cemaat Vakıfları* (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın, 2003), pp. 272-304.

Art. 45 The Educational Council consists of seven well-educated laymen. Its object is the general inspection of the education of the nation. Its duties are to promote good order in the national schools, to help the Societies that have for their object the promotion of the education of both sexes, to improve the condition of teachers and to care for their future, to raise well-qualified teachers and to encourage the preparation of good text-books.

The Educational Council gives certificates to those students who have finished their course in a national school. It selects the text-books and holds annual examinations. But the supervision of the religious instruction belongs to the Religious Assembly, which Assembly selects the text-books for religious learning and the teachers, holds examinations and distributes certificates.¹⁸⁷

Hâhâmhâne Nizâmnâmesi (1865), on the other hand, does not include any reference to community schools.¹⁸⁸ Unlike the Armenian community regulation, this one brought administrative arrangement only to the functioning of Chief Rabbinate. As a result, its clauses are all about different issues regarding the functioning of chief communal institution: how to elect members to administrative and religious councils, the requirements to be elected as chief rabbi. The document brought above all an arrangement of institutional structure. On the other hand, even before 1865 the chief rabbi promulgated a circular in the mid-1850s regarding the community schools and ways to improve the education they gave.¹⁸⁹ In other words, the issue had already been taken care of and, for that reason, there was no need to refer it again, one can argue, in regulations of Chief Rabbinate. We will now concentrate on the pre-nineteenth century.

Prior to the nineteenth century, local schools of Ottoman Greeks had been providing basic education to students of the neighborhood. It was mostly composed of reading and writing Greek language, the sacred language of Orthodox Christianity, and religious training.

¹⁸⁷ H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia Travels and Studies*, vol. 2, *The Turkish Provinces* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), p. 457.

¹⁸⁸ Reyna & Zonana, pp. 258-271.

¹⁸⁹ *Univers Israélite*, 1855, Year 11, No.1, pp. 342-344. See appendices.

We also find colleges and gymnasia founded in some important localities such as Ayvalık, Fener, Kuruçeşme, Chios, Bucharest, Cydonie and Patmos.¹⁹⁰

The situation for Armenians was not very dissimilar. Local elementary schools were providing basic religious education to boys. Teaching liturgical Armenian language constituted an important part of this education.¹⁹¹ Due to the fact that some Armenians spoke only Turkish, at some secondary schools basic mathematics were taught in Turkish rather than in Armenian. Then, during the eighteenth century other higher education institutions had been established, mostly in the eastern Anatolian provinces, where Armenians used to live, and in Istanbul. Yet, their curricula were not very sophisticated either.¹⁹²

The basic aspect of traditional Jewish education was unsurprisingly religious. Its aim was to teach how to read and write in Hebrew to a certain degree so that boys could be able to read sacred texts -girls did not have the chance to go to school unless their families were well-off. Furthermore, boys had been taught daily prayers: that function was contributing to communal solidarity among members of local community.¹⁹³

Besides, since at least ten male Jews over the age of Bar-Mitzvah¹⁹⁴ had to be present at the communal prayer,¹⁹⁵ religious education was more and more essential for the continuation of religious existence and functions of local Jewish communities. *Meldar*, the

¹⁹⁰ G. Chassiotis, *Instruction Publique Chez Les Grecs Depuis La Prise de Constantinople Par Les Turcs Jusqu'a Nos Jours* (Paris: 1881), pp. 24-35.

For more information on those colleges and other high education institutions, see: Chassiotis, pp. 91–155.

¹⁹¹ Somel, *Osmanlı Ermenilerinde*, p. 78.

¹⁹² It was only consisted of Armenian, religious knowledge and basic mathematics. Ergin, Vol. 2, pp. 620–622.

¹⁹³ For a detailed description of Jewish education throughout history, see: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 6, “Jewish education.”

¹⁹⁴ A Jewish religious ceremony held on the thirteenth birthday of boys after which he is considered to be an adult in his religious life.

¹⁹⁵ That *chorum* is called *minyán*.

institution of elementary education, means ‘to read’ in Judeo-Spanish, and even this linguistic fact reveals the real function of elementary community schools.¹⁹⁶

Boys began to attend *meldar* at the age of seven. Similar to *sibyan* schools, they consisted mostly of one large room near a synagogue, where a rabbi was giving lectures to pupils who numbered about fifty or sixty. Such schools were used to be called *Talmud Torah* as well. Previously, they had been functioning more like secondary schools that had been attended by children who had finished *meldar*. They had been providing more sophisticated education. That of Selânik, for example, was the most famous and brilliant one among others. Even in the middle of the nineteenth century, it had thousand students.¹⁹⁷ Higher education was a privilege reserved only for those pupils who were brilliant in lower studies, and it used to comprise only religious training. In other words, high education was producing religious functionaries, rabbis, to Jewish communities.

Although the overall description of Jewish, Armenian and Greek (“Rum”) schooling had been highly static prior to the nineteenth century, in reality during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries significant developments had taken place and, thus, community schooling of every community became more and more sophisticated and advanced. Gradually more children were given the opportunity to get education, even those who were residing in peripheral provinces.¹⁹⁸ At that point, I will turn to Ottoman Greeks.

Ottoman Greek Community

After the Russian victory in 1711 against Ottomans, indigenous nobility of Two Principalities, Moldavia (*Boğdan*) and Walachia (*Eflâk*), were no more reliable in the eyes of

¹⁹⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 35.

¹⁹⁷ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 36.

¹⁹⁸ For that matter, evolutions of public and *millet* schooling throughout the nineteenth century overlapped. As Benjamin Fortna highlights, the century is labelled as “the century of education” all around the world.

the Ottoman authorities. They were replaced, consequently, by Phanariot Greeks.¹⁹⁹

Whereupon some figures from that group, such as Alexander Ypsilanti, were appointed as *hospodar*²⁰⁰ to principalities. Such a situation, undoubtedly, elevated Greeks to a superior position for the rest of the eighteenth century. Phanariot rulers used to enjoy a kind of autonomy there due to the indifference shown by the Sublime Porte.

After the war with Russia, another essential development occurred as well. Greek elites, mostly originating from Phanariot families, were recruited in diplomatic cadres thanks to their knowledge of foreign languages. It did, apparently, reinforce their superior position vis-à-vis other communities as. More or less the situation would be such until the revolt of 1821.²⁰¹

Under control of Phanariots, Two Principalities went through a period of progress. Economic conditions of the region became more and more improved, local industry flourished. As an aspect of development, rulers paid attention to the issue of education. In 1776, Alexander Ypsilanti established two academies in Bucharest and Jassy/Iași.²⁰² Medium of instruction was Greek and schools had Hellenizing impact over local people. The two academies were not the only examples of the kind of school that tried to teach Greek to local non-Greek speaking pupils: they belonged to a much more large system of schooling.

The abolition of Serbian Patriarchate of Peč in 1766 and Archbishopric of Ohrid in 1767 by decision of Holy Synod of Ecumenical Patriarchate increased the power of ethnic

¹⁹⁹ Bertold Spuler, "Reflexions Sur Le Systeme Scolaire des Minorités Chrétiennes de la Turquie d'Europe a la Fin de L'Epoque Ottomane," in *L'enseignement en Islam et en Occident au Moyen Age: communications présentées pendant la session des 25–28 octobre 1976, organisée par George Makdisi, Dominique Sourdel et Janine Sourdel-Thomine*, p. 247.

²⁰⁰ Borrowed from Russian, lord or sovereign. In the Ottoman context, it refers solely to the princes appointed by İstanbul to the head of the Two Principalities

²⁰¹ Spuler, p. 247.

²⁰² Tekeli & İlkin, p. 32.

Greek clergy in the area. As a result, local parochial schools became Hellenized under the influence of Ecumenical Patriarchate. The most crucial change regarding that issue was that instruction in other languages but Greek became impossible.²⁰³ It complemented the above mentioned process of Hellenization initiated by *hospodars* in the Two Principalities. While by taking such a step, Ecumenical Patriarchate was trying to linguistically Hellenize local Albanians, Serbs, and other Orthodox populations -that were still under its jurisdiction- this move instigated a harsh reaction from those people “who [had already] initiated local alternative educational activities independent of the Patriarchate.”²⁰⁴

During the eighteenth century, Greek community had passed through important social modifications as well. The emergence of a merchant middle class working in international scale and the impact of Enlightenment over local literati created a new *status quo* to Greek community.²⁰⁵ Prior to that period, parochial Orthodox schools were not very different from other communities’ elementary schools, as I have previously stated. Nevertheless, new power holders of the community, i.e. literati and merchant class, argued religious knowledge should be left out of the schooling system. The impacts of the Enlightenment were apparent. With such a perspective, rather than providing religious knowledge, schools were supposed to provide more secular education. As a consequence, the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of many local schools both in Ionian Islands and Aegean shores.²⁰⁶

Greek schooling at elementary level, depicted so far, had mostly been based on religious knowledge and Greek language teaching. In the absence of an independent state

²⁰³ Selçuk Akşin Somel, “Christian Community Schools During the Ottoman Reform Period,” in: *Late Ottoman Society: the Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p. 257.

²⁰⁴ Somel, *Christian*, p. 255.

²⁰⁵ Ortaylı, pp. 64, 75.

²⁰⁶ Gerasimos Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century* (Michigan: Kent State University Press, 1992), p. 137.

surrounding Ottoman Empire, efforts to propagate education among Ottoman Greeks did not seem problematic. What Greek schools were doing was simply to provide Orthodox pupils an ethno-religious identity: schools were useful to reproduce it among young generations. That is exactly why, I believe, efforts to Hellenize other Orthodox people -like Serbs, Vlachs, and Albanians- did not create problem for Ottoman Empire: such Hellenizing measures kept them within the boundaries of Ottoman *millet* system. Moreover, as Athanasia Anagnostopoulou stated, they ended up remaining members of Greek *millet* as long as they remained as Ottoman subjects.²⁰⁷ When the independent Greek nation-state was established, schooling activities of Ottoman Greek community were subject to criticisms by Ottoman authorities.

Founder of Kuruçeşme School, Dimitraško Morozbeyzade,²⁰⁸ asked an imperial decree from Sultan Selim III to enjoy some privileges which he was granted.²⁰⁹ Osman Nuri Ergin identified that school as ‘Kuruçeşme University’ and stated that it had a medical faculty not only for Greek subjects but for all Ottoman subjects on the basis of the documents he discovered. The imperial decree of Sultan Selim III (dated 1805) clearly stated the institution “which is a model of modern hospitals in Europe” would be “open to Muslim soldiers and all Ottoman subjects,” and its “administration will be granted to Greek *millet*, and specifically to a person who is loyal, capable, competent and willing to serve to instruction. Because Dimitraško Moroz Beyzade is such a person, he is appointed director.”²¹⁰ Though it is a minor

²⁰⁷ “Gayrimüslimler Osmanlı uyruğu olmalarını kendi milletlerine dâhil olarak meşrulaştırmaktadır. Rum, Rum olduğu için Osmanlıdır ve Osmanlı olduğu için Rumdur.”

Athanasia Anagnostopulu, “Tanzimat ve Rum Milletinin Kurumsal Çerçevesi”, in: *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Gayrimüslimler*, edited by Penelope Stathis, translated by Foti Benlisoy & Stefo Benlisoy (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), p. 6.

²⁰⁸ Brother of *hospodar* of Boğdan.

²⁰⁹ Ergin, vol. 3, 618.

²¹⁰ “*etibbanın kesreti ve fenlerinde meharetləri cihetile asakir-i İslamiye’ye ve numen ibadullaha nefi ve faydayı ve celbi daavatu hayriyeyi müstelzim olacağı ve bu misüllü etibba talimhanelerinde tevsi-i daire-i maarif zımında Avrupa hastahaneleri etibbasıyla muhabere ve tatbik-i ameliyat için [...] ve bu husus Rum milletine tahsis kılınıp vücuh ve müteneffizlerinden sadakat ve kabiliyet cihetiyle zi-ehliyet ve dirayetkar ve bu misüllü*

example, it is still essential because it illustrates the behavior of Sultan vis-à-vis a non-Muslim schools.

In order to understand why Ottoman authorities' view regarding Greek communal schooling became negative in the second half of the nineteenth century, we should focus on newly established Greek nation-state. Having been established as a result of the Convention of London (1832) and tremendous support of European powers, the Kingdom of Greece has always been involved in the affairs of Ottoman Greek communities, especially in the field of education. Kingdom, an ultimate product of French Revolution, was formed as a nation-state. However, there was a serious problem: the largest part of 'Hellenic nation' lived in the Ottoman territories.²¹¹

Public education became absolutely part of the domestic agenda so that as a newly-established state the Kingdom would have to be concerned with it throughout several decades following its independence.²¹² From the very beginning, Greek state tried hard to increase the number of schools within its territory and to secure a certain quality of public education. Statistics tell us that such efforts were not in vain. In 1830, for a population of 700,000 there were 71 primary schools and 6,721 students. In 1860 when the population exceeded to 1,000,000 38,427 boys were getting education in 598 elementary schools and 6,803 girls were going to 70 schools. Towards the mid-century, schooling institutions of higher level

fünun ve maarife heveskar birini nazır nasbiyle idare ettirmek suret-i teshili maslahatı müeddi idüği bedihiyattan olduğuna binaen halen Boğdan voyvodasınının karındaşı Dimitraşko Moroz Beyzade bu makule fünun ve maarife heveskar ve bu hususi müdür ve nazır tayin kılındığı surette müddet-i kalle zarfında fenn-i tıbda erbab-ı hüner [...] lazım gelen hastahane ve tabiphanelerin maslahat-ı lazımelerine dair." Ergin, p. 282, 619.

²¹¹ For a detailed analysis of that period leading to independent Greece, see: George Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution and of the Reign of King Otho* (London: Zeno Booksellers & Publishers, 1971).

²¹² In reality, even in the immediate aftermath of resurrection of 1821, provisional Greek government took measures to develop elementary and secondary education. In 1824, for example, a special commission was formed to discuss schooling issues. Schools of higher level were established as well. For further information, see: G. Chassiotis, *Instruction Publique Chez Les Grecs Depuis La Prise de Constantinople par Les Turcs Jusau'a Nos Jours* (Paris: 1881), pp. 128-155.

(*gymnasia*) began to be propagated as well.²¹³ In 1837 the University of Athens was opened. Curricula were excessively based on nationalism with tremendous references to antiquity in order to relate the nineteenth century Greek state with the Antique Greek world. The aim was to create a Helleno-Christian national identity.²¹⁴

“There were more Greeks living in Ottoman lands (in Europe, Anatolia and Middle East) than in independent Greece” until the late nineteenth century.²¹⁵ In addition, the Ottoman Greeks and the subjects of the kingdom had many things in common, such as religion, language, ethnicity, historical heritage and cultural values. They made Ottoman Greeks susceptible to the influence of Greece. Once the internal education problems were resolved, Hellenic diaspora on the Ottoman lands became the new target of education policies of the Kingdom of Greece.²¹⁶ “As links were forged between the Hellenic State and the communities of the *omogeneis* in the Ottoman lands, they influenced an ever-larger audience” claimed Gerasimos Augustinos.²¹⁷ Another scholar of the field, Andreas Kazamias described the motive of the Kingdom: “from the angle of the Greek nation-state, explicit efforts were made to foster national consciousness and ethnic identity among the Ottoman Greeks.”²¹⁸

Such efforts were manifold, but the most significant one was about teaching staff. Many teachers who were employed by Ottoman Greek schools were, indeed, graduates of the

²¹³ Chassiotis, pp. 183, 271.

²¹⁴ Chassiotis, pp. 165-229.

²¹⁵ Andreas Kazamias, “The Education of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1923: A Case Study of ‘Controlled Toleration,’” in: *Schooling, Educational Policy and Ethnic Identity*, edited by J. J. Tomiak (New York: New York University Press, 1991), p. 352.

Calculations made by Chassiotis proved that verdict. According to his calculations, there are 1,679,775 Greeks in Hellenic Kingdom whereas 3,913,420 Greeks dwelled in “*la Grèce asservie*”, i.e. Ottoman Empire. Chassiotis, p. 494.

²¹⁶ Augustinos, pp. 147-152.

²¹⁷ Augustinos, p. 151.

²¹⁸ Kazamias, *The Education*, p. 362.

University of Athens or some other educational institutions. The speech of Greek ambassador to the United States of America, Alexander Rangavis, made in the 1860s, illustrated another essential dimension of the above-mentioned interaction:

Half of those who come to seek knowledge at the University of Greece are from the Greek provinces of Turkey. The masters who instruct the youth, the priests who direct their morals, the physicians who penetrate into all quarters, the advocates of the Consular Tribunals, graduate from the University at Athens, and *propagate the ideas and principles they imbibed therein.*²¹⁹

As this quotation made clear, to graduates of Greek higher education institutions, Ottoman Greek schools constituted a real and lucrative job market: many were employed by local school committees.

That description, however, did not have only one aspect. Whereas Kingdom of Greece wanted its subjects to be employed by local Ottoman communities, Ottoman Greeks were willing to have them as school teachers as well. From another perspective, as Rangavis stated, many Ottoman Greeks who went to Greece to further their studies would return to their own community as school teachers. This was also one of the reasons why Ottoman Greeks preferred the graduates from the University of Athens. In other words, in the first place local communities provided brilliant pupils to higher Greek schools and, in the second, gave job opportunities to their graduates.²²⁰ “These are the indigenous communities who often called for and employed graduates of school of Athens. Greek government and Patriarchate have probably contributed to some extent, but a very small share,” highlighted Victor Berard,

²¹⁹ Augustinos, p. 152. Emphasis is mine.

²²⁰ Kazamias, *The Education*, p. 362.

For example, Vlachs and Christian Albanians from Elbasan sent some of their children to Athens so that they would be educated in university. Furthermore, medium of instruction in local Vlach School was Greek. Victor Berard, *La Turquie et l'Hellenisme Contemporain* (Paris, 1893), pp. 49, 63. Local medical doctor at Ohrid was a graduate of Athens University as well. Berard, p. 114.

author of *La Turquie et L'Hellenisme Contemporain*.²²¹ “These teachers,” stated Stefo Benlisoy in his study on Greek *millet* schools in Central Anatolia “became the main channels for the spread of the normative discourse and values of Greek nationalism in the communities they worked in.”²²²

The students who were trained to serve as teachers at Greek *millet* schools, especially those who originated from the Kingdom, perceived their role not simply in strictly educational terms. They, probably, considered themselves as “the militia of the new age,” borrowing a term by Eugen Weber,²²³ and “as ethno-nationalist Hellenists charged with the added mission of cultivating nationalist Hellenic sentiments, attitudes and loyalties.”²²⁴

Greek diplomats were very active in the policy of exporting education over to Ottoman lands. In 1902, at Yanya, an Italian vocational school was established to teach watch-making to local, mostly Orthodox, children. The local metropolitan bishop and the representative of Kingdom of Greece cooperated to prevent Orthodox children to attend: the representatives of Yanya Metropolitan, as well as the inspector-general of the Greek consulate in Yanya, M. Gennadis, threatened the excommunication of those families who had children

²²¹ Berard, p. 230.

²²² Stefo Benlisoy, “Education in the Orthodox Community of Nevşehir During the Nineteenth Century” (unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2002), p. 147.

Manifestly, same pattern was also observable among Bulgarians.

“Higher institutions of education such as the Bulgarian and Greek gymnasias in Serres were the places where the promising youths imbibed the mission to serve the national cause and were instilled with a sense of distinction that set them apart not only from members of the other, obviously inferior community, but also from their less-fortunate brothers and sisters in the countryside.”

İpek Yosmaoğlu-Turner, “The Priest’s Robe and the Rebel’s Rifle: Communal Conflict and the Construction of National Identity in Ottoman Macedonia, 1878-1908,” (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2005), p. 228.

²²³ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), p. 303. “The schoolteachers, in their worn, dark suits, appear as the militia of the new age”

²²⁴ Kazamias, *The Education*, p. 363.

attending classes.²²⁵ Local French consul reported that “threats of violence were printed in local and Athens-based newspapers with the initiative of Greek consul and local Orthodox clergy; in some articles the threats were even directed towards school staff and the Italian consul.”²²⁶

Such an example is not surprising when one is informed that as early as 1871, “the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had identified, in a circular to the consulates, the need for more schools since nothing would ‘support Hellenism and national sentiments like Greek education and language.’”²²⁷ Consuls were also notified to provide, whenever it was necessary, assistance -mostly financial- for any educational activities -like building a school premise, or employing a teacher- would be provided by local consuls.²²⁸

As already explained, the Ottoman Greek communities were not passive actors in the developments. Especially by establishing phil-educational associations, *sylogoi* in Greek, they tried to have a say in the education of their children. To the majority, the education that was offered to new generations should be intensely national and, thus, emphasize the Greek national identity.²²⁹ These phil-educational organizations served as rallying points for a network of Greek education throughout the empire. Local Greek people were quite active in deciding the manner in which their children were to be educated. Furthermore, they were the ones who attracted *sylogoi*’s and Kingdom’s attention to their localities.

²²⁵ Isa Blumi, “Teaching Loyalty in the Late Ottoman Balkans: Educational Reform in the Vilayets of Manastir and Yanya, 1878-1912,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. XXI, No. 1&2 (2001), p. 16.

²²⁶ Blumi, p. 16.

²²⁷ Yosmaoğlu-Turner, p. 220.

²²⁸ Augustinos, p. 160.

²²⁹ “Çoğu cemiyet için eğitim yoğun bir ulusal içeriğe sahip olmalı ve ‘Yunanlılığı’ vurgulamalıydı.” Haris Eksertzoğlu, *Osmanlı’da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati: Dersaadet Rum Cemiyet-i Edebiyesi 1861–1912*, translated by Foti Benlisoy and Stefo Benlisoy (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), p. 68.

For example, the president of a local phil-educational association at Serres, I. Theodoridis, sent a petition to the headquarters of the *Sylogos*,²³⁰ so that the latter gave him support to propagate schooling. He was obviously worried about the situation of teaching Greek language. “To propagate Greek language among Turkish and Bulgarian speaking communities” affirmed Theodoridis “and to make it the language spoken within families, could only be possible with the support of the *Sylogos*.” He, then, furthered his ideas about rival nationalisms. “Otherwise in Macedonia, Hellenism cannot release our brothers who speak other languages from the ferocious nails of Pan-Slavism.”²³¹ Apparently, the heads of some communities from Thrace suffered the same anxiety that Mr. Theodoridis had. A report sent from the association of Tekirdağ (*Redestos Ma’arifperver Cemiyeti*) suggested that a little help would be sufficient to Hellenize Bulgarian speaking communities of Malkara -a town and district of Tekirdağ- in a few years.²³² In 1883 the president and secretary of *Sylogos* in Istanbul, Paparrigopoulos and Zolotas informed the Greek Minister of Foreign

²³⁰ Greek Literary Association of Constantinople, in Ottoman *Dersa’adet Rum Cemiyet-i Edebiyesi*, and in Greek *O en Kωνσταντινούπολει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος*.

The *Sylogos* in İstanbul, furthermore, not only did it provide assistance to local associations (and, thus, functioning as a model to them), but also it designed the overall program of education on a larger *millet* scale. In fact, the association was so successful that G. Chassiotis, author of the *Instruction Publique Chez Les Grecs*, likened this association to the “Ministry of Public Instruction for Greeks of the Ottoman Empire.”

“*Par ce règlement, le Sylogue s’est imposé les devoirs d’une Université, en se constituant, pour ainsi dire, en ministère de l’instruction publique pour les Grecs de l’empire Ottoman.*”
Chassiotis, p. 452.

Several conferences on education were organized in 1908 and 1909 in order to determine the general road map of Rum education. Furthermore, in order to promote creation of scientific works on Hellenic societies, contests were announced: several articles were published in *Sylogos* bulletins thanks to the initiatives of the *Sylogos*.

For more information, see: George A. Vassiadis, *The Sylogos Movement of Constantinople and Ottoman Greek Education, 1860-1923* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2007).

²³¹ “*Yunan dilinin Bulgarca ve Türkçe konuşulan Yunan cemaatlerinde yaygınlaşması ve aile dili haline gelerek hakim olması ancak DRCE [Dersaadet Rum Cemiyet-i Edebiyesi] ile mümkündür. Aksi takdirde Helenizm, Makedonya’da başka dil konuşan kardeşlerimizi Panславизmin yırtıcı turnaklarından kurtaramaz.*”
Eksertzoğlu, p. 61.

²³² Eksertzoğlu, p. 61.

Affairs about the necessity of establishing primary schools (*dimotika*) and gymnasia for the national cause.²³³

Apart from providing cultural and scholar activities to local adult population (reading sessions, late evening language courses), *syllogoi* were directly involved in more concrete educational issues as well: establishing schools, supporting needy people and neighboring schools, setting up teacher training institutions, providing financial assistance to students willing to become teachers and to go to University of Athens, and -most essential of all- they were designing the general agenda for education at the communal level. The association of *Anatolia*, a local association, for instance “was very active in giving scholarships to students coming from Asia Minor to study in Greece, most of whom would return to Asia Minor as teachers working in the schools of different communities.”²³⁴ Consequently, they had more authority than mere school committees, and had a larger impact over local population.

Andreas Kazamias, in his study of the relationship between Ottoman Greek schooling and its connection with Greek nationalism and national identity, argues that “the *syllogoi* sought to develop cultural identity and national consciousness among the Ottoman Greeks, a political identification to complement the already established religious identification.”²³⁵ Ottoman Greek subjects were willing -although not thoroughly- to contribute to the nationalization projects of a neighboring state, through establishing local *syllogoi*. Together with schools, they “combined their social role in the communities with civic programmatic

²³³ Whereas Zolotas and Paparrigopoulos were in favor of a balance between two types of school, the Ministry was more inclined towards *dimotika* because it demanded less investment, both human and financial from the Greek state. Yosmaoğlu-Turner, p. 229.

²³⁴ Benlisoy, p. 154. In fact, *Anatolia* was based in Athens, not in Ottoman territories.

²³⁵ Kazamias, *The Education*, p. 355.

formulations emanating from the state-directed educational system in Greece.”²³⁶ That is why Kazamias stated in another work:

Although the Greeks constituted a part of the Ottoman nation, there was little in their education and their aspirations which were in any way connected with such a nation. Athens became the center of education for Greeks.²³⁷

From the perspective of Ottoman administration, community schools had not been an issue until the mid-nineteenth century. However, after promulgation of Tanzimat Edict and efforts at modernization and centralization, some measures were taken. In 1840, in order to build a community school at Bigados (a village near Istanbul) local community should have submitted to local authorities. The only criterion sought turned out to be “whether there are Muslims or not in the neighborhood.” There is no reference to any other requirements. Because there was not a Muslim community in the neighborhood, it was convenient to open the school.²³⁸

When, almost ten years later, in 1853, Rum community of Leskoviçe (also known as Leskovik, in Albania today) wanted to establish a school, the local authorities asked for new criteria to be met. According to the documents, the community had already begun to build the school but when the local Muslims reacted against it, the construction was postponed. In order to provide an official certificate (*ruhsat*) to continue erecting the building, authorities demanded local Greeks to guarantee in writing that school would not cause any trouble by transforming their shape; by giving courses opposed to Ottoman laws; by appointing

²³⁶ Augustinos, p. 184.

²³⁷ Kazamias, *Education and the Quest*, p. 95. A similar approach can be seen at Chassiotis’ book as well: “*Cependant l’organisation de l’instruction publique en Grèce exerça une grande influence morale en Turquie; les écoles helléniques, les gymnases, l’Ecole normale d’instituteurs et l’université d’Athènes devinrent autant de foyers, dont la lumière se propagea parmi les provinces grecques soumises au sultan.*” Chassiotis, p. 356.

²³⁸ BOA, C. MF. 165/8234, 29 Zilhicce 1255 [4 March 1840].

instructors outside loyal Ottoman subjects. As soon as the written proof would be presented, the necessary license would be authorized.²³⁹

Apparently, the possibility of foreign impact over Ottoman Greek schooling was already deciphered by Ottoman authorities in 1850. The following is another instance. At Kandiye (Heraklion), an Istavro Nikadoli, who was instructor at local community school, was accused of writing a letter that was intended to be publicly read at a special day of local Greeks. However, when the letter was read by the *kaymakam* an investigation took place.²⁴⁰ Istavro stated that the letter was in fact written and posted to him by a former school teacher, Ikonomo Mihaili, a Greek citizen, who was presently in Athens. What Istavro did, according to his testimony, was only to copy it. Furthermore, he added that when Ikonomo was at Kandiye he witnesses that school administrators and some Greeks [Yunanlılar] were keen to provide similar letters. Furthermore, they recommended him and other teachers to propagate, in secret, deceiving and deluding ideas among local Christians.²⁴¹

Then, the general of Crete (*müşir*) was involved into the affair as well. He reported that population of Crete lived under very comfortable circumstances and security prevailed over the island. Therefore, trouble was out of question. Nonetheless, due to the actual events the people who were willing to trouble Christian subjects found favorable circumstances to

²³⁹ “mektebin ilerüde şekl-i ahire konulub da bir guna söz tekevününe mucceb olmayacağına ve derununda kavanin-i saltanat-ı seniyyeye ve usul ve tabiyete mugayir şeyler okutturulmayacağına ve ta'yin olunacak muallimin dahi tebaa-i devlet-i aliyeden ve ashab-ı sadakattan olmasına kefaleti müş'ar iktiza edenlerden bir kıta memhur sened ahz ve hifz olunduktan sonra inşasına ruhsat verilmesi hususunun mutasarrıf saadetlu paşaya bildirilmesi”

BOA, A. AMD. 48/100, 8 Zilhicce 1269 [12 September 1853].

²⁴⁰ “Istavro Nikadoli Malvizo nahiyesinde Sarho nam kariyede küşad olunan Rum mektebinin hocası bulunmak cihetiyle [...] vermiş olduğu varakanın bir kıta surety Kandiye kaymakamı saadetlu Veli Paşa tarafından bertakrib ele geçirilerek meali muadelet-i seniyye aleyhşne olmasıyla mersum Istavro nezdinde mevcut olan kütüb ve evrak ile Kandiye'ye celb olunmuş ve [...] mersum Istavro istintak olundukda”

BOA, A. MKT. MVL. 20/10, 19 Safer 1265 [14 January 1849].

²⁴¹ “mersum Mihaili Kandiye'de iken Rum mektebi petreposalariyla(?) bazı Yunanlılar kendisine ve sair mektebler hocalarına yemin vererek ahali-i Hristiyani ve çocuklarını daima iğfal etmelerini mahremane tenbih ve inba ve böyle birer kıta varaka ita eylediği”

BOA, A. MKT. MVL. 20/10, 19 Safer 1265 [14 January 1849].

act. Moreover, there were rumors that even some Greeks from Kingdom of Greece would arrive at Crete.²⁴²

Istavro continued to be interrogated in Istanbul as well. Here, it was pointed out at several occasions that Ikonomo Mihaili was working at a public school in Athens and was trying to provoke and encourage Ottoman Christians rebel against Ottoman authority.²⁴³

“Although such efforts cannot create serious troubles,” it was noted, “we should not allow such an inimical man and a provocateur to work freely; necessary attention should be paid to protect the mindset of Ottoman subjects.”²⁴⁴ Apparently, teachers from the Kingdom of Greece began to become active on the eve of 1850 at Crete.

Ten years later, in the 1860s, when Sadrazam Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Paşa had been visiting and inspecting European territories, he reported a few occasions where foreign ‘inimical people’ were coming from Serbia, Russia or the Two Principalities only to propagate ‘detrimental ideas’ among local non-Muslim subjects. In most of the cases, they were disguised as doctors, teachers, visitors and priests.²⁴⁵ During his inspection at Yanya, a

²⁴² “*saye-i muadelet-vaye-i hazret-i mülukanede Girid ceziresi ahâlisinin asayiş ve istirahatı yerinde olub zahiren sükunet hali ahaliye nazaran uygunsuzluk tekevvünü gayr-i me’mul ise de ahval-i hazıradan dolayı mail-i fesad olan bir takım eşhas ezhan-ı reayayı bozmağa çalışmakta ve bunun için Yunanistan tarafından dahi cezire-i merkumeye bazı eşhas irsal olunacağı havadisi cabeca işitilmekte bulunmuş olduğundan her bad tahkik-i ahval-i ahaliye dikkat olunmakta idiği*”
BOA, A. MKT. MVL. 20/10, 19 Safer 1265 [14 January 1849].

²⁴³ “*mersum Mihaili el-an Atina’da devlet mektebi hocası olub reyanın devlet-i aliye aleyhine kalkmalarını teşvik ve tahrik eylediği [...] Yunanlı tarafından ekser mahal reayasının ifsadına çare aranmakta olduğu rütbe-i bedahette olduğuna*”
BOA, A. MKT. MVL. 20/10, 19 Safer 1265 [14 January 1849].

²⁴⁴ “*gerçi saye-i muadelet-vaye-i hazret-i mülukanede bu makule şeylerin pek de tesirâtı olamaz ise de mamafih öyle muharrik ve mefsedet takımına da maydan verilmeyüb her halde ezhan-ı tebaanın bozulmamasına dikkat lazime-i mülkdariden bulunduğu [...] bu makule eşhas-ı muzırta tarafından ezhan-ı reayayı ihlal edecek mefasidin adem-i vuku’u esbabını istihsale hükmiyane ve ruyetmendane himmet ve her halde asayiş-i daiminin istikmaline alel-tevali sarf-ı liyakat eylemesi*”
BOA, A. MKT. MVL. 20/10, 19 Safer 1265 [14 January 1849].

²⁴⁵ “*Bir müddetten beri Rusya ve Sırbistan ve Eflak ve Boğdan taraflarından teşviş-i efkar-ı nas için papas şeklinde ve seyyah ve tabib tarzında birtakım ademler çıkarılarak bu havalide gezdirilmekte ve bunların dahi me’muriyet ü mefsedetleri iktizasınca kaza ve karyeleri dolaşarak teb’anın ezhanını ifsad edecek eracif ü ekazib ile [...] Rusya ve Sırbistan mekteblerinde okumuş bazı kesân bir aralık bu taraflara azimle Hristiyan*

few months later, he reported inimical activities of a Greek association which tried to ‘poison minds of local non-Muslim subjects.’²⁴⁶ The vocabulary and language he used in describing the ongoing problem was highly similar to later Ottoman bureaucrats’. Mehmed Emin Paşa’s reports can be, therefore, identified as pioneering steps of a continuum in Ottoman bureaucracy.

In the abovementioned case of 1840, the only requirement was non-existence of a Muslim community around school premises. However, in the 1850s, new conditions began to be imposed over local communities. That change was probably due to the fact that potentially dangerous cases were multiplied in the course of time. In other words, foreign teachers were employed or courses opposing to Ottoman laws were taught in Greek community schools. New circumstances required new measurements and conditions to be imposed.

Among different courses that community schools were providing, linguistic ones were highly essential. Teaching Greek became highly important, because language teaching “was one of the primary methods of stimulating awareness of the national heritage” when we

mekteplerine hacelik eylemekte ve bu vesile ile fark ü temyiz ve nik ü bede henüz muktedir olmayan sıbyan ü etfale diledikleri şeyleri ta’rif ü ta’lim eyleyerek zihnlerini enva’-i fesadat ile doldurmakta olmalarıyla bu guna mu’allimlerin dahi münasib suret ü vasıtalarla istiknah-ı ahvaline bakılarak mekteplerde nasıl ders okuttuklarının ve emniyet ü asayiş aleyhinde ne vechle a’mal ü ta’lim-i mefasid eylediklerinin etrafiyla istitla’ ve iş’ar kılınması lazımdır.”

15 Zilhicce 1276 [4 July 1860]

Sadrazam Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emin Paşa’nın Rumeli Teftişi, ed. Yonca Köksal & Davut Erkan (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), p. 493, 495.

²⁴⁶ “bir de tahkikat ve rivayat-ı vakı’aya nazaran -Huda-negerde- dahilen bir fesad ü şiriş ihdası için bu aralık Yunanistan’da birtakım garazkarane ve bed-hahanın tertib ü ta’limiyle ekser mahallerde bazı eşhas gazino tarzında bir cem’iyyet-gah açarak ve oraya muzırr ü müğfil evrak ü resa’il toplayarak ifsad-ı ezhan ü efkara çalışılmakda oldukları anlaşılmış ve mevki’en civariyet ve sekenece kavmiyet mülasebesiyle bu cem’iyyetin Yanya’da dahi teşekkül etmiş olacağı melhuz olunmuş olub bir fi’ilki ayn-ı fesad olduğunu kendi reng ü revişiyile gösterir anın erbab-ı akl-ı selime te’siri olamayacağı derkar ise de oraların halkı tahrik ü taharrüke müsa’id ve ve vakt ü zaman ise pek ziyade nazik ü teng olmak hasebiyle bu guna ifsadat ü tahrikatı elden gelebildiği kadar men’ ü mahv ile bed-hahların dulab-ı mefsedetini ta’til etmek her şeye mukaddem bir emr-i ehemmiyet olduğundan leyl ü nehar iltizam-ı teyakkuz ü intibah ile bunların pişve emdişesi hemişe tahkik ü tedkik olunarak asar-ı ifsadat ü iğfalatın vatken mine’l-vefat revac ü meydan alamaması ve emniyet ü asayiş daire-i salime ve emniye içinde tutularak efkar-ı nasik her türlü mekayid ü tesvilattan masun bulundurulması tedabir-i kaviyesinin istihzarı bi’l-hassa i’tinaya şayan mevaddan olmağın.”

21 Rebiyyülevvel 1277 [28 September 1860]

Köksal & Erkan, p. 543, 544.

consider many Greeks used to speak Turkish, rather than Greek.²⁴⁷ Furthermore, we should recall Bulgarian speaking ‘Greeks’ in the Balkans, especially in Macedonia. They constituted two major target groups of linguistic Hellenization project during the second half of the nineteenth century.

I have already referred to the words of the president of a local *syllogos* at Serres, I. Theodoridis, and to those of Mr. Theodoridis from Tekirdağ. They both represented points of view of local Ottoman Greeks to non-Greek speaking people of their region. The fact that the people they referred to were Bulgarian or Turkish speaking did not matter. In any case, they were supposed to be real Greeks who forgot their language, i.e. Greek. In order to annihilate that unintended situation, necessary measures had to be taken so that they could re-learn it. Ο εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος was interlocutor of both sides: it is not surprising at all when one considers that the teaching of national language was always part of the *Sylogos*’ agenda. Albanian speaking Orthodox Christians, by the way, were targets of such a project. The Ecumenical Patriarchate tried hard to impose Greek-based instruction over them.²⁴⁸

Greek language became so essential that parents wanted their children to acquire a certain level of knowledge, even prior to primary school. That is why in central Anatolia, kindergartens became gradually popular among Ottoman Greek communities. Stefo Benlisoy, in his study, stated that “the kindergartens received great emphasis, because they were assigned a special role in the ‘re-acquisition’ of Greek by the turcophone and other speaking

²⁴⁷ Pamela J. Young, “Knowledge, Nation, and the Curriculum: Ottoman Armenian Education (1853-1915), (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 2005), p. 54. It is an established fact that many Ottoman Greeks and Armenians were Turkish speaking.

²⁴⁸ Blumi, p. 15. The fact was realized by Ahmed Zühdü Paşa. See following sections.

Orthodox communities.”²⁴⁹ The first kindergarten of Nevşehir was opened in 1872. It became so popular that in two years there emerged a need to open another one.²⁵⁰

Speaking Greek became an integrated part of national Greek identity. For that reason, on the one hand, it was promoted and taught in community schools intensely -they far exceeded other lessons in curricula. Teaching Greek, thus, was the primary objective of the entire schooling efforts. On the other hand, though, Turkish speaking pupils were no longer allowed to communicate in Turkish. At Gelveri, a locality near Kayseri, Turkish was forbidden both inside and outside the school. Students who dared to speak in Turkish were beaten up. Children of Tyana/Güneşhisar at Niğde, for another example, were given more punishment when they spoke Turkish than when they were not prepared for classes.²⁵¹ The following is a late, yet I believe a significant case. In 1913, the Society of Papa Georgios, a *syllogos* established by *Karamanli* Rums, published a calendar and its president felt obliged to apologize for the use of *Karamanlidika*, rather than Greek. He legitimized that decision by claiming that not many “compatriots speak enough Greek.”²⁵² The same society stated its aims in 1911 regulations. The last one is “the spread of our ancestral language” [*lisan-ı millimiz* in *Karamanlidika* version], i.e. Greek.²⁵³

The teaching of Greek was not always welcome as was the case for central Anatolian Ottoman Greeks, who willingly intended to learn Greek language. Especially in the Balkans, many people resisted such efforts. Such cases were quite numerous when Bulgarian community had to survive under jurisprudence of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, rather than

²⁴⁹ Benlisoy, p. 64.

²⁵⁰ Benlisoy, p. 75.

²⁵¹ Benlisoy, p. 170.

²⁵² Benlisoy, p. 196.

²⁵³ Benlisoy, p. 50.

newly established Exarchate. When a Greek-speaking teacher was appointed by the Patriarchate not approved by the local people they might have argued against the appointment. The most common practice was to create obstacle for the newcomer: prevent him from taking up residence and assuming his post. The General Inspectorate of Rumeli was the interlocutor of several angry bishops who complained about the behavior of local population. In that case, the heads of the community were told they would be held personally responsible for the safety of newly appointed teachers.²⁵⁴ Hellenization policy, as seen in the Balkans, was not always welcome by local community.²⁵⁵

Briefly, the teaching of Greek became excessively significant in the period of competing nationalistic ideologies. *Ο εν Κωνσταντινούπολει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος*, i.e. Ministry of Public Instruction for Greeks of the Ottoman Empire in Chassiotis terms, identified the use of Greek language as the criterion of national identity. Consequently, if you lose your identity you remain out of national boundaries. Tremendous efforts to provide language lessons and propagate Greek in colloquial use, then, were supposed to gather all within the national boundaries of Greek nation.

History classes are quite important as well in shaping national identity. Haris Eksertzoglou, author of *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati: Dersaadet Rum Cemiyet-i Edebiyesi*, put forward that, unlike most people would think, there was neither a unique curriculum nor a unique school book for history classes prior to the late nineteenth century.²⁵⁶ This is really important because history courses are one of the best reflections of any nationalistic ideologies, including that of Greek Kingdom. Thanks to several bulletins and journals published throughout the nineteenth century, Eksertzoglou illustrated in how many

²⁵⁴ Yosmaoğlu-Turner, p. 224.

²⁵⁵ Even in the Balkans there were other local communities who were satisfied with such Greek schooling efforts.

²⁵⁶ Eksertzoglou, p. 82.

different ways history courses were taught in different schools -even if they were located in the same city. For instance, in the *elliniko* of Bakırköy (Istanbul) “Hellenic and general histories, ancient and middle” were taught whereas in the second year of Galata (Istanbul) school “history of Ancient Hellenes”, and in the fourth year “History of Hellenes until recent times” were lectured to students. However, at Beşiktaş (Istanbul) “a biographical history of Hellenes” and “a History of Hellenes of Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos”, were taught; at Tarabya, students from Istanbul learned “biographical history of Hellenes”; lastly, at the *gymnasion* (*idadi* level) of Stavrodromi (Istanbul) “a history of Eastern nations,” “Roman and Hellenic history,” “a history of the middle ages” and “a history of recent era” were studied.²⁵⁷

Such a fragmented structure in the teaching history was not at all welcomed by Istanbul *Sylogos*. There had to be immediate changes so that there would be consistency in history lessons. So, beginning in the 1870s, the association organized a contest (*Karapanios* contest) in writing history books for Greek community schools. The works should be complementary in the sense that they should put together a continuous chronological and political line in order to account for the history of Hellenes.²⁵⁸ Even at schools of *Karamanli* communities, according to Benlisoy, “the lessons of history concentrated exclusively on the ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine periods.” Ottoman era was integrated into history classes of Kayseri school only in last years.²⁵⁹

The fact that Kingdom of Greece had tremendous influence over Ottoman Greek subjects, especially through education, was not a secret to Ottoman authorities. In 1892, the Ministry of Public Education was informed by Grand Vizier’s Office (*Sadâret Dâiresi*) that the local Greek community schools were exceedingly supported by “the Greek government to

²⁵⁷ Eksertzoğlu, p. 82, footnote 8.

²⁵⁸ Eksertzoğlu, p. 83.

²⁵⁹ Benlisoy, p. 173.

achieve ‘in accordance with the Greek educational practices’.²⁶⁰ Prior to that date, in 1890, Sadrazam Kâmil Paşa highlighted ‘inimical activities that were followed by Greek government over local Rum schools.’²⁶¹ Again that year, the governor of Yanya discovered a secret correspondence between the local Greek consul and the local metropolitan bishop concerning expenditures and teaching staff in the local community schools.²⁶²

In another memorandum (*layiha*), it is clearly stated that the actual state of being for the Ottoman Greeks and Armenian schoolings was made possible with privileges and permissions granted in the earlier periods. On the basis of such grants, the memorandum went on, the instructors in the majority of Greek *millet* schools were subjects of the kingdom, and the fact that Greek government provided a few thousands Turkish liras *per annum* to the Ecumenical Patriarchate was undeniable.²⁶³ “Foreign Catholic governments established many schools for Ottoman Catholic subjects whereas foreign Protestants opened many schools for Armenians and others. Foreign institutions used to finance such schools and to appoint foreign instructors.”²⁶⁴

Thanks to a memorandum written by Ahmed Zühdü Paşa, Minister of Public Education, in 1893, we are informed that “inimical activities of Rums reached at its zenith on

²⁶⁰ Deringil, p. 106.

²⁶¹ BOA, Y.A.HUS. 238/33, [23 August 1890], cited in Zeki Salih Zengin, “II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Yabancı ve Azınlık Mekteblerinin Faaliyetleri”, *Belleten*, vol. LLXXI No. 261, 2007, p. 624

²⁶² BOA, Y.A.HUS. 236/52, [3 July 1890], cited in Zengin, p. 624.

²⁶³ “Rum ve Ermeni patrikhanelerine bazı imtiyazat ve müsaadatu havi verilen beravat-ı şerife olarak işbu müsaadata istinaden öteden beri Rumlar tarafından açılan mekteblerin bir çoğunda ders veren muallimler Yunanlı olduğu gibi hala Yunan devleti tarafından bu mekteblerin idaresi için Rum Patrikhanesine senevi birkaç bin lira tahsisat verildiği gayr-i münkirdir.”
BOA, Y. EE. 86/39, 11 Muharrem 1311 [25 July 1893].

²⁶⁴ “Katolik milel-i ecnebiyesi tebaa-i devlet-i aliyeden olan Katoliklere ve ecnebi Protestanlar Ermeni ve sâireye mahsus olarak birçok mektebler te'sis ederek bu mekteblerin mesârifini ecnebi cemiyetleri tesviye ve ecnebi olan mu'allimlerini dahi kendileri tertib ve ta'yin etmekte olduklarından”
BOA, Y. EE. 86/39, 11 Muharrem 1311 [25 July 1893].

the Aegean Islands with the help of Greeks.”²⁶⁵ He, furthermore, warned about dangerous activities of “Greece’s dangerous association of *Sylogos*” at Yanya: the former was trying to “Hellenize [*Yunanlılaştırmak*] local Orthodox Albanians by establishing schools, teaching Greek language and propagating its instruction and, thus, making them forget their mother tongue.”²⁶⁶ This example demonstrates that the connection between phileducational associations and nationalistic agenda of Kingdom of Greece was already deciphered by the Ottoman officials. In fact, it was because of the “Greek problem” that the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the *Sylogos* at Istanbul was prohibited by the Ottoman government.²⁶⁷

In a similar vein, bureaucrats of lower scale were sharing their superiors’ ideas regarding non-Muslim community schools. A typical example was the director of education of Selânik. Radovişli Mustafa Bey wrote a couple of reports about conditions of schooling under his jurisprudence. In the report dated 2 February 1889, he obviously blamed *millet* schools as well as foreign schools “for giving pernicious training.”²⁶⁸ He was aware of the fact that non-Muslim communities “encouraged from outside” used to send their students to Europe, so that they were trained as teachers and were recruited as “*daskal*.”

With the encouragement from abroad which was hideously filtered, their eyes were opened and they began to send pupils to Europe who, after their studies, returned and

²⁶⁵ “*Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefidde Rumların Yunanın mu’avenetleriyle vuku’ bulmakta olan teşebbüsât-ı mefsedet-karanelerinin mazarratı nihayet dereceye vasil olmuştur.*”

Atilla Çetin, “Maarif Nazırı Ahmed Zühdü Paşa’nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki Yabancı Okullar Hakkındaki Raporu”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 10-11 (1981-1982), p. 200.

²⁶⁶ “*Yanya vilayetinde Yunanistanın Silogos cem’iyyet-i fesadiyesi hayli zamandan beru Arnavudları yunanlılaştırmak fikriyle an-asl bir nefer Rum olmayan ya’ni her ne kadar mezheben Ortodoks ise de aslen Arnavud bulunan ahali-i hristiyanıyye için mektepleri açmak [...] efkârlarına hadim mu’allimler celbine Rumca tedaris ve ta’limini ta’mim ile Ortodoks mezhebindeki Arnavud çocuklarına lisan-ı maderzadlarını unutturup Rumlaşdırmak emeline düşüyorlar.*” Çetin, p. 200.

²⁶⁷ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 491/11, 23 Şevval 1303 [25 July 1886]

²⁶⁸ “*Memâlik-i şâhânedede vakit vakit küşâd olunmuş olan mekatib-i ecnebiye ile tebaa-i Devlet-i Aliyye’den bulunan mîlel-i gayrimüslime mekâtibinde tedarisât-ı muzırta câri olduğu tahkik bulunmağla*” Somel, *Maarif Müdürü*, p. 142.

began to be employed as *daskal*. Such *daskals*, who absorbed noxious ideas at Europe, in opposition to general benefits of the country and politics of Ottoman Empire, began to give instruction to their own communities which gave birth to political motives/desires/cause.²⁶⁹

His reference was primarily, if not thoroughly, to Rum schools because he used the word *daskal*, the Ottoman version of Greek word δάσκαλος meaning instructor. He, furthermore, highlighted how dangerous it was that teachers were trained abroad was. “The majority of the teachers are either foreigners or indigenous intriguers,” he intimated, “who studied at Europe, Bulgaria, Greece and Eastern Rumelia, and their primary duty was to provoke feelings in their students against the empire.”²⁷⁰ His reference to the Balkans proves that he pinpoints Rum and Bulgarian schools, not others.

His main concern about the pupils, who were studying at foreign and community schools, was that they would lose their Ottoman identity and be alienated. Through education, they would become more and more like Europeans, or *Frankish*.

Because those schools are established on the basis of political sentiments, in most of the cases their pupils are made wear French hats, and they rarely wear fez, being the symbol of Ottomanism. If a student who recently starts to perceive and understand the world begins to wear hat, which is the symbol of *Frenklik*, he misperceives his fellow citizens and thinks they are foreigners due to the fact that the latter wear fez. He, then, considering historical events and situations of his community, becomes more susceptible to inimical ideas that his teachers are trying to impose over him.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ “*hâricden hulul eden teşvikat ile gözleri başka yolda açılmağa başlayub Avrupa’ya talebe göndermeğe ve orada tahsil ile avdet edenleri daskallıkda kullanmağa başladılar. Avrupa’da efkâr-ı muzırta telakki eden o takım daskallar ise memleketin menâfi-i umumiyesine ve Saltanat-ı seniyyenin usul-i siyâsetine muğâyir olarak mensub oldukları kavmin efkârını azdıracak siyâsi dâiyeler uyandıracak yolda tedrisât ve telkinât-ı muzırrada bulunub*”

Somel, *Maarif Müdürü*, p. 143. *Dâiye* has multiple meanings which all fit well into the paragraph; that’s why I use all three of them in translation.

²⁷⁰ “*Muallimlerin ekserisi ise ecnebi ve Avrupa’da ve Bulgaristan ve Yunanistan ve Rumeli-i Şarki’de tahsil görmüş müfside yerli takımından olub talebeyi bir takım muzırr hissiyâta sevk etmek başlıca hizmetleri bulunmağa*” Somel, *Maarif Müdürü*, p. 143.

Armenian Community

In the case of Ottoman Armenians as well, education ended up being an important social issue. During the eighteenth century, some Armenian high schools were established at the capital city as a further level in communal instruction.²⁷² During the first decades of the nineteenth century same pattern went on; schools -funded by community elites- were established in different districts. However, progress in the area of education was restricted to Istanbul and provincial Armenian groups -which constituted, in fact, numerical majority- could not enjoy same opportunities.²⁷³

Armenian elites who were aware of that discrepancy decided to propagate schooling opportunities to the provincial areas of the empire, mostly eastern Anatolia. In the 1840s, Istanbul community decided to send some successful students abroad so that they could study there, and would enlighten the community by providing know-how when they returned. With this initiative wealthy families sent their children but also financed the study of needy children. The famous Krikor Odyan, Nigoğos Balyan, and Garabed Ütüciyan were among the first group.²⁷⁴

French philosophers such as Auguste Comte, Victor Hugo or Alfred de Musset had tremendous effects on Armenian diaspora student body. They were in the heart of European

²⁷¹ “*Mekatib-i mezkure ber-vech-i muharrer hissiyat-ı siyasiye üzerine müesses olduğundan talebesine ale-l-ekser Frenk kepleşi iksa etdirilmekte ve Osmanlılık şiarı olan “Fes” pek seyrek talebede görülmektedir. Henüz dünyasını anlamağa başlayan bir mekteb çocuğu ise kendisini bildiği günden itibaren Frenkliğe mahsus olan şiar ile büyümeğe başlarsa Osmanlı şiarını taşıyan vatandaşlarını kendi memleketlerinde ecnebi zu’ m ederek ve mensub olduğu kavmin ahval ve vakayi-i tarihiyesini derpiş eyliyerek muallimleri tarafından olbabda telkin edilecek olan efkâr-ı muzırrayı başka bir suret ve şiddetle telakki eder.*” Somel, *Maarif Müdürü*, p. 144.

²⁷² In 1710 at Beyoğlu, in 1706 and 1715 at Üsküdar, in 1741 at Kumkapı. Ergin, p. 623.

²⁷³ Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 79.

²⁷⁴ Vartan Artinian, “A Study of the Historical Development of the Armenian Constitutional System in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1863,” (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Brandeis University, 1970), pp. 60–61. For Odyan’s life, look at Arthur Beylerian, “Krikor Odian (1834–1887): un haut fonctionnaire ottoman,” *Revue du Monde Armenien Moderne et Contemporaine*, 1, 1994, pp. 45–86.

intellectualism. Some lived through the Revolution of 1848 in Paris. Far from their homeland, their sectarian differences among them blurred. Those new intellectuals began to discuss the actual state of being of Ottoman Empire as well as their own community. In order to change the existing structures of their community they established an association on 27 April 1849, the Association of Ararat (*Araradyan Ingerutyun*).²⁷⁵ Since its founders were all students, its main emphasis was on education. The first declaration was about the negative state of Armenian schooling network:

Only the elite of a nation can comprehend the true significance of the word 'nation'...It is because of ignorance that our nation has reached this miserable condition...the happiness of a nation can only come through education... The aim of the Araradyan Ingerutyun is to bring progress to the Armenian nation and to provide for all its needs... Happiness of a nation is contingent upon the education of its children... In order to provide such education, the four walls of a building are not sufficient... We need cultural and educational societies to prepare qualified teachers, to publish books and periodicals, to promote reading, and justly reward authors, editors, and translators...²⁷⁶

We can suggest that the association turned out to be a success because similar initiatives followed.²⁷⁷

In the previous paragraphs I highlighted that provincial Armenian communities could not enjoy educational opportunities. Throughout time that problem was realized by Istanbul community as well, and after 1860 many phil-educational associations were established in different localities such as Adana, Sivas, Van, Erzurum and so on. *Association Ararathian* had local branches at Van, Erzurum and Mamuretülaziz while *Oriental School Association (Tebrotzasirats Arevelian)* was active at Muş, Bitlis and Diyarbakir. They were trying to

²⁷⁵ Artinian, p. 63; Young, pp. 76-77.

²⁷⁶ Artinian, pp. 63-64.

²⁷⁷ Artinian, p. 64.

propagate Armenian language among those who were speaking Turkish or Kurdish, and to develop provincial education opportunities in general.²⁷⁸ Armenians from all confessions were unified under such associations whose objectives were elimination of illiteracy and solidarity. Just a year after its establishment, in 1861, *Oriental School Association* published a declaration describing the unfortunate situation of Armenians in terms of lack of instruction:

The importance of national education is recognized and advocated by everybody; the nation seems totally preoccupied with this fundamental question. Yet we observe with sorrow that no necessary measure is taken to develop national education. Today it is as rare to find a man in Armenia who knows how to read and write as among the savages of the Oceania.²⁷⁹

From the above quotation it can be concluded that the lay parts of Armenian community were very active for promoting education. However, they did also influence the overall administration of community. As a consequence, education became much more important field for the Patriarchate. On the basis of *Académie Française*, a new commission was founded. The Patriarchate formed the first Armenian Educational Council (*Usumnagan Khorhurt*) on 22 October 1853. Founding members were important figures who were graduates of European universities, such as Krikor Odyan and Dr. Serviçen. The commission was entitled to encourage the letters, to found new schools, and to co-ordinate educational

²⁷⁸ Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 80; Young, pp. 105-106.

²⁷⁹ “Alors que chacun reconnaît et prêche l’importance de l’éducation nationale, alors que la Nation semble totalement préoccupé par cette question fondamentale, c’est avec tristesse que nous devons constater qu’aucun moyen satisfaisant n’a été mis en œuvre pour développer l’éducation nationale. Aujourd’hui encore, il est aussi rare de trouver en Arménie un homme sachant lire et écrire que parmi les sauvages d’Océanie.”

Anahide Ter Minassian, “Sociétés de culture, écoles et presse Arméniennes a l’époque d’Abd-ul-hamid II,” *Revue du monde Arménien contemporain et moderne*, 1997, Tome 3, p. 15.

activities throughout the empire. It was also to promote the use of colloquial Armenian rather than the liturgical version.²⁸⁰

Although we do not have exact data on curricula of those schools, it is still worth to refer to Vartan Artinian's study to notice which courses were offered in capital city. Elementary schools composed the majority of schools and provided such a curriculum: grammar, reading, arithmetic, geography, history and religious knowledge. Algebra, physics, history, music, Turkish, French, and Armenian were among such courses taught in secondary schools. Two colleges in Istanbul offered religion courses as well. But they also taught philosophy, ethics, Turkish, Armenian, French, Italian and English.²⁸¹

The following is an interesting case which shows how Ottoman statesmen perceived Armenian schools and school employees embraced Ottoman ambassadors and Ottoman Empire. Ambassador to Paris, Veli Paşa visited Armenian School in the city (probably *Muradyan Mektebi, Collège Arménien de Saint- Samuel Moorat*) on 5 March 1854. It seems that the teaching staff, composed of Director Serkis Teodor, Course Director Gabriel and Instructor Amırvaz (?) sent a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁸² Thanks to this letter, we are informed how greatly Veli Paşa was impressed by the education provided to Armenian children "who were loyal subjects of Ottoman Sultan" and how much the teaching staff was pleased by the speech he gave during his visit.²⁸³

²⁸⁰ Artinian, p. 69.

²⁸¹ Artinian, p. 66.

²⁸² BOA, HR. MKT. 73/45 [11 April 1854].

²⁸³ "[...] Veli Paşa bendeleri Paris'te kâin Ermeni mektebine lutfen azimetle irâd buyurmuş oldukları kelimât-ı tayyibe ve hayırhâhâne tebaa-ı sâdika-ı cenâb-ı mülukânelerinden olan [...] şâkirdânın hülasa-ı mesai ve gayretleri vaktiyle hizmet mucceb-ül-müfmezet saltanat-ı seniyyeden bulunmak şerefine kesb-i liyâkatle beraber zil zelil cenâb-ı mülukânede muhmi ve mustazil buldukları eelden nâil ve mazhar oldukları eltâf-ı bi-nihâye-i cenâb-ı mülukânelerinden dolayı ifâ-yı teşekkür [...] 'arz ve ibrâzına mücâseret eylemiş olduğumuz 'ubdiyyet-i abidânemizin nezd-i mekârim ve hazret-i şehinşâhilerinde lutfen ve tenezzülen karib-i kabul buyrulması [...]" BOA, HR. MKT. 73/45, [11 April 1854].

Thereupon, we learn that Armenians from Istanbul asked Sublime Porte to get *Muradyan Mektebi* under Ottoman protection (*himâye*), and their request was acknowledged.²⁸⁴ A few years later, in June 1862, when the Patriarchate asked Ottoman government to grant decorations to teaching staff of the school, his demand was apparently approved.²⁸⁵ Because the number of Ottoman Armenian students in Paris increased, an Armenian priest was required for their religious duties. The Patriarch appealed to the Sublime Porte to consider sending a priest, and in 1863 a Ohannes Hünkarbeğendiyan Efendi was appointed for the position which he kept until 1870: his monthly salary (400 Francs) was paid from the imperial treasury.²⁸⁶ When Prussian-France War broke out in 1870 and Paris was surrounded by Prussian forces, director of *Muradyan Mektebi* wrote a petition to the Ottoman ambassador Cemil Paşa asking help for transporting Armenian students to Istanbul -because he could not afford it with his own means. Ultimately, necessary amount for transportation was provided by the Ottoman treasury in late 1870.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ The curriculum of the school emphasizes the teaching of “language of their own country,” i.e. Ottoman Turkish. Here is the rest of curriculum: Teaching good manners/standards of decorum (*hal ve gidiş*), religious knowledge, Armenian language and literature, rhetoric, national/communal religion (*din-i millî*), history of foreign countries, political and physical geography, French language and literature, English language, arithmetics, algebra, geometry, mechanics, physics, natural history, geology, philosophy, law, political economy, accounting, commerce, writing (*yazı*), drawing-painting, music, gymnastics.

Adnan Şişman, “Osmanlı Öğrencilerinin Paris’te Tahsil Yaptıkları Mısır ve Ermeni Mektepleri,” *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol. V, No. 2, December 2003, p. 6.

²⁸⁵ BOA, HR. TO. 72/65 [30 June 1862].

²⁸⁶ Şişman, *Osmanlı*, p. 7.

²⁸⁷ “Paris’te kâin Muradyan nam Ermeni mektebindeki kırk iki şâkirdân Paris şehrinin muhâsara tahtında bulunması cihetiyle Dersaadet’e nakli lâzım gelip bunların yol mesârifi olmak üzere tahmin olunan on bir bin frank cenâb-ı saltanat-ı seniyyeden tesviye ve ihsân buyrulması mekteb müdürü tarafından niyâz olduğu Paris sefâretinden işâr kılındı. Mekteb-i mezkur öteden beri Ermeni milleti fukarâ-yı etfâlinin tahsil ve terbiyelerine mahsus olarak şâkirdân-ı mumaileyh tebaa-i saltanat-ı seniyyeden bulunmalarına ve şimdi ahvâl-i ma’lumedden nâşi kendileri Dersaadet’e îade ve irsâl olunacak oldukları halde mekteb idâresinin kudretsizliğine mebni ol miktâr fukarânın mesârifât-ı dâhiliye bütçesinde münderic zuhurât tertibinden olarak hazine-i mâliyyeden tesviye ve itâsı cenâb-ı pâdişâhiye muvâfık görünür.”

BOA, İ. DH. 621/43199, 20 Receb 1287 [16 October 1870]

Although the example of *Muradyan Mektebi* in Paris may sound unique, I claim it is still highly important, because it illustrates Ottoman government's positive approach to an Armenian schooling institution in a European capital. Armenian schooling was so harmless in the eyes of Ottoman authorities that even the Armenian school in Paris was welcomed. Reciprocal approaches of Armenians and the Sublime Porte that we observe in the case of *Muradyan Mektebi*, in more general terms, illustrate optimistic environment of Tanzimat Era as well.

Ottoman Empire did not have any problems with the Armenian community schooling during entire process which began in the late eighteenth century. What was trying to be achieved during that process of development was primarily to teach Armenian to those children, because they were Turkish or Kurdish speakers; and to propagate education among members of the community. Although education began to be more and more secular -unlike education in the nineteenth century- it still did not pose any problem for Ottoman authorities because it was not related to any other political identity than being Ottoman. Community schools were attempting to reproduce ethno-religious Armenian identity -or to create a new sort of ethno-religious identity which required sufficient knowledge of Armenian language.

That optimistic environment could be seen even as late as in the early 1870s. Even though the ideal of being equal subjects began to fade in the minds of Ottoman Armenians after the death of Ali Paşa, the last of the two famous *paşas* of the Tanzimat Period,²⁸⁸ there is no evidence of the idea of a severe rupture with Ottoman administration. However, we should recall that Ottoman Armenians residing in eastern Anatolia had to survive tremendously difficult conditions of life.²⁸⁹ In reality, there were increasing complaints originating from

We also know that Ottoman ambassador to Paris invited director M. Arman to the embassy over a dinner in 1866.

²⁸⁸ The other is Fuad Paşa.

eastern Anatolian Armenians targeted both to Ottoman state authorities and Istanbul community, the power holder of the entire Armenian *millet*. Tanzimat and Islahat reforms, it seems, were not effective in eastern Anatolia. For that reason a clergy from the region, Garegin Srvantstians, had written down an article printed in a 1862 newspaper:

Does the government have the right to torture? Of course not. But who is objecting, who is knocking at the government's door? Where are the intermediaries, where are the modern leaders, the leaders of the nation? Thank God we have them, but they are being cautious.²⁹⁰

Because it was the communal organ which was supposed to find solution to problems of Armenian *millet*, after long debates within the Armenian National Assembly in 1869, a committee was elected to investigate provincial problems and make recommendations for solutions. In less than a year, it submitted a massive report to the National Assembly. Newly appointed patriarch Mktich Khrimian, a native of Van, encouraged provincial Armenians to submit reports describing their local conditions. Some problems may be encountered in almost every locality: not only reforms of Ottoman government did have any positive impact on provincial Armenians, but also, sometimes they worsened the actual state of being.²⁹¹ After long discussions, Armenian representatives submitted a similar -and milder- report to

²⁸⁹ “*Ne var ki devletin ilgisizliği veya aczi taşra Ermeni aydınları açısından bölgedeki Ermenilerin fiziksel güvenliğinin sağlanması konusunda aeta kendi başlarının çaresine bakmaları’ gereği doğrultusunda bir mesaj niteliğini taşımıştır.*” Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 76.

Somel argues it was Mahmut Nedim Paşa’s grand vizierate which made the Sublime Porte more and more indifferent to the problems of non-Muslim subjects. For more information on Nedim Paşa, see:

Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The Sultan and the Bureaucracy: the Anti-Tanzimat Concepts of Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Paşa,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3, August 1990, pp. 257-274.

“*Loin des yeux du gouvernement, en butte aux excès de fonctionnaires corrompus, à la merci hordes des Kurdes, les Arméniens de la Turquie d’Asie ne dissimulent point leur sympathie pour la Russie.*”

Arthur Beylerian, “Les Origines de la Question Arménienne du Traité de San Stefano au Congrès de Berlin (1878),” *Revue d’Histoire Diplomatique*, 1976, n. 44, p. 149.

Although a work of fiction, the novel written by Hakob Melik Hakobian, *Le Fou*, illustrates concerns and fears of Ottoman Armenians living in Eastern Anatolia.

Hakob Melik Hakobian, *Le Fou*, trans. Mooshegh Abrahamian (Paris: Bleu autour, 2009).

²⁹⁰ Gerard J. Libaridian, *Modern Armenia: People, Nation, State* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2007), p. 60.

²⁹¹ Libaridian, p. 61.

Ottoman government.²⁹² It referred to several criminal cases where offenders were not even punished. In those reports, Patriarch Mktich Khrimian asked the government to take necessary judiciary measures. Attacks from Kurdish tribes were also important component of Armenians' complaints. The National Assembly required necessary measures to be taken by the central authority -rather than denying its power- to avoid local Armenian population to be threatened by the local situation: "the report asked the Porte to strengthen its position with regard to provincial governments to guarantee that local officials follow directives sent to them from a capital now interested in reforms."²⁹³

Unfortunately, the government did not pay necessary attention to the report.²⁹⁴ In other words, Armenian authorities, as Ottoman Armenian subjects, wanted Ottoman statesmen to find a cure to their problem without appealing to foreign powers. Their initiative, however, failed. Eastern Armenians continued suffering from those negative circumstances. As a result, both Istanbul community and Ottoman government lost their importance in the eyes of provincial Armenians.²⁹⁵

Approximately in the same period, in 1871, communal education council decided to gather statistical data from provinces. A year later, the council announced the responsibilities

²⁹² Bedross Der Matossian, "Armenians, Arabs, and Jews During the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1909)," (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2008), p. 11.

Different sources refer to different dates concerning when the report was presented. Somel, referring to a couple of Armenian authors, stated that it was in "the early 1870s." Matossian stated that it was presented somewhere between 1870 and 1873. Beylerian's account refers to "April 1872."

²⁹³ Beylerian, p. 148; Libaridian, p. 61. For certain cases of the report, see appendices.

²⁹⁴ "However, Grand Vezir Mahmud Nedim Pasha's failure to answer the appeal led to the resignation of the Armenian Patriarch Khrimian Hayrig in the fall of 1873." Matossian, p. 11.

Selçuk Akşin Somel relates the indifference of Ottoman government to the chaotic period (1871-1876) which was surrounding Ottoman bureaucracy following the death of Ali Paşa in 1870. Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 76.

²⁹⁵ Libaridian, p. 62; Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 77.

of provincial education councils. A specific responsibility is important to cite for our purpose: “oversee school reforms and teachings of the central government.”²⁹⁶ I believe community authorities wanted to remain in parallel with the reform projects of the government. It is also parallel to what is described in terms of the report asking help from central authorities.

When Russia declared war against Ottoman Empire in 1877, Armenian members of Ottoman parliament declared their open support as loyal Ottoman subjects. Deputy of Halep, Manuk Efendi Karaca made a speech in the Ottoman Parliament, on 25 April 1877, during the special session taking place due to the declaration of war by Russia. Throughout his speech, he stated his will to keep living under Ottoman sovereignty:

I, born as an Armenian and a Christian, declare that we are not in need of the auspices of the Russian state. We absolutely do not accept the protection that Russia has claimed. Nor, do we need her. We will make every sacrifice with our lives and goods against her illegitimate attacks until the last day. We did not leave any of our Muslim friends and will not leave them.²⁹⁷

On that same day, another Armenian deputy, Hamzasb Efendi (Erzurum), made a speech as well. In his speech, he insisted on the fact that Armenians had always lived with security under Ottoman rule:

Like in the past, for two years, under the pretext of protecting Christian peoples, Russia has hatched all kinds of plots. We, for our part, do not want to be under foreign protection. Armenian people have been living in peace and in security within the borders of the Ottoman Empire for more than five hundred years.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ Young, p. 95.

²⁹⁷ *Meclis-i Meb'usan Zabıt Ceridesi, 1293=1877*, vol. 1, ed. Hakkı Tarık Us (İstanbul: 1954), p. 172.

²⁹⁸ “Öteden beri ettiđi gibi, iki seneden beri, Rusya devletinin hıristiyan milleti himaye vesile ve desisesiyle meydana çıkıp ettikleri enva' hile ve desiseler malum ve hıristiyanların ise, saye-i madalet-vaye-i hazreti padişahide memaliki mahrusada ne derece emn ve asayiş haliyle yaşayub hoşnud buldukları ve asla himayeye ihtiyaç olmadığı rüfeka-yı kiram tarafından müfassalen beyan ve iyma olunduğundan bu babda tafsilıyla tasdie hacet görmem.” *Meclis-i Meb'usan Zabıt Ceridesi*, p. 175.

He, then, stated an interesting fact about himself. He was, indeed, the son of a father who flew to Russia forty-eight years ago and, who then returned to Erzurum.²⁹⁹ Manuk Efendi later in 1878, when the war was lost to Russia, in another parliamentary session stated the need to pay war indemnity to Russia instead of ceding the region populated by Armenians. “Even if it is inevitable,” he insisted “then it should be absolutely another piece of land [which is not eastern Anatolia inhabited by Armenians] whose settlers made troubles to state.”³⁰⁰ Other Armenian deputies, such as Oseb Efendi (Diyarbakir), Şahinyan Agob Efendi (Sivas), Danyal Efendi (Erzurum), made speeches in the same tone on that day.³⁰¹

However, when we compare other Armenians’ behaviors vis-à-vis Russian forces, we at least see that a significant portion of Armenians did not think in parallel with their representatives. Some Armenians residing in the bordering region with Russia cooperated with Russians against Ottoman forces. 100,000 of them passed the frontier and went to Russia. Moreover, many Armenian Russian generals were among Russian forces. Some Ottoman Armenians were very willing to welcome Russian authority.³⁰² For instance, it was Father Rousdjouklian, *locum tenens* of Edirne Armenian community who showed up when

²⁹⁹ “Ermeni milletinin beş yüz seneyi mütecevaz tabiiyet-i Devlet-i Osmaniyyede gördükleri emn ve asayiş ve himaye tarif kabul etmez ve ben dahi Erzurumlu ve Erzurum mebusuyum: kırk sekiz sene mukaddem Rusya işfalatıyla erzurum’dan hicret eden yüz bin nüfusla mütefikian hicret ve Rusya’nın sun’ ve desiselerini anlayıp, sonra madelet-i Devlet-i Osmaniyyeyi arzu ile zir-i cenah-i saltanat-i seniyyeye avdet eden tebaa-i sadıka-i Devlet-i Osmaniyyeden bulunan bir pederin evladiyım ki, eylevm millet mebusluğu sıfatıyla burada bulunmak şerefine nail olmuşum.” *Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi*, p. 175.

³⁰⁰ “Böyle bir muti’ ve şayan-i merhamet olan halkın ve daima devletin zir-i cenahında yaşamak arzu-yi müftehiresinde bulunan edib tebaayi [he was referring to Armenians] Rusya gibi bir despot devletin idaresi tahtında bulunmaklığa mecbur etmemeliyiz. [...] Şayed Rusya devletine bir tazminat vermek lazım geldiği takdirde öyle gazetelerin zü’ümü üzerine Ermenistandan bir şey verilmeyip ihvanımızdan ayrılmamak için bunun akçaya tahvilini hakıpay-i hazret-i padişahiden istirham edelim ve çaresi olmadığı halde [...] çaresiz kalıp da behemehal Rusyaya arazi verileceği surette Ermenistandan verilmeyip devlete her zaman gaile çıkarmağa sebep olan taraflardan aranılmasını niyaz ve istirham ederiz.” *Meclis-i Meb’usan 1293=1877*, vol. 2, edited by Hakkı Tarık Us (İstanbul: 1954), p. 172.

³⁰¹ During the same session, non-Armenian Christian deputies took the floor as well.

³⁰² “*Les Russes seront bienvenus ici, en Arménie turc.*” Hakobian, p. 278. General Der-Ghugasov was one of such generals.

cease-fire meetings between Russians and Ottomans were taking place during January 1878 and demanded liberation of Armenians as other Eastern Christian populations.³⁰³

Armenians' demand for autonomy was a real shock to Ottoman delegation, when it was first voiced during a peace meeting with the Russians in early 1878.³⁰⁴ In the aftermath, the suggestion became more and more embraced by Ottoman Armenian leaders among whom Patriarch Nerses took the lead.³⁰⁵ Granting autonomy to Armenians, or to any other communities, was not even thinkable for Ottoman authorities and Sultan Abdülhamid II, particularly in a period where granting autonomy to Bulgarians was already on the table. After being forced to grant autonomy to the inhabitants of European provinces, the empire could not do the same in eastern provinces inhabited by Armenians. In addition, the Sultan himself was greatly opposed to the concept of autonomy or local administration: he was *the* Sultan who was trying to centralize Ottoman administration *par excellence*. Granting autonomy to Armenians while, simultaneously, he was trying to rule over his empire from Yıldız Palace would have created an absolute contradiction.

The facts that Ottoman Armenians sent their own delegation to peace negotiations at Berlin³⁰⁶ and that they sought Russian support to force the Ottoman government to grant

³⁰³ “Le prélat arménien d’Andrinople, le Père Roussdjouklian s’était présenté au général Ignatieff, pour exprimer l’espoir que, puisque ‘la guerre a eu lieu pour l’émancipation des peuples chrétiens de l’Orient, peut-être libérerait-elle aussi les Arméniens, comme les Bulgares ?’ »

In opposition to the excitement of Armenian primate, Ignatieff was not very sympathetic to his suggestions because, in his opinion, Armenians were not as useful to Russian forces as Bulgarians were during the war. Beylerian, *Les Origines*, p. 155.

³⁰⁴ Beylerian, *Les Origines*, p. 157.

³⁰⁵ Here is a speech he made after Russian victory over Ottoman forces. He legitimized actions taken by Ottoman Armenians when Ottoman failure became evident.

“Il ne fallait pas être doué d’une haute intelligence, ni d’une grande perspicacité, pour s’apercevoir que la situation du pays changeait du tout au tout, et avec elle, les conditions d’existence de toutes les communautés chrétiennes. [...] Il y avait évidemment danger à mes yeux, comme aux yeux de tous, de voir les arméniens disparaître comme peuple, et s’anéantir, s’ils ne songeaient à raffermir les conditions de leur existence. Plus grave que celle des vexations, une question de vie et de mort venait de surgir pour nous.” Beylerian, *Les Origines*, p. 156.

autonomy made their position more and more vulnerable in the eyes of Ottoman authorities. According to Berlin Treaty, which was signed as a result of Berlin Congress, Ottoman Empire would be responsible to European powers in applying reforms in eastern Anatolia to reduce the sufferings of Armenians.³⁰⁷ “This development [the fact that the Armenian question became internationalized after 1878] encouraged nationalist Armenian separatism,” affirmed Selçuk Akşin Somel, “and led the Ottoman administration to regard the Armenian community as a potentially dangerous entity.”³⁰⁸ In the ultimate analysis:

In this context, after 1878 Ottoman statesmen began to perceive Armenians as dangerous/inimical elements who -sooner or later- will demand autonomy or independence benefiting support of the European powers. On the other side, a significant portion of Armenian intelligentsia started to identify Ottoman administration antiquated, outdated and weak, so weak that it would not survive any crises.³⁰⁹

“Education acquired new meanings and significance for the empire’s citizens during the nineteenth century” intimated Emine Özhan Evered in her doctoral dissertation.³¹⁰ Under such circumstances, education became more and more important for Ottoman Armenians as

³⁰⁶ The delegation was composed of Mktich Khrimian, Minas Tchéráz, Mgr Narbey and Stephane Papazian. Even prior to Berlin Congress, European capitals had already been visited by Armenians to attract European states to their side. Beylerian, *Les Origines*, p. 167.

³⁰⁷ Berlin Treaty, Article 61:

“*The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.*”

Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question, 1915-1923* (New York: St Martin’s Press: 1984), p. 9.

³⁰⁸ Somel, *Christian*, p. 266.

³⁰⁹ “*Bu bağlamda 1878 sonrası, Osmanlı yönetici eliti Ermeni nüfusunu er veya geç ayaklanma çıkaracak, düvel-i muazzamanın desteğini alarak özerklik veya bağımsızlık talebinde bulunacak bir tehlike unsuru olarak algılar oldu. Öte yandan Ermeni entelijensiyasının azımsanmayacak bir kısmı giderek Osmanlı düzenini köhnemiş ve çağdışı, herhangi bir krize karşı ayakta kalamayacak derecede zayıf biçiminde algılamaya başladı.*” Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 82.

³¹⁰ Evered, p. 79.

well. In reality, “the development of the Armenian educational system paralleled the strengthening of Armenian nationalism. But the intertwining of education with nationalism became more and more marked particularly after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878.”³¹¹ The fact that Armenakan, the first Armenian political party, was created at Van by a group of Armenian *students* (in 1885) and it called for mass cultural and political education reflect that idea quite well.³¹² Hinchakian Revolutionary Party (which clearly desired an immediate revolution for the independence of Armenia) was another Armenian political party which was established by a group of *students*.³¹³ Those examples illustrate well the connection between schooling and nationalism among Armenians in general terms.

Creating and propagating national identity among Armenians became the primary *raison d'être* of communal schooling. “With members spread throughout various locales, a general sense of national unity grew within the community.” Schools were established with such an agenda.³¹⁴ In fact, efforts to increase number of schools and pupils, in other words to improve communal schooling, were related to the efforts to propagate national Armenian identity among members of new generation. Rudimentary education at communal schools intended to provide basic knowledge so that pupils were able to interpret national symbols. “The plan” in the ultimate analysis, “was to manifest a national ideology within the communal educational structure.”³¹⁵

In terms of curriculum, Armenian *millet* schools of the nineteenth century were highly dissimilar to their ‘ancestors’ of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Now since literature,

³¹¹ Somel, *Christian*, p. 265.

³¹² Young, p. 71.

³¹³ Young, p. 72.

³¹⁴ Young, p. 72.

³¹⁵ Young, p. 95.

history and language courses were viewed as critical elements in the construction of identity, they were all integrated into the curricula of community schools. We can witness differences within the curricula of different decades of the nineteenth century. A survey done in the 1860s in thirty-two boys' schools illustrates that whereas reading was part of all curricula, history courses were provided only over one third of the schools.³¹⁶ Towards the late nineteenth century, however, curricula of Armenian schools were modified. More and more history and geography courses were included, because:

Ancient history, territorial bonds, diaspora and dispersion all figured prominently in the interpretation of Armenian identity. Lessons on history served as a foundation for the popular depiction of the Armenian nation based on a clear logic of historic sentiment, territorial boundaries, and cultural unity.³¹⁷

Rampant importance of history courses required new textbooks to be written. As a consequence, new school books were published. Via such books, common historical national identity was stressed.³¹⁸

Nationalistic ideas were spread as well by teaching staff. Under the impact of Russian leftist thinkers, many Armenians of eastern Anatolia decided to become teachers and work in local *millet* schools to infiltrate nationalistic revolutionary thoughts among young Armenians. Especially efforts of Armenakan and Hnchakian Parties to spread revolutionary ideas among Armenian teachers in eastern Anatolia are worth to recall.³¹⁹ As a consequence of the particular conditions in region, local teachers became estranged and highly politicized. H. F. B. Lynch, a traveler, visited Eastern Anatolia in the late nineteenth century and wrote a travelogue. During his stay in Bitlis, he encountered a young Armenian teacher:

³¹⁶ Young, p. 169.

³¹⁷ Young, pp. 171, 211.

³¹⁸ Young, pp. 211–216.

³¹⁹ Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 83.

Damadean is a good type of Armenian revolutionary. He received a sound education in the school of the Mekhitarists at Venice, and he is said to speak both the French and the English languages. Some ten years before our visit he came to Mush as a teacher in one of the Armenian schools.³²⁰

Although he was educated in Venice, not within Ottoman boundaries, the case of Damadean is still important because it illustrates the connection between Armenian teachers and revolutionary ideas they transmit.

Moreover, one of the aims of Armenian schooling seemed to teach Armenian because Turkish or Kurdish speaking Armenians constituted a certain percentage of Ottoman Armenians. Anne Le Gall-Kazazian in her study on Egyptian Armenians in the nineteenth century stated that:

Regarding spoken language, situation is very diverse. Some Armenians are entirely Turkish-speaking as is the case across western Asia Minor, above and below of Caesarea [Kayseri], a part of Cilicia and the whole of Turkey, west of the vertical line through Caesarea, with exception of cities -Constantinople, Smyrna and its environs, Nicomedia- and a few villages. Some others speak Armenian dialects which are more or less imbued with Turkish, in terms of loanwords. According to Mr. Nichanian [a scholar of the field] the degree of lexical turkification decreases as one moves eastward. Armenian dwellers of big cities, Constantinople, Smyrna, those of Crimea, and of Nor-Nakhichevan, fall into this category of an Armenian colored with Turkish.³²¹

³²⁰ Lynch, vol. 2, p. 159.

According to documents from Ottoman Archives, at least three Damadyan existed: Stephan (BOA, DH. MKT. 1387/64, 29 Rebiyyülevvel 1304 [25 December 1886]), Kropi (BOA, İ. TAL. 357/ 1322 Z-028, 3 Zilhicce 1322 [13 February 1905]) and Mihran (BOA, Y. PRK. ZB. 7/18, 18 Rebiyyülevvel 1308 [1 November 1890]). Probably the latter was the one that Lynch referred to because he was described as “an inimical and dangerous teacher” in several documents.

³²¹ Le Gall-Kazazian, “Les Usages Linguistiques des Arméniens en Égypte au XIXe Siècle,” *Égypte/Monde arabe*, 27-28, 1996, p. 14.

In reality, Turkish speaking Armenians were so numerous that many Armenian newspapers were published in Ottoman Turkish such as *Manzûme-i Efkâr* (1866-1896), *Tercümân-i Efkâr* (1878-1884), *Ceride-i Şarkıye* (1885-1913) and *Mecmû'a-i Agbar* (1885-1906). Apart from newspapers, there were several books published in the framework of, what Anahide Ter Minassian called, “*synthèse culturelle arméno-turque*.”³²² In the period of rampant nationalism and propagating national identity, Turkish speaking Armenians did not fit into the picture. Hence, they were made Armenian speaking.

Acquiring knowledge of national language to be able to speak became a cause in the second half of the nineteenth century. In opposition to Ottoman and western languages, such as French and English, which were gaining importance among Armenians during the nineteenth century, teaching, learning and speaking Armenian became an essential issue among Ottoman Armenians. Language became more and more part of national identity.³²³ Learning national language would prevent Armenians not to be westernized or Ottomanized, for that matter. That is why, apart from the teaching of Armenian at schools, phil-educational societies, such as *Andznever* at Istanbul, were offering linguistic courses to Armenians coming from provinces, to seasonal workers for example.³²⁴ As Minassian claims, during the Hamidian period Armenian imposed its hegemony over Turkish language among Armenian subjects. Such a result was accomplished thanks to efforts of cultural societies.³²⁵

³²² Minassian, p. 27.

³²³ Young, p. 62.

³²⁴ Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 80.

³²⁵ Minassian, p. 28.

Despite tremendous efforts to teach Armenian language and to propagate it among Ottoman Armenians, use of other languages, Turkish and Kurdish, still continued even after World War I. Unsurprisingly, Armenian nationalists accused those who still spoke Turkish despite what “barbarous Turks have done to them” during the war. Vahé Tachian, “Adana Ermenileri: Milliyetçi İdeolojilerle Ters Düşen Farklı Bir Kimlik,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, N. 191, November 2009.

Although Armenian had previously been part of school curriculum, during the nineteenth century, and especially in the last quarter, it acquired new meanings. It was now the national language, rather than liturgical. Instead of being part of an *ethnic* identity, Armenian language became integrated into a more and more *national* identity. Consequently, being unable to use it and speaking another language in colloquial interactions could estrange one from his community. In other words, speaking Armenian became *conditio sine qua non* of being an Armenian.

Turkish had been taught to Armenian boys at community schools. At some localities, it had even been the medium of instruction according to some sources.³²⁶ Although it lost its so-called preponderance over Armenian community, it still existed within the curriculum of many schools. Some Armenian communities (from Bursa, Mamüretülaziz, and Izmid) wanted their children to be taught Ottoman Turkish at community schools, even before such an obligatory regulation was promulgated in 1894.³²⁷ Ottoman history was integrated into those curricula, however, only after state imposed such a measure. Consequently, books covering Ottoman history were published in Armenian language as well.³²⁸ Nonetheless, integration of Ottoman related subjects into curricula does not make us think that they constituted important elements because

The lack of emphasis placed on the teaching of Ottoman related subjects [in most of the cases, language and history] suggests there was much more interest in socializing students with the knowledge of Armenian traditions.³²⁹

³²⁶ At some localities, mathematics was taught in Turkish. Ergin, vol. 2, p. 622.

³²⁷ Deringil, p. 106; Rodrigue, p. 87. I will refer to that practice in the last chapter. Here are a few documents which refer to Armenian communities who declared their requests of Ottoman language teacher. BOA, MF. MKT. 33/83, 25 Zilhicce 1292 [22 January 1876]-İzmid; BOA, MF. MKT. 108/51, 19 Şaban 1306- [30 April 1889]- Bursa; BOA, MF.MKT. 150/87, 29 Safer 1310- [21 September 1892]-Mamüretülaziz.

³²⁸ The first Ottoman history book in Armenian was written by Krikor Markarian (1889). Young, pp. 227-228.

³²⁹ Young, p. 203.

From then on, the focus of schooling would be always upon Armenian related subjects, and those about Ottoman Empire would always be neglected.

I have tried to describe how Armenian communal schooling was in the nineteenth century, and how it evolved from a mere communal education network to more and more national instruction. In the following paragraphs, I will try illustrating the reactions of the Ottoman authorities to that modification and development.

Ottoman authorities were highly aware of rampant Armenian revolutionary movement, and they were trying to arrest, when they were able to, malicious Armenian individuals (*erbâb-ı fesâd*) and committees (*fesâd komitesi*). Innumerable documents about them, therefore, are available in Ottoman Archives. The close connection between such movements and communal education was deciphered by authorities, as well. In the aftermath of 1878, as a consequence, many harsh decisions were taken and serious measures were imposed in the name of obstructing communal schooling activities of Ottoman Armenians.

Beginning from the late 1880s, many Armenian teachers had been subjected to official investigations for being ‘dangerous.’ For instance, Sinbat and Abraham, two Armenian teachers at Kemah, a locality near Erzincan, were accused of provoking Armenian subjects.³³⁰ Not only were Ottoman Armenian teachers working to spread revolutionary and nationalistic ideas, but also foreign Armenians were actively trying to transmit their knowledge to young Armenians. Several cases involve Russian Armenians. A certain Mirakyan at Izmir, a Russian subject, was the school principal of a local Armenian school. He was identified as one of the malicious individuals (*erbâb-ı mefsedet*) and was to be deported to Russia as soon as possible.³³¹ Another Russian Armenian teacher, Prens Osebişhanyan, and his Ottoman

³³⁰ BOA, DH. MKT. 1512/67, 6 Şevval 1305 [16 June 1888].

³³¹ BOA, DH. MKT. 1799/124, 3 Cemaziyelahir 1308 [14 January 1891].

colleague, Hamayak Şaşbolyan were accused of establishing a malicious committee at Trabzon. They were caught and brought before court.³³²

When a foreign subject was found guilty, he was to be deported. Nonetheless, it was not always the case. Ohannes Yosefyan, a Russian Armenian, was to be deported when he was working in Trabzon. However, he continued teaching within the Ottoman boundaries: this time at Galata. The Police Ministry (*Zabtiye Nezareti*) notified Grand Vizier Office:

It is already evident that Armenian intrigues are taught to Armenian children mostly by foreign teachers, and by those instructors whose identities and names are not clear. His teaching is nothing but to perpetuating his harmful ideas. Therefore, he and other foreign teachers with dangerous ideas are to leave their positions to be filled by people of high loyalty and good deeds.³³³

Examples can be multiplied. Armenian teachers, whether Ottoman or foreign, in the eyes of Ottoman authorities had become serious threats.

Curricula were also an important problem for the state authorities. As I have already mentioned, linguistics, history and geography courses became more and more essential in developing national identity within young Armenians. This is exactly the reason why those courses and relevant school books were meticulously investigated and sometimes even prohibited.

³³² BOA, DH. MKT. 1791/87, 1 Cemaziyelevvel 1308 [13 December 1890].

³³³ “Zaten Ermeni mefsedetini en ziyade bu gibi ecnebi ve hal ve şanı meçhul bir takım muallimler tarafından Ermeni etfaline ta’lim edilmekte olduğu muhakkak olub [...] bunun muallimliğe alınması fikr-i mefsedetini tervice hizmet etmekten başka hiçbir manaya mahmul olmadığından [...] gerek merkumun ve gerek bu gibi ecnebi tebadan ve fikr-i mefsedet erbabından ne kadar muallim-i müstahdemin varsa cümlesinin hizmetlerinden ihracıyla yerlerine hüsn-i hal ve sadakat erbabının intihab ve ta’yinleri hakkında icab edenlere emr itası”

BOA, BEO. 313/23415, 7 Cemaziyelevvel 1311 [16 November 1893]

Gymnastic classes were removed for instance. “In all schools gymnastics are rigidly prohibited, on the ground that the boys might be drilled and might rebel!”³³⁴ At some localities, music classes should have been cancelled because authorities claimed detrimental, nationalistic and revolutionary songs were taught to children. Some teachers were arrested.³³⁵

Classes of ‘history of Armenians,’ above all, caused troubles to authorities. Text books, more specifically, were meticulously supervised.³³⁶ Those which did not contain detrimental information were to be granted official certificates so that such books could be taught at community schools. Sometimes, additions were inserted into those books which were already granted certificates. In that case, new editions contained other information that permitted edition did not: a sort of fraud.³³⁷ Here is a case from 1881. Some books on Armenian history and geography were permitted few years ago. Yet, because new editions contained detrimental information, granting certificate to those new editions was in opposition to law. Apparently, into history book new symbols of ancient Armenian kingdoms were added, as if “they will lead to establishment of an Armenian kingdom.”³³⁸

History became so important that at some point Ottoman authorities even considered replacing Armenian history by Ottoman history courses. In 1889, Grand Vizier Office notified the Armenian Patriarchate about the official prohibition of teaching Armenian history and

³³⁴ Lynch, vol. 2, p. 97.

³³⁵ Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 88.

³³⁶ For an evaluation of schools books used at Armenian schools, see: Young, p. 205-207, 209-219. Apparently, National Educational Council had tried hard in order to obtain a certain number of decent books on different subjects.

³³⁷ In 1890, Patriarchate complained about prohibition of school books by authorities stating that those books were ancient and in use at schools and churches for almost a millenary. In response, government highlighted that the problem was not stemming from ancient books but additions into new editions. Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 87.

³³⁸ “*Bunların mündericatı Kürdistan’ı Diyarbekir vilayetinden ibaret bırakarak Bitlis Van ve Erzurum vilayetlerini Ermenistan’dan add etmek ve Trabzon Ermenistan’ın iskelesi hükmünde göstermek gibi mugayir-i hakikat ta’rifatı şamil bulunduğundan tab’ına ruhsat verilmemekte olduğu halde Ermeni Patrikhanesi bundan çend sene akdem tab’a ruhsat aldığı [...] bu sene tertinbinde armalarıyla hülasa-i vaka-yı tarihiye ve kuvve-i askeriyeleri derc ile bu meyandan bir Ermeni krallığına dahi vücud verircesine*”
BOA, MF. MKT. 66/110, 20 Rebiyyülevvel 1298 [20 February 1881].

replacing it with Ottoman history. Patriarch, as a response, pointed out that such a decision would only serve to alienation of Armenian community from Ottoman administration - nothing more. He, the Patriarch told, did not communicate this notification to National Armenian Assembly and, instead, made a proposition. Instead of prohibiting classes of Armenian history, the government may ask the removal of detrimental sections from history books. The Patriarch would obey to such an order.³³⁹

In a few days, Grand Vizier himself sent a note to Ministry of Public Education which explains the banning of school books. According to Grand Vizier,

If school children are provided this kind of historical issues, their training, which is the real reason of education, will be diverted onto another path. Furthermore, it is anticipated that, during classes, instructors infiltrate the minds of children with detrimental ideas. Accordingly, since such books which will provoke agitation they will not be taught at Armenian schools. Instead, Ottoman history lectured at our school, will be taught. In order to prevent detrimental books to be taught and read, inspections will be made. All the above has also been communicated to the Ministry.³⁴⁰

Furthermore, he argues against the viewpoint of the Patriarch who hinted at the negative impact of that decision over Ottoman Armenians.³⁴¹

³³⁹ “Badema Ermeni mekteplerinde Ermeni tarihi okutturulmayub yerine Tarih-i Osmani okutturulması taraf-ı ali-i sadaretpenahilerinden verilen emr muktezasından olduğuna dair maarif nezaretinden Ermeni patriği efendiye bir tezkire tastir kılınmış ve çünkü patrikhaneye böyle bir emr verildiğinin bilinmesi Ermeni milletini hükümet-i seniyyeden tebride ba’is olacağından patrik tarafından tezkire-i mezkurenin mecliste okutturulmamış olduğu ve eğer esasa dokunulmayarak yani katıyen Ermeni tarihi okunmasın denilmeyerek okunan tarih kitapları içinde fikarat-ı muzırta bulundurulmasın denilmiş olsa o yolda verilecek emrler derhal kabul ile beraber icraya sa’y ve ikdam edeceğini patrikin bir zata ifade eylemiş idüğü”

BOA, İ. DH. 1127/88079, 13 Mart 1305 [24 March 1889].

³⁴⁰ “Çocukların bu misillü husus-ı tarihleri mekteplerde tedrisi halinde maksad-ı asli olan terbiyelerini başka yola sevk ile esna-yı talimde hocalar tarafından ezhan-ı etfale bir takım muzırr efsar ilka edilmesi dahi melhuz olduğu cihetle Ermeni mekteplerinde çocukların efsarını tehyic edecek böyle kitaplar okutturulmayub bizim mekteplerde okunan Tarih-i Osmaninin tedrisi ve böyle risail-i muzırta kıra’at ve ta’lim olunmaması için mekatibin daiman teftiş edilmesi nezarete işar olundu.”

BOA, İ. DH. 1137/88788, 21 Mart 1305 [1 April 1889].

³⁴¹ “Bu maddenin millet-i merkume beyinde su-i tesiri mucib olacağına dair Ermeni patrikhanesiden işarı şayan-ı kabul görülememiş olmağla buralarının suret-i münasebede patrikliğe tefhimi hususunun nezarete tebliği münasib görülmüştür.”

In parallel to that decision, in September 1890 the cabinet informed the ministry of public education about the detrimental school materials, books and maps coming from abroad. “Old books and maps were not subjected to any censorship,” highlighted the cabinet. “Nevertheless, new publications containing such improper expressions [e.g. Armenian Kingdom and Armenia] which are totally related to political motives are not to be printed, published, or imported.”³⁴²

Apparently, the decision of removal and replacement had (or could) not been put into effect immediately. During his stay in eastern Anatolia Lynch had visited many schools as well. Around 1890 when he was in Van, he realized “text-books [of Armenian history, language and religion], translated or compiled from European sources, are supplied by the printing presses of the Mekhitarist order in Venice and Vienna.”³⁴³ However, when he visited Sanasaryan School at Erzurum few years later, he remarked “the history of the Armenian Church and nation is imparted under great difficulties and without the aid of books. These would be confiscated by the Censor.”³⁴⁴ That event may lead to two different conclusions. First, prohibition of foreign textbooks was not effective in 1890, it could be only effective as late as in 1894 at Erzurum. Nor the government could have prevented the Armenian-related topics to be studied, even under censorship. Despite official efforts, Armenian history was still taught, at least orally, to children.

BOA, İ. DH. 1137/88788, 21 Mart 1305 [1 April 1889].

³⁴² “*öteden berü mütesadif olan haritalarla müellefat-ı kadimeye mümanaat olunmayub fakat maksad-i siyasiye müstenid bu gibi tabirat-i gayr-i münasibeyi mutazammın müellefat-i cedide tab ve neşrinin men'i ve haricden gönderileceklerin dahi idhal olunmaması lazım geleceğinin taraf-ı devletlerine iş'arı tezekkür ve tensib kılınmış olmağla*” Somel, *Osmanlı*, p. 88.

³⁴³ Lynch, vol. 2, p. 97.

İlknur Polat Haydaroğlu highlighted that Ottoman State after 1895 began to pay attention to imported books, and several measures were taken to prevent foreign books to be read by non-Muslim Ottoman children. Due to the lack of the customs officers who were able to understand Armenian, and other languages, investigation of foreign books might take long time. That situation certainly had negative impact over Armenian schooling. Haydaroğlu, pp. 21-22.

³⁴⁴ Lynch, vol. 2, p. 214.

Only a year later, on the other hand, we are informed of an imperial decree allowing the study of Armenian history at community schools “in a decent [*münakkah*] way.” Community of Bolu asked permission to make use of Bozaçyan’s ‘Abridged History of Armenians’ at their school -yet the book was not previously registered in the list. Governor of Kastamonu consulted the ministry.³⁴⁵ In response, he was notified about the imperial decree which gave permission to such cases. Furthermore, Bozaçyan’s book was in the list prepared by the Patriarchate and the ministry, i.e. it was officially approved.³⁴⁶

We are informed that in the beginning of 1894 every non-Muslim community was asked to provide a list of textbooks to be taught at *millet* schools. The Armenian Patriarchate, in accordance, presented a list to the authorities. It was composed of 146 items, mostly written in Armenian. There were eight history and nine geography books also in Armenian.³⁴⁷

As a result of the above mentioned reasons and factors, during Hamidian period Armenian community schooling was identified as a source of evil, a danger to the well-being of the empire. I have already referred to many examples where teachers and school materials were considered malicious by the authorities for creating disorder and trouble. Such examples can be multiplied. The Minister of Public Education Ahmed Zühdü Paşa, in his abovementioned memorandum from the mid-1890s, referred to Armenian schools as well. After having praised the Armenian schools at Sivas, arguing they were better than other similar institutions, he complained that the majority of teaching staff employed at those

³⁴⁵ “*Bolu Ermeni mektebinde ruhsatname haricinde olarak tedrisine müsaade itası istida olunan kitaplardan Bozaçyan’ın eseri olan Muhtasar Ermeni Tarihi nin mekteplerde tedrisi caiz olup olmadığının sorulduğu*” BOA, MF. MKT. 286/33, 12 Ağustos 1311 [5 October 1895], from Kastamonu to the ministry.

³⁴⁶ “*Ermeni tarihinin Ermeni mekatibinde münakkah surette tedrisine müsaade gösterilemsi irade-i aliye iktizasından olup zikr olunan tarih dahi nezaret ile Ermeni patrikhanesi beyninde Ermeni mekatibinde tedrisi takrir olunarak encümence musaddak kitablardan olmağla tedrsine mumana’at olunmamasının cevaben işarı*” BOA, MF. MKT. 286/33, 31 Ağustos 1311 [24 October 1895], from the ministry to Kastamonu.

³⁴⁷ Minassian, p. 27; Mustafa Murat Öntüğ, “*Osmanlı Devleti’nin Ermeni Mektepleri Üzerindeki Denetimi*”, in: *Osmanlı Toplumunda Birlikte Yaşama Sanatı: Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri Örneği, 20–22 Nisan 2006*, ed. M. Metin Hülagü, Süleyman Demirci, Şakir Batmaz, Gülbadi Alan, vol. 3 (Erciyes: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2007), p. 323.

community schools were either foreign diplomats or scientists who were working for a political cause. As a result, local non-Muslims became highly susceptible to their detrimental effects. Pupils who attended such schools tend to think in accordance with the foreigners, like Protestants and Jesuits.³⁴⁸

Jewish Community

In the case of Ottoman Jews the situation is different. We have already seen that in other communities, the necessary *force motrice* to introduce change was originated from within. But for Jews the change was originated from abroad. The figures who saw communal education as the road to communal development and enrichment were *Francos*.

These people were descendants of European Jews, although they originated not from France but Italy they were called *Francos*, i.e. Frankish. Most of them were members of highly prosperous families and had kept their foreign nationality. Since they were engaged in international commerce, Francos were concentrated in port cities like Izmir, Selânik and Istanbul. Thanks to their foreign citizenship, they enjoyed the fruits of capitulation agreements signed between European and Ottoman governments. Furthermore, they were not members of local Jewish communities. They constituted a somehow autonomous community. As a consequence, local religious authorities did not have any imposing authority over them.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ “diğer mahallerde olduğu gibi Sivas’da dahi milel-i gayr-i müslimenin mekatibinde istihdam olunan mu’allimler ‘ala’l-ekser milel-i ecnebiye tarafından sevk edilmiş mütefennin ve diplomat ve o derecede makasid-i siyasiyeyi icra için muktedir erbab-ı ma’lumatdan idüğünden devlet-i ‘aliyennin tebaai gayr-i Müslimesi üzerinde her suretle icra-yı te’sirata vasıta olmakda ve tahassüsât-ı diyanet ve milliyet sevkiyle bunlar tarafından vuku’ bulan telkinat-ı muzırta etfal-i tebaanın zihinlerini teşvis ve ifsad etmekte ve talebeler ikmal-i tahsil ile mektebden çıktıkdan sonra kazandıkları o ihtişasat-i diniyye ve ‘ilmiyye ile efsar-ı ecnebiyyeyi tervice hadim olduklarını bildikleri cihetle Protestanlar ve Cizvitler ve emsali ecnebiler bu amal-i siyasiyenin husuli için maddi ve ma’nevi her dürlü tedabire ile o mekteblerden pek çok talebe çıkarmakda oldukları misillü” Çetin, *Maarif*, p. 201.

³⁴⁹ In April 1862, *Comunità İsrailitico-Italiana di İstanbul* was officially established. *Comunità Israelitico-Straniera di Rito Spagnuolo Portugese di Constantinopoli* was the name on the official stamp of the community

Avram-Bohor de Camondo (1829-1889), for instance, was an influential figure at the Ottoman court. His grandfather, Avram-Salomon de Camondo (1785-1873) had been the personal banker of Mustafa Reşid Paşa, the famous vizier of Tanzimat Era. Grandson Avram was known as “the Rothschild of the East” and was highly revered in Europe for his financial investments. The family bank he founded with his brother Isaac, I. Camondo & Cie., financed Ottoman government during the Crimean War.³⁵⁰ Dr. Moïse Allatini from Selanik was another important figure. He possessed mills and some factories and, like Camondos, enjoyed high reputation as well. Salomon Fernandez and his son Isaac, Modiano and Mopurgu families were among other prominent *Francos* who paid attention to communal schooling.

In 1864 they constituted the regional committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in Ottoman capital. The inauguration of the committee took place on 21 November 1864 at *Hotel d’Angleterre* in Pera. The president of the *Alliance* Adolphe Crémieux was present as well. Unsurprisingly, Avram-Bohor de Camondo was elected to the presidency of the regional committee. He had his entourage around him: Jacques de Castro as the vice-president, Veneziani as the secretary. Fernandez was the bookkeeper. All 139 members of the committee either belonged to Camondo’s family or were his *Franco* friends.³⁵¹

Aron Rodrigue describes their position regarding European Jews and their cooperation to a very great extent:

The increased European economic presence in the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the growing involvement of western Jews with the affairs of their Eastern coreligionists brought the *Francos* into close contact with the new political and economic developments affecting world Jewry. In outlook and ideology the natural

in its correspondences. In their efforts, Italian representative in Ottoman capital, Comm. Cerruti was involved as well because almost all of them were Italian.

<http://www.muze500.com/content/view/382/257/lang,tr/>

³⁵⁰ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 2, p. 382.

³⁵¹ Nora Şeni, *Camondolar: Bir Hanedanın Çöküşü*, translated by Yaman Aksu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p. 72-74.

allies of the Western European Jewish elite, they soon came to accept the reforming impulse of the latter vis-à-vis their less fortunate brethren in the East.³⁵²

In fact, even before the establishment of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, *Francos* tried to establish modernized schools for the Jewish youth. According to Camondo, “the Jews of the East, who are so backward in civilization and for whom only *education* can open path to progress.”³⁵³ The already mentioned efforts of Albert Cohn in the 1850s were supported by and realized with excessive cooperation of the *Francos*. Without local *Franco* collaborators, modernizing efforts could not be concretized. The schools founded by Camondo in the capital and by Alexander Sidi at Izmir were among such pioneering initiatives.³⁵⁴

The school which was established by Albert Cohn, representative of Baron James de Rothschild, and financed by Avram-Bohor de Camondo, *Kamondo Mektebi* or *Escuela* was inaugurated on 23 November 1854. Hebrew, Ottoman Turkish, French and modern sciences constituted the curriculum of the *Escuela*.³⁵⁵ The teaching of Ottoman language at *Escuela*

³⁵² Rodrigue, *French*, p. 37.

³⁵³ Aron Rodrigue, “Abraham de Camondo of Istanbul: the Transformation of Jewish Philanthropy”, in: *From East to West Jews in Changing Europe, 1750-1870*, edited by Frances Malino & David Sorkin (Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1991), p. 54.

³⁵⁴ Rodrigue, *French*, p. 51; Nora Şeni, “İstanbul’dan Paris’e Bir Yahudi Sagası: Camondolar”, in: *Seni Unutursam İstanbul*, trans. Saadet Özen, Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008), pp. 96, 97.

³⁵⁵ Şeni, *İstanbul’dan*, p. 127.

The school was not attached to the *Alliance*. It remained a private initiation until it was closed down in 1890. Although, Avram-Bohor de Camondo left İstanbul for Paris in 1869, he did not let the institution go down. He continued to finance it, received annual reports from the school principal, and guided its pedagogical approach. In Paris, he became a member of the Central Committee. As a consequence of his potency, each year, two most brilliant students were offered the opportunity to study in Paris, at *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale*. When he died in 1889, his brother Isaac Camondo did not want to continue his brother’s philanthropic efforts any longer. Şeni, *Camondolar*, pp. 75-76, 187.

The following figures from Jewish community are all graduates of *Kamondo Mektebi*: Davud Molho (famous figure of translation office), İzak Molho Paşa (military physicist), Menahem Hodara (physicist, the one who introduced histo-pathology to Ottoman Empire).

Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi, edited by Ekrem Çakroğlu (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 1999), vol. 1. “Molho, Davud,” “Molho, İzak Paşa,” Hodara, Menahem.”

was a pioneering step for Jewish *millet*. Camondo, in a personal letter, explained why it deserved to be supported:

It is tremendously significant that, after having acquired basic geography knowledge, our students will turn their focus towards Turkey where they were born and in which they will probably find a job. For that reason, I consider the teaching of Turkish language highly important. To our students who were born in this country, it constitutes one of the basic tenets of education.³⁵⁶

In 1858, a conflict occurred between a teacher-rabbi of the school and the principal, who was a French national. When the former was dismissed, he accused the latter of religious laxity and many other rabbis stood by him. Rabbis, ultimately, presented a petition to Chief Rabbinate asking the school to be shut down. As in Europe, modernizers asked the state to interfere. Minister of Education, Hayrullah Efendi, ordered the re-opening of school. A certain compromise was reached thanks to his intervention.³⁵⁷

Nonetheless, a few years later a new and more significant disagreement occurred. The council presided by Avram-Bohor de Camondo inspected communal accounts and, in a way, took over the power of religious courts, and asserted dire control over communal affairs. Camondo was also the publisher of *Jurnal Israelit*, a pro-reform newspaper. Because of an article, both Camondo and his newspaper were excommunicated. The rabbi who notified Camondo of this verdict was imprisoned which instigated mass demonstrations. Thanks to the petitions presented to Abdülmecid, the imprisoned rabbi was pardoned. Once again, Ottoman authorities had to interfere and actual Chief Rabbi Jacob Avigdor was dismissed. Chief Rabbi

³⁵⁶ “Öğrencilerimizin temel coğrafya bilgilerini aldıktan sonra, özellikle doğdukları ülke olan ve büyük bir olasılıkla iş sahibi olacakları Türkiye’yi incelemeye yönelmeleri son derece önemlidir. Bu noktadan dolayı, aynı zamanda Türkçe öğrenimine de büyük önem veriyorum. Bu, bu topraklarda doğmuş öğrencilerimiz için eğitimin en temel dallarından biridir.”Nora Şeni, “Hayırsever/Bankacı Figürü: İstanbul’da Yahudi ve Rum Büyük Aileleri (19. Yüzyıl),” in: *Seni Unutursam İstanbul*, trans. Saadet Özen, Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008), p. 129.

³⁵⁷ Shaw, p. 160.

of Edirne, Yakir Astruc Geron was appointed as *locum tenens* of Chief Rabbi. He, then, subscribed to Istanbul committee of the *Alliance* -a move which illustrated the position he took in the intra-communal strife. Istanbul community seemed not satisfied with that decision and began demonstrations which were suppressed by police force. Regulations of Chief Rabbinate (*Hahamhâne Nizâmnâmesi*), then, extended the powers of secular agents at the expense of religious primates.³⁵⁸

As the case in other non-Muslim communities, schooling has also been an intergral part of community regulations. In other words, education became such an essential communal issue that it was integrated into community regulations. On the basis of such steps, until the *Alliance* was established there had been several local primary schools providing traditional education. They were mostly *Talmud Torah* schools at which children were taught Judaic religion. In reality, even after establishment of modern schools they still remained open, and offered basic education to Jewish children. Unfortunately, we do not have much information about individual Jewish community schools.

³⁵⁸ Shaw, pp. 161, 162, 166-170. Nora Şeni, on the other hand, accounts another version of events which led to the conflict.

Conservative rabbis were furious about the initiatives Camondo took to establish a modern school system. Ultimately, in November 1862, the enraged leader of conservative rabbis, Akriş visited Camondo in his house and threatened him with excommunication -albeit unjustly. Grand Vizier Fuad Paşa was also at Camondo's that night and witnessed the whole scene, he ordered the rabbi to be imprisoned immediately. This did not please the community members. On the contrary, intra-communal tension elevated and petitions from the conservative people were presented to the sultan who, then, released Akriş. *Archives Israélites*, a newspaper, stated the following:

“Sublime Porte confirmed the victory of reactionaries, and the exclusion of the most honorable men. The existence of foreign nationals in communal administration was prohibited. In practical terms, the prohibition targets at one specific member of an honorable family. And, even for the moment, the cause of progress was lost. Hasköy [the neighborhood of traditional Jews] prevailed over Pera [European district of İstanbul].” Şeni, *Camondolar*, p. 67. Nora Şeni reads this as a victory of the conservative wing of the community.

However, thanks to Ottoman archival materials, we know that there were primary schools at different quarters of Istanbul: Hasköy, Balat, Büyükdere, Bakırköy.³⁵⁹ At Kazlıçeşme, for instance, a certain Rabbi Avram asked official permission to establish a primary school in the early 1900s. After the necessary inspections by the authorities the permission was granted. Because he was a rabbi, his school was probably a Talmud Torah. Here is list of the books which would be studied: Torah (*Tevrat*), *Tefila*³⁶⁰, parshahs (*Peraşa*),³⁶¹ book of prayers (*ibadet kitabı*) and Hebrew alphabet (*elifbâ-yı İbrâni*).³⁶² Without doubt, besides those in the capital, other important Jewish settlements housed elementary schools as well.³⁶³

It should be recalled, then, that the *force motrice* that was necessary to bring change to the Ottoman Jewish society could not be local, but foreign.³⁶⁴ The *Alliance Israélite*

³⁵⁹ About Büyükdere school, see: BOA, MF. MKT. 480/26 18 Şevval 1317 [21 December 1899]. About the unhealthy conditions of communal schools at Hasköy, see: BOA, MF. MKT. 121/14 5 Safer 1280 [20 September 1890]. About the unhygienic conditions of Balat schools, see: BOA, MF. MKT. 574/21 6 Cemaziyelevvel 1319 [21 August 1901]. For a dance at Bakırköy school, see: BOA, Y. MTV. 286/18 2 Rebiyyülevvel 1324 [26 April 1906].

³⁶⁰ In reality, *tefillin*, also called *phylacteries*, are leather objects containing Biblical verses which are used in rabbinic Jewish prayer. They are essential part of morning prayer services, and are worn on a daily basis (except the Sabbath and festivals) by many Jews.

³⁶¹ A *parashah* (Hebrew: פְּרָשָׁה "portion," plural: *parashot* or *parashiyot*) formally means a section of a biblical book in the masoretic text of the Tanakh (Hebrew Bible)

³⁶² BOA, MF. MKT. 729/41 29 Cemaziyelevvel 1321 [23 April 1902]

³⁶³ There was a Jewish school at Karataş, İzmir: BOA, MF. MKT. 337/1 22 Rebiyyühahir 1314 [30 September 1896]. About three Talmud Torahs at Selanik see: BOA, TFR. I. SL. 41/4024 16 Rebiyyülevvel 1322 [31 May 1904].

³⁶⁴ In fact, there were some local initiatives in modern education before the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* as well. The following is such an example from Beirut.

“In 1875, Rabbi Itzhak Zaki Cohen and Ezra Benvenisti founded a Jewish boarding school in Beirut. [Alliance school would not be established until the 1890s.] It was a local initiative influenced by and connected with local intellectual-cultural ideologies. In its curricular and extra-curricular activity, the school -*Tiferet Israel al-madrassa al-Isra’iliyya al-wataniyya* (The Jewish National School - was an unusual institution in the Ottoman Jewish milieu. The language of instruction was Arabic, rather than French or Hebrew. In addition to the common languages offered in other Jewish schools (Hebrew, Arabic, and French), *Tiferet Israel* also offered its advanced students Turkish, German, English, and Italian. The students learned to read and write Hebrew, and studied the Bible, the Talmud and its commentators, the Zohar, and Agadah. Apart from religious subjects, students learned the ‘foundations of the main sciences’ but the sources never elaborate on this issue; most

Universelle came on the scene at that specific point -after the conflict between two opposing segments of the community was played out and resulted in stalemate- and began transforming the oriental Jewry through education.

In this chapter I have been focused upon non-Muslim community schools and trying to describe how they had evolved throughout the nineteenth century. We can see that the conditions of schooling had been quite static until the early nineteenth century whereas, during the nineteenth century, tremendous developments took place. Consequently, the situation of the Ottoman non-Muslims was quite different in terms of communal education towards the early twentieth century. Even the official regulations and circulars regarding *millet* schools issued in the 1850s and 1860s reflected brilliantly how education became an essential part of the communal life and the administration. The next chapter will be about foreign schools which were established by non-governmental organizations.

probably, these secular subjects included geography, history, and arithmetic.” Levi, p. 97. Such local initiatives, however, were quite limited and sporadic.

CHAPTER IV.
THE SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED BY FOREIGN NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter, I want to describe the special schools (*mekâtib-i husûsiye*) which were not under the jurisprudence of Ottoman ethnarchs. However, I prefer to divide these schools into different groups.

The schools I am here concerned with were established by foreign organizations. In other words, they were not government institution or established by governmental agencies. Missionary schools were founded by religious orders in the Catholic Church and by the Protestant societies. Their primary motive was to propagate the ‘true version of Christianity’ to the non-Christians, i.e. to the people whose souls were not saved. Because such orders and societies were not directly connected to governments, the schools they founded are best labeled as ‘school of foreign organizations’ rather than ‘foreign schools.’

The second group includes the schools established by government and governmental offices.³⁶⁵ But I specifically want to focus on the schools instituted by foreign organizations

³⁶⁵ *Alliance Française*, established in 1883, was also known as “*National Association For the Propagation of French Language in Colonies and Abroad.*” The association, not only opened new schools in the Levant *per se*, but also supported those schools which gave French courses, e.g. Greek Commerce School at Heybeliada, Istanbul. The majority of financial contributions, however, were directed to Catholic missions’ schools. *Alliance Française: Alliance Nationale Pour la Propagation de la Langue Française Dans Les Colonies et à L’Etranger*, 1889, p. 16.

Then, the society itself inaugurated few schools within Ottoman territories, such as Aydın.

BOA, HR. HMŞ. İŞO. 186/80 9 Ramazan 1316 [21 January 1899].

Another secular schooling organization is *Mission Laïque Française*. Being established in 1902 by a French institutor, Pierre Deschamps, its primary purpose was “to create a network of secular schools for indigenous people inhabiting the French colonies and territories as well as other regions where French influence was felt, such as in the Ottoman Empire.”

Randi Deguilhem, “Turning Syrians into Frenchmen: the cultural politics of a French non-governmental organization in Mandate Syria (1920–67) –the French Secular Mission Schools,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 13, No. 4, 2002, p. 449.

As a reflection of domestic debates over the role of religion in society and state, the *Mission* was designed to replace the congregations abroad in the domain of education. Without any doubt, it was the theme of many discussions in French Senate and Chamber of Deputies. However, despite all opposing factors the Mission constituted “an integral part of overseas French cultural politics throughout the twentieth century.” Deguilhem, p. 451.

so that I can compare them with the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools, another group of the schools which were established by another foreign organization.

The reason I focus on French, American and British missionary schools is not the non-existence of other states in the scene. On the contrary, many European states had either national schools or supported a group of schools functioning within Ottoman boundaries.³⁶⁶ However, their number was not even close to the number of the above-mentioned three groups. Furthermore, in terms of geography, French, American and British missionary schools were more or less scattered throughout the empire. They were not limited to a certain region: schools established by Bulgarian and Greek governments, for instance, could be seen only in the Balkans and Aegean part of Anatolia.

French Missionary Schools

In order to propagate Catholicism, the Catholic Church had been making use of various religious orders and granted them privileges to establish public facilities, such as schools and hospitals in localities where Catholicism had not developed yet. Franciscans and Dominicans were the leading orders among others that were trying to expand geographical

For more information about contemporary activities of the *Mission Laïque Française*, see: <http://www.mlfmonde.org>.

There was one British school in Istanbul, British High School at Beyoğlu which was directly established by the British embassy in 1848. The land for the school premises had been granted by Sultan Abdülmecid himself.

Mutlu, p. 259.

Germans had their secular schools. They were established by the German railway company building railroads in Anatolia.

Catherine Babot, *La Mission des Augustins de L'Assomption à Eski-chéhir, 1891-1924* (Istanbul: Edition Isis, 1996), p. 28.

³⁶⁶ There were approximately 25 Italian schools in 1903, which were mostly concentrated in Trabluşgarb. Mutlu, p. 55. In 1905 Austria-Hungarian ambassador presented a list of their national schools according to which there were 42 schools, which were excessively concentrated in İşkodra. Mutlu, p. 77. Russian schools numbered to 90. They were almost exhaustively located in Beyrut, Jerusalem and Syria. Mutlu, pp. 90-92. In 1902 German government presented its own list of national institutions. The majority was composed of schools which were geographically concentrated in Jerusalem. Mutlu, p.120.

limits of the Catholic Church. As a consequence, they were assigned to work in different parts of the world by pontifical decisions. Territories under Ottoman sovereignty were not exceptions. European Catholics residing in Istanbul asked for a mission to be sent to Istanbul which the Church responded favorably. Finally, in 1583 the first Jesuit mission, another pioneering order, was relegated to Ottoman capital.³⁶⁷ Thanks to the capitulation agreements between France and Ottoman Empire, several other orders had also established public facilities all over the empire prior to the nineteenth century.³⁶⁸

Throughout the nineteenth century, we observe a tremendous increase in the number of Catholic missionary schools within Ottoman borders. The motive behind that phenomenon was partially related to politics, obviously to French international politics for reasons to which I shall refer to in the next paragraph. As a result, congregations began to be favored by French government in the second half of the nineteenth century. During the early nineteenth century, however, congregations active in Ottoman Empire did not get enough support from French government which remained rather indifferent to them. As a consequence, Catholic missions had to operate without relying on stable state subsidies from French government until a certain time. Nevertheless, it is better to keep in mind that though supporting missions was not a state policy *per se*, local consuls were always ready to support when a necessity occurred; and that those schools were enjoying the benefits of capitulation agreements signed between French and Ottoman governments. We also encounter limited and temporary state subsidies to certain congregations. Those missionary institutions were after all serving to French national interests.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ Père J. B. Piolet, *Les Missions Catholiques Françaises au XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, no date), Tome 1, p. 50.

³⁶⁸ The total number of orders which were part of missionary activities in the world was fifty in the nineteenth century. Mutlu, p. 138. The same source provides a detailed list of the orders.

Unlike North Africa which was left under direct French control after the invasion of Egypt, France did not have any colonies in the Near East. In order not to lose ground to other international powers, especially to Russia, it was believed that propagating French culture, in turn, might bring political advantage to France. Missionary schools where medium of instruction was French, could therefore become primary instruments of such an ideal. This is where missions were serving best to French national interests. Still, those institutions were not directly subsidized by French state. However, the situation had altered during the 1880s.

When Russia expanded its area of influence after the 1877-1878 war with Ottoman Empire, it became essential for French government to provide material and political backing to the Catholic missions working within Ottoman territories. Furthermore, other actors, such as Italy and Austria-Hungary, began to threaten the French monopoly over Catholic missions.³⁷⁰ Those two factors apparently changed the official French stance point vis-à-vis missionary schools. The following quotation from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Théophile Delcassé, demonstrates that point:

[H]e who speaks French in the Orient is not far from thinking in French and acting in French and finds himself quite naturally oriented toward France, whether for his moral aspirations or for his material needs.³⁷¹

Even an anticlerical like Marcel Charlot, the inspector to French schools in Eastern Mediterranean, had to admit in his report of the early 1900s that “the orders have extremely supported the moral influence of France in the past through diffusion of French language and culture, and also through charity works.”³⁷² That is why Catholic congregations were even

³⁶⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 145; J. P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 8-15.

³⁷⁰ Indeed, due to those states' oppositions, France had to give up her right to protect non-French Catholics. Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 145.

³⁷¹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 146.

granted certificates of appreciation for their contributions to French national interests in the Levant.³⁷³ In fact, the relationship between government and congregations was so intense that in Diyarbekir the diplomatic body followed the footsteps of Catholic Mesopotamian Delegation, a French delegation which established a local mission in 1882 and a local consulate in 1886.³⁷⁴

In fact, when Republicans took over French government in the 1880s, they tried to take religion out of picture. “By the late 1870s, moderate republicans had won legislative power and launched an offensive to dismantle the Church’s hold on the nation.”³⁷⁵ Under the leadership of Jules Ferry, famous Republican minister of France, the government forced religious orders out of public schools, even expelled all the Jesuits, and teachers of other orders from France.³⁷⁶ In other words, in domestic politics, religious orders became *personae non gratae* and exiled from France.

In international politics, nonetheless, they were highly instrumental in maintaining French colonialist agenda. Government, as a consequence, was in total cooperation with them and made contributions to the religious orders abroad, mostly in the Levant. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, i.e. *Quai d’Orsay*, defended the governmental contributions to the missions abroad against domestic anticlerical criticisms. Religious orders were successful in their activities and they served so brilliantly to the French cause, asserted *Quai d’Orsay*, that an immediate ban on Christian missions would not be an insightful decision. Foreign minister, Charles de Freycinet, lost no time in reassuring the Catholic missionaries that the limitations

³⁷² Paul Fesch, *Constantinople Aux Derniers Jours d’Abdul-Hamid* (New York: Lenox Hill Pub. & Dist. Co., 1971), p. 453.

³⁷³ Piolet, p. 80.

³⁷⁴ Piolet, p. 279.

³⁷⁵ Daughton, p. 10.

³⁷⁶ Daughton, p. 9.

or prohibition of their activities at home would not have an effect on the protection and the support provided to them within the Ottoman boundaries.³⁷⁷ In the eyes of *Quai d'Orsay*, they constituted a successful leverage for their foreign policy.

Mission Laïque Française was established in 1901 as a secular governmental agency in schooling network to pay a lip service to those who criticized the existence of religious missions. *Mission* was allocated a share from the state budget.³⁷⁸ Although the idea of secular missions seemed to have a certain potential, in reality they turned out to have very limited impact. Despite the existence of secular French schools in the Levant, famous Republican French statesman Léon Gambetta's motto "*L'anticléricalisme n'est pas un article d'exportation*" was still insistently followed by Republican statesmen.³⁷⁹ In parallel with that motto, Marcel Pernot asserted, in a report of 1911, both religious and secular French schools had their own audiences, and therefore they had to coexist side by side. Apparently, after a certain period of time, even ardent Republicans like Pernot realized how important congregation schools in the Levant were.³⁸⁰ "Both principals and teachers are full of patriotic feelings," Pernot stated. "They all are aware of the need of collaboration for our common cause: there is no rivalry between them, but emulation."³⁸¹

In reality, what mattered to France was not the propagation of the French language and culture *per se*. Schooling was tremendously significant, because "school was the modern

³⁷⁷ John P. Spagnolo, "The Definition of a Style of Imperialism: The Internal Politics of the French Educational Investment in Ottoman Beirut," *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Autumn 1974), p. 566.

³⁷⁸ See, footnote 364.

³⁷⁹ Ironically, he also stated "*Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*" Spagnolo, p. 581.

³⁸⁰ Maurice Pernot, *Rapport Sur Un Voyage d'Etude à Constantinople, en Egypte et En Turquie d'Asie (Janvier-Aout 1912)* (Paris: Typographie Firmin-Didot et Ce, 1912), p. 30. Secular schools were instrumental because, Pernot asserted, they contributed to the overall improvement of Catholic schools in terms of pedagogy.

³⁸¹ Pernot, p. 31.

instrument of penetration and conquest,³⁸² and it was highly believed that anyone learning and speaking French would tend to think and behave in favor of France in every field, especially economy. As Mathew Burrows argued, unless Middle East constituted an economic target for European industries throughout the nineteenth century, “there is little reason to think that there would have been much need for the schools.” He added, “Education in the Middle East went hand in hand with economic expansion.”³⁸³ Once again we can refer to Marcel Charlot, to illustrate the point:

Teaching French must not be considered as an end itself, yet as a means to develop our exchanges. Among the clients of our language, we should see future clients of French thinking, as well as those of our commerce and industry.³⁸⁴

J. P. Daughton furthers this argument into French mandate period.

For example, the Quai d’Orsay supported the missions in the Ottoman Empire, one of the most developed Catholic enterprises in the nineteenth century, as key tools for spreading French influence there. The investment paid off: the presence of 150 French Jesuit schools in Syria and Lebanon helped justify the French mandate after the First World War.³⁸⁵

In the minds of French statesmen, Catholic schools were proved to be significant instruments, so significant that from the 1880s onwards Catholic missions in Anatolia started to be subsidized by state.³⁸⁶ While, during the 1880s, subsidies were approximately 600,000 Francs

³⁸² Jacques Thobie, “La France a-t-elle une politique culturelle dans l’Empire Ottoman à la veille de la première guerre mondiale?” *Relations Internationales*, No. 25, Printemps 1981, p. 40.

³⁸³ Mathew Burrows, “Mission Civilisatrice: French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860-1914,” *The Historical Journal*, 29, 1 (1986), p.116.

³⁸⁴ Fesch, p. 454.

³⁸⁵ Daughton, p. 15.

³⁸⁶ “To affirm French influence, the lay government of the Third Republic did not hesitate to extend financial help to French religious schools and to the Jesuit St. Joseph University.” Michelle Raccagni, “The Economic Interests in the Ottoman Empire,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 11, No. 3, May 1980, p. 366.

per year, they increased to 800,000 in 1900, and to 1,270,000 in 1914.³⁸⁷ Catholic schools became more and more instrumental to the international policy of French government. In the words of Spagnolo,

These annual subsidies were part of a special item in the budget voted by the French Chamber of Deputies for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This item covered subsidies provided in the Orient to missions either by direct grants or through the endowment of scholarships to their schools. The *Lazaristes*, the *Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes*, and the *Filles de la Charité* were among the missions in Syria which, together with the Jesuits, received subsidies for primary and secondary education, orphanages, medical dispensaries, and the like.³⁸⁸

“France distinguished herself as the *pays missionnaire par excellence*” stated Burrows. For that matter, in fact, “the majority of the world’s Catholic missionaries in 1900 were French and the major part of the money spent on them by the church came from French contributions.”³⁸⁹ As a result those schools began displaying how French they were: French flag was hoisted at every Catholic missionary building. French school in Eskişehir, for instance, hoisted the flag on Sundays, which instigated reaction from Ottoman statesmen.³⁹⁰

The number of French missionary schools has increased over the nineteenth century. While it was 93 in 1876, in 1905 it reached to 198, according to a research done by Şamil Mutlu in Ottoman Archives.³⁹¹ On the other hand, French Ambassador at Istanbul, M. Constans stated that in 1904 there were 62,336 pupils attending to the schools subsidized by

³⁸⁷ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 146.

³⁸⁸ Spagnolo, p. 568.

³⁸⁹ Burrows, p. 117.

³⁹⁰ BOA, DH. MKT. 2407/74, 30 Cemaziyelevvel 1318 [25 September 1900].

³⁹¹ Mutlu, p. 142. However, Mutlu suggested elsewhere that number of French schools reached to 260 in 1901. Mutlu, p. 143.

French government. Unfortunately, he did not state how many schools there were.³⁹²

According to the archival materials of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs there were 95,160 children in the Levant were educated by the France-subsidized schools in 1910: 87,126 of them were in the Catholic missionary institutions.³⁹³ According to Jacques Thobie, a scholar of French imperialism in the Levant, in 1904, before the establishment of *Mission Laïque Française* schools, there were 60,000 children studying at French Catholic schools, 8,000 at schools belonging to the eastern Catholic churches (*Uniate*), 14,000 at *Alliance Israelite Universelle* schools, and finally 1,000 at secular French schools.³⁹⁴

In 1901, France decided to impose a list of to-be-approved French national institutions to Ottoman authorities. The motive behind the initiative was to secure more privileges for those institutions.³⁹⁵ The list contained 260 schools (all were missionary schools), and 354 other institutions (church, monastery, orphanage, sanitary institutions etc.). Only 70 of them were established with a *fermân*. In the following years, additional lists were presented to Ottoman authorities.³⁹⁶

Later, in 1913, French government suggested another agreement to Ottoman government so that it would further its interests in Ottoman Empire. An agreement with four

³⁹² Fesch, p. 447.

³⁹³ Rodrigue, p. 147.

³⁹⁴ Thobie, pp. 21–30.

³⁹⁵ A French banker, Lorando, had given a loan to Ottoman government, which was never refunded. The event became an international problem between France and the Sublime Porte. In November 1901, to threaten Sultan Abdülhamid II, French soldiers invaded Lesbos Island in the Aegean Sea and usurped the customs revenue. Eventually, Ottoman government had to consent to the conditions outlined by France. One of them was about official recognition of illegally (i.e. without official certificate) established schools and other similar institutions. Şerife Yorulmaz, “Osmanlı-Fransız İlişkileri Çerçevesinde Osmanlı Topraklarında Açılan Fransız Kültür Kurumları ve Bunların Meşruiyet Kazanması (19. yüzyıl - 20. yüzyıl başları),” İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, VII. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi, 8–12 Kasım 1999, İstanbul A.Ü. DTCF, *OTAM*, N.11, 2000, pp. 719-729.

³⁹⁶ Mutlu, p. 155, 165. The entire list of schools is available in: Mutlu, pp. 155–163, classified per province. Yorulmaz provides the list as well, pp. 732-768.

articles was signed by Said Halim Paşa, Foreign Minister and Prime Minister, and French Ambassador Maurice Bompard on 18 December 1913.³⁹⁷ The accord would provide many opportunities to French schools and its graduates. Unlike their foreign counterparts, those schools would enjoy bureaucratic advantages: less paper work would be required to establish a schooling institution; taxation would be modified in the benefit of French schools. Although in 1901 France banned congregations in its own territory, it kept supporting them abroad in conformity with Gambetta's motto. The list was a reflection of that stance: it contained 501.³⁹⁸

When we turn our attention to the curricula of Catholic missionary schools, we encounter a certain variety. Since they did not operate under a single order but several, each and every order might have a certain policy in implementing a determined curriculum. Characteristic of the locality in which school premises were situated had definitely an impact over local curriculum. The schools at port cities, such as Selânik, Beyrut or Trabzon, used to provide more and more sophisticated classes in line with the local demand. Many languages, like English, Italian, Greek and even Ottoman Turkish, were included in their curricula because knowledge of multi language was supposed to be very helpful, especially in commercial circles.³⁹⁹ Prestigious schools, such as *Notre Dame de Sion College* in Istanbul, a boarding school for girls, had a more sophisticated curriculum with courses such as gymnastics, zoology, music and drawing.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁷ Mutlu, p. 167.

³⁹⁸ Mutlu, p. 169. The list of schools is available at Mutlu, pp. 170–192.

³⁹⁹ Pernot, p. 182. There were other French schools at Beirut. See: Pernot, pp. 180-191. Beirut, for instance, was even housing a university, *Université Saint-Joseph, Collège des Jésuites*. Its curriculum contained English, German, Italian, Arabic, and a bit of Turkish. French, unsurprisingly, was the medium of instruction.

⁴⁰⁰ The school offered three levels of instruction, primary, secondary and high school. Mutlu, pp. 150-151.

The Assumption School in Bursa, established by Jesuits followed a modest curriculum. The school implementing two-tier education -(*ibtîdâî*) and secondary (*rüşdî*) education- offered more fundamental classes in literature (Armenian, Greek, French, Ottoman Turkish-*Edebiyât*), and Sciences (*Fen*). At a girls' school established by the Assumption Sisters in Nevşehir, instruction was mostly based on linguistics: French along with local languages.⁴⁰¹ The geographical location of the school obviously had an influence over the curriculum.

As I have already asserted, the *raison d'être* of those schools was dissemination of Catholicism among oriental people, primarily among Muslims and Jews. However, after a certain period of time, it became evident that despite the efforts put forward by the missionaries to convert Muslims or Jews to Christianity, they did not succeed. Then they diverted their attention to the local Christians. Non-Catholic Christians constituted the majority of pupils at those schools. In 1897, for instance, the number of non-Catholics attending Jesuit schools of Armenian speaking provinces was nine times higher than the number of Catholics.⁴⁰² Jacques Thobie, a prominent French historian, made an analysis using the report of Maurice Pernot and concluded that:

in 1912, 44 percent of the student body in these institutions, whether subsidized by the French government or not, were Catholics, 26 percent were Jews, 22 percent were Greek Orthodox and Gregorian Armenians, 6.5 percent were Muslims, and 0.3 percent were Protestants.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ Mutlu, pp. 149, 150.

⁴⁰² Fesch, p. 479.

There were 2,019 boys (243 Catholic) and 2,098 girls (224 Catholic) in those schools concerning “*les écoles des Jésuites d’Arménie*.” Again for the year 1898, Father Simplicie from Syria was proud of stating that “*nos classes sont pleines d’élèves appartenant à toutes les dénominations religieuses: catholiques, schismatiques, musulmans, juifs*.” Fesch, p. 479.

⁴⁰³ Rodrigue, p. 147. If the figures for *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools are not taken into account, the share of Jews falls, then, to only 3.7 %.

Another essential aspect of Catholic missionaries' activities within Ottoman boundaries was their contributions in the formation of new Ottoman *millet*s. It is a well known fact that prior to the nineteenth century there were only three officially recognized non-Muslim communities: Ottoman Greek, Armenian and Jewish *millet*s. The situation changed during the nineteenth century and new *millet*s emerged. For example, Chaldeans (*Keldaniler*) had traditionally been part of Armenian *millet* due to their religious commonalities. In 1844, however, Dominicans and Lazaristes had been trying hard for the Chaldean *millet* to be officially recognized by Ottoman Sultan.⁴⁰⁴

After the war with Russia between 1828 and 1829, Ottoman Empire encountered an 'anomaly': some Armenians converted into Catholicism and they began to form a new community within Armenian *millet*. This new situation caused inconveniences to the Sublime Porte and to Apostolic Armenians. Catholic Armenians, ultimately, were forced to leave Istanbul in 1829. France sent a warning to Sultan Mahmud II and asked him to allow the return of the deportees. Despite the opposition of Armenian Patriarch Karabet and of the Sultan, Catholic Armenians were allowed to return due to pressure from the French ambassador.⁴⁰⁵ However, the result did not satisfy French government.

In 1830, French ambassador asked the Ottoman Sultan for the official recognition of a separate Armenian Catholic *millet*. Although Ottoman authorities defended the opposite view (*bir cins millet iki Patrik olmaz*), he insisted that thenceforth it would be impossible for

⁴⁰⁴ Hans Lukas-Kieser, *İskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetlerinde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet, 1839-1938*, trans. Atilla Dirim, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), pp. 82, 125.

⁴⁰⁵ Kemal Beydilli, *II. Mahmud Devri'nde Katolik Ermeni Cemâati ve Kilisesi'nin Tanınması (1830)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Üniversitesi, Yakındoğu Dilleri ve Medeniyetleri Bölümü, 1995), p. 25. In reality, Catholicism had already been introduced among Armenians as early as the seventeenth century, thanks to the efforts of Mkhitarist monastic order based in Venice. For more information, see: Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars* (London: Hurst & Company, 2006), pp. 101-109. What happened in the era was the specific increase in the number of Catholics among Ottoman Armenians.

Catholics to be under the jurisprudence of Armenian patriarch.⁴⁰⁶ The negotiations between French ambassador and Ottoman government resulted in an imperial edict (5 January 1831) which required the appointment of a “*piskopos*” to “*kaffe-i memâlik-i mahrusa’da kâ’in bi’l-cümle Katolik mezhebinde olanlara.*” By this measure, Eastern Christian communities, Melkite (*Melkit*), Chaldeans (*Keldani*) and Nestorians (*Nesturi*) would be under jurisprudence of the newly appointed *piskopos*, Agop Çukuryan, as well.⁴⁰⁷ When Çukuryan passed away in 1835, the new leader was allowed to be called *Patrik* on the basis of Catholics’ petitions. Sultan Mahmud II ordered a ceremony to be performed for the newly elected *Katolik Patriği* Artin as it was the case for the apostolic Armenian patriarchs.⁴⁰⁸

The fact that Catholic missionaries had been trying to introduce a new religion to Ottoman populations was a real trouble for Ottoman authorities. Every new religion would bring modification to the *status quo* that statesmen wanted to keep. For that reason, missionary activities of Catholic orders became tremendously dangerous. Apart from religious and administrative side, the activities of missionaries led, ultimately, to the intervention of foreign governments into domestic politics. The case of French ambassador in Istanbul is an illustrative example. Thanks to the efforts of Catholic missionaries, a number of local Christians converted to Catholicism. Then, after they reached to a high level, foreign

⁴⁰⁶ Beydilli, p. 28. Patriarch Karabet labelled Catholic Armenians as “*müfsid ve müttehim,*” seditious and compellativus. For the intervention letter of French ambassador, see: Beydilli, pp. 210-211.

⁴⁰⁷ Beydilli, p. 33. “*Agop veled-i Matil.*” For the *berat*, see: Beydilli, pp. 259-260.

⁴⁰⁸ Beydilli, p. 35.

According to Charles A. Frazee in 1836, foreign Catholics, like French, Maltese, Spaniards and Italians, were allowed to choose a representative to represent them before Ottoman government. He was told to hold the position “Director of the Latin Ottoman Chancery.” The first to hold the office was a certain Orton Varthaliti. His duties, Frazer added up, “were the same as those of the patriarchs in the *millets*:

To serve as to serve as intermediary between the government and the Latins, to act as judge in cases of dispute between Latins, and to issue certificates of nationality in matters of birth, marriage, death and foreign travel. He was generally subject to the Ottoman foreign affairs office.”

The organization Frazee describes is probably designed for European Catholics.

Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans, the Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 224.

authorities became involved and intervened in their affairs: this was how the official recognition of Catholic *millet* took place.

American Missionary Schools

Actually, the situation for Protestant missions was in a large extent similar to their Catholic counterparts. Missions were delegated to Anatolia to propagate Protestant faith among local population. In the case of *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, an American missionary organization established in 1810 in Boston, schools were mostly financed by its central committee.⁴⁰⁹ In 1818 it was decided to establish a missionary station in Eastern Mediterranean region aiming the following target:

Although they are Muslim countries, Palestine, Syria, Anatolian provinces, Armenia, Georgia and Iran, are home to thousands of Jews and Christians, at least on paper. But, all of that mixed population lives in a pathetic ignorance and moral poverty. They are deprived of opportunities of learning the divine message; they are lost because of futile dreams and illusions. [...] Let's hope that those who call themselves Christians will take the Holy Bible to their homes and will do something to propagate the divine message among Jews, Muslims, and pagans.⁴¹⁰

It was mostly after 1830 that American missionaries began to be more active in Ottoman lands thanks to the bilateral treaty signed between American and Ottoman governments. In fact American missionaries had been in Anatolia since 1820.⁴¹¹

“Seeing that the millennial idea about evangelizing Muslims and Jews was for the tune illusory,” asserted Joseph L. Grabill, “the American Board in 1831 shifted to the spiritual

⁴⁰⁹ Kocabaşoğlu, pp. 56-60, 80-90, 167-170.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, in fact, many local Protestants wanted to have a say in missions' activities. As a result, they began to finance a certain percentage of expenditure. Kocabaşoğlu, pp. 82, 102.

⁴¹⁰ Kieser, p. 74.

⁴¹¹ Mutlu, p. 294; Kocabaşoğlu, p. 29.

Mutlu provided lists of American missionary associations and missionaries, based on Ottoman documents, p. 287.

enlightenment of what it called ‘the degenerate churches of the East’.⁴¹² After that year missions’ activities were disseminated among local Christians and most significantly among Ottoman Armenians. The reason behind their decision of opening stations in Trabzon and Erzurum in the 1830s, as they called it, was to be able to reach to localities where Armenians constituted a certain percentage of local population.

New centers opened in the Anatolian highlands among Armenians at Gaziantep (1848), Sivas (1851), Merzifon and Adana (1852), Diyarbakir (1853), Talas and Maraş (1854), Harput (1855), and Tarsus (1859). In Syria the progress had a slower pace: few geographic centers beyond Beirut-Abeih (1843), Trablus (1848), and Sayda (1851).⁴¹³

American Board, moreover, established seven colleges between 1878 and 1903, mostly a combination of high school and junior college:

Euphrates College (including seminary) at Harput and American College at Van in Eastern Anatolia; Central Turkey College (including seminary) with campuses for men and women at Aintab and Marash, respectively; St. Paul College at Tarsus in the south and Anatolia College at Merzifon in the north; and International College at Smyrna.⁴¹⁴

Those schools, according to estimations, were offering instruction to 2,500 college students, 4,500 pupils in 50 high schools, and 20,000 in 400 elementary schools in Anatolia. In Syria, moreover, 6,000 enrollees were provided instruction by American missions.⁴¹⁵ *American Board* became so powerful that, by 1914, approximately 75 % of all Western Protestant facilities in Asia Minor and the Balkans were under its control.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹² Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 8.

⁴¹³ Grabill, p. 16.

⁴¹⁴ Grabill, p. 26.

⁴¹⁵ Grabill, p. 28.

⁴¹⁶ Grabill, p. 33.

How can we describe the relationship between American missions in the Levant and American government? Secretary of State, Daniel Webster in the 1840s voiced sympathy for defending Protestant individuals and institutions.⁴¹⁷ In reality, as we have already seen in the case of French schools, due to pressure coming from missions, American consulates were instituted in Halep, İskenderun, Bağdad, Beyrut, Erzurum, Harput, Jerusalem, Mersin, Sivas, İzmir, and Trabzon. Sporadically, furthermore, missionaries possessed certain influence over the choice of a consul or vice-consul or took the latter office themselves.⁴¹⁸

However, the relationship was not tremendously peaceful between American government and local missions, all the time. When the first missionaries went to Syria in 1840, they encountered resistance from local primates. Maronite Patriarch invoked the Sublime Porte in 1841, so that Ottoman officials would prohibit missionary activities in his locality.⁴¹⁹ United States minister resident in Ottoman capital, David Porter “acknowledged that the United States-Turkish treaty of commerce and navigation of 1830 did not permit interference in the religious rites of any person living under Ottoman rule.”⁴²⁰ He, furthermore, directed Consul Jasper Chasseaud to inform the missionaries that what they did under actual circumstances would be at their own risk, and that “according to the provisions of the treaty American officials were specifically debarred from protecting ‘secretly or publicly’ any Ottoman subject.”⁴²¹ After a certain while, Secretary of State commanded Porter to widen the missionaries “all proper succour and attention of which they may stand in need

⁴¹⁷ Grabill, p. 39.

⁴¹⁸ Grabill, p. 39.

⁴¹⁹ Caesar E. Farah, “Protestantism and British Diplomacy in Syria,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (July 1976), p. 325.

⁴²⁰ Farah, p. 326.

⁴²¹ Farah, p. 325.

in the same manner that you would to other citizens of the United States who as merchants visit or dwell in Turkey.”⁴²² In reply, Porter assured that they could enjoy protection:

so long as they abstained from interference with the religious rites of the subjects of the Sublime Porte and demeaned themselves in such manner as to avoid complaints on the part of the government against them.⁴²³

Throughout the 1840s, American governmental stance vis-à-vis Protestant missionaries did not change much. American minister resident Carr, in one of his dispatches to the State Department in 1848, emphasized the negative change in the attitude of Ottoman administration towards Americans and confessed that missionaries, who acted independent from any authority, either Ottoman or American, would provoke more complaints in future.⁴²⁴

During the establishment of the American School for Girls at Rumelihisarı, Istanbul American government commanded Admiral Farragut in 1868 “to move Istanbul on the deck of an American frigate and to ‘show his utmost effort’ in the favor of a construction permit.”⁴²⁵ The maneuver seemed successful, so much so that necessary permission to build Robert College school premises at Rumelihisarı was granted by Ottoman government.⁴²⁶

As a matter of fact, dissemination of missions within Ottoman boundaries was simultaneously a battlefield for both European and American governments. France, Russia, British Empire, Germany, Spain, Austria-Hungary and Italy were among the competitors of that game. France, Italy, Spain and Austria-Hungary supported Catholic missions in the Levant for their respective political interests. Russia, on the other hand, concentrated her

⁴²² Farah, p. 325.

⁴²³ Farah, p. 326.

⁴²⁴ Çağrı Erhan, “Ottoman Official Attitudes towards American Missionaries,” *The United States and the Middle East: Cultural Encounters*, 2001, p. 327.

⁴²⁵ Erhan, p. 329.

⁴²⁶ Erhan, p. 329.

efforts on the local Orthodox population, mostly in Palestine.⁴²⁷ Besides, Britain and the United States were the political powers behind the Protestant missions.

Because of the international competition I have already pointed at in the previous paragraph, French and Russian diplomatic agents frequently encouraged measures to be taken against American schools under the pretext that they were centers with political motives. *American Board*, therefore, had to ask in 1885 that “the President use the United States Navy to help protect missions in the [Ottoman] Empire.”⁴²⁸ But the Grover Cleveland administration refused. Only joint American-British complaints prevented disruption of schools.⁴²⁹

In reality, the fact that American missionary institutions had a large Armenian audience had a negative impact over Ottoman government and Ottoman Muslims.⁴³⁰ Due to the rampant tension in Eastern Anatolia regarding Armenians, in 1892 Muslims set fire to a missionary’s house. The following year, with the hope of driving Protestants out of Asia Minor, police burned down an unfinished building of *American Board* School at Merzifon, namely Anatolia College. The police claimed that among the teachers “there were two members of an Armenian revolutionary organization who had posted at the school treasonable placards printed on a college duplicator. The placards asked for a British takeover of the

⁴²⁷ Rev. Hanna Kildani, *Modern Christianity in the Holy Land: Development of the Structure of Churches and the Growth of Christian Institutions in Jordan and Palestine*, translated by George Musleh (Indiana: Author House, 2010), p. 149.

⁴²⁸ Grabill, p. 39.

⁴²⁹ Grabill, p. 39

⁴³⁰ “*The American Board chose Armenians in Istanbul and across Asia Minor as the new targeted group. The reason for this, according to many missionaries, rested on the belief among the missionaries that the Armenians had less national pride and ambition than the Greeks, and a less exclusive church feeling; they had more sobriety, thoughtfulness, and aptitude for spiritual religion.*”

Cemal Yetkiner, “American Missionaries, Armenian Community, and the Making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire, 1820-1860,” (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, The City University of New York, 2010), p. 158.

Ottoman Empire.”⁴³¹ Later those two teachers were pardoned but exiled thanks to American and British diplomats’ efforts.

The incident became a turning point for American-Ottoman relations. “The United States government asked indemnities from Ottoman government for mission losses by fire in 1892 and 1893. Sultan Abdülhamid II had to pay \$ 2,200 for damage at Anatolia College.”⁴³² In 1895, similar destructive events happened at Harput and Maraş regarding local Armenians: property of missions was damaged as well. The missionaries at Harput were forced to sign a statement which “claimed that the Westerners were misleading students by prejudicing them against the Ottoman Empire and requested that Americans leave at once.”⁴³³

When American legation became aware of that statement, it reacted sharply and got in contact with Washington administration. As a result, the government decided to ask indemnity from Ottoman government for the damages. Although the latter was trying to avoid it by guaranteeing the protection of American citizens including missionaries within the Ottoman frontiers, indemnity issue still remained on the table. In order to display American power and to force the Sublime Porte for an agreement, two warships, *Marblehead* and *San Fransisco*, visited Ottoman ports such as Izmir, Beyrut, Adana and Iskenderun in late 1895.⁴³⁴ While Ottoman government claimed that the damages were done by Armenian revolutionaries and claimed that even missionaries thanked police forces to protect them, American government took the matter to the Senate. The issue led to heated debates there. Ultimately, both governments reached an agreement and American legation was paid \$100,000 in June

⁴³¹ Grabill, p. 41.

The student body of Anatolia College in 1893 was composed of 94 Armenians, 23 Greeks, and three Muslims.

⁴³² Grabill, p. 41.

⁴³³ Grabill, p. 41.

⁴³⁴ Nejla Günay, “Amerikan Misyonerlerine Anadolu Halkının Tepkisi ve Bunun Osmanlı-Amerikan İlişkilerine Etkileri,” *Akademik Bakış*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Summer 2008, p. 114.

1901 –military threat coming from American government and warships had ostensibly a certain effect over the Ottoman administration.⁴³⁵

I think the significant part of that description was embedded into how American government began to see *American Board* missionaries working in Ottoman territories. In the beginning, they were no different than other American citizens on the Ottoman land. Their activities for having caused reaction among Ottoman authorities were not very welcome by local American diplomats. Towards the late nineteenth century, however, probably because of the European powers' positive approach to missionary activities, the government handled Protestant missionary affairs in the Levant with more care. Especially after the 1890s, even the Senate and the President became involved and they forced Ottoman Empire to pay indemnity claiming that the premises which were damaged were purely American property. The archival evidence indicates that in March 1899 an American flag was hoisted at a missionary school in Mersin which was administered by a missionary, a certain *Doktor Miten*.⁴³⁶ The existence of American flag hoisted at school premises was a reflection of its official national identity.

As we have already seen in case of French schools, American government introduced a list of national American institutions to Ottoman government. What happened in the late 1890s potentially played a role in that decision. On 25 February 1903, a list composed of 400 institutions was presented to Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 279 schools were among

⁴³⁵ Günay, pp. 114-117; Erhan, p. 330.

The following illustrates, moreover, how President of the United States regarded Ottoman Empire and how he gave his support to American missionaries in the Levant.

“Theodore Roosevelt declared in 1898: *Spain and Turkey are the two powers I would rather smash than any in the world. As President of the United States, Roosevelt was a spirited champion of American enterprises in the Ottoman Empire. Sending vessels on more than one occasion to bolster the American minister in Constantinople, he helped keep missionary institutions open and secure rights and property.*” Grabill, p. 45.

⁴³⁶ BOA, DH. MKT. 2183/97, 17 Zilkade 1316 [29 March 1899].

those institutions.⁴³⁷ Additional lists were later presented as well by American legation in Istanbul.⁴³⁸

Schools of *American Board* did not follow a unique curriculum. The courses depended mostly on geographical characteristics. “Since schools were considered part of the evangelical mission and were church schools,” especially in the pioneering years of the 1830s, “religious instruction had a significant place in the curriculum.”⁴³⁹ The instructions of *American Board* to its outgoing missions specified that they should teach “not the commandments or the dogmas of men; but the pure doctrines of the Gospel drawn directly from the Scriptures of truth.”⁴⁴⁰ Nonetheless, from then on the content of curriculum would gain a more sophisticated form.

Elementary schools, unsurprisingly, provided fundamental courses such as basic calculations, Ottoman Turkish, and English. Then, secondary schools’ curriculum was more advanced. *American Board* School at Bağçecik, for example, lasted four years, and followed such a curriculum: mathematics, algebra, trigonometry, natural sciences, history, French, English, Turkish and Biblical readings.⁴⁴¹ Boarding school for girls at Talas in 1880 offered a curriculum containing arithmetic, Armenian, grammar and translation, Greek grammar, algebra, geography, physiology, Bible in Ottoman Turkish, Ottoman grammar, history of Ancient Testament, life of Jesus, and music.⁴⁴² This is the curriculum of American School for Girls at Bursa in 1893:

⁴³⁷ Mutlu, p. 311. The list is available at: Mutlu, pp. 312-319.

⁴³⁸ Mutlu, pp. 324, 328-333.

⁴³⁹ Yetkiner, p. 162.

⁴⁴⁰ Yetkiner, p. 162.

⁴⁴¹ Kocabaşoğlu, p. 158.

⁴⁴² Kocabaşoğlu, p. 159.

First year: Greek or Armenian, arithmetic (in Greek or Armenian), geography (in Greek or Armenian), English

Second year: Greek or Armenian, algebra, physical geography, English

Third year: Greek or Armenian, geometry, botanic (in English)

Fourth year: Greek or Armenian, physics, astronomy (in English), history (in English)⁴⁴³

As we can see, some schools were provided bi-lingual instruction, a necessity depending on the local circumstances. The majority of clientele of Protestant missionary schools was constituted by Armenians. Armenian language, as a result, was mostly part of curricula. Furthermore, since some Armenians did not speak Armenian but Turkish, missionaries had to include the latter into their curriculum as well. The above-mentioned schools at Bursa and Talas (at Kayseri) are such cases. In order to be able to reach to a Turkish speaking audience, the Bible was translated into Turkish, printed and distributed among Armenians. In other words, including Ottoman Turkish into the curriculum was a highly functional necessity: in order to propagate Protestant version of the Bible among Armenians, Turkish was extremely imperative and useful. In the meantime, one should not forget that many Armenian communities asked specifically Ottoman Turkish to be taught at missionary schools as well.

School materials were printed at print houses which were established by missionaries themselves at Malta, Izmir and then at Istanbul. In reality, materials were so voluminous that between 1822 and 1826, 8,000,000 pages were printed in Malta. In 1830, Armenian books began to be published in Arabic characters. The first book was the Bible. Apart from school books, many periodicals in different languages were printed as well.⁴⁴⁴ When the print house

⁴⁴³ Kocabaşoğlu, p. 169.

⁴⁴⁴ Kocabaşoğlu, pp. 46-47.

Such periodicals include *Angelioforos* in Karamanlidika, *Zornitza* in Bulgarian, *Neşra* and *Kukab es Sabah* in Arabic, *Harpoor News* in English, *Avedaper* in Armenian. See appendices.

was transferred to Izmir between 1833 and 1853 more than 20,000,000 pages, approximately 200,000 volumes, in several languages and alphabets were published. Then the print house was moved to Istanbul. Publication activities did not cease but improve extensively.⁴⁴⁵ To put it briefly, from 1822 to the end of the nineteenth century more than 600,000,000 pages were printed at different print houses. The majority of those books were either in Armenian, or in Turkish written in Armenian alphabet, a fact which apparently was a reflection of the real clientele of schools.⁴⁴⁶

Although American missions were able to attract local Christians to a certain extent, it did not mean that they did not encounter any local opposition. Especially in the beginning of their existence on Ottoman lands, local primates reacted against the missionaries and their activities because they thought the latter would gain ground among local Christians at their expense. In other words, local primates were afraid of losing power over their communities. The following example is such a case.

Maronite patriarch in Syria, having secured a *fermân* from Sultan Mahmud II prohibiting the distribution of Protestant version of Bibles, led the challenge against missionaries' activities as early as 1824-1825. Thenceforth, book distributors in Jerusalem were arrested in parallel with the decree. He threatened his flock with excommunication and forbade them receiving or providing shelter to missionaries, or offering any service to them whatsoever "so that they might be able to remain in these parts."⁴⁴⁷ The problem was still unresolved in 1840 when Greek Orthodox patriarchs of Istanbul and Antakya together with sixteen metropolitans openly declared their discontent with the missionaries and began to

⁴⁴⁵ Kocabaşoğlu, p. 89.

⁴⁴⁶ Kocabaşoğlu, p. 148. He provides a list which shows the distribution of the books printed at missions' print houses according to the languages, p. 145.

⁴⁴⁷ Farah, p. 321.

cooperate to constitute a watch committee to defend the community against their “heretical tracts and to stop the ‘poison of heresy’ from afflicting their youth.”⁴⁴⁸

Apostolic Armenian Patriarchate, unsurprisingly, was not happy at all with the emergence of Protestant Armenians, thanks to missionaries’ efforts, a community which was formed by those who left their old faith. In 1846 the newly elected patriarch Matteos declared that Armenians who converted into the new faith bore the curse of God, all the saints and himself:

Whoever has a son who is such a one, or a brother, or a partner in business and gives him bread or assists him [. . .] let such person know that they are nourishing a venomous serpent in their houses which will one day injure them with its deadly poison and they will lose their soul. Such persons give bread to Judas, such persons are enemies of the holy faith of Christianity and destroyers of the Holy Orthodox Church of the Armenians.⁴⁴⁹

About the same period, in June 1844, Armenians from Erzurum, Trabzon and Bursa submitted a petition to Ottoman government asking missionaries to be expelled from their localities. Necessary measures were taken to a certain extent.⁴⁵⁰

Discontent of apostolic Armenian primates, as a matter of fact, did not disappear even in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. When missions propagated their own schooling network, the patriarchate had to compete with them. Due to missions’ impact over the entire Armenian population in the middle of the nineteenth century, modern community schools were established by the modernist patriarch of the period in order not to lose any more

⁴⁴⁸ Farah, p. 326.

For more information about the concerns of Maronite patriarch over missions, see: Habib Badr, “American Protestant Missionary Beginnings in Beirut and Istanbul: Policy, Politics, Practice and Response,” in: *New Faith in: Ancient Lands Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 211-239.

⁴⁴⁹ Grabill, p. 13.

⁴⁵⁰ Erhan, p. 322.

ground. Despite such efforts even in the last quarter of the century community schools suffered from competition with the missionary schools.⁴⁵¹

Now, we can turn our attention to financial issues. Schools of *American Board* were financed by the headquarters in Boston beginning from the establishment of the first mission. The money that *Board* spent for its missionary activities had increased throughout the nineteenth century apart from the Civil War period (1861-1865). The following is a description of financial support to missionary stations in Asia Minor:

During the period from 1819 to 1896, or from the beginning until the first great Armenian massacres, the Board expended on its Turkish Missions approximately \$ 7,000,000, and employed 700 missionaries. In 1896 the valuation of the mission plant was \$1,500,000. At the outbreak of the World War it was stated that the American Board's investments in Turkey during the 96 years of operation aggregated \$ 20,000,000. Lands, buildings and equipment were valued at \$2,000,000, while the annual appropriations for operating expenses were \$360,000. The Turkish Missions Aid Society, organized in England in 1854, and renamed in 1893 [as] the Bible Lands Missions Aid Society, an agency interdenominational in character, numbering among its patrons both churchmen and non-conformists, also rendered material aid, contributing in the 50 years preceding 1905, for native work in the Near East, over \$540,000, of which \$335,000 went for work in Asia Minor and European Turkey.⁴⁵²

In a similar vein, the share that Asia Minor received from that budget had raised as well. In 1836, 17 % of the *Board* budget was used for activities within Ottoman Empire. It augmented to 23 % in 1836, to 23 % in 1850, and to 35 % in 1870.⁴⁵³ Together with that share from central budget, local Protestants began to provide financial support to missionary schools. In 1870, Boston sent \$38,179 while local contribution reached to \$8,882 for Eastern Anatolia mission: the latter constituted 19 % of total expenditures. Thanks to that contribution, 8 out of 17 churches in the region were locally financed, whereas three-quarters of schooling

⁴⁵¹ Minassian, p. 25.

⁴⁵² Leon Arpee, "A Century of Armenian Protestantism," *Church History*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (June, 1936), p, 153.

⁴⁵³ For a detailed list per year, see: Kocabaşoğlu, pp. 111-112.

expenditure was met by local communities. Self-financing was promoted by *American Board* as well.⁴⁵⁴

The fact that local contributions had increased over time resulted, unsurprisingly, in certain repercussions. The more local people contributed to their children's schooling activities, the more they wanted to have a say in missions' affairs. Missionaries, furthermore, became targets of criticisms as locals were complaining about their unlimited authority over churches. The education offered by missionaries, moreover, was gradually described as disqualified. Paternalistic attitude of missionaries over local Protestants became more and more problematic. Local people wanted to contact with Boston without interference of the missionaries, yet they were declined.⁴⁵⁵

As a consequence, missionaries became obliged to share their authority with local people. But this was no easy task. In 1882 the locals wanted to share the authority in an equal manner. Boston headquarters refused the idea, saying, "American money can solely be spent by Americans. It is their own money, it is the one they can spend."⁴⁵⁶ As already mentioned, locals had been making financial contributing since decades. But it did not draw attention. When local discontent reached the boiling point, a certain compromise was made in the mid-1880s: locals were integrated into decision making process but reassured the missionaries to give them the upperhand.⁴⁵⁷

The education offered at missionary schools was convenient for the 1830s. According to missionaries, it was sufficient in order to contemplate Protestant version of words of God.

⁴⁵⁴ Kocabaşođlu, p. 110.

⁴⁵⁵ Kocabaşođlu, pp. 102-103. Despite the fact that their suggestions were refused, local Protestants did not give up sending letters to Boston which praised activities of Board.

⁴⁵⁶ Kocabaşođlu, p. 132.

⁴⁵⁷ Kocabaşođlu, p. 134.

As late as 1888, Rev. N. G. Clark made a speech in a meeting of Protestant missions. “We learned two lessons from our experiences and observations. Elementary level instruction is required to teach the Bible and to make decent, clever, influential Protestant Christians.” He, then, added: “Furthermore, secondary instruction is essential in raising priest, teacher, preacher and other staff.”⁴⁵⁸ Administrators did not put their efforts to improve the overall quality of education. Complaints were voiced by local people, who were demanding more sophisticated education.

Throughout the 1880s, local communities began to describe what type of school they wanted. Mardin Protestant community invoked *American Board* in 1888 describing qualities of the school they asked. The level of education should be superior to actual secondary schools. Arabic, English, Kurdish, Assyrian (*Süryanice*), and Turkish languages should be taught. Importance should be given to teaching Arabic. Courses such as arithmetic, algebra, geometry, philosophy, physiology, and accounting should be included into the curriculum.⁴⁵⁹ In order to appease local discontent and not to lose ground to other schooling network, American schools began to pay attention to and improve their curriculum.

British Missionary Schools

In the case of Her Majesty’s Government, the situation was slightly different because, unlike the United States, Britain was already an empire and possessed many colonies among which India was the most important. For that reason, the primary target of British missionary activities was its own colonies rather than Ottoman territories. “Throughout the history of imperial expansion,” Anna Johnston asserted for that matter, “missionary proselytizing offered the British public a model of 'civilized' expansionism and colonial community

⁴⁵⁸ Kocabaşoğlu, p. 154.

⁴⁵⁹ Kocabaşoğlu, p. 154.

management, transforming imperial projects into moral allegories.”⁴⁶⁰ She furthered her reasoning and stated that:

In the British Empire, and particularly in what is historically known as the 'second' era of British imperialism (approximately 1784-1867), missionary activity was frequently involved with the initial steps of imperial expansion.⁴⁶¹

Although the missionary activities in the colonies might differ from activities within the Ottoman boundaries, the apparent aim still remains unchanged: “to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations” as the charter of London Missionary Society openly clarified.⁴⁶²

British Protestant missions, in a similar vein, began to be instituted as late as the first decades of the nineteenth century in Ottoman realms. Members of Church of Missionary Society came to Istanbul in 1815 for the first time. Afterwards, other similar organizations, such as *London Church Missionary Society*, *the Baptist Missionary Society*, and *the British and Bible Society* were instituted within Ottoman Empire.⁴⁶³ Like American Protestant institutions, British missions in Asia Minor were mainly subsidized by their central committees in Britain.

Although British government did not seem to intervene into the affairs of Protestant missions, it was in fact almost a British governmental policy to promote and then secure the position of Protestants in the Levant. Because British missions were not sufficiently developed to be used as an instrument by Britain, American missions provided leverage to

⁴⁶⁰ Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 13.

⁴⁶¹ Johnston, p. 13.

⁴⁶² Johnston, p. 16.

⁴⁶³ Mutlu, p. 237. Mutlu provides a list of British missionary organizations acting on Ottoman territories.

British policy. In fact, their relations were so reliable that the American missionaries even considered taking British citizenship when their own government did not pay necessary attention to them.⁴⁶⁴

Throughout time, British government realized how essential the full hearted promotion of Protestants in the region would be, especially due to international competition between other European powers, like France and Russia. An American missionary in Syria described the situation in 1840. “England has no influence but could have it if she wanted,” for:

if she had to compete only with the government of Constantinople or of Egypt ... [she] would have the multitude in her favor; yet if the question be between her and Russia, or France, she has no such a party attached to her interests. *How different would be the case if a Protestant sect existed there, naturally looking to her for countenance and protection?* And to no other government could they look. If, for example liberty were granted, through her influence to the Druses of Lebanon, to profess Protestantism without molestation, *what a powerful body of friends would she at once call into existence?*⁴⁶⁵

British government lost no time in taking necessary measures to realize what the above mentioned American missionary foresaw. The example of Russia and France were not given per coincidence: the former was the protector of Orthodox Ottoman subjects whereas the latter occupied the same post for Catholics. As the self-declared protector of the Protestants in the Levant, British government sought the recognition of a Protestant *millet* status in cooperation with the American missionaries. Stratford Canning and Lord Cowley, British ambassadors to Ottoman capital lobbied Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşid Paşa, and finally in 1847 they were granted what they asked for. Sultan Abdülmecid issued an imperial decree (*irâde*) on 15 November 1847 granting the official recognition of a new Ottoman *millet*:

⁴⁶⁴ Garbill, p. 15.

“Thomson [an American missionary] was incensed enough to write back [to the United States] that some of the brethren were prepared to give up their American citizenship for British 'at which time the patriarch's request would fall flat as the prestige of Britain is the greatest in Syria.'”Farah, p. 325.

⁴⁶⁵ Farah, p. 323. Emphasis is mine.

Protestants.⁴⁶⁶ With the formation of Protestant *millet*, members of the new sect began to enjoy legal existence in Ottoman Empire. And, more importantly, Britain opened the way to enjoy the existence of a powerful body of friends. The foreign secretary of the American Board in Boston celebrated: "We owe all this, under God, to the providential fact that England had gained an empire in India and must needs preserve an unencumbered way to it."⁴⁶⁷ This quotation illustrates the close connection between economic interests of foreign states in the Levant and their support to missions who were active there.

The intervention of British government into missionary activities can also be seen in the following excerpt of a report at Protestant archives. It was about a British officer who was working for local mission at Lebanon, but who was paid by government:

Mr. Farman writes me, that Lord Aberdeen has directed him to wait, till the affairs of Mount Lebanon are quieter. *He is employed in this mission to the Druzes, not by any society, but by the English government*, in consequence of representations made by Col. Rose, H. B. M. Consul General. He will be sent in an English man of war; and he is to receive 50.000 stg. [sic] a year for three years. But, though an agent of government, he is to be subject to the control of the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of London.⁴⁶⁸

As I have asserted in the previous pages, the majority of Protestant missionary schools were American institutions and belonged to *American Board* network. However, British schools throughout the nineteenth century developed as well in terms of number. According to Şamil Mutlu, in 1876 they numbered around 50. In 1903, however, they reached to 95.⁴⁶⁹ As in the cases of American and French schools, British government introduced a list of British

⁴⁶⁶ Erhan, p. 324.

⁴⁶⁷ Grabill, p. 14.

⁴⁶⁸ Farah, p. 341. Emphasis is mine.

⁴⁶⁹ Mutlu, p. 239.

institutions to the Sublime Porte so that they would be granted privileges. An imperial decree about British institutions was issued on 15 January 1903. The majority of those institutions, unsurprisingly, were schools.⁴⁷⁰ That procedure of presenting a list of national institutions was followed by all European governments, as a matter of fact, in the same period.

Although curriculum of British missionary schools was not very dissimilar to that of American schools, I think it is better to point out a few instances. A certain Barker, a British missionary, wanted to establish a school at Kayseri. Despite the official requirement to have a certificate to erect a school building, he started the construction disregarding the requirement. In order to avoid any Ottoman intervention, moreover, he hoisted a British flag to prove his school was a British institution, thereby had certain privileges. Here is curriculum of the school:

First year: Ottoman, Armenian, and English languages, mathematics, music.

Second year: Ottoman, Armenian, and English languages, mathematics, Armenian history, music, knowledge of life [*ilm-i eṣya*]

Third year: Ottoman, Armenian, and English languages, mathematics, Ottoman geography, Ottoman history, religious knowledge.

Fourth year: Ottoman, Armenian, and English languages, accounting, general geography, Armenian and general histories, music, religious knowledge.

Fifth year: Ottoman, Armenian, and English languages, Ottoman and Armenian grammars and writings, algebra, music, religious knowledge, knowledge of life, natural sciences [*ilm-i hikmet-i tabi'iyye*]

Sixth year: Ottoman, Armenian, French, and English languages, algebra, mathematics, Ottoman history, natural geography, accounting.⁴⁷¹

There were Armenian teachers working in the school as well. Five of them were graduates of local American schools: Antep American College and Haçin American Secondary School.

⁴⁷⁰ The list is available at Mutlu, pp. 240-248.

⁴⁷¹ Mutlu, pp. 259-260. In addition to those classes, mathematics, calligraphy, drawing, and rhetoric are also to be taught.

According to an official Ottoman source, in the Ottoman Empire there were 115 British missionary schools, in 1905, which educated 8,677 pupils. 297 teachers worked at those institutions.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷² Mutlu, p. 266.

CHAPTER V

ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE SCHOOLS

The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* was founded in 1860 by a number of Jewish French citizens. In the words of its founding fathers,⁴⁷³ the association would be “a place of moral progress, of religious solidarity and of protection for those who suffer because of being Jewish.”⁴⁷⁴ The goal of the association was stated in the first article of its statute:

The society Alliance Israelite Universelle aims:

1. to work anywhere for the emancipation and moral progress of Jews,
2. to provide effective support to those who suffer for their being Jews,
3. to encourage any publication to bring about this result.⁴⁷⁵

Why such an association was established at that specific historical point? In 1840, an incident happened at Damascus concerning local Jews was an example of blood libel. Local governor, under influence of the French consul Ratti Menton, arrested the accused Jews and tortured them. Since they were the leaders of the local community, Istanbul Jewish community was notified along with other European Jewish leaders. European Jews wrote letters to newspapers to counter the accusation and to create a favorable public opinion. Some of them, furthermore, having close ties to statesmen tried to have the accused Jews set free. In the aftermath of the event, a certain level of solidarity was formed between dispersed Jews in Europe and their

⁴⁷³ Aristide Astruc, Isidore Cahen, Jules Carvallo, Narcisse Leven, Eugene Manuel and Charles Netter.

⁴⁷⁴ *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israelite Universelle*, 2 Janvier 1860, p. 6.

That first bulletin is very illuminating to understand how the founding fathers of the *Alliance* perceived “Jewish question” and they tried to resolve it.

For more information on the process which led to the establishment of Alliance Israélite Unvierselle, see: Narcisse Leven, *Cinquante Ans D'Histoire L'Aliance Israélite Universelle (1860-1910)*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1911), pp. 67-80.

⁴⁷⁵ *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israelite Universelle*, 2 Janvier 1860, p. 18.

oriental brothers. Eventually, Sultan Abdülmecid promulgated an imperial decree falsifying the blood libel claims.⁴⁷⁶

Damascus affair, in the history of European Jews, became a turning point for various reasons. Many scholars have emphasized that it led to the emergence of, what may be called, Jewish public opinion and press in Europe which contributed to the formation of a more or less secular Jewish solidarity. European Jews, furthermore, acted as already integrated domestic actors of European societies when they tried to attract public opinions to their side. “In spite of worries over the fragility of their newly gained civil rights,” claimed Aron Rodrigue, “the Jewish leaders took themselves to be equal and full participants in the newly developed liberal public sphere in their respective countries.”⁴⁷⁷

Another quite neglected but essential factor that made this event very crucial was the efforts of two important Jewish figures, Sir Moses (Hayyim) Montefiore and (Isaac) Adolphe Crémieux, among oriental Jewish communities.⁴⁷⁸ They visited Ottoman capital in 1840 and gave speeches about the need of regeneration of their oriental brethren. Having enjoyed fruits of the Enlightenment and French Revolution, European -above all French- Jews saw themselves already enlightened and regenerated. Their prominent role in domestic politics, they thought, improved thanks to those specific characteristics. As a consequence:

Under the impact of the twin forces of Enlightenment and emancipation (the latter achieved either fully or in part), a particular *Weltanschauung*, firmly grounded in the ideology of emancipation, had come to dominate the thoughts and actions of the elite.

⁴⁷⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, pp. 1-3.

For the original text of decree, see: Abraham Galanté, *Türkler ve Yahudiler* (İstanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1947), p. 28-29. For an English translation, see: Shaw, pp. 200-201.

⁴⁷⁷ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁸ For Sir Moses Hayyim Montefiore, see: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 14, p. 457; for Adolphe Isaac Crémieux, see: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 5, p. 282.

Its central concern was to transform the community of which it was a part in the light of this ideology.⁴⁷⁹

Who were European Jews' oriental brothers, then? Whom would they try to regenerate in the end? Algerian Jews became the first non-European Jewish community that French Jewry was in contact with due to French conquest of Algeria in 1830.⁴⁸⁰ As a result, the first regeneration efforts appeared began there. However, since French government did not pay attention at all to social conditions of Algerian Jews, the attempts of French Jews were doomed to fail until the early 1840s. Finally, in 1842, two Jews from Marseille were officially sent to Algeria to write down a report on the local Jews. The report of Jacques Isaac Altaras and Joseph Cohen was a typical reflection of how French Jewry perceived their oriental brethren. Briefly, it describes how backward, undeveloped, and uneducated indigenous Jews were. In order to destroy actual *status quo* and regenerate local Jews, Altaras and Cohen had already found the necessary medicament:

*Primary education, here is the real need of the masses; it is through it that one moralizes society, but it has to be religious, as what is morality without the salutary sanction of religion? Vocational, as geared to the people, it has to prepare them for work. Agricultural, as designed for men who ordinarily labor in the fields, it must make them get used early to this work which comes before all others.*⁴⁸¹

A similar report was prepared on Ottoman Jewry as well. It was published in a German Jewish newspaper, *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, in 1840 and was subsequently translated into French. Contents and viewpoints of the two reports were highly similar. Ottoman Jews were depicted as a highly conservative and backward community. They were

⁴⁷⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 4. *Weltanschauung*: philosophy of life; ideology; world view.

⁴⁸⁰ Leven, vol.1, p. 149.

⁴⁸¹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 9. Emphasis is mine.

described to believe in angels and demons, and to claim Talmud was divinely inspired.⁴⁸² A year later, a journalist visited Istanbul and sent letters describing conditions of local Jewish community. It is striking to notice that like Altaras and Cohen, he put forward primary education as *the* remedy as well.⁴⁸³ Reports and letters are helping us to illustrate an essential rupture within Jewish world:

The rupture that prevailed was between the “enlightened,” the emancipated or emancipationist Jewries that were rapidly integrating into the bourgeois culture of their surrounding societies, and the rest of world Jewry still steeped in Jewish tradition and popular culture.⁴⁸⁴

As a repercussion, even before the establishment of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, schooling initiatives were put into practice. Albert Cohn, an important figure of French Jewish emancipation movement and the representative of Baron de Rothschild, was sent to the Levant in the mid-1850s by French Jewish administrative council, Central Consistory. He established schools at localities such as Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Istanbul –to be financed by Baron Alphonse James de Rothschild.⁴⁸⁵ Furthermore, in Selânik and Izmir there were similar initiatives as well. They all were doomed, however, to be ephemeral.⁴⁸⁶ More serious and permanent efforts to develop schooling opportunities among Jews of the Orient would not appear before the establishment of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schooling network in 1860.

⁴⁸² Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 11.

⁴⁸³ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 10.

⁴⁸⁴ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 13.

⁴⁸⁵ Şeni, *Camondolar*, p. 56. In fact, Cohn was highly surprised not to witness any difficulties in establishing new schools in the East. For Baron Alphonse James de Rothschild, see: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 17, pp. 491-492.

⁴⁸⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, pp. 40–44.

For the reasons indicated above, in the aftermath of Damascus Event, European Jewish public opinion began to emphasize the need to enlighten oriental Jewry by providing instruction of high quality. French public opinion reacted very harshly against European Jews during the crisis of Damascus in 1840. In the following decades anti-Jewish sentiments never faded. Even in the emancipated Europe, Jews were having hard times. Columns of *Archives Israélites* and *Univers Israélite* were full of articles which, thus, were arguing for an association of solidarity among Jews to be established. As a matter of fact, such an association would be functional as well for enlightening oriental Jewry. That is how, on 17 May 1860 seventeen figures gathered at the house of a wealthy merchant named Charles Netter, and nominated six among them to establish an alliance. Being an ardent defender of Jewish rights, famous minister of justice in French revolutionary government of 1848, Adolphe Crémieux was not among founding members. He gave his unconditional support to the group though –in 1863, he would become the president of the society, a title he kept until his death.⁴⁸⁷

Founding fathers published an explanatory manifesto and an appeal (in French, English, German, Italian and Hebrew) to world Jews.⁴⁸⁸ Their message consequently became highly disseminated. Membership was open to anybody who was able to pay the annual fee. The low annual fee, six Francs, was an incentive for those who wished to subscribe. The number of members, thus, began to increase in an accelerating manner: in 1861 it was 850, while by 1865 it had already reached to 3,900. Ten years after its creation 13,700 people were subscribed, whereas there were 22,443 members by 1880.⁴⁸⁹ Here is the list from 1885 which shows the distribution of members according to country or region:⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 22.

⁴⁸⁸ French text is available at *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israelite Universelle*, 2 Janvier 1860. See apendices.

⁴⁸⁹ Georges Weill, "The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Emancipation of Jewish Communities in the Mediterranean," *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 24, 1982, p. 119.

Country-Region	Member	Country-Region	Member
Japan	1	Austria	157
Mexico	4	Belgium	184
Spain and Colonies	10	Denmark	198
Peru	14	Roumelia	201
Portugal	15	Morocco	247
Bosnia	17	Egypt	365
New Grenada	19	Turkey in Asia	383
Oldenbourg	20	Wurtemberg	404
Anhalt	23	Switzerland	497
Venezuela	26	Hesse	520
Tripoline [sic]	27	Roumania	551
Brunswick	35	Baden	602
Mecklembourg	38	USA	696
Servia	40	Italy	709
Brazil	44	Bulgaria	883
England and Colonies	50	Alsace-Lorraine	1365
Luxembourg	51	Holland and Colonies	1367
Greece	114	Hungary	1935
Saxony	121	Turkey in Europe	1936
Sweden	123	Bavaria	2522
Russia and Finland	129	France and Colonies	4789
Hanover	154	Prussia	8733
		Total	30310

The list above describes an important phenomenon as well. In the beginning, while 80 % of the members were French, in 1864 the percentage of French was no more than 50 %, and in 1885 it was restricted only to 15.8 %.⁴⁹¹ That new distribution signifies that more and more non-French Jews became subscribed.

Apparently 30,000 was an apogee for the number of members, because after 1885 we witness a drop: by 1903 the total had settled down to about 30,000, and in 1914 it remained unchanged.

⁴⁹⁰ *Alliance Israélite Universelle Publication of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Its Foundation* (Paris: At the seat of the society, 1885), pp. 9, 10.
If we add up Turkey in Europe and Asia, then the total number increases to 2,250. If we add Roumelia up, then the new number becomes 2,319.

⁴⁹¹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 23.

Although to pay the annual fee was sufficient to become a member, when the fact that establishment of a schooling network was highly challenging with such a limited budget was understood, a new initiative was launched in 1865: specific donations would be accepted under the title *L'oeuvre des écoles*, because “progress and emancipation of Jews” would be achieved only with the help of schools, as stated in the first article of the statute.⁴⁹²

The official bulletin published another appeal stating the need to make oriental Jewry progress. Although European Jews were not away from suffering either, according to writers of the appeal, there was nothing to be worried about Europe because “she will deal with it alone, or almost alone.”⁴⁹³ Jews of Tunis, Morocco and Ottoman Empire and their European brothers were so different that it was not geographical distances but centuries that separated them. The latter described itself in that appeal the “children of Occident” as opposed to the children of the Orient.⁴⁹⁴

The only remedy to eliminate negative conditions which had been dominating oriental Jews for centuries, as stated in previous reports, was education: “It is an obligation to organize Jewish schools for Africa and Orient!” “Maybe thanks to us,” stated founding fathers in that appeal, “oriental Jews will be able to become the most intelligent and active elements of the societies which [now] ignore them.”⁴⁹⁵ After citing already existing *Alliance* schools (seven until 1865), the appeal ostensibly stated the need of funds to open more schools in localities

⁴⁹² *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 2 Janvier 1865.

⁴⁹³ “*Nous ne sommes pas donc inquiets de l'Europe: elle fera son oeuvre seule, ou presque seule.*” *Bulletin*, 2 Janvier 1865, p. iii.

⁴⁹⁴ *Bulletin*, 2 Janvier 1865, p. iv.

⁴⁹⁵ *Bulletin*, 2 Janvier 1865, p. v.

A similar approach is shared by Narcisse Leven in his history of *Alliance*:

“*La création des écoles s'imposait, elle était apparue à l'Alliance, dès sa fondation, comme le moyen le plus sûr de relèvement pour les Israélites partout où ils souffraient.*”

Narcisse Leven, *Cinquante Ans D'Histoire Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860-1910)* vol. 2, (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1920), p. 9.

where local Jews showed their willingness. “Each new school on land of Orient or Africa will be a place of emancipation and light.”⁴⁹⁶

As a result of that new campaign, the part of budget dedicated to schooling activities became more and more massive. In this respect, more school premises were erected, more teachers were appointed, and ultimately more and more children got educated. Statistical data can prove that argument. Between 1862 and 1885, schools were spread across nine different countries, with 50 schools in 35 diverse cities and a total of 304 teachers in both sexes and 8,200 students. By World War I, *Alliance* had already established 183 schools which employed 1,275 instructors, which provided education to 43,700 children.⁴⁹⁷ At the period of Balkan Wars, Ottoman Empire had already been housing 60 schools in 43 diverse localities – almost all of them were primary schools.⁴⁹⁸ In the final analysis, the *Alliance* became a highly essential actor among Ottoman Jews because, via schooling, it was contributing to social transformation of the entire Ottoman Jewry.

Alliance Israelite Universelle, as a late product of French Enlightenment, had always highlighted the importance of French language and culture as vital instruments to get access to information, knowledge, and obviously to enlightenment. Although its name refers to a universal Jewry, in reality “French leadership put its stamp on the whole organization which expressed the politics, ideology, and culture of French Jewry.”⁴⁹⁹ Founding fathers believed in French culture practically as a manifestation of their belonging to principles of French Revolution. Since French language was perceived as a road to modernity and to regeneration,

⁴⁹⁶ *Bulletin*, 2 Janvier 1865, p. x.

⁴⁹⁷ Weill, pp. 121, 122.

Apart from those, there were special, such as vocational, agricultural, technical, schools as well.

⁴⁹⁸ Paul Dumont, “Une source pour l’étude des communautés juives de Turquie, les archives de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle,” *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 247, 1979, p. 110.

⁴⁹⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 23.

it was the medium of instruction at *Alliance* schools. Narcisse Leven can be cited to illustrate that state of mind:

French language, predetermined to propagate far away the spirit of the country which had done the most for liberty of conscience, [...] will be preferred in schools and the chosen masters will be ordinarily obliged to speak that language.⁵⁰⁰

This policy did not create any trouble until the 1880s during which French Jews still constituted the majority of members. German newspapers labeled the *Alliance* as an agency of *Quai d'Orsay*: they wrongly argued that French government financed its schooling activities to propagate French influence. The most important component in their claims was the teaching of French language. Newspapers argued that German Jews should not have provided financial help to *Alliance*, because 'German money should not be given away for anti-German purposes.' Instead, German Jews were encouraged to favor *Hilfsverein*, a German philanthropic Jewish association, which was in competition with *Alliance* in the Near East.⁵⁰¹ Zionists, who were mostly German, criticized *Alliance* for not having given priority to the teaching of Hebrew.⁵⁰²

The rampant percentage of Germanic Jews among ranks of the *Alliance* thus created troubles for its administration. French, once inserted without any disapproval into curricula of schools, now became the target of severe criticisms. On the other hand, we may as well conclude that criticisms of German newspapers did not really have influence over Germanic Jews, because they did not prefer *Hilfsverein* over *Alliance en masse*.⁵⁰³ Nevertheless, we may

⁵⁰⁰ Leven, vol. 2, p. 10.

⁵⁰¹ Zosa Szajkowski, "The Schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle –On the Occasion of the Centenary of the Alliance," *Historia Judaica*, Vol. XXII, April 1960, Part 1, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁰² Szajkowski, pp. 10–11.

argue that criticisms were effective over the administrators of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* who were trying to deny the assumed French identity. Narcisse Leven, in his *Cinquante Ans d'Histoire d'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, felt obliged to provide answers to such claims:

In all those schools the medium of instruction is French. This is not only because our teacher training colleges [one for boys and the other for girls] are in Paris and because most of our teachers have been educated in France; neither it is because of an exclusive nationalism. But it is because French is the common and commercial language of the Mediterranean basin; this is so truly so, that many foreign schools established in Turkey, for example by German or English associations, are compelled to teach in French, or otherwise run the risk of having no students.⁵⁰⁴

Furthermore, thanks to the research done by Aron Rodrigue in the archives of *Quai d'Orsay*, we know that French government did not financially contribute to the *Alliance* schools until 1920. The first to-be-permanent financial help had to wait until 1920: the government, for the first time, gave a donation of 1,500,000 French Francs.⁵⁰⁵ To our surprise, the *Alliance* as an association promoting French culture and language in the Levant had no legal French status. Only the *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale*, i.e. teachers' seminary in Paris established by the *Alliance*, was registered as an official body.⁵⁰⁶ The following is another important piece of information to illuminate the argument. French government provided lists to Ottoman

⁵⁰³ *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* (Aid Association for German Jews) German Jewish organization established in 1901 mainly to help Jewish communities in Eastern Europe that had fallen victim to pogroms and wars. It supported the creation of Jewish education and social welfare institutions in Eastern Europe, as well. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 8, p. 480; Szajkowski, p. 13.

⁵⁰⁴ Weill, p. 124.

⁵⁰⁵ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 156.

⁵⁰⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 148.

authorities in 1901 and 1913 to get official protection over French institutions. Neither contains any references to the *Alliance* schools as national French institutions.⁵⁰⁷

Official bond between French state and *Alliance* schools used to be depended only on local consuls. We have numerous cases where consuls were present at school events such as final examinations, inaugurations or award ceremonies together with Ottoman authorities and other diplomats. Consuls were sometimes surprised and also pleased to see Ottoman Jews speaking French and trying to propagate their language in the Levant. The following is such an example from Edirne in 1882:

It is perhaps sad to say that but it is irrefutable that it is these unfortunate Jews whom the whole world persecutes who are doing most in the town to propagate our language and approach our civilization.⁵⁰⁸

European, above all French, diplomats were there to give sporadic support if there emerged a trouble, “but since the *Alliance* was not registered as an official French body, they could not, and did not want to, claim a juridical right of protection.”⁵⁰⁹

In the final analysis, the *Alliance* schools were not French institutions. Founders wanted to keep its universalistic aspect. For that reason they did not prefer demanding official protection from French government. Regarding the list of 1901 French government presented, the secretary general Jacques Bigart did not hesitate to affirm:

⁵⁰⁷ Mutlu, pp. 155-166, 170-192; Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 150.

Nevertheless, we have several instances where French local consuls were present at school ceremonies such as final examinations, inaugurations or award ceremonies –together with Ottoman and other diplomats. In some cases, moreover, French consuls were providing help to school committees in case of drawbacks with local authorities. Rodrigue, *French Jews*, pp. 148-149.

⁵⁰⁸ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 149.

⁵⁰⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 148.

Sometimes, apart from French ones other consuls provided assistance to the *Alliance* schools as well. For instance, in Filibe “consul d’Autriche a assuré à M. Hirsch qu’il sera toujours heureux de contribuer de tout son pouvoir au succès de l’oeuvre de l’Alliance dans ce pays.” Since Hirsch was an Austrian citizen, Austrian consul was also involved. *Bulletin Mensuel de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle*, September 1873, p. 9.

[The Central Committee] is not at all upset about the fact that our schools have not been included in the list of the schools protected by the French embassy which has been submitted to the Porte. *Our schools are not French schools*, and except for small local problems, we have never had anything but praise for the attitude of the Ottoman civil servants towards our institutions.⁵¹⁰

There were local cases where the strict standing point of the *Alliance* Central Committee appeared. When, in 1886, principal of Jerusalem school asked some money from a French institution Isidore Loeb, then the secretary general, did not lose time to react back: “*The Alliance is an international organization*, and your demand threatens to compromise us with our German, Italian, etc. members. And all this for 1000 francs!”⁵¹¹ On another occasion, Loeb did not hesitate to repeat his reaction:

The Alliance is an international organization and not a French one, and our members abroad might find it singular that we direct the education of our students, even of only a few among them, toward examinations [...] which are purely French.⁵¹²

In terms of curriculum as well, “the instruction given in its institutions was not a carbon copy of the curriculum in France.”⁵¹³ Curriculum of an ordinary school had been depending on local conditions prior to 1883, because the Central Committee had not enforced uniformity until then. After that year however the common curriculum would be as such: religious instruction, Biblical history, Hebrew (reading, writing, translating and grammar), written and spoken French, arithmetic, geography, history, the rudiments of physical and natural sciences, French calligraphy and a ‘useful language’ (to be specified in conformity with local

⁵¹⁰ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 150. Emphasis is mine.

⁵¹¹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 151.

⁵¹² Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 151. Emphasis is mine.

⁵¹³ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 87.

conditions). Medium of instruction, as already stated, was French. The ‘useful language’ could be English, German, Italian, or Greek *inter alia*.⁵¹⁴

Although religious courses, including Hebrew language, were components of curriculum, they were indeed in an inferior position vis-à-vis French. When we look at *Instructions Générales* prepared by Central Committee in 1903, we find that religious courses are less than others.⁵¹⁵ Furthermore, since most of oriental Jews used to speak Ladino, a Judeo-Spanish language, to them Hebrew was a complicated subject. Moreover, the *Alliance* had to rely on local rabbis for Hebrew courses: they did not fit into pedagogical criteria that organization was looking for. Yet, due to the lack of capable instructors, they kept their posts. Consequently, children were not eager to learn Hebrew for two major reasons: first, it was difficult to learn, and secondly, their teachers were not pedagogically suitable to teach.⁵¹⁶ As a result, despite such efforts, Hebrew did not disseminate among the *Alliance* pupils.

The fact that Jewish history was taught did not make those schools religious institutions. As a general trend of the period, history classes became highly important in every type of school, including the *Alliance Israélite Universelles*. That is why, teachers were ordered to include post-Biblical Jewish history into curriculum in 1892. In 1897, ‘history of Jews’ was made the basis of history teaching.⁵¹⁷ Incentives behind history classes, according

⁵¹⁴ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 71. School at Selânik, for instance, was providing Greek and Italian courses.

⁵¹⁵ *Instructions Générales Pour Les Professeurs* (Paris : 1903), pp. 49-50; Henri Nahum, *İzmir Yahudileri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p. 119-120.

⁵¹⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, pp. 73-80.

In reality, some measures were taken to modernize and enlighten local rabbis. In this way, it would be easier to recruit them as Hebrew instructors. Rabbinical seminary of Edirne was provided financial assistance and, then, transferred to Istanbul in 1899. However, such efforts did not have any positive influence on the local rabbis.

⁵¹⁷ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 87.

to Aron Rodrigue, were to empower pupils' attachment to Judaism and to explain regenerative ideology of association referring to examples in history.⁵¹⁸

The geography and history courses being taught were partially, if not mostly, composed of Ottoman history and geography. According to archival materials from Ottoman Archives, books on Ottoman history and geography were published by some *Alliance* teachers.⁵¹⁹ At some cases, schools asked books to be granted by Ottoman Empire, and their requests were met. In 1875, Hasköy School demanded some books from the ministry. In order to prove the success of pupils, the principal presented some scripts in Hebrew, Turkish and French: obviously they were all appreciated by the bureaucrats and the following books were donated: Abridged Ottoman Grammar (*Muhtasar Sarf-ı Osmânî*), Abridged Ottoman History (*Muhtasar Târîh-i Osmânî*), Abridged Calculations (*Muhtasar Hesâb Risâlesi*), Abridged Geography Book (*Muhtasar Coğrafya Risâlesi*), Selected Stories (*Müntehibât-ı Hikâyât*). Five pedagogy books, *Rehnümâ-yı Muallimîn*, written by the most famous Ottoman pedagogue Selim Sâbit Efendi, were also donated.⁵²⁰ Even in the textbooks on Jewish history, Ottoman Empire enjoyed a certain place and was positively referred as a place of toleration.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ “We want to devote to Jewish history all their attention and zeal. Perhaps never before have Jews needed to know their past as much as now, the long and painful martyrdom of their ancestors and the frequent and bloody violence that marked their settlement in their different countries of adoption. How instructive is this history ... it shows on the one hand that the same prejudices have always been nourished [...] and the same excesses committed against the Jews. On the other hand, one also sees in it how in the end human reason, the idea of tolerance and love always win out over hatred and superstition... Jews should force themselves, always remaining faithful to their glorious past and attached to their faith, to surpass their compatriots in loyalty, courage, honesty and patriotism. It is here that lays the moral of Jewish history.” Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 84.

⁵¹⁹ BOA, MF. MKT. 800/5 17 Cemaziyelahir 1322 [29 August 1904]. History and Geography of Ottoman Empire books had been written and published by Moise Fresco. Permission for second edition was granted. Moïse Fresco's books, Sacred History (in Hebrew) and General Geography (in French) were allowed to be printed in 1905 after having been controlled by an officer, İshak Efendi. BOA, MF. MKT. 870/31 15 Cemaziyelevvel 1323 [18 July 1905].

⁵²⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 26/142 24 Safer 1292 [1 April 1875]. Twenty examples of each book were sent. Similar examples are several.

⁵²¹ “Au moment ou les Israélites expulsés d’Espagne arrivaient en Turquie, le sultan Bajazet II régnait dans ce pays. Il se montra a l’égard des émigrants bien plus humain que tous les princes d’Europe. Il comprenait de

In the final examinations of Bağdad School, in April 1873, students were examined on political and physical geography of Asia, on production and fauna of ‘Turkey in Asia’ and other parts of Ottoman Empire. The governor, who attended to examinations, Rauf Paşa, congratulated the principal for the success of the pupils.⁵²²

Language teaching constituted an important section of the curriculum. French was surely the medium of instruction at all schools. Judeo-Spanish, mother tongue of Sephardic Jews, was not at all appreciated by the authorities. The dislike was so large that the Central Committee prohibited it in 1884. Because it was very common and local rabbis preferred speaking their native language with the students, the measure was not effectively carried on.⁵²³ In fact, we even come across school books written in Judeo-Spanish during the late nineteenth century.

A certain Yako Efendi from Izmir wrote an Ottoman geography book in 1892, and applied for an official certificate to publish it. Due to several mistakes in the book, he was not granted the permission.⁵²⁴ A few years later, in 1901, a local bureaucrat of the ministry of

quelle utilité seraient pour son pays l'intelligence et l'activité des Israélites. [...] Pendant que les Israélites souffraient de terribles persécutions dans toute l'Europe, ceux de Turquie vivaient en paix, libres de suivre leur religion et libres d'exercer les métiers qu'ils voulaient."

Moïse Fresco, *Histoire des Israélites Depuis Le Retour de la Captivité de Babylone Jusqu'aux Nos Jours, Destinée aux Eleves des Ecoles Israélites*, (Paris et Constantinople: Livres Scolaires M. Fresco, no date), pp. 84, 89.

Similar expressions are used as well regarding sovereignty of Arabs over Jews.

"Dans tous les pays gouvernés par les Arabes les Juifs furent traités en général avec douceur."
Fresco, pp. 50-52.

⁵²² *"La deuxième section fut examinée sur la géographie physique et politique de l'Asie, sur la production et la faune de ses principales contrées, et particulièrement de la Turquie d'Asie et d'autres parties de l'empire Ottoman. Son Excellence en fut très satisfait."*

Bulletin Mensuel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, June 1873, p. 6.

⁵²³ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 86.

⁵²⁴ *"Varid olan tahriratta tab' ve neşrine ruhsat itası zımında gönderildiği beyan olunan İspanyolca coğrafya-yı Osmanî nam kitabın mündericatıyla haritalarında gerek ifadeye gerek fenne muteallık bir çok hatası olduğu lede'l-muayene anlaşılmiş olmağla reddiyle sahibine cevap itası hususunun cevaben işar ve mezkur kitabın iade ve tısyar buyurulması babında emr ve ferman hazret-i min lehü'l-emrindir."* 23 Şaban 1309 / 9 Mart 308. BOA, MF. MKT. 139/32, 23 Şaban 1309 [23 March 1892].

public education, İzak Yeşuva Efendi presented his demand to publish a book on Ottoman history in Judeo-Spanish. He claimed that it was a necessity because Ottoman history books were in Ottoman Turkish which Jewish pupils were not able to understand. Or, they had to read some other books that were written by foreigners. This was the reason he wanted to publish the “*Nosyonas Somaryas dela Istorya de el Imperyo Otomano*,” and to make it a compulsory textbook at Jewish schools. Yeşuva Efendi was ultimately granted permission to publish his book.⁵²⁵ We may therefore conclude that even though the Central Committee prohibited the use of Judeo-Spanish at schools, it was still kept alive.

Now I want to refer to the teaching staff. In the early 1860s, the body of teachers was composed mostly of students of Rabbinical Seminary of Paris who took pedagogical formation courses so that they would be able to work as teachers. In the course of time, the Central Committee realized the indispensable need of a special teachers’ seminary and established *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale* in 1867. A few years later, the committee decided to use Bischoffsheim Institute as teachers college for girls.⁵²⁶ The motive behind was clarified in the general assembly of 1872:

To take the most gifted girls [and boys] of Morocco and the Orient and to give them in Paris an education which will enable them in turn to instruct the children of their country, such is our plan.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁵ “Şimdiye kadar bit-telif tab’ ve neşr edilmiş olan Osmanlı tarihlerinin Türkçe bulunması cihetiyle mekatib-i Museviye’de tederisi ve mekatib-i Museviye’de okunmakta olan tarihler bir takım ecnebi müelliflerinin elsine-i muhtelifede yazdıkları hatadan gayr-i salim kitaplara talebenin ezhanını tahdiş etmekte olmasına ve bu asır-ı terakkiyatta Musevi mekteplerinde dahi tarih-i Osmani’nin layıkıyla tederisi elzem bulunmasına binaen maarife bir hizmette bulunmak üzere tevarih-i muhtelifeden bil-istinrac bu kere acizane cem’ ve Musevi lisanına tercüme etmiş olduğum “nosyonas somaryas dela istorya de el imperyo otomano” yani “muhtasar tarih-i Osmani” nam kitabın bil-umum mekatib-i Museviye programına mecburi olarak idhal ve tederis ettirilmek üzere mezkur tarihin tab’ ve neşrine ruhsat ita buyurulması zımında iki nüshası leffen arz ve takdim kılınmış olmağla ol babda emr ve ferman irade-i hazret-i veliyyülemrindir.” BOA, MF. MKT. 580/11, 18 Muharrem 1319 [7 May 1901], petition of İzak Yeşuva Efendi. The permission was granted in July 1901.

⁵²⁶ Silberman, pp. 120-132; Nahum, pp. 112-113.

⁵²⁷ Silberman, p. 132.

Brilliant students, then, were given the opportunity to study further in the seminary so that they would be employed as teachers and directors in local *Alliance* schools. According to statistics, throughout the period between 1869 and 1925, 403 people were graduated from seminaries, 60 % of men were originally from nowadays Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. The percentage was 70 % for girls. Only 34.8 % of male and 48 % of female graduates were originally from Turkey.⁵²⁸ Although most of the graduates of teachers' seminaries were Ottoman subjects, there were certainly others who were foreign nationals.

At this point, I want to highlight an essential common aspect of the *Alliance* teachers. Some sources describe them as devotees of France and French culture. In reality, some teachers even called themselves missionaries due to their “*mission civilisatrice*,” “*mission régénératrice*” and to “*Leurs missions auprès de leurs correligionnaires*.”⁵²⁹ Maurice Marx, principal of Bağdad school, for instance, saw himself “above all a missionary of deed of the *Alliance*.”⁵³⁰ According to Henri Nahum, who studied Aegean Jews in the late Ottoman period, “they [Alliance teachers] were missionaries of France and French culture, of West and Western culture.”⁵³¹

It was not surprising, because they were all educated in *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale* operated by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* upholding regenerating influence of France over the entire humanity. The products of such a training system, manifestly, could not be shaped in a more different manner.

⁵²⁸ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, pp. 73-74.

⁵²⁹ Elizabeth Antébi, *Les Missionnaires Juifs de la France, 1860-1939* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1999), p. 11. The following is a poem, praising *Alliance*, written by a teacher from Manisa, I will refer only to the first quatrain:
“*Elinde meşale, Alyans'ın büyük yüreği \ Aydınlatmak için karanlık yerler arıyor \ Uyuşuk beyinler, acı çeken kalpler \ Temasıyla uyanıyor ve dua etmeye başlıyor.*”
Nahum, p. 106.

⁵³⁰ From the letter of Maurice Marx dated 6 September 1868, cited in Antebi, p. 215. Marx was not an Ottoman subject, nor a French citizen but an Austrian.

⁵³¹ Nahum, p. 180.

Avram Benaroya, a graduate of Edirne *Alliance* School and *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale*, decided not to become an *Alliance* teacher after having finished his studies at Paris in the early 1910s -although according to association regulations he must have worked for *Alliance*. He preferred to work at an Ottoman public school in Damascus because that position was more lucrative. In his memoirs, he stated his reasoning: “I leave the *Alliance*, it is true but I do not give up teaching. I continue to spread French culture in this country, which is also one of the major goals of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*.”⁵³² He added, “instead of having classes composed of young co-religionists, I will have, in front of me, the children of country. My field of action will be wider.”⁵³³

The same Benaroya in his late career designed a stenographic system convenient with Ottoman Turkish and published a book in 1918: *Türkçe Lisânına Mahsûs Stenografya Usûlü*. When Latin alphabet was adopted in 1928, he, then, designed another stenographic system for “new” Turkish language: *Türkçe 'ye Mahsus İstenografi Usulü* (1929).⁵³⁴

Even foreign *Alliance* teachers had been making valuable contributions to Ottoman education. Moïse Franco, for example, was an Austrian national – although he had been an Ottoman subject by birth. He was working at different *Alliance* schools: Tatarpazarcık, Safed, Şumnun, Galata, Hasköy, Ortaköy, Gelibolu, and Edirne. He also wrote many books to be taught in public schools: *Alphabet Français* (1889), *Premier Livre de Lecture* (1888), and *Cours Moyen de Lecture* (1889).⁵³⁵ His master piece was *Essai sur l'Histoire des Israélites de*

⁵³² Avram Benaroya: *Un journaliste juif oublié suivi de ses mémoires*, textes publiés et présentés par Rifat N. Bali, Les Editions Isis, Les Cahiers du Bosphore, XXXIV, (İstanbul: 2004), p. 54. Emphasis is mine. Thanks to his mémoires, we are informed that during his stay in Paris he studied Ottoman Turkish as well, with other students coming from Edirne. He found this quite awkward: “*Vous voyez d'ici cette anomalie peu banale: nous autres, originaires de Turquie, nous allions étudier la langue de notre propre pays, au coeur de Paris, dans une grande institution française!*” Benaroya, p. 48.

⁵³³ Benaroya, p. 54.

⁵³⁴ Benaroya, pp. 12–13.

As far as we can understand from the book, system of stenography he designed was very useful for scribes in the National Assembly.

l'Empire Ottoman Depuis Les Origines Jusqu'à Nos Jours in which he praised all Ottoman sultans for their tolerance over persecuted Jews and their good rule throughout the entire empire.

In conformity with previous instance, Aaron de Yosef Hazzan, an Italian teacher of Izmir *Alliance* Schools, was given the Medal of Honor by Sultan Abdülhamid II because of his contributions to well-being of Ottoman society -he had been teaching Ottoman Turkish during the late nineteenth century.⁵³⁶ I find it quite striking that an Italian teaching Ottoman Turkish to Jewish children and was even awarded by an Ottoman sultan for this.

The fact that the *Alliance* teachers in particular and their students in general were admirers of France and the French culture – but also criticized the French policies when they felt necessary⁵³⁷ –does not imply they did not work for the benefit of Ottoman Empire. They might have loved France as the birth place of Enlightenment and civilization, and simultaneously contributed to development of Ottoman Empire in their own ways.⁵³⁸ The fact remains true even for foreign teachers who contributed to Ottoman education.

⁵³⁵ <http://www.archives-aiu.org/aiu/index.htm>; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, p. 474.

⁵³⁶ BOA, İ. DH. 1204/94261, 17 Rebiyyülahir 1308 [30 November 1890]

⁵³⁷ “*Gazete*, [La Boz del Puevlo] Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile komşuları arasındaki anlaşmazlığı köriüklemek ve iktisadi güçlerini yerleştirmek için sözde Türkiye’yi geliştirme isteklerini sebep gösterdiklerinden, Avrupa güçlerini ikiyüzlülükle suçlar ve onlara şiddetle karşı koyar. **La Boz del Puevlo** ‘eski ülke, deneyim ve felsefe dolu, sürgün edilenlerin doğal ülkesi, Doğu’nun dostu, eğitici’ Fransa’ya hayrandır ve Osmanlı siyasetinin bazen Fransız siyasetine düşman oluşundan üzgündür; yine de Fransa bile gazetenin keskin eleştirisinden kurtulamaz, ‘binlerce Faslı ve Kongolu’yu, onların iyiliğini ve onları uygarlaştırmak istediği için katletmesini bilen medeni, büyük Fransa.’ **La Boz del Puevlo** Fas krizini, Fransız-Alman rekabetini, İtalyanların Trablusgarp’ta hak iddia etmesini Avrupalı güçlere karşı en ufak bir hoşgörüde bulunmadan aktarır ve şu sonuca varır: ‘Yanılmayalım; Avrupa adaleti sıfırdır, tüm bu güzel kelimeler, insan hakları, saygı ve eşitlik kelimeleri, kaplanları ve çakalları gizlemektedir. Avrupalılar için ayrıcalık, ‘Buradan çık ki ben gireyim, eğer çıkmak istemezsen ben seni zorla çıkarırım’ demektir. Ayrıcalık demek, hırsızlık, sürgün, haksızlık, zulüm demektir. İtalya ayrıcalık istemektedir. Bu, şu demektir: ‘Ben yavaş yavaş bu bölgeyi ele geçirmek istiyorum çünkü ben Hristiyanım, sen de Müslümanısın.’” Nahum, pp. 76–77.

⁵³⁸ Rosalie Chéni was such an example. In 1914, when Ottoman government decided to establish kindergartens, in order to use her know-how bureaucrats of the ministry of public education made visits to the *Alliance* kindergarten run by Rosalie Chéni. Obviously, they asked her to establish “model” kindergarten for Muslim children which she voluntarily agreed.

“*Safed Bey [directeur de l’enseignement] a engagé séance tenante une de mes élèves maîtresses, avec un traitement de six livres torques par mois, pour organiser un jardin d’enfants à Prinkipo, la principale des îles des Princes. [...] Ils m’ont demandé de leur former quelques maîtresses d’asile musulmanes; à quoi j’ai consenti volontiers.*” Antebi, p. 144.

The following is an example of how the *Alliance* teachers behaved in times of severe crisis for Ottoman Empire, how they perceived the Empire, and how they were appreciated in return by the Ottoman authorities. During Balkan Wars when Edirne was under Bulgarian siege, the director of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School for girls, Angèle Guéron⁵³⁹ decided to dispatch series of letters to the central committee describing the conditions they had to survive. They were written in diary style. We are informed that she was not alone in taking further steps. She acted with her colleague at Kırklareli, the director of the *Alliance* school for girls, Rosa Avigdor.⁵⁴⁰ Apparently, they wanted to help the Ottoman soldiers and began a donation campaign among local Jews. Furthermore they subscribed to the Red Crescent (*Hilâl-i Ahmer*) and informed the surgeon general of a local hospital about their willingness to work there.⁵⁴¹ They collected significant sum and informed Governor Halil Bey of the situation in a letter dated 10 November 1912, stating “our fatherland has come together in giving an honorable fight against enemies.”⁵⁴² In his responding letter, the Governor thanked them for their efforts and praising the “true Ottoman patriotism” of all those who had taken part in the donation.⁵⁴³

During following days, when city was still under Bulgarian threat, the Jewish community made donations to Ottoman army which was in desperate need of several

⁵³⁹ She was born on 6 August 1886 in Istanbul. After having studied at a local *Alliance* school, she was sent to Paris to get higher education at the teachers’ seminary, *Pension de Mme Isaac à Auteuil*. Then, she was appointed to several localities such as Tunis, Hasköy, Kuzguncuk as assistant director, and Hayfa, and Edirne as director. <http://www.archives-aiu.org/aiu/index.htm>, Angele Guéron (Cohen).

⁵⁴⁰ She was born on 15 June 1885 in Edirne. After having studied in the same school as Gueron, she was appointed to various localities such as Tunisia, Rhodes, Bursa, Beyrut as assistant director, and Kırkkilise and Edirne as director. <http://www.archives-aiu.org/aiu/index.htm>, Rosa Mitrani (Avigdor).

⁵⁴¹ Rıfat N. Bali, “Edirne Muhasarası Sırasında Tutulmuş Bir Günlük –I,” *Tarih ve Toplum*, October 1999, No. 190, p. 37. Letter dated 6 November 1912.

⁵⁴² Bali, p. 38. Letter dated 10 November 1912.

⁵⁴³ Bali, p. 38. Letter dated 10 November 1912.

materials such as socks, gauze, and underwear by establishing a sewing workshop in public hospital; then it was moved to *Alliance* school for a short period of time. Female Jewish students worked in the workshop.⁵⁴⁴ Bulgarian attacks became gradually more and more destructive; as a result, life in the city became unbearable. The situation was reflected in Guéron's letters as well (26 November 1912):

*Our poor country, what will become of it in the face of so many united enemies while Europe is indifferent? They would like to tear our country to pieces, like another Poland, while Europe keeps quiet and considers all this as just, because she quietly whispers to herself: There will also be something in it for me.*⁵⁴⁵

As threats by Bulgarians continued, there was more and more hunger, deprivation, illness, depression and desperation. Since houses were no longer safe places, many people had to shelter at school buildings including that of *Alliance* school. Under such circumstances, and being informed by Bulgarian leaflets that Ottoman forces would withdraw from Edirne, the director could not help criticizing Ottoman government and army (7 February 1913) –possibly with same wording as other patriotic Ottoman citizens might use:

People wonder through what miracle Edirne and the Ottoman Empire still hold out with a government whose patriotism is lacking, an army that is poorly trained and poorly provisioned [and led by] officers who are inferior to their adversaries as far as training and dedication. The commandant of Edirne must maintain [the army] in a constant state of alert in order to prevent officers from frequenting places of debauchery. The military commissariat that was aware of the probable siege has nevertheless refused to grant merchants authorization to import stocks of salt, sugar, and kerosene because the officers had not received sufficient bribes. While the poor die of starvation and the bread is rationed and often is entirely unavailable, highly placed people gather at banquets.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁴ Avigdor Levy, "The Siege of Edirne (1912-1913) as Seen by a Jewish Eyewitness-Social, Political and Cultural Perspectives", in: *Jews, Turks, Ottomans*, ed. Avigdor Levy (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), p. 169.

⁵⁴⁵ Levy, pp. 171–172. Emphasis is mine.

⁵⁴⁶ Levy, p. 182.

Towards the end of siege she was overcome by patriotic sentiments, pride and challenge.

We stand proud and strong in front of the enemy's shells. Do you [Bulgarians] think to frighten us and thereby to reduce our resistance? Do you think that we are not as valiant [as you] and that because of a few [civilian] victims killed indiscriminately, while so many brave soldiers fell in battle, we will surrender our beautiful and dear city Edirne?⁵⁴⁷

The characteristics of the pupils attending *Alliance* schools constituted another essential part of the picture. In the first years of its existence on Ottoman territory, *Alliance* schools were not able to attract many children. The situation, however, would shift towards the twentieth century. In terms of socio-economic criteria, every local school had its own characteristics; as a general overview, however, one can claim that the majority of pupils were from low income families. The students of Galata School were more prosperous than children attending Hasköy and Balat schools. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, poor students outnumbered the wealthier. Then, the Central Committee decided to cut down the number of the poor, and local communities were expected to make more contributions.⁵⁴⁸

From another angle, unfavorable economic conditions of the families resulted in non-attendance of their children. For example, the average attendance of a pupil was 1.4 year at Ortaköy School in 1884, whereas it was 3.4 at Galata School. It is a striking example which demonstrates the correlation between the wealth of local community and the average years of attendance. In fact, documents suggest that the majority of students who quit going to an

⁵⁴⁷ Levy, p. 183.

Central committee wrote back to her:

"Your letter is very interesting and poignant, your report on the siege of Edirne was read with much emotion... Yours is a moving report... for us it has the merit of being lived."

Erol Haker, *Once Upon a Time Jews Lived in Kırklareli: The Story of the Adato Family, 1800-1934* (İstanbul: Isis Editions, 2003), p. 198.

⁵⁴⁸ That is why even poor families were asked to pay a certain tuition fee like other, wealthier families.

Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p.111.

In 1899, at Kuzguncuk School, there were less than 100 pupils (86) who were not able to pay their fee whereas there were more than 100 pupils (114) who were able to do so. See, appendices.

Alliance school did not continue their education later but began working. There were even some families who annually transferred their children from one *Alliance* school to *Talmud Tora* and vice versa: in order to acquire the benefits of each school. *Alliance* was, in the eyes of parents, almost a linguistic school teaching French, one of the reasons students began and finished their studies at local *Talmud Tora*: The *Alliance* was regarded as an interlude to learn French. As a consequence, in the beginning of the twentieth century out of those who attended the *Alliance* schools only one fifth accomplished their studies.⁵⁴⁹

Low attendance among poor children apparently led the *Alliance* authorities to implement other, more innovative measures. In order to attract those children who worked during the day, night classes were organized. Documents in Ottoman Archives illustrate the case for Istanbul schools. In the 1898, Kuzguncuk *Alliance* School committee applied to the ministry of public education to get authorization for opening night classes.⁵⁵⁰ Then, in a while Hasköy and Balat schools joined to Kuzguncuk's efforts and made official applications. Ultimately, the Ministry declined their applications stating that "there were no previous examples of the sort."⁵⁵¹ The instruction offered to those children was most probably technical and designed to help them in their day job. Evening classes, later, would become

⁵⁴⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 114, 115.

⁵⁵⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 396/26, 3 Muharrem 1316 [23 May 1898].

⁵⁵¹ BOA, MF. MKT. 399/17, 18 Muharrem 1316 [7 June 1898].

The archival material makes one to think that night classes were not uncommon in Ottoman context. In public schools, as well as in communal ones, night classes were offered.

Furthermore, there are some documents which refer even to "night schools" (*gece Mektebi*).

A certain İbrahim Zeki Efendi who was graduate of Balçık Public *Rüşdiyye* wanted to be accepted to a night school in İstanbul.

BOA, DH. MKT. 2426/98, 16 Receb 1318 [9 November 1900].

Gelibolu İdadi School, for instance, provided night classes in 1908.

BOA, MF. MKT. 1085/55, 18 Zilkade 1326 [12 December 1908].

The Italian school at Draç, in Rumeli, provided night classes to poor people and to apprentices who had to work during the day.

BOA, DH. MKT. 1266/61, 2 Cemaziyelahir 1326 [2 July 1908].

more and more popular in the aftermath of 1908. At several schools at Istanbul, many Jews would be provided the opportunity to learn Turkish.⁵⁵²

Towards the late nineteenth century, a new trend began emerging. Increasingly more students began to continue their studies at another high level school. During school year of 1896-1897, (as well as 1898-1899 and 1900-1901), 28.6 % of Izmir *Alliance* schools graduates continued their studies at non-Jewish institutions. The percentage was approximately 18 % for Edirne School. The case was not different for Istanbul schools either. By 1887, 54 graduates of *Alliance* schools had been studying at *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani* –the number had been very low in the 1860s and the 1870s.⁵⁵³

That phenomenon was a reflection of an emerging Ottoman Jewish bourgeoisie in the late nineteenth century, a product of *Alliance* schools and other similar initiatives. Socio-economic conditions of the community were gradually improving, more and more children began attending schools. The number of Jewish merchants and tradesmen was also rising. According to a local publication from 1925, the 60 % of wealthy Jews of Istanbul were *Alliance* graduates.⁵⁵⁴

That newly-emerging high income stratum of Jewish community, now, had a new and more sophisticated agenda. Accordingly, its expectations from the *Alliance* became higher. The instruction provided by schools was sufficient during the preceding times. But they were not anymore. In 1885, parents of the students at Galata School pointed at the necessity of including accounting classes into the curriculum: in 1890, pupils were given the opportunity of studying accounting along with German as a complementary language. Similar demands were put forward by parents in Izmir. However, because the Central Committee was always

⁵⁵² *Bulletin de l'Amicale*, September 1912, p. 17.

⁵⁵³ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 114.

⁵⁵⁴ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 115.

concentrated upon poor sections of Jewish community, it was not even prepared to negotiate with the parents over more demands. Curriculum, thus, would not be modified (adding German language and accounting classes being exceptions) and remain specifically designed for poor Jews. Wealthier Jews, as a consequence, began sending their children to other schooling institutions, mostly to missionary schools, so that they would be better educated.⁵⁵⁵ The fact that the society did not establish a higher level of institution reiterated parents' decision.

In the ultimate analysis, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* contributed to the emergence of new social elite among Ottoman Jews. Although at the beginning of its schooling campaign, what was intended to be taught was sufficient for Jewish society, throughout time it became outdated. The basic *Alliance* teaching did not correspond to new needs and demands: Jewish elites had their own, more developed agenda. The differences between agendas, in reality, emasculated the influence of *Alliance* over them.

The most crucial contribution of the *Alliance* to Jewish *millet* seemed to be the introduction of mass education and its dissemination within: in the 1900s, it reached to one third of the Jewish population. French language and basic mathematics were the two important subjects students learned – it should be recalled that they did not all finish their regular five years at the *Alliance* school. Especially the knowledge of French language opened many windows of opportunities to graduates, both in bureaucracy and in private business life. It is not a mere coincidence that almost all Jewish employees in Ottoman ministry of foreign affairs were graduates of a local *Alliance* school and all of them spoke French.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 117.

⁵⁵⁶ Out of twelve Jewish officers, only three were not graduates of an *Alliance* school. Out of those three, two of them attended the school financed by Abraham de Camondo, also known as *Kamondo Mektebi* in Ottoman Turkish, a school highly similar to *Alliance*'s.

Here are those who were graduates of Alliance schools:

BOA, HR. SAİD. 16/13, Nesim İzidor Efendi; BOA, HR. SAİD. 12/4, Moiz Hanak Efendi; BOA, HR. SAİD. 16/7, Yako Efendi; BOA, HR. SAİD. 20/4, Nesim Roditi Efendi; BOA, HR. SAİD. 21/21, Avram Badi Efendi;

Consequently, they were provided the chance to climb up the ladder to the upper echelons of the society.

One of the most important influences the *Alliance* had over Ottoman Jews was the integration of French into everyday life. It became the second widespread language within Jewish community after Judeo-Spanish –which kept its prevailing position despite the *Alliance*'s counter efforts.⁵⁵⁷ Introduction of secular education was the second most important influence of the *Alliance*. Prior to 1865, the year when the first *Alliance* school was opened in Bağdad, education had only been based upon religion. Although Hebrew and courses on religion were always part of the curriculum, the new school network did not offer religion-based instruction.

The “traditional” education system imparted above all a *praxis* that ensured the vertical transmission of verities good for all times and places. The “modern” one conferred skills that were horizontal in nature, designed in theory to render the individual a useful and productive member of his or her society. Of course, in practice, modern education often still acted to reproduce the dominant values in society and to integrate the individual within a particular social structure. Nevertheless, dispersing both social and intellectual skills, it had an open-ended aspect that could also act as an agent of liberation by supplying the tools for the maximization of the potential of the individual.⁵⁵⁸

Although both the Central Committee and local teachers shared a common mentality regarding the need to educate and regenerate oriental Jews, it should not lead us to think their relationship was highly in tune. For an institution which was remarkably modelled on the education system of both Napoleonic and Republican France, the *Alliance* Central Committee carried out highly centralized and authoritarian policies.⁵⁵⁹ It was every teacher's duty to send

BOA, HR. SAİD. 23/4, Rober Yasef Merahim Efendi; BOA., HR. SAİD. 9/22, İsak Asano Efendi; BOA., HR. SAİD. 7/6, Alberto Samuel Efendi; BOA., HR SAİD. 21/4, Nesim Elhayim Efendi.

Here are those who were graduates of *Kamondo Mektebi*:

BOA., HR. SAİD. 6/17, Nesim Soriçon Efendi; BOA., HR. SAİD. 11/37, İsak Hayim Efendi.

⁵⁵⁷ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 119-120.

⁵⁵⁸ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 118.

descriptive reports to Paris. However they had to be written in a certain literary style and to show utmost reverence for the Central Committee. Every letter was supposed to have a serial number and to begin with “*Monsieur le Président*” and “*J’ai l’honneur de...*” The paper sent from Paris should only be consumed in correspondence with Paris and postage expenses were to be provided by the Central Committee once in a year provided that local staff presented the account details. Letters of teachers were grammatically controlled and corrected if necessary. In that case, instructors were warned in a rather scornful tone not to repeat their mistakes.⁵⁶⁰

Not only for school-related issues, but for their personal life as well teachers were obliged to ask permission from Paris. It was a strict rule. Every instructor, for example, required permission even for taking a short trip to a near locality –all expenses, of course, were to be met by him. Teachers were not allowed to become a member of any society, or to send articles to publications other than the ones published by the *Alliance*. They could be married only with the permission of the Committee from which they request in a detailed letter describing the bride and her family.⁵⁶¹ The following is a letter sent by Haïm Nahum, a teacher at Istanbul schools, to Paris on the eve of his marriage:

Hasköy, 20 July 1899

Monsieur le Président,

I have the honor to inform you that I am thinking of marrying Mademoiselle Sultana Danon in the course of next month.

This is a very good and happy occasion for me to express to you my deep gratitude and my eternal appreciation and at the same time to thank the central committee for

⁵⁵⁹ In reality, the perceptions of local dialects by Third Republic France and of Judeo-Spanish by *Alliance* Central Committee were, unsurprisingly, similar. Children from Alsace and Bretagne were prohibited to speak their mother tongue at schools. “*People of France have to embrace French as the language of freedom, in the one and indivisible Republic.*” Nahum, p. 118.

⁵⁶⁰ *Instructions*, pp. 13-17.

A teacher wrote down “I have highly thought” in his letter. “It does not seem so when I look at your questions which are convenient only for twelve year-old boy” was the reaction he got from Paris.

Another teacher sent his letter together with his wife’s who was also a teacher. “I notice same type of errors in both letters. On the one hand, it proves Mme H. does not have necessary knowledge of orthography. On the other hand, it demonstrates M. H. does not control his wife’s letters.”

Nahum, p. 111.

⁵⁶¹ Nahum, p. 109.

the generous and benevolent help it so kindly gave me throughout my studies in Paris, help that it has not yet ceased to extend.⁵⁶²

Teachers' salary was not very high. From the tone of letters which we have recently come across, it can be concluded that they did not have the courage to demand an increase; however, they still complained. Yet to no avail. Appointment issues were only settled by the committee in Paris, and teachers had to wait for a long time to be appointed to the localities they applied for. Not surprisingly, many teachers were appointed to places they did not want. A teacher from Izmir, for instance, asked to be stationed in Syria or Palestine; instead she was sent to Morocco. She was still grateful to the Central Committee: "We [she and her husband] thank you for giving us that position; we will try hard to prove that we deserve this grace."⁵⁶³

In order a school to be inaugurated, local community should have made a request from the Central Committee. Otherwise, no such step was taken. In the early 1860s, some local initiatives began to emerge. In other words, the *Alliance* schooling network was not thoroughly imposed on the local Jewish communities; on the contrary, increasingly more localities demanded support from the *Alliance*. Yehuda Nehama was the first figure from the Levant who asked contribution from the Central Committee in April 1863. Few months later, a local committee was established in Selânik. Other similar initiatives were to follow: Istanbul (1863), Gelibolu, Izmir, Golos (1864), Edirne (1865).⁵⁶⁴ Similar committees were established at Bağdad and Damascus as well.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶² Benbassa, *Haïm Nahum*, p. 61. His wife Sultana Danon would become an *Alliance* teacher as well.

⁵⁶³ Nahum, p. 110.

⁵⁶⁴ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, pp. 47, 49.

⁵⁶⁵ A group of local Jews presented their petition to Central Committee in 1864 asking support for a modern school:
"Aux seigneurs d'Israël, a ceux qui travaillent pour que l'intelligence étende ses ailes de lumière d'un bout du monde à l'autre, pour que la science aille couronner la tête de tant de pauvres frères exilés."

Supply, in other words, followed the demand. “The *Alliance* never founded a school without an invitation from the locality.”⁵⁶⁶ Here is an exemplary petition written by Edirne community in 1867:

We, the undersigned, directors of the Jewish school of Edirne called *Talmud Torah ‘im derekh erez*, convinced of the necessity of giving a good French education to our students in order to introduce them to European civilization, we beg the very honorable Central Committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle to give its valued assistance by providing us with a suitable teacher for the teaching of the French language and of the elements of modern sciences. [We hope that] the Alliance will not delay in coming to the help of numerous coreligionists who, awakened from an age-old and enervating lethargy, begin at last to open their eyes to the light of civilization with the aim of becoming useful citizens and enlightened defenders of the ideas of liberty and humanity which have been proclaimed so solemnly by our holy religion.⁵⁶⁷

The expression of their willingness, however, was not enough for association. The community was supposed to guarantee a certain amount of financial contribution per annum, and to concur with decisions of association regarding their locality. For the case of Edirne, 2,000 Francs were guaranteed for a period of three years, and every stipulation imposed by association would be accepted.

The problem of financing was a common issue for all schooling institutions. In order to overcome such inconveniences, especially at the end of the school year, either performances or lotteries were organized so that a certain amount of money was collected from local community. In 1886, a lottery was organized by the Izmir *Alliance* School, yet, without notifying Ottoman authorities although it was a legal requirement. When the ministry

Their request was approved and a certain Mr. Nerson was designated to become the first principal of the school to be founded in Baġdad. As a result, on 10 December 1864 the school was established. Few years later, when Mr. Nerson left the city, pupils wrote a petition to ask a new principal. Sawdayee, pp. 32, 35.

⁵⁶⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 67.

⁵⁶⁷ Aron Rodrigue, “Jewish Enlightenment and Nationalism in the Ottoman Balkans: Barukh Mitrani in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,” in: *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Molly Greene (Princeton: Marks Wiener Publishers, 2005), p. 132.

Not all such demands were taken into consideration.

“In the late 1870s, Zaki Cohen applied to the Alliance for assistance – in vain. Only after the interference of Emil Frank, did the Alliance agree to send two teachers to Zaki Cohen’s school.” Levi, p. 103.

of interior heard about the lottery and of the huge collected amount (3,799,000 *kuruş*), school committee was informed that legal limit of such lotteries was 50,000 *kuruş* at the most. The remaining part of the amount, therefore, was to be transferred to government.⁵⁶⁸ However in another occasion in 1902, when the Balat *Alliance* School applied for legal permission to organize a lottery the authorities granted it.⁵⁶⁹ In 1888, the Kuzguncuk *Alliance* School had also obtained such an authorization.⁵⁷⁰

Another alternative of overcoming financial drawbacks was to organize performances like theatrical plays or concert and sell tickets for the events. Not only they resolved economic problems of schools, but also they helped improving social and artistic skills of students. Because such social gatherings were highly suspicious in the eyes of Hamidian regime, any school organizing such events was obliged to obtain permission and a police officer was ordered to be present at the show. Sometimes requests for performances were declined. The following is a case where Ottoman authorities were not notified beforehand.

The performance of Hasköy School pupils was put on stage before the scheduled day in January 1895. Therefore, no officer was present at the school which was against the law. The Ministry of Interior warned the school principal Moïse Fresco that no such thing would be repeated in the future.⁵⁷¹ When the school committee reported the Ministry of Public

⁵⁶⁸ “*memalik-i şahanede bila-ımtiyaz piyango küşadı memnû’ olub [...] ihtiyacat-ı milliye ve tesisat-ı hayriyeye mahsus olmak üzere keşidesi irade-i aliyye tahtında bulunan piyangolar için vilayetçe 50,000 kuruşu tecavüz etmemek üzere ruhsat itası caiz olabilib yoksa böyle birkaç milyonluk piyango münasib olamayacağı [...] tertib olunan piyango nun elli bin guruştan ziyade hasılatı olmuş ise fazlasının hükumete terki iktiza edeceğinden*” BOA, DH. MKT. 1371/47, 12 Muharrem 1304 [10 October 1886].

⁵⁶⁹ BOA, MF. MKT. 609/49, 12 Zilkade 1319 [20 February 1902].

⁵⁷⁰ BOA, İ. MMS. 95/4017, 18 Rebiyyülahir 1305 [3 January 1888].

The winning numbers and detailed accounts of the organization were presented to authorities as well.

⁵⁷¹ “*Hasköy’de kain Alyans nam mektebin sene-i cedide-i tedrisiyesi münasebetiyle heyet-i muallime ve idaresiyle muteallıkati tarafından mezkur mektepte ücretsiz ve duhuliyesiz olarak reprezentasyon tertibi mukarrer olduğundan ve icra edilecek piyeslerde sansür memurluğunca musaddak bulunduğundan bahsle*

Education with their programs of performances, the police and municipal authorities were called in for a preliminary investigation to check if there could be any inconveniences. When Ortaköy and Hasköy schools notified the ministry beforehand for the performances of their students, in 1896 and 1900 respectively, again the relevant authorities were instructed to make a similar investigation.⁵⁷² For dances (*balo*), the procedures to be followed were identical.⁵⁷³

At some occasions, students decided to put a theatrical play on the stage. Once again, the school committees used those opportunities to collect money from public by selling tickets. On the other hand, this side of the picture does not mean we are entitled to underestimate the significance of such plays and performances. Tomer Levi, in his dissertation on Jewish community of Beyrut, described how essential such extra-curricular activities were. The school he refers to is not an *Alliance* school: a community school established by a certain Zaki Cohen. I still quote it here because, I believe, his sentences represent quite well how important were such occasions for their own localities.

While the school combined languages, religious, and secular subjects, it was probably its extra-curricular theatrical activities that drew the attention of the Beirut cultural intellectual milieu. The school's students performed plays written or translated by [Zaki] Cohen, his son Salim, and the school teachers -mainly Christians. The plays were performed in Hebrew, Arabic, French, and Turkish, usually after students took their yearend exams. The plays were not an event limited to the school staff; poets,

müsaade itası mekteb-i mezkur müdürü Moiz Fresko tarafından istida olunduğu beyanıyla iktiza eden muamele Beyoğlu mutasarrıflığından ba-tezkere istifsar olunmasına binaen mezkurenin icrasına müsaade olunması ve esna-yı icrasında zabıtaban sivil memurlar bulundurulacak bir guna münasebetsizlik vuku'una meydan verilmemesi"

BOA, DH. MKT. 331/19, 13 Receb 1312 [9 January 1895], from police to *mutasarrıflık*

"[...] merhum Fresko celb olunarak keyfiyet-i istiknah olundukda labiyat-ı mezkurenin bir gün evvel icra edildiği anlaşılmiş ve halbuki ücretli ücretsiz her dürlü cemiyetlere maarifçe dahi bir memur bulundurulmak ve icra edilecek labiyat piyesleri ve kiraat olunacak nutuk ve saire nüshaları zabıta olmadığı halde ... muayene kılınmak ve bu babda mutalaa istifsar edilmek şurutuyla bu kabil şeylere ruhsat verilmek iktiza eder iken böyle labiyatın icrasından sonra malumat verilmesi münasib olmayacağından"

BOA, DH. MKT. 331/19, 17 Receb 1312 [13 January 1895], from Ministry of Education to Ministry of Interior.

⁵⁷² For Ortaköy School, BOA, MF. MKT. 306/15, 8 Ramazan 1313 [21 February 1896]. For Hasköy School, BOA, MF. MKT. 518/48, 10 Rebiyülahir 1318 [6 August 1900].

⁵⁷³ For the example of Ortaköy School, BOA, ZB. 470/16, 6 Ağustos 1322 [19 August 1906].

Because "there are no previous examples of dances organized at night, it will be convenient if the dance is to be organized during the day."

writers, intellectuals, Christian and Muslim notables, and Ottoman officials attended the plays performed in *Tiferet Israel*. In 1879, for example, Midhat Pasha, Governor of Damascus' Province, escorted by other Ottoman officials, as well as local Christian and Muslim notables, attended a play performed by the school's pupils. Several months later, Midhat Pasha sent a letter to Jewish leaders in Europe in which he expressed his amazement at the gap between the communities of Beirut and Damascus. He pointed out that while the Beirut community was moving quickly toward modernization; the Damascus community was declining –lacking even an elementary school.⁵⁷⁴

On 11 March 1895, Mikve-Israel Agricultural School at Palestine, Yafa, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in a school festival which was attended by many Ottoman and foreign notables: *kaymakam*, his secretary, customs officers, the mayor, many municipal counselors, British and French consuls. In a hall decorated with Ottoman flags and a portrait of His Majesty Sultan Abdülhamid II students staged a play as well, like Molière's *Fourberies de Scapin*. Once again, this celebration was used for collecting some money thanks to an open buffet.⁵⁷⁵

In Edirne, the pupils at the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School wanted to perform plays in 1905. In order to get the necessary permission, the texts of plays were sent to be controlled.⁵⁷⁶ After the examination process, it turned out that among the three French plays that the school presented, one was 'inconvenient' and two others were 'not detrimental.' However, because there were not previous examples of such cases, it would be better if

⁵⁷⁴ Levi, pp. 98-99.

⁵⁷⁵ *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 1 January 1895, pp. 102.

⁵⁷⁶ “Edirne’de Alyans İsrailit nam Musevi mektebi menfaatine olarak mektebin müntehi sınıf talebesi marifetiyle Hadika-i Fevâid tiyatrosunda icrasına ruhsat itası istida olunan ve oynanmasında mahzur görülmeyen piyesin tedkik ve tasdiki zımında leffen gönderildiği Edirne vilayeti vekalet-i celilesinin idare-i aciziye havale buyrulan 16 Mart 321 tarihli tahriratında işar kılınmıştır. Mekteb talebesi tarafından tiyatroda oyun oynamak caiz olup olmayacağı badehu te’mil ve arz edilmek üzere evvel emirde melfuf piyesin alel-usul tedkik ve tasdik ile iade edilmesi hususunda zabıta nezaretine emr ve işar buyrulması abında emr ü ferman hazret-i minlehülemrindir.” BOA, DH. MKT. 946/77, 30 Muharrem 1323 [6 April 1905] from director of domestic publications (*matbuat-ı dâhiliye müdürü*)

actors, and not students, were to perform the play on stage.⁵⁷⁷ This is an interesting example because, since documents do not refer to any charity works, we can assume that students wanted to put those plays on stage not because of charity issue but for their own pleasure.

What was the reaction shown by Ottoman Jews to the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*? We know that without a local demand the association did not found schools. Admittedly, the existence of a school was a reflection of a local demand. Nevertheless it can be safely argued that local responses depended on time and geography. Whereas in the first decades of the *Alliance* on the Ottoman territory, schools were targets of many criticisms, but throughout time parents became more familiar with the idea of a non-religious education. In a similar vein, new schools were inaugurated thanks to parents' demand. Even outlying towns, like Aydın, Milas, and Bergama *inter alia*, began to accommodate *Alliance* schools. By 1911, all Sephardic communities with more than 1,000 people possessed two schools: one for boys and one for girls.⁵⁷⁸ The total number of pupils that the association provided education numbered 9,764 in 1911.⁵⁷⁹ The increasing number of students, in a way, was a reflection of that understanding. This description, nonetheless, is highly generalized, and there were many variables depending on the locality.

In Beyrut, local Jewish community was not very much attracted to the *Alliance* schools at first. As a consequence, the first school which was established in 1867 had to be closed down a few years later. There would be, until 1880, other attempts for founding such a

⁵⁷⁷ “gönderilen üç kıta Fransızca piyes alel-usul zabtiye nezaretiyle idare-i acizice muayene olunarak muzırrat mündericatına mebni biri tevkif ve diğeri ikisi tasdik edilerek leffen takdim kılınmış olmağla [...] mekteb talebesi tarafından icrası mesbuk-ül-emsal olmadığı ve mahzurdan gayr-ı salim bulunduğu cihetle bunların mekteb talebesi yerine mezkur tiyatronun oyuncularını marifetiyle icra ettirilmesi muvafıl-ı maslahat olacağından” BOA, DH. MKT. 987/28, 13 Cemaziyevvel 1323 [16 July 1905], from director of domestic publications

⁵⁷⁸ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, pp. 66, 97.

⁵⁷⁹ *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 2 January 1911.

school in the city yet to no avail.⁵⁸⁰ In 1890, a new attempt was initiated. Here is the report of the school principal:

No father wished to pay a penny of tuition in the *Alliance* schools. A father whose daughters study in the Christian schools and pays 300 francs a year for them demands that his sons be admitted free of charge to the Alliance schools. Expenditures grew and the community did nothing for their [the schools] benefit, the better-off families are not interested in Judaism at all; they find that the *Alliance* educational institutions remind them too much of their origins.⁵⁸¹

During the late 1890s, the society even considered exterminating its activities in the city, but instead, it extended its local budget and teaching staff. In the final analysis, the *Alliance* school became successful enough to attract more and more students. After a certain period of time, the local community decided to contribute financially. “Though the *Alliance* was able to secure its position in Beirut,” asserted Tomer Levi, “its schools were neither the only nor the natural choice of Jewish parents in the city.”⁵⁸²

The above mentioned school at Baḡdad presided by M. Nerson provides us another reflection of the local circumstances in the second half of the 1860s. He was disturbed by the ignorance of the local committee. He was opposed by the religious authorities who labeled the school as the “temple of false-gods” and “protested against all the instruction imparted to the students by pretending that these teachings would shake the foundations of the Torah.”⁵⁸³ The local opposition to new schooling initiative was obvious.

⁵⁸⁰ Levi, p. 99.

⁵⁸¹ Levi, p. 100.

⁵⁸² Levi, p. 101.

⁵⁸³ Sawdayee, p. 34.

When Nerson left Bağdad due to local inconveniences he had to confront with the school was shut down, however, children of the city wrote a letter to Paris asking for a new teacher:

We are the children of the school founded by the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Baghdad. Evidently you will see that we have already started to write fluently in French. We shall never forget your goodwill in teaching us this language. We announce to you that our master has left and that we are now without a professor; we beg you to replace him very soon so that we can complete our French studies. We shall be eternally obliged and hope that you will have faith in us.⁵⁸⁴

The fact that those children belonged to the wealthy families of the city demonstrated the rich residents' substantial support to the *Alliance* network in a way. The example of the Bağdad School proves the existence of two opposing segments within the local community: those who wanted to have an *Alliance* school and those who were against it.⁵⁸⁵ In Demotica, on the other hand, the local Jewish population was exceedingly impressed by the Edirne School and the *Alliance* initiatives were more than welcomed, in the end a school was inaugurated in 1897.⁵⁸⁶

The reasons behind negative reactions are manifold. One concrete reason was the alienated behaviors of school directors and teachers. After having studied at Paris, students of *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale*, who were members of oriental societies after all, identified themselves more with Occident than with Orient.⁵⁸⁷ They began to identify themselves not children of the Levant, but rather as children of the Occident. In the eyes of local

⁵⁸⁴ Sawdayee, p. 35.

⁵⁸⁵ Derek Angus Frenette, "L'Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Politics of Modern Jewish Education in Baghdad: 1864-1914," (Unpublished BA thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2003), p. 21.

⁵⁸⁶ Rodrigue, *Jewish Society*, p. 270.

⁵⁸⁷ A native of Tetuan, Morocco, David Cazes designates himself as a Franc, the name given to Europeans throughout the Levant: "The rabbis were happy to see a Franc know their language." Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 61.

communities, consequently, they were arrogant people. Here are some instances. Gabriel Arié, whose origins went back to Bulgaria, during his mission in Izmir visited nearby towns, and wrote down a report. “*Aydın impressed me as one of those regions depicted by travelers in Africa,*” he pinpointed, “*where not a ray of European civilization has yet penetrated.*”⁵⁸⁸

The words of a teacher at Bursa described how ignominious local Jews were:

[They were keeping] with a jealous intransigence their prejudices and superstitions belonging to another age. Profound ignorance, dirt, vulgarity in language and manners, total absence of dignity, reluctance to do any hard work, here are what characterize the majority of our coreligionists of Bursa.⁵⁸⁹

The teachers at Bağdad School were not so much different: “*It is preferable to have as little contact with the natives of the country and to keep a distance from them.*” Furthermore, “*the Baghdadi mocks civilization, does not want it, hates it and fears it and does everything in his power so that his children stay completely ignorant.*”⁵⁹⁰

As a matter of fact, directors and teachers were not in contradiction with the Central Committee in their behaviors. The Central Committee circular of 1903 clearly asserted that “one of the principal aims of the teacher will be to combat especially the bad habits more or less widespread among Oriental populations, *egotism, arrogance, exaggerated expression of feelings, insipidity, blind respect of force and fortune and the violence of petty passions.*”⁵⁹¹

Another reason of local reaction was the rigid hegemony of the Central Committee over local branches. The former, as a principle, was reluctant to share the authority with local

⁵⁸⁸ From his letter to Paris, 24 April 1894. Benbassa & Rodrigue, *A Sephardi*, p. 136. Emphasis is mine.

⁵⁸⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 73.

⁵⁹⁰ Sawdayee, pp. 70, 71. Emphasis is mine.

⁵⁹¹ Rodrigue, *Jewish Society*, p. 274. Emphasis is mine.

and regional committees. “Even though the organization had to satisfy the wishes and needs of the locality, Paris had always enjoyed a great freedom of action in the way it went about responding to local demands.”⁵⁹² A certain level of partnership without doubt was unavoidable, between Paris and localities. Nonetheless it seemed to be an unequal one: with the Central Committee definitely in charge, and Oriental Jewry very much an impotent, junior partner.

This situation did not instigate troubles in advance. But after the 1890s many generations who had already been educated within the *Alliance* network were thoroughly aware of the new improvements in Europe. At that point, there began increasing signs of discontent – with the high level of centralization, with the inequality and discrepancy – that marked the relationship between Paris and localities.

As previously asserted, a common curriculum was fixed by the Central Committee in 1883 to be definitely carried out. Newspapers in Judeo-Spanish began criticizing it during the 1890s and the early 1900s.⁵⁹³ “The regular European school schedule cannot be followed in this country” stated a teacher at Bağdad in 1883 due to local circumstances: summer heat impedes regular and fixed school hours; the school opens at various hours according to seasons.⁵⁹⁴ Abraham Galanté Bodrumlu, a later historian and Turkish parliamentarian, criticized the curriculum for not putting enough emphasis on Ottoman Turkish language courses. Local committees, in his opinion, had to be revived: communities, furthermore, should provide their opinions about the functioning of schools. His suggestions, unsurprisingly, were not taken into consideration by Paris.⁵⁹⁵ A native of Edirne and an ex-

⁵⁹² Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 133.

⁵⁹³ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 133.

⁵⁹⁴ Sawdayee, p. 67.

student of the local school, Jacques Danon presented his complaints about a school director Samuel Loupo to the secretary of the Central Committee, Jacques Bigart. Because his complaints were ignored, the former wrote a sarcastic letter to Bigart:

I ask a favor, please consent for five small minutes to consider the humble peasant of the banks of the Tunca and the Maritza [rivers which met in Edirne], the barbaric “Turk” who carries the name of Jacques Danon, as the equal, or better than that, as the comrade of Monsieur Jacques Bigart, the dweller of the “City of Light” (*la Ville lumière*), the all-powerful general secretary of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.⁵⁹⁶

To him, the Central Committee appeared to be saying:

Jews of Turkey, you have the misfortune of being poor and miserable, generous men have given us the mission of coming to your aid, but in return we demand from you that you make the sacrifice of leaving in our hands your dignity and all your aspirations of being free men.⁵⁹⁷

Aron Rodrigue used the term paternalism while describing the dominant position of the Central Committee over local branches. I think it fits quite well into the picture. The words of Danon and Galanté brilliantly reflect the birth of a new stratum among Ottoman Jews: they were ex-graduates of the *Alliance* schools and, thus, enjoyed the benefits their education provided them. Yet, they began to realize, as well, that at that moment the community needed a new kind of education which should be decided upon with the cooperation of local

⁵⁹⁵ He accused the Central Committee of having nothing but contempt for “*the grievances of a Turkish Jew, a savage!*” Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 133.

⁵⁹⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 133.

⁵⁹⁷ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 133.

Some others criticisms are as such: “*Turkish Jews are only Orientals, while the secretary and the vice-president of the Alliance are, by the virtue of their office, the dispensers of light emanating from the great City of Light itself.*” Bigart, moreover, was accused of hating “*certain Turkish cities and personalities.*” Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 134.

communities and the Central Committee. The contradiction between ‘city of light’ and ‘East’ became a popular motive of criticisms at Judeo-Spanish newspapers, unsurprisingly.⁵⁹⁸

Together with that stratum of Jewish population, which was the product of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schooling network, there were other Jews, as well, who could not enjoy any education opportunities and who were situated at the bottom of socio-economic scale. Because the actual status-quo of the community did not improve their life conditions, they were open targets for new ideas. It was towards the turning of the century when Zionism as a foreign ideology was introduced to and spread among Ottoman Jews.

The literature on Zionism is immense *per se*. Many works are available about its position and potency in the Ottoman context as well. I do not want to deal with them in details. However, I think it is essential to provide an overall account.

Even before the first Zionist Congress at Basel in August 1897, Dr. Theodor Herzl visited Sultan Abdülhamid II asking some part of Palestine land for Jewish nation.⁵⁹⁹ In exchange, he mentioned that Ottoman debts would be met by Jewish initiative. However the Ottoman ruler did not agree with it. In his later visit in 1901 Herzl got the same reply. But surprisingly this time, he was honored with a *Mecidiye* first degree. A year later in 1902 Herzl was back in the Ottoman capital. He put forward his suggestion of Jewish migration to

⁵⁹⁸ It was thanks to that arrogance and hegemony of the Central Committee that a new network, *B'nai B'rith*, began to gain ground at the expense of *Alliance* in the 1910s. The new equation resulted from that new coming actor would, ultimately, lead to Zionism to be empowered among Ottoman Jews.

For more information on *B'nai B'rith*, see: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4, pp. 12-18.

Rıfat N. Bali wrote down an article about the eleventh branch -Constantinople- of *B'nai B'rith* which was established in 1911. Rıfat N. Bali, “Bir Yahudi Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Kurumu: B'nai B'rith XI. Bölge Büyük Locası Tarihçesi ve Yayın Organı Hamenora Dergisi,” *Müteferrika*, Spring-Summer 1996, N. 8-9, pp. 41-60.

⁵⁹⁹ Ottoman administration was aware of the congress. For some documents regarding the event, see: BOA, Y. MTV. 165/234 26 Rebiyyülevvel 1315 [25 August 1897]; BOA, Y. A. HUS. 377/105 28 Cemaziyelevvel 1315 [25 October 1897].

Apparently Sultan Abdülhamid II was presented the deepest gratitude of participants of that congress due to his compassion and protection over Jews. BOA, Y. A. HUS. 376/10 1 Rebiyyülahir 1315 [30 August 1897]. BOA, Y. MTV. 181/22, 5 Rebiyyülahir 1316 [23 August 1898].

Palestine and of an autonomous, Crete-like, administration there. Although Avram Galanté Bodrumlu, later, described the answer of His Majesty as “*un oui negative*,” apparently no further meeting were held between him and Dr. Herzl.⁶⁰⁰ In other words, even prior to the First Zionist Congress, Dr. Herzl visited Ottoman capital several times and put forward his plan of potential Jewish settlement in Palestine.

Jewish settlement in Palestine, nonetheless, had already become a problem for the Sublime Porte. In reality, Jews had been living there for many centuries and this fact had not created any inconveniences to Ottoman Empire. The outrage experienced by Eastern European Jews in the second half of the nineteenth century, as a matter of fact, led many to come and search shelter in Ottoman territories. Many Russian and Romanian Jews, as a result, wanted to migrate to Ottoman Palestine. Although in the primary phase of the confrontations, Ottoman authorities did not prefer impeding the flux of Jews into their territories; in 1882 a new regulation was implemented: a decree prohibiting Jews from Russia, Romania and Bulgaria from settling in Palestine. They were still free to settle other parts of Ottoman territories provided that they would become Ottoman subjects and they would not be concentrated in a certain locality.⁶⁰¹ Then, gradually, other regulations were carried out in order not to allow to high concentration of foreign Jews in the region.

⁶⁰⁰ David Farhi, “Documents on the Attitude of the Ottoman Government Towards the Jewish Settlement in Palestine After the Revolution of the Young Turks (1908-1909),” in: *Studies on Palestine During Ottoman Period*, ed. Moshe Ma’oz (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975), p. 193.

It is a common belief that sultan used Dr. Herzl’s suggestion to make a more favorable deal with other European financial sources.

⁶⁰¹ “*Rusya’dan memâlik-i mahrûse-i şahâneye hicret etmek arzusunda bulunan Museviler’in bilâ-kayd u şart tabiiyet-i devlet-i aliyeyi kabûl etmek ve arz-ı Filistinden maâdâ gösterilecek mahallerde nihâyet yüz yüz elli hâneyi tecâvüz etmemek şartıyla kabûl olunabileceklerine*”

BOA, Y.A.RES. 16/18, 7 Şaban 1299 [24 June 1882].

The document includes a letter from a certain Alexander who wanted to migrate to Ottoman Empire as well. For a detailed description of the flux of Jews into Palestine, see: Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye’nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki’nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913-1918)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), pp. 354-398.

One can detect two motives behind such decisions. First of all, the new comers were all foreign Jews who wanted to keep their foreign identity to be able to enjoy capitulatory benefits. The concentrated existence of foreign Jews, who would enjoy capitulations, in a specific Ottoman region, patently, meant an alarm signal in the eyes of Ottoman authorities. In the long run, their existence might lead to Great Powers' intervention.⁶⁰² A letter by an early immigrant, El'azar Roke'ah, reflected that he understood the official Ottoman perspective:

Protection of the foreign consuls seemed, hence, preferable [due to incapacity of local administrators]. *But one can visualize that the Ottoman government would not tolerate such a situation for long. The government, quite justifiably, loathes the foreigners and the Jewish newcomers, who enjoy the protection of the European powers, are viewed unfavorably.*⁶⁰³

In the ultimate analysis, not many new comers chose Ottoman nationality. Eastern European and Russian Jewish migrants, therefore, were not welcome.

And then, the mere concentration of Jews, whether Ottoman or foreign subjects, was a threat as well in a period of rampant national problems in the empire. Armenians in Eastern Anatolia, Bulgarians in the Balkans, even Ottoman Greeks in Crete were already trouble-makers in the eyes of Ottoman statesmen. Jews had been always loyal to Ottoman Empire as a matter of fact. Nevertheless, it was not reasonable to allow a high Jewish concentration in Palestine.

Although Jewish settlement in Palestine turned out to be an inconvenience, Zionism was not highly known and embraced among Ottoman Jews. The above mentioned meetings of

⁶⁰² Farhi, p. 190.

⁶⁰³ Isaiah Freidman, "The System of Capitulations and Its Effects on Turco-Jewish Relations in Palestine, 1856-1897," in: *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period, Political, Social and Economic Transformations*, ed. David Kushner (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), p. 287. Emphasis is mine.

Dr. Theodor Herzl and Sultan Abdülhamid II, after all, reflected that the early Zionists thought they would find the key to Palestine in Ottoman capital: the reason why Herzl asked the permission of migration of Eastern European Jews into Palestine in the first place. Because of they were disappointed by the Abdülhamid II, Zionists decided to push harder. Nevertheless, due to Hamidian regime they had to wait until the *coup d'état* of 1908: it is not a mere coincidence that the first Zionist branch in a Muslim country was established in late 1908 by Victor Jacobson.⁶⁰⁴

Although Zionism was not popularly known within Ottoman Jewry prior to 1908, the above mentioned actions of Dr. Theodor Herzl instigated troubles for the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* Central Committee, its local committees and official Jewish leaders. In 1897, Isaac Fernandez the president of the regional committee in the Ottoman Empire clearly stated that “the movement led by Dr. Herzl cannot be more detrimental to the interests of the Ottoman Jews and to the *Alliance*.”⁶⁰⁵ The negative reactions of the *Alliance* to that new ideology and its ideologue are indeed manifold.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle was established in 1860, and throughout the second half of the nineteenth century its school network and thus its power continuously increased. Although other Jewish associations emerged in later periods, like *Israelitische Allianz zu Wien* or *Anglo-Jewish Association*, its hegemony was never challenged. On the contrary, they worked in cooperation all together. The emergence of Zionism and its dissemination altered the picture, however. The emergence of *Hilfsverein* and *World Zionist Organization* in the early twentieth century obviously brought a serious competition for the *Alliance*. Its opposition to Zionism, admittedly, can be read with such a perspective.

⁶⁰⁴ Esther Benbassa, “Le Sionisme Dans L’Empire Ottoman à l’Aube du 20e Siècle,” *Vingtième Siècle-Revue d’Histoire*, N. 24, October-December 1989, p. 71.

⁶⁰⁵ Benbassa, *Le Sionisme*, p. 72.

What happened in Bulgaria in the late nineteenth century was an illustrative example where the *Alliance* lost its preponderant position to Zionists. As early as 1895, even before Dr. Theodor Herzl became a known figure, school principals of *Alliance* schools in Bulgaria reported “increasing *Hovevei Zion* (Lovers of Zion) influence among the youth, with several Palestine colonization organizations forming in cities such as Sofia, Phillippopoli and Plevna.”⁶⁰⁶ Later, Zionists became more and more powerful over Bulgarian Jews. So powerful indeed that they even threatened the *Alliance* with expulsion from Bulgaria. By 1913, they succeeded in throwing *Alliance* out of Bulgaria: two localities being excepted, they expelled it from local communities. Due to that unexpected loss of influence in Bulgaria, the association was bound to confront this vital threat.

Another way to read opposition to Zionism is embedded into the ideology supported by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. The association tried hard to emancipate Jews and to help them so that they would enjoy equality like their fellow countrymen. The ultimate motive, viewed in this light, was to make Jews equal and free members of the societies they used to live. Due to this, “The Central Committee was strongly opposed in principle to the solution of the Jewish problem in Eastern Europe through emigration.”⁶⁰⁷ Even in extreme cases, where Jews became targets of pogroms in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the body did not change its position. It illustrated the *Alliance*’s primary aim of helping oriental Jews to be integrated into their own societies.

The association advocated the emancipation of Ottoman Jews in broader society and encouraged the learning of Ottoman Turkish as a vehicle of integration. Zionists, on the

⁶⁰⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, pp. 138-140.

⁶⁰⁷ Zosa Szajkowski, “Conflicts in the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Founding of the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Vienna Allianz and the Hilfsverein,” *Jewish Social Studies*, 19 (January-April 1957), p. 49

contrary, argued that emancipation could only be an illusion and that anti-Semitism could never be exterminated. The naïve faith in emancipation -shared by *Alliance* as well- would only lead to rampant assimilation and, therefore, to ultimate disappearance of Jewish people.⁶⁰⁸ General Secretary Jacques Bigart asserted his criticisms to Zionists in the following manner:

That the Jews, in a far distant future, could reconstitute themselves into a nationality is conceivable, even if we do not share in this desire, but the talk of this project in the present is nothing but irresponsible. If it is not checked, one will perhaps soon see a general outcry on the part of the poor Jewish class against the rich.⁶⁰⁹

Ottoman response to Zionism constituted another dimension of the negative response by the *Alliance*. As already stated in the preceding pages, neither Ottoman Sultan nor Ottoman statesmen were enthusiastic to witness a new potential national ideology flourishing among the subjects. That is why Jews were prohibited to settle in Palestine, whether Ottoman subjects or not. The *Alliance* did not want to be a target of Ottoman administration's negative behavior, or to alienate the government. Major figures of the local committee, Isaac and Salomon Fernandez realized that impeding measures were taken only due to Dr. Herzl and his followers' ideas, and warned the Central Committee about the potential danger that they would provoke in a near future.⁶¹⁰

The *Alliance* was indeed sincere in its fear of alienating the government. The semestral and monthly bulletins are full of articles which glorify the empire's favorable measures and regulations which were in total opposition with Russia and newly independent Eastern European countries. A delegation was sent to the Berlin Congress, for example, in order to

⁶⁰⁸ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 138.

⁶⁰⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 140.

⁶¹⁰ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 140.

discuss the measures to be imposed over Serbia and Romania, thenceforth to secure the equal citizenship without akin to religion.

During sessions, the delegation described the miserable situation of Serbian and Romanian Jews, prior to 1878, despite their respective constitutions, and demanded that new political regulations be designed so that no such occurrences would be repeated.⁶¹¹ The ideal example, according to the delegation was Ottoman Empire.⁶¹² In an official publication dedicated to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*'s establishment, Turkey was referred as such:

There are no exclusive laws against the Jews, there no legal persecutions, no vexations on the part of the government nor prejudices on the part of the Mussulman [sic] population; but, on both sides, goodwill and sympathy, a strict application of the principles of equality and justice, and severe measures against all errors or excesses committed by the lower authorities. In every instance, his Majesty the Sultan, the Ministers, and the governors of provinces have shown their firmness in protecting the rights of the Israelites and in repairing all acts of injustice and violence of which they might have occasion to complain. The Alliance Committee at Constantinople has never addressed itself in vain to the Sultan to ask the reparation of an injustice or of a crime.⁶¹³

In 1892, when the fourth centenary of Sephardic migration into Ottoman territories was celebrated, the Central Committee sent a letter to Sultan Abdülhamid II, through local committee, praising his predecessors and himself for being greatly tolerant to Jews.

⁶¹¹ Regional Committee (Misrachi, Saias, Allatini, Dr. Perera, Fernandez, engineer Morpurgo, Nehama, Abramino Modiano, Isac Modiano, Matalon, Leon Modiano) thanks to Grand Vizier Edhem Paşa, in 1872, for his efforts in peace meetings with Serbia: thenceforth, Serbian Jews were to be dealt with equal treatments. “*Les soussignés membres du comité de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle félicitent votre altesse pour la conclusion de la paix avec la Serbie exprimant sincère reconnaissance pour obtenue égalité de traitement des Israélites Serbes et prient votre altesse de vouloir déposer aux pieds de Sa Majesté le Sultan l’expression de Notre respectueux dévouement et les vœux que nous formons pour la prospérité et la gloire de Sa Majesté et de son empire.*” BOA, İ. HR. 273/ 16528, 20 Zilhicce 1288 [1 March 1872].

⁶¹² *Bulletin Mensuel de l’Alliance Israelite Universelle*, August 1878, pp. 84-87.

⁶¹³ *Publication of the Twenty-Fifth*, p. 44.

Sir,

In the spring of 1492, the Jews who were expelled from Spain found refuge in Turkey. While they were oppressed in the world, they had, in the states of your glorious ancestors, a protection that has never stopped. It allowed them to live safely, to work and to develop.

Sir, this tradition has been kept in your reign. The Jews have had, in your Majesty, a protector whose kindness was manifested in all His deeds. They strive to be worthy. In their schools, that Alliance Israélite Universelle supports, children are raised in the love of their country and loyalty to His sovereign. They learn and prepare to make themselves useful in agriculture, commerce, industry and science. Your Majesty gives to these institutions incessant evidence of His care and His goodness. Jews remember the blessings of the past; they are full of gratitude for the present. In this solemn day, which reminds them of the ending of the sufferings of their fathers, they gathered in their temples and pray to God, for Your Majesty, they thank him for giving to their country a sovereign so magnanimous. The Alliance Israélite Universelle joins with the Jews in Turkey. Our co-religionists of all countries unite to us to celebrate the fourth centenary of the establishment of Jews in Turkey.

We offer you, Sir, the homage of our respect and our gratitude. Deign to accept, with the hope that God gives to Your Majesty a long and thriving reign forever.⁶¹⁴

The school books used at the *Alliance* schools may be instrumental as well in understanding the association's stance vis-à-vis the Sublime Porte. Moïse Franco and Moïse Fresco's history books, designed specifically to be taught at those schools, described Ottoman Empire as an idyllic place. The latter's book *Histoire des Israélites Depuis le Retour de la Captivité de Babylone Jusqu'à Nos Jours* refers to Ottoman Empire from the period of Sultan Bayezid II to the late nineteenth century: the tone Fresco used is in favor of Ottoman government, and even Arab sovereignty.⁶¹⁵ *Essai sur l'Histoire des Israélites de l'Empire Ottoman Depuis Les*

⁶¹⁴ *Bulletin Semestriel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, deuxième série, n.17, 1^{er} et 2^e semestres de 1892, pp. 47-48.

⁶¹⁵ “Au moment ou les Israélites expulsés d’Espagne arrivaient en Turquie, le sultan Bajazet II régnait dans ce pays. Il se montra à l’égard des émigrants bien plus humain que tous les princes d’Europe. Il comprenait de quelle utilité seraient pour son pays l’intelligence et l’activité des Israélites. Il avait coutume de dire: ‘vous appelez Ferdinand un monarque avisé, mais en chassant les Israélites, il a appauvri son empire et enrichi le mien.’ [...] Les Israélites ottomans gardent de cet accueil un souvenir reconnaissant.”

Origines Jusqu'à Nos Jours was a book by Moïse Franco. Again in that book, the tone is similar to Fresco's. The teaching of history at *Alliance* schools, ostensibly, was designed in such a way praising Ottoman administration.

The society, ultimately, did not want to have troubles with Ottoman administration which was another essential idea behind its negative response to Zionism. In every possible occasion, members of the Central Committee did not hesitate to praise Ottoman officers' behavior towards the association. In November 1901, the secretary general Jacques Bigart asserted that "except for small local problems, we have never had anything but praise for the attitude of the Ottoman civil servants toward our institutions."⁶¹⁶

Ottoman authorities, for their part, have appreciated the contributions that the *Alliance* schools had been making to Ottoman youth.⁶¹⁷ Since there are plenty of such cases, I will refer to only a few of them. When the school at Jerusalem was established in 1868, Adolphe Crémieux, the president, wrote a letter full of gratitude to Governor of Jerusalem Nazif Paşa for his support. In response, the latter wrote a letter to the former:

For me it was a real duty to protect an institution created for a very noble purpose: *to regenerate, by way of teaching, one of the most important portions of Ottoman nation.* Apart from the sympathy that every man must feel for the enlightened and generous idea which inspires you, it offers me an interest of a higher order because *it is a partial solution to the problem whose importance escapes nobody's eye: spread of education in Turkey.* Upon completion of this program is attached to the future of our country. Our cooperation is also a foregone conclusion to all the efforts of private initiatives. *It is a noble and striking example than that given by the society in Alliance Israélite Universelle based in Jerusalem this same instruction of the three major world religions. Ottoman government can only approve and support, of all its capacity, such an association which gives a hand to the spreading of mass education in the whole empire, which is trying to be done by the government itself as well. Its protection is provided, thus, everywhere to the work that the Alliance pursues with devotion and*

"*Les Israélites ont toujours joui d'une entière tolérance et ont été admis à tous les emplois publics. Aussi non seulement les Israélites de l'Empire mais le judaïsme entier professe la plus grande reconnaissance envers la Turquie.*" Fresco, pp. 84, 102-103.

⁶¹⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 150.

⁶¹⁷ Erol Haker, *Edirne, Its Jewish Community, and Alliance Schools 1867–1937* (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2006), p. 46.

which brings us precious contribution in this war of extermination that any wise government must declare to ignorance, that secular ally of fanaticism and barbarism.⁶¹⁸

Ottoman authorities, manifestly, saw in the establishment of the *Alliance* schools a medium for Jews to be integrated into the ongoing reform movement within Ottoman Empire. They must have considered that the instruction provided by the *Alliance* would make Jewish subjects more and more fruitful.

Famous Midhat Paşa, during his governorship of Iraq in the 1870s, made systematic visits to the Bağdad *Alliance* School established in 1865. Thanks to the reports written by Maurice Marx, we learn that it was Midhat Paşa who decided that final examinations to be taken place on 11 April 1870.⁶¹⁹ They were assisted by local plenipotentiaries and Ottoman officials, including Midhat Paşa himself. In 1872, he was not present during examinations, because he was sick; yet he was represented by his representative, Dr. Fano. In the aftermath of examinations, Midhat Paşa was unseated. Before leaving his post, he made a farewell visit to the school. He compared the school to an orchard and said to director: “You have a very skilful and very devoted gardener.”⁶²⁰

Almost a decade later, in late 1878, Mithat Paşa was appointed to the governorship of Syria. After his arrival, he immediately realized that local population, no matter what their

⁶¹⁸ “C’était pour moi un véritable devoir de protéger autant qu’il était en moi, une institution créée dans un but ainsi noble que celui de régénérer par l’enseignement une des portions les plus importantes de la nation ottomane. En dehors de la sympathie que doit ressentir tout homme éclairé pour une idée large et généreuse comme celle qui vous inspire, elle offre a mes yeux un intérêt d’un ordre supérieur, parce qu’elle est solution partielle de ce problème dont l’importance échappe à personne : la diffusion de l’instruction en Turquie. A la réalisation de ce programme est attaché l’avenir de notre patrie, aussi notre coopération est acquise d’avance à tous les efforts de l’initiative privée y otendant [sic] directement ou indirectement. Le gouvernement ottoman ne peut qu’approuver et aider de tout son pouvoir une entreprise qui vient si heureusement seconder la vive impulsion qu’il imprime, en ce moment dans tout l’empire, à l’instruction des masses. Sa protection est donc assurée ici et partout à l’œuvre que poursuit avec tant de dévouement la société de l’AIU, et qui vient nous apporter un précieux contingent dans cette guerre d’extermination que tout gouvernement sage doit faire à l’ignorance, cette alliée séculaire du fanatisme et de la barbarie.”
1860-1960, Centenaire de l’AIU, catalogue de l’exposition à Paris 21-24 Juin 1960, à l’UNESCO. Emphasis is mine.

⁶¹⁹ Antebi, p. 220.

⁶²⁰ Antebi, p. 222.

religion was, seemed in desperate need of education. As a consequence, he encouraged locals, mostly notables, to contribute establishing local schools for their own children. Not only Muslim community, but also Damascene Jewish community was encouraged by the newly appointed governor.⁶²¹ Although the city once had an *Alliance* school, opened earlier in 1865, it did not survive till then (1880). In order to re-open the school, Midhat Paşa took the lead in April 1880 and sent several letters to wealthy European Jews, as well as the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, to get financial and scholar contributions. Thanks to his good reputation in Europe, the necessary amount was collected shortly. In fact, Midhat Paşa asked the *Alliance* to appoint a director from Paris with appropriate qualifications – he also gave his word to continue to provide help to the school to be established. Finally, it was inaugurated with a ceremony which the governor also attended. Yet, in a few weeks he was once again dismissed from his position.⁶²²

In June 1873, when final examinations took place in Bağdad school, governor Rauf Paşa “was very satisfied. He congratulated Mr. Marx of the progress of pupils and excellent results of his instruction.”⁶²³ Later, in March 1877 when “*Son Excellence Husseïn Fevzi Muchir Pacha*” made a visit to the same school, we are informed that he congratulated local school committee with a letter.⁶²⁴ In 1880, governor of the period stated his thoughts vis-à-vis *Alliance* during final examinations:

The governor expressed the pleasure which the intellectual advance of pupils caused him, and after having highly recommended the deed of *Alliance* to attending Jewish

⁶²¹ Yaron Harel, “Midhat Paşa and The Jewish Community of Damascus: Two New Documents,” *Turcica*, 28, 1996, pp. 340-341.

⁶²² Harel, p. 342.

There are two letters of Midhat Paşa sent to *Alliance* central committee attached to the article. They were written in April and August 1880.

⁶²³ “*Son Excellence en fut tres satisfaite. Il a félicité M. Marx du progrès de ses élèves et des excellents résultats de son enseignement.*” *Bulletin Mensuel de l’Alliance Israelite Universelle*, June 1873, p. 6.

⁶²⁴ *Bulletin Mensuel de l’Alliance Israelite Universelle*, March 1877, p. 51.

notables, he gave to young people a short speech full with excellent councils and encouraging words.⁶²⁵

A similar speech was given by Esad Paşa during final examinations of Izmir *Alliance* School in 1875 in front of many other local notables and foreign plenipotentiaries:

I do not need to enumerate you the advantages of educated man; you already know them. *I will say to you only that Alliance Israélite Universelle which protects you and its local committee which works so diligently perform well one of the wishes of our sovereign and I publicly thank them for their efforts. You will become, thus, useful men to our country and you will be able to reach the highest offices of administration.*⁶²⁶

Abovementioned Hüseyin Fevzi Paşa, the marshal of the sixth army, received a letter from Adolphe Crémieux on 18 March 1877 to which he replied in August. The following is an excerpt from that letter which describes brightly how *Alliance* and Ottoman government could be both serving to the same final aim.

It is incontestably recognized that the dissemination of instruction is the principal, if not the only, source of prosperity for a nation. The imperial government, imbued with this principle and in its concern for all its subjects without discrimination, does not neglect any means to see them progressing quickly. *Myself, appreciating with the highest degree the great work of your Alliance, I am happy to be able to assist it in its efforts in Bağdad, to serve at the same time the policies of my government and, thus, to contribute to the prosperity of my country.*⁶²⁷

⁶²⁵ *Bulletin Mensuel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, May 1880, p. 135.

⁶²⁶ *Bulletin Mensuel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, January 1876, p. 12. Emphasis is mine.

⁶²⁷ *Bulletin Mensuel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, August 1877, p. 119. Emphasis is mine.

Even lower degree bureaucrats appreciated the association's deeds. Gabriel Arié, when appointed to Izmir, visited some offices in Ottoman capital in the early 1890s for bureaucratic procedures. During his previous position in Bulgaria, apparently, he hesitated using the name the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*. For that reason, he became surprised to witness how local Ottoman officers, and even Rums and Armenians, knew and appreciated the association's works:

I go to make a few official visits. Everywhere I receive the warmest welcome as director of the Alliance Israelite. The official letters of recommendation I am carrying all mention my status as director of the Alliance. Please note I do not tell anyone what our society is: everyone in the area knows our work, and I am to judge by the fondness everyone has shown me, both the public at large and high officials, all appreciate it at its true value. [Referring to his visit to the Ministry of Public Education] The letter the staff director gave me for the director of public education in Smyrna is so flattering that I will forgo transcribing it here. Chukri [Şükrü] Bey asks his subordinate, among other things, to examine with the greatest attention all the proposals I might make to him, inasmuch as this teacher, he says, has very new ideas, which I encourage to study, etc.⁶²⁸

In the words of Aron Rodrigue, “in spite of its ideology of emancipation, the *Alliance* remained firmly rooted in the European imperialist context of its first fifty years.”⁶²⁹ In the minds of its founders and later administrators, it was impossible to imagine an instruction in another language than French, the language of civilization and humanity. That is why the medium of instruction was always French in every single local school. The position of French was publicly declared and legitimized by Narcisse Leven in his “History of the Fiftieth Year of *Alliance Israelite Universelle*”:

⁶²⁸ Benbassa & Rodrigue, *A Sephardi*, p. 133.

Arié received a letter from Abdü'l-Hassib, the director of non-Muslim schools which provided free access to the governor, and another one from the chief of general security for his agent in İzmir which made him able to count on the cooperation of the police, in case.

⁶²⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 171.

French language, predetermined to propagate far away the spirit of the country which had done the most for liberty of conscience, [...] will be preferred in schools and the chosen masters will be ordinarily obliged to speak that language.⁶³⁰

Although the teaching of Ottoman Turkish in Ottoman Empire, and other languages in other countries was appreciated and promoted by the Central Committee, it never surpassed the superiority of French. It was highly promoted by the *Alliance* and its teaching turned out to be so brilliant that it became a second mother tongue of oriental Jewish populations after Judeo-Spanish.⁶³¹ This was one of the reasons among other why there were few Jews left who were able to speak Turkish at the declaration of the republic in 1923. It perfectly reflects how poor Ottoman Jews were in speaking Turkish after decades of instruction in Ottoman Turkish in the nineteenth century.⁶³²

Another colonial aspect of *Alliance* is embedded in raising teachers. In the first years, the need of teaching body was met by Alsatian students of the rabbinic seminary at Paris. After a certain period, though, a new institution was founded in French capital to give pedagogical formation training to future teachers who were to be chosen among the most brilliant graduates of local *Alliance* schools. The Central Committee founded *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale* in 1867.⁶³³ As a result, many brilliant students from Edirne to Izmir, from Istanbul to Selânik and from several localities went to Paris to get educated to become a teacher in one of the *Alliance* schools. This practice is evaluated by Isa Blumi, a scholar working in the field of education in the late Ottoman era, in the following manner: “In fact,

⁶³⁰ Leven, vol. 2, p. 10.

⁶³¹ In reality, the language is so deeply embraced by Turkish Jews that even the invitation cards to marriage ceremony was written in two language in the 1980s: Turkish and French.

⁶³² Of course the only reason of that situation was not absolutely the position of the *Alliance* vis-à-vis other languages. The fact that Ottoman Turkish was a totally different language to Judeo-Spanish Jewish children is also a determining factor, I believe. Not only is Ottoman Turkish a language susceptible to Arabic and Persian influences, but also the “pure” Turkish language is from Ural-Altai language family whereas Spanish is a Latin tongue. It is highly expectable that they were having trouble in learning.

⁶³³ Silberman, pp. 120-132; Nahum, pp. 112-113.

the use of locals trained in the ‘*metropole*’ was a common tactic practiced by colonial powers everywhere at the time.’⁶³⁴

Jewish boys coming from the Orient became targets of a modernization process in the heart of European civilization, in the city of lights. They acquired very valuable knowledge: how to behave like *un gentilhomme*, how to eat, how to listen, how to speak and so on. Mrs. Weismann, a student at Bischoffsheim Institute, wrote her thoughts regarding her first days in Paris and at the institute:

Order, cleanliness, scrupulous moral standards, hygiene, abundant and well-balanced meals, enlightened supervision, all of these things along with good courses contributed to making the Bischoffsheim a model institution.⁶³⁵

A certain Loupo who had been to *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale*, wrote down his memoirs, like Mrs. Weismann, and stated his feelings in his first days at school:

The Eastern students and the seminarians pray together in the same oratory and took their meals together in the same refectory. Here, a digression. I confess that, for my part, having come from Rustchuk, a city serving as a link between the West and the Black Sea, with a population of constant communication with Bucharest and Vienna, the term “*orientaux*” used to refer to us [students coming from East] seemed odd to me at first, if not pejorative.

From the first moment of contact, I noticed that the future rabbis considered us with a sometime embarrassing curiosity. In this vein, one of our group was asked if people ate with fork in his country and if they even knew what it was for. Perhaps they expected us to be like the savages of the Far West, but it did not take for them to notice that among us there were some who were quite modernized and not at all naïve.⁶³⁶

⁶³⁴ Blumi, p. 19.

⁶³⁵ Aron Rodrigue, *Jews and Muslims: Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries in Modern Times* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003), p. 42. She also states that the teacher at the institute, Miss F. Bloch called the girls coming from Ottoman Empire “*petites orientales*” in a rather contemptuous manner. p. 43.

As a result of their instruction in French capital, “for the teachers, the West represented the absolute good and Westernization the universal panacea for all the ills that plagued the Jewish communities of the East. Their sometimes violent critiques of traditional Jewish societies in the East had all the bearings of a self-justificatory ardor to legitimate the path that they themselves had taken in rejecting the values of their own culture and society.”⁶³⁷

The complaints of locals were not taken into consideration because, in the eyes of the Central Committee members, teachers did not behave improperly. In a way, the graduates of teachers’ seminary at Paris, i.e. *metropole*, were repeating what they were taught in Paris, thanks to the efforts of the Central Committee. After having studied in Paris and been appointed to oriental Jewish communities, which they had been part of, *Alliance* teachers acted like Europeans: they acquired a new, more or less Europeanized identity at the expense of their indigenous, oriental one. That’s why they looked down on their oriental brethren.

While finishing, once again I would like to quote Aron Rodrigue.

It is easy to place the *Alliance* in the fundamentally imperialist nexus between the West and the East. Indeed, the organization was very much the product of its time and place, in its negative vision of the Orient was one that was common in the Europe of the nineteenth century, which, in the flush of the material achievements accompanying the Industrial Revolution, was convinced of its moral superiority. The echoes of this Europe, and more specifically, of the French concern with a *mission civilisatrice* designed to spread French language and culture, are very much present in its variant espoused by the *Alliance*. the moralizing aims of the schools created by the French state in Algeria for the natives, designed to westernize by instilling the virtues of ‘cleanliness, exactitude, obedience, politeness, sincerity, openness, probity, goodness’ and to extirpate ‘oriental vices’ such as ‘hypocrisy’, are identical to those adopted by the *Alliance* as seen by its circulars quoted above. [...] The *instituteur* of the Third Republic was, like the *Alliance* teacher in the East, the missionary of this ‘higher’ bourgeois civilization.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁶ Rodrigue, *Jews*, p. 45. This account might belong either to Samuel or to his brother Israel Loupo from Edirne.

⁶³⁷ Rodrigue, *French*, p. 74.

⁶³⁸ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 75.

As Rodrigue describes, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* was neither an invention nor an initiative of French government. It was established by a number of French Jews. However, throughout time the association and its schooling network became important in French foreign policy in the Levant. Although after World War I, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* ended up being integrated into French foreign policy in the Levant, it had previously remained an independent organization.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SCHOOLS OF THE *ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE* AND OF OTHER FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter, I want to compare different schools which were established by foreign organizations. My primary aim is to be able to locate the schooling network of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* vis-à-vis other foreign organizations and their schooling networks, i.e. French Catholic along with American and British Protestant missionary schools. In order to do that, I have some criteria which, I believe, are essential in reaching a verdict about the location of *Alliance* schools.

The first criterion is the financing of the schools. It is important because it reveals the connections between schooling and government politics in a certain extent. Furthermore, it is a reflection of how local population perceived schools as well, whether they contributed to school budget or not. Then, the second criterion: governmental contributions to the functioning of schools are quite meaningful. In reality, financial and political support to schools was altogether a foreign policy maneuver. The third criterion is the reason such schools were established in Ottoman Empire. Their target audiences are apparently another criterion, which is the next step of the reasoning. Who they were, why and how were they chosen? The next criterion is how Ottoman Empire saw them, in administrative terms.

The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools were primarily financed by central budget which was constituted by members' fees and donations of important figures, such as Moses Montefiore, Camondo family, and Baron Rotschild. After a certain period, nonetheless, local Jewish communities began to contribute to school budgets as well by paying school fee. The percentage of local contributions was higher at Galata than it was at Balat due to the different

economic conditions of local communities. French government, however, never provided financial support to those schools until 1920.⁶³⁹

When we look at the composition of its members, we can observe that the percentage of French members diminished over years. In the beginning, while 80 % of the members were French, in 1864 that percentage was no more than 50 %, and in 1885 it was restricted only to 15.8 %.⁶⁴⁰ In other words, the money paid by the French did not constitute the majority of total members' fees.

It can be said that the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* displayed an international character in terms of its members and, thus, in terms of its financing. Since the budget was constituted primarily by members' fees, it also signifies that the schools were financed by 'an international pool of money.' In other words, it was not, say, French government which supported them financially, but the members of the association who were from different nationalities: French Jews were not the most populated group among them after 1865.

French Catholic schools, on the other hand, depended on French governmental allocations after the 1880s, during the era when Catholic missions in the Levant became an important instrument of French foreign policy.⁶⁴¹ It was not frequent, yet we can encounter governmental subsidies to some of those missions working in the Orient. Before that date, however, Catholic missions were self-financing. Central branches in France financed their local branches abroad. Because orders had been highly prosperous throughout history, they could easily afford financing activities of missions abroad.⁶⁴²

⁶³⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 156.

⁶⁴⁰ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 23.

⁶⁴¹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 157.

⁶⁴² Babot, p. 40.

Even French Republican government, highly inimical to religion *per se* and religious orders within boundaries of France, was exceedingly supporting Catholic missions abroad. The famous dictum of French statesman Léon Gambetta, an ardent supporter of secularism in French politics, “*L’anticlérisme n’est pas un article d’exportation*” is a good reflection of that perception.⁶⁴³ After 1880, in other words, not only were the central committees in France financing their missions in the Levant, but also French state began to provide generous subsidies. In terms of their finances, consequently, those institutions were totally France-originated.⁶⁴⁴

Protestant schools, on the other hand, depended on their own budget similar to what we see in case of *Alliance* schools. Both American and British missions in the Levant were financed by their respective central committees. However, after a certain maturation period, local people who began enjoying their benefits began to contribute.⁶⁴⁵ In the beginning, their allocation was not high. Throughout time, however, local contributions grew larger and larger. In 1870, for instance, the central committee of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* sent \$38,179 while local contribution reached to \$8,882 for the mission in Eastern Anatolia: the latter constituted 19 % of the total expenditures.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴³ Spagnolo, p. 581. Ironically, he also stated “*Le clérisme, voilà l’ennemi!*” “*De nombreuses œuvres privées sont créées en France pour soutenir le mouvement missionnaire.*” Babot, p. 46.

⁶⁴⁴ Paul Dumont describes the surprising situation in the Ottoman Empire: “*Curieusement, ces écoles étaient assez largement subventionnées par le gouvernement français, alors même qu’en France, depuis la mise en place de la Troisième République (1875) l’anticlérisme n’avait cessé de gagner du terrain. Des subsides ont continué à être versées aux missions, plus généreuses que jamais, même après l’expulsion des congrégations de France et, en 1905, la séparation de l’Eglise et de l’Etat.*” Paul Dumont, “*La Présence Culturelle Française Dans L’Empire Ottoman à L’Age de La Compétition Coloniale en Europe (1870-1914)*”, communication presented to colloquium “*Hommage aux poètes francophones*” Organized by the department of French Studies at University of Hacettepe -Ankara (12-13 October 2006), p. 12.

⁶⁴⁵ Kocabaşoğlu, p. 67.

⁶⁴⁶ Kocabaşoğlu, p. 110.

Although in the first impression, the *American Board* schools seem similar to those of the *Alliance*, because they were both financed by non-public institutions, the former was an American institution which was only supported by its American Protestant members. In other words, its central budget was only composed of Americans' contributions. The *Alliance*, on the other hand, was an international organization which had members from several countries. This constitutes a quite essential distinction between them.

Governmental contributions to the missions in the Levant and especially to missionary schools abroad were reflections of international politics. After having understood the potential that such schools represented their foreign policies and interests in the region, governments began to support those institutions, directly or indirectly, as parts of their entire state organization. The opinions of the French statesmen in the late nineteenth century were quite explanatory.⁶⁴⁷ The fact that missions ended up disseminating official languages of the respective country among oriental populations was primarily the first reason behind decisions of governments to contribute to them.

The teaching of, say, French to locals, according to statesmen, would certainly bring a certain influence over locals. The ultimate ideal, however, was not to increase the number of French speakers. The speech of French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Théophile Delcassé, is worth to be recalled:

⁶⁴⁷ “*Le soutien prodigué par les autorités françaises aux écoles congréganistes tient d’abord au fait que celles-ci avaient le mérite d’exister, se contentaient de peu et avaient maintes fois fait la preuve de leur efficacité. Ensuite, parce qu’il s’agissait, pour Paris, de répondre du tac au tac aux moyens de pénétration mis en oeuvre par les autres puissances coloniales qui n’avaient aucun complexe, elles, pour s’appuyer sur les structures religieuses. Il y avait enfin les individus eux-mêmes.*”
Dumont, *La Présence*, pp. 7, 12. French government supported those schools because “*ses missionnaires font merveille.*”

[H]e who speaks French in the Orient is not far from thinking in French and acting in French and finds himself quite naturally oriented toward France, whether for his moral aspirations or for his material needs.⁶⁴⁸

This was shared by statesmen of other governments as well. It was the most significant incentive that led governments to allocate money to missions. Via schooling, economic interests of states would be strengthened in the Orient. The words of a member of the *Alliance Française* are highly illustrative: “The French language gives French habits, French habits lead to the buying of French products. *He who knows French, becomes a client of France.*”⁶⁴⁹ The economic background of schooling activities in the Levant is exceedingly crucial in the international game of colonial powers between European governments.⁶⁵⁰

The second criterion is the political protection and connection of schools to foreign governments. As we have seen, governments provided financial support to the schools which, they thought, would be instrumental in their foreign policy. In conformity with this line of reasoning, they provided political support to such schools as well. Thanks to this support both Catholic and Protestant missionary schools enjoyed privileges. When statesmen realized how instrumental missionary schools in the Levant would be, they decided to grant institutional protection. I have already referred to the lists of institutions that foreign governments presented to the Sublime Porte, so that it recognized those institutions as national and granted privileges.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁸ See our footnote 370.

⁶⁴⁹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 145. In fact this was one of the reasons why France kept supporting congregations abroad: the rampant colonial competition among European powers in the nineteenth century. In that race, missionary schools provided invaluable tools to compete with Protestant schools, supported by Americans and British. Dumont, p. 13.

⁶⁵⁰ “*Dans l’opinion française comme dans l’opinion allemande, la question religieuse –le protectorat français et l’expansion missionnaire- et la question économique dont notamment celle de la construction du Bagdad Bahn étaient étroitement liées.*” Babot, p. 30.

⁶⁵¹ Mutlu, pp. 155-166; 170-192; 240-248; 312-319; 324-333.

In order to illustrate that the institution was a national one, the flag of the relevant country was hoisted. Whenever such a flag was hoisted, Ottoman authorities could not take any steps vis-à-vis the institution at hand. Missionaries, for instance, began constructing school premises in Kayseri without following the required legal procedures, in other words without notifying Ottoman authorities. In order to prevent their intervention to the building site, British missionaries hoisted a British flag to the construction site and kept building their school.⁶⁵² A French missionary at Eskişehir in the late 1890s, who did not attain the necessary imperial *fermân* granting permission to open his school, experienced some troubles with the local Ottoman authorities. Because “*l’autorité ottomane est totalement ignora*,” the missionary explicitly stated, “*je n’obéis qu’à mon ambassade*” –“I do obey only my embassy.”⁶⁵³

Like others, American and British governments presented, as well, lists of their national institutions to Ottoman government. Unsurprisingly, the lists were primarily composed of missionary schools, as well as a few monasteries, dispensaries and hospitals. Missionary schools, in other words, were national institutions which were under the protection of foreign governments.⁶⁵⁴

In opposition to such examples, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools were never under diplomatic protection of any European states. Some members of the Central Committee even openly stated that their schools were not French institutions and the association itself

⁶⁵² Mutlu, p. 260.

⁶⁵³ Babot, p. 59. Emphasis is mine.

⁶⁵⁴ French authorities prepared an additional second list in 1913, which includes a couple of secular school as well.

was an international organization which had members other than French nationals.⁶⁵⁵ At some moments, occasionally, local consuls contacted with local authorities here and there.⁶⁵⁶

Even French consuls affirmed several times that “*they are Ottoman schools.*”⁶⁵⁷ As late as 1908, the Central Committee confirmed “again its stand that *its schools were Ottoman institutions*, and that they had only a moral link with France.”⁶⁵⁸ The following instance is quite illustrative, I assume. Relationship between the Central Committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and French government became friendly only after 1908, a period when French authorities gradually began to see the organization and its schooling network as instrumental as missionary schools.

Without any doubt, the schools of foreign organizations were not under the jurisprudence of any Ottoman ethnarchs – the above-mentioned example of a Catholic *père* at Eskişehir who stated that ‘he only obeys his embassy’ is very illustrative. Catholic and Protestant missionary schools had good relations with the local co-religionists: communities whose members were recently converted into Catholicism or Protestantism, thanks to the missions’ efforts. On the other hand, such schools were established in total contradiction with local indigenous autochthones Christians. This fact leads us to the next criterion: why did foreign organizations establish schools in Ottoman territories, and who were their audiences?

Missionary schools were established in order to propagate ‘the true version of Christianity’ among others, or rather “to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and

⁶⁵⁵ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, pp. 150, 151. One should also recall that *Alliance* as an organization was not recognized by French state in the nineteenth century. Only *Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale* enjoyed official recognition.

⁶⁵⁶ Austrian consul at Filibe told Mr. Hirsch he would be happy to contribute to the works of *Alliance* in Ottoman Empire. *Bulletin Mensuel de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle*, September 1873, p. 9.

⁶⁵⁷ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 154. Emphasis is mine.

⁶⁵⁸ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 154. Emphasis is mine.

other unenlightened nations” as the charter of London Missionary Society openly clarified.⁶⁵⁹ Their primary *raison d'être* is conversion of local people. The pioneering missions settled in Ottoman territories in the beginning of the nineteenth century primarily in order to convert Muslims and Jews. After a certain period, nevertheless, it became obvious that the missions were obliged to modify their target population because their activities among Muslims and Jews turned out to be meaningless: they could not able to convert a decent number of them.⁶⁶⁰ As a result, they turned their focus to local Christians to whom they would present the ‘real Christian faith.’

Schooling seemed to be the best means of spreading new religious beliefs and that is why numerous missionary schools were opened up in Ottoman territories. The emergence of Catholic and Protestant *millets* in the first half of the nineteenth century reflected, in a sense, how missionaries were successful in converting Ottoman Christians. On the other hand, however, one should not forget that in both cases intervention of French and British governments determined the imperial decision to institute new *millets*.

In the case of *Alliance* schools, the situation was totally the opposite. The emphasis of the organization has always been on development, modernization, and emancipation of oriental Jewish brethren –one can realize it by simply looking at its first statute which I have already provided. In 1860, when the organization was founded by a number of French Jews, opening up new schools was not an idea on the table. Then, however, it became apparent that schooling would be the best instrument to bring development to oriental Jews and emancipate them. In the late 1860s, consequently, schooling became part of the organic statute.

Unlike missionary schools, proselytism had never been on the agenda of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. The fact that proselytism is impossible in Judaism might be a factor. Furthermore, what was essential for the founders was not to increase the number of Jews, but,

⁶⁵⁹ Johnston, p. 16. They call autochthonous Christians “nominal Christians” in opposition to “true Christians.”

⁶⁶⁰ Deringil, p. 100.

on the contrary to help their oriental brothers develop and raise their socio-economic status within the societies they had been living. In the words of Aron Rodrigue:

[*Alliance Israélite Universelle*] wanted to “regenerate” Eastern Jewry in order to remake it in the image of the “enlightened” sections of French Jewry, into honorable [Ottoman] citizens, proud of their religion, but also fully conversant with “civilization” –that is, western, especially French civilization.⁶⁶¹

Because their primary motive was proselytism, missionary schools were established at localities where Catholics or Protestants did not constitute a reasonable percentage of local population. The *Alliance* schools were, nevertheless, always established at localities where there existed a local Jewish community. Besides, the local community, needed to apply for an *Alliance* school to be opened nearby.

Unlike missionary organizations to which it has been frequently compared, on no occasion did the *Alliance* teacher arrive unsolicited in a locality and simply create a school, waiting for students to come. The Central Committee saw the collaboration of local elements as vital for the functioning of its establishments.⁶⁶²

The missionaries who came to convert local Christians were not welcomed at all by local Ottoman Christians, above all local primates. The latter was afraid of losing their communal potency with the arrival of new comers. In reality, they had been through what they had been afraid of: they lost a certain number of their co-religionists to newly emerged *millets*.

“Locally,” affirms Bruce Alan Masters, “the missionaries served to intensify questions of religious identity as the leaderships of the established religious communities -Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, and for the first time Muslim- were put on guard lest their flock defect.”⁶⁶³ Consequently, we see harsh reactions of local Christian religious leaders to missionaries’ schooling activities.

⁶⁶¹ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 61.

⁶⁶² Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 48.

⁶⁶³ Bruce Alan Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: the Roots of Sectarianism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 146.

In case of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, the situation was slightly different. In the beginning of its existence on Ottoman lands, Jews, or at least some of them, were against such Frankish initiatives which would, they thought, destroy their traditional state of being. Such conservative reactions were also witnessed in the first days of *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânî*: chief rabbi opposed to the idea that Jewish children would be attending at a school which would teach French, and which would not provide *kosher* food.⁶⁶⁴ After decades, on the other hand, it was the chief rabbi himself who humbly asked specific Jewish boys to be accepted to the school.⁶⁶⁵ Throughout time, nevertheless, Jews understood the importance of European type of education and began to embrace *Alliance* schools as they did community schools. The fact that the former could provide higher quality of education attracted more and more Jewish children to *Alliance* schools. In other words, unlike the case of missionary schools, which were not embraced by large portion of indigenous Christians, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools were highly appreciated. The fact that Yakir Geron, the acting Chief Rabbi, became a member of Istanbul *Alliance* committee in 1864, is astonishingly meaningful.⁶⁶⁶

In this section, I want to focus on how Ottoman administration regarded the *Alliance* schools in administrative terms. Ottoman Empire classified community and foreign schools under the same label, and instituted an inspectorate under the name of “inspectorate of non-Muslim and foreign schools” (*Mekâtib-i Gayr-i Müslime ve Ecnebiyye Müfettişliği*) in

⁶⁶⁴ Approved or allowed by Jewish laws concerning food

⁶⁶⁵ BOA, MF. MKT. 331/8, 23 Rebiyyülevvel 1314 [1 September 1896].

⁶⁶⁶ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 49. Conservative wing of the community did not prohibit the school to be operating. It was a known fact, still, that the acting chief rabbi of the late nineteenth century, Moşe Halevi, was not a friend of the organization. It was still him, nevertheless, who asked Felix Bloch to be decorated, in 28 August 1890, from Sultan Abdülhamid II. Ultimately, Bloch was granted a *Mecidiye* of the fourth grade. Bloch was an Alsatian who established the first *Alliance* school on Ottoman lands: in Edirne in 1867. Halevi, in the petition, praised Bloch’s schooling activities and described how he was an essential persona for the development of Jewish children. BOA, İ. DH. 1191/93228, 22 Muharrem 1308 [28 August 1890].

1887.⁶⁶⁷ However, because of their inherent differences, every group had to follow its own procedure in their interactions with bureaucracy. In order to acquire an official permission to open a school, or repair it, every school had to follow a certain procedure.

If it was a community school, the correspondence was to be made through communal representatives: bishoprics, rabbinate, patriarchate or the chief rabbinate. If it was a foreign school, then the relevant embassy had to intervene.⁶⁶⁸ In other words, in none of the cases school directors or managers got into direct contact with state authorities. In the case of the *Alliance* schools, on the other hand, school directors corresponded directly with the authorities without any interference. Sometimes, local chief rabbis might have interfered on the behalf of the local *Alliance* schools. But this was not a rule. The situation is totally understandable because those schools were not under jurisprudence of Ottoman *millet başıs*, nor foreign governments. They could and, therefore did, contact with the local authorities without any intermediaries.

Although most of *Alliance* schools did not have official certificates, as Haïm Nahum stated during his tenure in Chief Rabbinate in a correspondence with the *Alliance* Central Committee,⁶⁶⁹ when Ottoman authorities wrote reports about how dangerous and malicious foreign schools which operated without official certificates, they did not mean the *Alliance* schools. There are a number of reports and memorandums (*lâyiha*) written by bureaucrats of different ranks mentioning foreign schools, and their actual and potential impact on Ottoman

⁶⁶⁷ Kodaman, p. 53

⁶⁶⁸ “Cemaat okulları bağlı oldukları din kurumları aracılığıyla buldukları vilayete müracaat ediyorlar. Yabancı okullar ise kendi elçilikleri kanalıyla Hariciye Nezareti’ne baş vuruyorlar. Bu müracaatlar taşrada vilayete İstanbul’da doğrudan Maarif Nezareti’ne olmaktadır. Cemaat okullarının dilekçesi vilayet yoluyla Adliye ve Mezahib Nezareti’ne oradan da Sadarete gönderiliyor. Yabancı okulların dilekçesi ise doğrudan Hariciye Nezareti’nden Sadaret’e gönderiliyor. Her iki grubun dilekçesi Sadaret’te gerekli inceleme yapıldıktan ve ilgili bakanlıklardan görüş alındıktan sonra dosya tamamlanıp Divana sunuluyor ve Padişahın iradesi isteniyor. Çıkan riade yine aynı yol [geri] izlenerek istek sahibine kadar ulaştırılıyor.” Haydaroğlu, p. 46.

⁶⁶⁹ Benbassa, *Haim Nahum*, p. 120.

subjects. Not even one of them includes a reference to *Alliance* schools.⁶⁷⁰ Furthermore, local Ottoman officials, sometimes even governors or *paşas* attended the ceremonies made in the *Alliance* schools. Although in some occasions, officials were present at the ceremonies of the missionary schools, this was an exception. However, it was a rule for *millet* schools. The *bulletins* are full of articles which refer to Ottoman *kaymâkam* or governor who was present and gave a speech appreciating efforts of the *Alliance* in the overall development of Ottoman subjects.⁶⁷¹

In this section, I want to focus on the teaching of Ottoman Turkish classes at the *Alliance* schools because I believe it is one of the best distinctive points which differentiate them from foreign organizations' school networks.

Unlike Ottoman Greeks and Armenians, Turkish was never spoken among Ottoman Jews as mother tongue. This, unsurprisingly, constitutes a barrier between administrative positions and Jewish community. Although it did not cause any trouble prior to the nineteenth century, it became a problem following the reforms projects and the Abolition of Janissaries (1826). Important Jewish bankers who loaned money to Janissaries thus were negatively affected by this act of Sultan Mahmud II. Apparently, the lack of Turkish speaking Jews within the imperial entourage shocked community leaders, and they began to look for solutions. In 1840, Chief Rabbi of Istanbul indicated a strong verdict: "Our children will have

⁶⁷⁰ For a couple of documents, see: Atilla Çetin, "Maarif Nazırı Ahmed Zühdü Paşa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki Yabancı Okullar Hakkındaki Raporu," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 10-11 (1981-1982), pp. 189-220; BOA, Y. EE. 86/39, 11 Muharrem 1311 [25 July 1893]; BOA, Y.A.HUS. 238/33, [23 August 1890], cited in Zeki Salih Engin, "II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Yabancı ve Azınlık Mekteblerinin Faaliyetleri," *Bellekten*, LLXXI (261), 2007, p. 624; Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Maarif Müdürü Radovişli Mustafa Bey'in Raporları ve Müslim ve Gayrı Müslim Eğitimi: II.Abdülhamid Devri Selanik Taşrasında Maarif Meselesi (1885-1886)," *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, I (2-Fall 2005), pp. 150-155.

⁶⁷¹ For such an instance, see: *Bulletin Mensuel de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, June 1873, p. 6.

many benefits if they begin to learn Turkish now.”⁶⁷² One had to wait until the 1850s to witness any steps to be taken to resolve the problem.

The attempts of Avram-Bohor de Camondo and his friends in Istanbul to propagate modern, European style instruction in the mid-1850s were, in fact, the pioneering steps which would make the teaching of official imperial language among Jews possible. In a personal letter, Camondo explained his decision of instituting *Escuela* or *Kamando Mektebi*, the first modern Jewish school, and why Turkish courses existed in its curriculum:

It is tremendously significant that, after having acquired basic geography knowledge, our students will turn their focus towards Turkey where they were born and in which they will probably find get a job. For that reason I consider the teaching of Turkish language highly important. To our students who were born in this country, it constitutes one of the basic tenets of instruction.⁶⁷³

This attempt in the capital remained unique for quite a long time. A document I have discovered in the Ottoman Archives, on the other hand, reflects that in Edirne there might be a local demand to learn Ottoman Turkish. Joseph Halévy,⁶⁷⁴ a famous *maskil* from Edirne, sent a petition to sultan, in 1856, asking financial help to their newly established school. “Since we are lack of knowledge of languages and basic sciences,” complained Halevy “we cannot find teachers to be recruited in our school.”⁶⁷⁵ Halévy, who signed the petition as “temporary teacher” (*maître provisoire*) asked financial assistance from Sultan Abdülmecid, whom he mentioned as “our benevolent father” (*notre bienfaisant père.*)⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷² Nahum, p. 115.

⁶⁷³ “Öğrencilerimizin temel coğrafya bilgilerini aldıktan sonra, özellikle doğdukları ülke olan ve büyük bir olasılıkla iş sahibi olacakları Türkiye’yi incelemeye yönelmeleri son derece önemlidir. Bu noktadan dolayı, aynı zamanda Türkçe öğrenimine de büyük önem veriyorum. Bu, bu topraklarda doğmuş öğrencilerimiz için eğitimin en temel dallarından biridir.” Şeni, *Hayırsever/Bankacı*, p. 129.

⁶⁷⁴ For brief information on Halévy, see: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 8, p. 271.

⁶⁷⁵ BOA, HR. TO. 426/15, [24 December 1856].

This attitude and the initiative of Camondo regarding *Escuela* are positive reactions to *Islâhât* Edict as well. Almost two decades after the *Tanzîmât* Edict it became apparent that a new administrative system was about to appear. In order to be able to acquire power in that new paradigm, non-Muslims should have learned Turkish. Both Camondo and Halévy saw the excessive necessity of the teaching Ottoman Turkish to new Jewish generations. They had been trying hard to achieve such a goal. Both the problem and its solution, in other words, came only in the mid-1850s.⁶⁷⁷

The *Alliance Israélite Orientale* established its first schools in Edirne and Bağdad in the late 1860s. In the immediate aftermath, Ottoman Turkish became part of the curricula in both schools. Later, when its school network improved the language always kept its significant place. For example, Dr. Fano, both an administrator of the *Alliance* and a local Ottoman bureaucrat (*Bağdad umûr-ı ecnebiyye müdürü*), wrote down a report about why knowledge of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic would be important for local Jews in a bulletin of 1872:

It would be desirable that the central committee could authorize an additional expenditure to improve the teaching of these two languages. A young man who would know them well would ensure a successful career in one of the various administrations of Ottoman Empire. I know people who have succeeded beyond their expectations. Formerly the administrative seats were available only to Muslims. Jews today are also eligible and it is up to them to decide. They only need to learn oriental languages. Ottoman government, so enlightened and benevolent, makes no distinction of race or religion in selecting its employees.⁶⁷⁸

Other schools followed the footsteps of Bağdad in the 1870s: Filibe, Şumnu, Selânik, and Istanbul among others.⁶⁷⁹ The case of Şumnu School is also inspiring.

⁶⁷⁶ BOA, HR. TO. 426/15, [24 December 1856].

⁶⁷⁷ See appendices for the text of circular.

⁶⁷⁸ *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israelite Universelle*, 5 January 1872, p. 67.

⁶⁷⁹ *Bulletin Semestriel de l'Alliance Israelite Unvierselle*, 1 May 1872, Bağdad school; BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 461/30, 16 Cemaziyelahir 1290 [11 August 1873], Şumnu; BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 470/63, 29 Şevval 1290 [20

Chief rabbinate of Istanbul sent a petition on behalf of Jewish community of Şumnu (Shumen, in today's Bulgaria).⁶⁸⁰ The parents wanted their children to learn Ottoman Turkish, and requested the appointment of such a teacher through the chief rabbinate. As soon as such a person would be found, came the reply, he would be paid 150 *kuruş* monthly from state budget.⁶⁸¹ Thanks to the answer, we are also informed that the practice of allocating monthly salary to teachers in *millet* schools was an ongoing, yet exceptional, practice.⁶⁸²

Despite such efforts, the situation did not improve even as late as 1876. In that year, the Central Committee was very much surprised to learn that not even one Ottoman Jew who knew to read and write in Ottoman Turkish would be able to be a parliamentarian in the recently opened *Meclis-i Me'busân*.⁶⁸³ These negative circumstances, however, did not prevent the *Alliance* from giving importance to the teaching of Ottoman Turkish. Integration of a 'useful language' into the common curriculum prepared by the Central Committee took place in 1883.⁶⁸⁴

As we have seen, however, even before that date, the teaching of Turkish had been important at the *Alliance* schools. The Central Committee had always been promoting the teaching of official language in order Jews to be integrated into the society they got used to live. Especially after the 1890s, the importance given to the official imperial language became more and more paramount, not only for the *Alliance* but for the entire community. It was in

December 1873], Filibe; BOA, MF. MKT. 11/38, 13 Rebiyyülevvel 1290 [11 May 1873], Selanik; BOA, MF. MKT. 30/48, 11 Cemaziyelahir 1292 [15 July 1875], Ortaköy-İstanbul. Salaries of teachers were financed by state budget.

⁶⁸⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 9/97, 10 Muharrem 1290 [10 March 1873]

⁶⁸¹ "Ma'ârif nizâmnamesine göre mekâtib-i hususiyenin mesârifâtü âhâliye âit ise de müstesnâ olarak gayr-ı müslimlere âit bazı mekteplerde lisân-ı Türki öğreten muallimlere ma'ârif tahsîsâtından ma'âş verildiğinden nâşi Şumnu'daki Yahudi mektebine de bir muallimin bulunub isminin tebliği"
BOA, MF. MKT. 9/97, 10 Muharrem 1290 [10 March 1873].

⁶⁸² "Müstesna olduğundan"

⁶⁸³ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 86.

⁶⁸⁴ Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 71.

1887 that a local *Talmud Torah* was transformed into *Şûle-i Ma'ârif* by chief rabbinate, a community school whose medium was Ottoman Turkish.⁶⁸⁵ Here is an exemplary excerpt from a letter by Gabriel Arié, the principal of Izmir *Alliance* School in the late 1890s:

The example of a few coreligionists from Constantinople who attained the highest position owing to their knowledge of the Turkish language is designed to encourage us in our experiment in that direction. If you will allow me to rise to a larger consideration of the question, I may even add that, for the Jews of Turkey, this is the most favorable moment to seize hold of some influence over the affairs of this country. Did not the Greeks govern Turkey for three centuries? Since 1821, they have been set aside, and the Armenians are in turn losing the confidence of the Turks through their conspiracies, their revolutionary newspapers, etc. Why could not the Jews find themselves in a position to receive the inheritance of the Armenians? If they knew the language of the country well, why could not they succeed just as well as the Armenians, since they are a hundred times more intelligent?⁶⁸⁶

In 1894, an imperial decree was promulgated which made Ottoman language classes in 'Christian schools' compulsory. According to the same document, officers from the ministry of education should have been present at final examinations to control the level of pupils in Turkish language. The schools which did not provide such classes, furthermore, were to be closed down.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁵ Weill, p. 124; Rodrigue, *French Jews*, p. 88. Several reports published in monthly and semestrial bulletins reflect the same idea.

Famous jurist and poet İshak Ferera, and the member of *Ayan Meclisi* (1908) Behor Eskinazi were graduates of *Şûle-i Ma'ârif. Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, edited by Ekrem Çakıroğlu (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 1999), "Eskinazi, Behor", "Ferera, İshak," vol. 1.

⁶⁸⁶ Benbassa & Rodrigue, *A Sephardi*, p. 138. The letter dated from 24 July 1894.

⁶⁸⁷ BOA, İ. HUS. 27/1312 M-101, 21 Muharrem 1312 [26 July 1894]. See appendices. The decree is quite important, I think. However, it was not referred to anywhere in the literature. Many Turkish scholars are not even aware of such a decision. Bayram Kodaman, for example, the author of a book on the developments in the field of instruction during Hamidian period, does not even mention the decision. The book of Hidayet Vahapoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Azınlık ve Yabancı Okullar*, refers to the regulation of 1896 as the date of integration of Ottoman Turkish into the curricula of non-Muslim schools. Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999); Hidayet Vahapoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Azınlık ve Yabancı Okullar* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1997).

Although there was such a binding imperial decree, in reality we cannot mention of obligatory linguistic classes in community schools. We have many instances of schools, belonging to communities other than Jewish, which had not been providing language classes and which were not closed down. The schools which accidentally wanted to have a teacher asked the necessary appointment to be made by the ministry: because the salary was paid by the ministry, it was the ministry office's responsibility. In most of the cases, civil servants working in the ministry were appointed to the post due to the lack of qualified teachers - as was the case for public schools.

Thanks to the materials in the Ottoman Archives, we even know the names of these teachers. Mustafa Efendi was appointed to Şumnu *Alliance* School in 1873.⁶⁸⁸ A year later, he resigned, and Hüsnü Efendi filled the post.⁶⁸⁹ After a couple of years, Muhsin Efendi became the new teacher.⁶⁹⁰ In another Bulgarian town Filibe, there was an *Alliance* school as well. İbrahim Efendi was appointed there in December 1873.⁶⁹¹ Sadık Efendi, the treasurer of local directorate of instruction, was appointed to the Selânik *Alliance* School in 1892.⁶⁹²

During the 1890s, local demand for Ottoman teachers increased as the need of Ottoman Turkish speakers became immediate. After 1896, on the other hand, because government allocations became limited only to European and Eastern Anatolian provinces,

Those who are aware of the decision, argued that it was put into practice in 1896, thanks to another official regulation designed for provincial directorate of instruction. Aron Rodrigue is the only scholar who correctly refers to the decree in his study, through other sources. Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling, 1860-1925* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990).

⁶⁸⁸ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 461/30, 16 Cemaziyelahir 1290 [11 August 1873].

⁶⁸⁹ BOA, MF. MKT. 17/11, 1 Muharrem 1291 [18 February 1874].

⁶⁹⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 49/10, 11 Cemaziyelevvel 1294 [24 May 1877].

⁶⁹¹ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 470/63, 29 Şevval 1290 [20 December 1873].

⁶⁹² BOA, MF. MKT. 163/57, 21 Safer 1310 [14 September 1892].

non-Muslim communities residing in other regions lost access to government funds to employ teachers of Ottoman language.⁶⁹³

In other words, there was no obligation in effect, but rather appointments on demand. The following instance will illustrate my point. The governor of Yanya sent a report to Istanbul in 1904, and described community schools in his province.⁶⁹⁴ On the report dated 18 July 1904, he stated that “among the community schools of *rüşdî* level, there are only ten which provide Ottoman lessons with their own compliance” (*bi'l-rızâ-yı tedrîs*). There were almost 70 Greek community schools in province *in toto*; however, only a few of them were offering Ottoman classes.⁶⁹⁵ Jewish school, unsurprisingly, was among the few which had Ottoman classes. According to the decree of 1894, the schools which did not teach Ottoman language were to be closed down. However, such measures could not have been taken by Ottoman government because community schools were under the jurisprudence of patriarchates and did not have to obey Ottoman governmental rules.

Although the exact text of the decree does not refer to schools other than Christian schools, the *Alliance* and Jewish communal schools became subjects of the arrangement. The increasing importance of Turkish classes in the *Alliance* schools in the 1890s, which I have already referred in previous pages, overlapped with such a decree. However, what I would like to highlight is the fact that even before the promulgation of the decree, Ottoman Turkish had been part of the *Alliance* schools' curriculum. Whereas schools established by foreign

⁶⁹³ “*Tahsisâtı ma'ârif bûdçesinden tesviye olunmak üzere mekâtib-i gayr-i müslimeye lisân-i Osmânî mu'allimlerinin ta'yini hakkında şeref-sâdır olan irâde-i seniyyenin Anadolu'da kâin vilâyât-ı sitte-i ma'lûme ile Rumeli katasında kâin vilâyetlere şâmil olub vilâyât-ı sâire şimdilik istisnâ edilmiş olduğundan*” BOA, MF. MKT. 332/34, 30 Rebiyyülevvel 1314 [16 August 1896].

⁶⁹⁴ BOA, MF. MKT. 721/49, 5 Cemaziyelevvel 1322 [18 July 1904].

⁶⁹⁵ BOA, MF. MKT. 721/49 [18 July 1904].

organizations did not follow *soi disant* obligation of Ottoman Turkish classes in their curricula, *Alliance* schools took necessary measures to offer Turkish courses.

On the other hand, it does not mean that missionary schools did not offer Turkish classes to their students. On the contrary, we know many of them taught Turkish language. Some of them, moreover, had been teaching subjects such as mathematics, arithmetic and religion in Turkish. This is not surprising when one knows existence of Turkish speaking Armenians and Greeks all around Ottoman territories. Missionary institutions, in order to be able to reach their audiences, had to teach in Turkish, at a certain degree. For that same reason, print houses of the *American Board for Commissioner of Foreign Missions* published millions of pages in Turkish throughout the nineteenth century. In 1864, a book in Karamanlidika was published to teach Turkish speaking Rum children ‘true Christianity.’ “*Alfavitarion: Mikrasia’daki anadan Yunani lisana malik olmayan çocukların iktizası için,*” is what can be read in the cover of the book. The book is designed to teach children how to read Greek. In later chapters, there were many moral stories, presented with illustrations.⁶⁹⁶

In other words, for missionary schools the motive to offer Turkish classes, and other classes in Turkish, was instrumental to reach their target audiences. Because they could not accomplish their activities in English or French, they had to use Turkish as an instrument. That is why we encounter Turkish classes in their curricula. In the case of Jews, on the other hand, Turkish could not be functional in that sense, because it was not spoken within the community. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools had been offering Ottoman Turkish courses, because the organization wanted Jews to be part of the society. There was also a certain popular willingness to learn Turkish. The organization, in other words, did not impose the teaching of imperial language. Both Jewish parents and the *Alliance* Central Committee

⁶⁹⁶ ΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΑΡΙΟΝ: Μικρασιατακι αναταν Γιουνανι λισανα μαλικ ολμαγιαν τζοτζοθκλαρην ικτιζαση ιτζουν; Προς χρησην των Μικρασιατων παιδων, στερουμενων την μητρελληνικην γλωσσαν [*Alfavitarion: Mikrasia’daki anadan Yunani lisana malik olmayan çocukların iktizası için*] (İstanbul: A. Minasiani Tabhanesi, 1864).

thought Ottoman Turkish would be beneficial. The following, I believe, is an illustrative example.

In September 1884, Salamon Fernandez, the president of *Alliance* committee in Ottoman Empire, wrote down a petition to Ministry of Education asking three teachers to teach Ottoman language. He based his request on the previous examples of Armenian and Greek *millet* schools which were provided governmental allocations for such teachers.⁶⁹⁷ He asked allocation to be granted for three *Alliance* schools at Galata, Hasköy and Balat.⁶⁹⁸ Ultimately, the ministry decided that because other community schools were offered allocations, Jewish schools were also entitled. The imperial decree asserted that a certain Hacı Ali Efendi, primary teacher (*mu'allim-i evvel*) at Gönen *Rüşdiyesi*, would be appointed to three schools to give Turkish lessons twice a week. His salary would be 600 *kuruş*.⁶⁹⁹

By arguing so, I do not want to suggest that Turkish became a highly known tongue among Jews. Unlike French, which was a Latin language like Judeo-Spanish, Ottoman Turkish was a mixture of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian. Even Turkish speaking Muslims had difficulties in reading and writing. Learning and excelling at Ottoman Turkish was more complicated for Jewish boys compared to other communities. They did not know anything regarding the language: neither Arabic alphabet nor vocabulary, or literary style. As a result,

⁶⁹⁷ “*Mekatib-i İsrailiye müdürü Salamon Ferlandez imzasıyla varid olan müzekkerede Dersaadet'te kain olub taht-ı idarelerinde bulunan iki bab mekteblerinde Türkçe ve Fransızca ve İbranice ile mebadi-i ulum tedris ettirilmekte olduğundan ve [.....] hasebiyle şimdiye kadar duçar 'ukde-i te'hir olan lisan-i Osmanî'nin suret-i tedrisiyesinin bir kat daha tevsi'i arzu kılındığından bahsle bazı Rum ve Ermeni mekteblerinde olduğu misüllü*”

BOA, İ.DH. 937/74226 [18 September 1884].

⁶⁹⁸ “*mekatib-i mezkureden Galata ve Balat ve Hasköy Musevi mekteblerine dahi lisan-i Osmanî ta'lim ve tedrisi için cenab-ı ma'arifden mu'allim ta'yin olunması istida ve istirham olunmuş olunduktan*”

BOA, İ.DH.937/74226, 27 Zilkade 1301, [18 September 1884], from the ministry to grand vizierate.

⁶⁹⁹ “*saye-i ihsanvaye-i hazret-i padişahîde işbu üç mektebe şehri 200 gurus maaşla ve beherinde haftada iki gün ve birer saat ders vermek şartıyla Gönen rüşdiyesi mu'allim-i evveli Hacı Ali Efendi ta'yin ve şehri 600 gurus maaş tahsisi kılınması ve meblağ-ı mezkurun sal-i hal bütcesinden sarfına mezuniyet itası hususunda*”

BOA, İ.DH.937/74226, 4 Rebiyyülevvel 1302 [22 December 1884], from grand vizierate to sultan.

Ottoman Turkish did not become a popularly spoken language in the short interval. Turkish speaking Greek and Armenian children, on the other hand, could learn it easier than Jewish boys because they were, actually, speaking it. In other words, they were familiar at least with Turkish vocabulary, syntax, and grammar.

Girls were not taught Turkish for a long time. It was because, administrators perhaps thought, they would not need it. In their view, Jewish boys would need it because they would work in Ottoman bureaucracy, or keep studying in public schools. They would be part of the world outside. The girls, administrators thought on the other hand, would stay at home and become housewives. Although they were given the opportunity to study, thanks to the coming of the *Alliance*, they had secondary importance vis-à-vis Jewish boys.⁷⁰⁰ The organization's perception of women overlapped, unsurprisingly, the one that was embraced by the nineteenth century European bourgeoisie. In that depiction, the primary duty of women was to raise children according to social moral rules, so that they would be good citizens who had high moral values.

On the basis of what I have stated regarding the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools and other foreign organizations' schooling institutions, I think the former had a specific position within the larger group of foreign schools. In terms of their internal administration, the *Alliance* seemed a foreign institution and, thus, its schools may be called foreign schools, like missionary schools. Categorizing all of them as 'foreign schools,' however, does not seem fair. Due to the reasons I have indicated throughout this chapter, the *Alliance* schools

⁷⁰⁰ Girls had to wait until 1909 to learn Ottoman Turkish.

“*Les fondateurs de l'Alliance misèrent très tôt sur le rôle de la femme juive dans une œuvre de 'relèvement moral, intellectuel et économique' des masses juives d'Orient et d'Afrique du Nord. L'école de filles contribuerait à la socialisation de la femme juive orientale, par l'apport du modèle occidental de la femme bourgeoise, adapté aux conjonctures locales. Ce modèle ferait son chemin dans les couches moyennes et populaires pour se répercuter ensuite sur la population juive dans son ensemble par le biais de l'éducation que dispenserait elle-même la nouvelle mère juive orientale.*”

Esther Benbassa, “L'Education Féminine en Orient: L'Ecole de Filles de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle à Galata, Istanbul (1879-1912),” *Histoire, économie et société*, 1991, 10e année, N°4, p. 537.

should be located somewhere between foreign organizations' and community schools.

Although the Chief Rabbinate did not have authority over them, due to the fact that they were not community institutions, regarding their aims and target population they might be deemed similar to *millet* schools.

The primary aim of the organization and its schooling activities, I suggest, is to integrate Jewish elements deeper into the society. The attention paid to classes of Ottoman Turkish is a good reflection of this mentality. Unlike other foreign non-governmental organizations, Catholic orders or Protestant societies, neither the *Alliance* nor its schools were under protection of any European state. It was a fact that the Central Committee members emphasized as well, throughout the nineteenth century.

Maybe the best way to classify those schools is to repeat what the Galata *Alliance* School did. On the stamp of Galata School for Boys, there are three languages: French, Ottoman Turkish and Hebrew. “*Alliance Israélite Universelle, Ecole Communale de Galata*” is the French wording. “*Alyans İsrailit Galata Musevi Cema’ati Mektebi*” is the Ottoman Turkish part. The Hebrew part can be read as “*Hebrew school of the community of the Jewish nation/millet of Galata-Pera.*”⁷⁰¹ They were simultaneously the *Alliance* schools and community schools.

⁷⁰¹ BOA, MF. MGM. 7/29. I am thankful to Julia Philips-Cohen for Hebrew translation. See appendices. The French term “*communal*” indicates “which belongs to a *commun*”, the smallest administrative unit. In the context of *Alliance*, on the other hand, the term designates “belonging to or of community.” Therefore, “*école communale*” should be understood as local community school.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION

Throughout this study, I have been trying to describe the development path of different school networks which were highly active during the nineteenth century within Ottoman territories: the network of Ottoman public schools, of community schools, and of foreign organizations' schools. I have focused on the schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, and tried to see them in a comparative perspective.

My main contribution to the literature, I believe, is the integration of Ottoman materials into the field. Earlier literature relies heavily on the archives of the organization itself. In this study, on the other hand, I have mostly used the materials present in the Ottoman Archives. They have been very helpful for me to describe the nineteenth century developments regarding Ottoman society and different school networks.

Furthermore, another contribution of this study to the literature in Turkish, I believe, is putting forward the distinction of the schools which were established by a foreign government and those which were founded by a foreign non-governmental organization. Such a distinction is quite essential in order to understand and study the schools, which were earlier referred as 'foreign schools.' furthermore, among Turkish scholars there are very few, if any, who have studied non-missionary foreign schools, such as *Alliance Française* schools. This study has referred to them.

Different school networks were previously studied individually. In this study, however, I have tried to put them in a comparative perspective. I highlighted the fact that the group of foreign schools is composed of missionary and governmental secular schools. This distinction has so long been neglected. By comparison, I have tried to understand how one can locate the *Alliance* schools in the large picture of the education of the Ottoman population.

Although, like missionary schools, they were established by a non-governmental foreign organization, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools, I argue, can be located as somewhere between these schools. Whereas missionary schools were designed to propagate the ‘true version of Christianity’ among non-Christians and, thus, had proselytizing agenda, the *Alliance* schools were instituted to raise the socio-economic level of local Jews, through a more or less secular yet Jewish education. This fact, unsurprisingly, determines their target audiences as well. The first group of schools tried to be active among non-Catholic and non-Protestants to convert them. The latter group, however, tried to provide higher quality of education to Jewish children. One can argue that in terms of their *raison d’être*, the *Alliance* schools are not in the same line with missionary schools at all. This is another essential contribution of this study to literature.

In terms of their administrative organization and financing, missionary and the *Alliance* schools can be said to be quite similar. They financed themselves without relying on governmental subsidies. French Catholic schools, in this context, became different after the 1880s when the French government began to offer allocations to Catholic schools in the Levant. Personal donations played a significant role for the *Alliance* schools. Some prominent Jewish figures, such as Sir Montefiore, Avram-Bohor de Camondo or Baron de Rothschild, used to provide sporadic donations to the *Alliance* network.

In terms of the level of centralization of management, moreover, the *Alliance* schools may be classified together with the missionary schools as well. The headquarters abroad, Paris, London or Boston, were the organs where decisions were ultimately put into practice. Teachers and principals were directly appointed by those centers.

Both French Catholic, and American or British Protestant missionary schools, moreover, were under consular protection of foreign governments: French, American or

British governments provided consular support and protection to those schools. Moreover, towards the twentieth century the missionary schools became labeled as ‘national institutions.’ Unlike the missionary institutions, the *Alliance* schools were not under consular protection of any foreign government. Besides, they were not labeled as ‘national institutions.’ It is also quite meaningful that the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* was not even recognized as an official institution in France until the late 1920s. The situation for Catholic orders and Protestant societies were quite the opposite. In terms of financial characteristics, one can argue that the *Alliance* schools had common points with Protestant schools.

It should be recalled that the membership of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* had a multinational characteristic. Missionary schools, on the other hand, did not reflect such a characteristic. The fact that teaching staffs at both groups were appointed by their respective Central Committees created another commonality in terms of their administration. On the other hand, one should remember that most of the *Alliance* teachers were Ottoman subjects, whereas in the case of missionary schools, it was not.

Ottoman government had initially opposed to all foreign schooling activities within its borders, beginning from the second half of the nineteenth century. At every possible occasion, statesmen and lower bureaucrats stated that foreign schools are highly detrimental for the well-being of the Ottoman Empire. Missionary schools were repeatedly referred to as one of the main sources of problems which instigated troubles among Ottoman Christians. Among those reports and correspondences, the *Alliance* schools were never mentioned. On the contrary, there are several accounts of local and higher bureaucrats who praised the *Alliance* and its schooling activities among Ottoman Jewish subjects. In terms of administration, as well, they are dealt within the same group with the missionary schools.

Alliance schools enjoyed a unique position among the entire school networks which were operating in Ottoman lands and above all within the group of schools which opened up by foreign organizations. By concentrating upon the Ottoman Turkish language classes offered by the *Alliance* schools beginning from the 1870s, I suggest that the motive behind such classes is to integrate Ottoman Jews much better into the overall imperial and social system of Ottoman Empire. By learning the imperial official language, they could be better off in comparison with other non-Muslim elements of the Ottoman society. What founders and managers of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* had in mind was to make the position of Ottoman Jewish community as superior as their French co-religionists' position in France. Teaching Ottoman language was an essential part of that policy.

The way the *Alliance* had been trying to introduce progress to Ottoman Jewry, i.e. schooling, was instrumental and valuable for Ottoman statesmen, especially in the late nineteenth century, which was a period of overall modernization in the whole empire. Jewish children who were offered better education opportunities would become more functional Ottoman subjects in the future. One can decipher this fact in praising messages of Ottoman governors about activities of the organization.

Whereas *Alliance* schools had many differences in comparison with foreign organizations' schools, they had many common points with community schools, in fact. The ideal motive behind community schools was to secure the integrity of community. Mass education at community level, gradually, became to be seen as the best instrument to produce people of the same mentality: hence, to sustain communal integrity. The homogenizing effect of schooling, consequently, was understood and appreciated by community leaders. The second half of the nineteenth century, for that reason among others, witnessed the development of community schooling. Education, in other words, became an instrument to produce and re-produce the ideal identity of community member.

The argument is relevant, I believe, for Ottoman public schools (which were established to produce ideal Ottoman until the mid-1870s, and ideal Muslim Ottoman subject under Hamidian rule) as well as for community schools (which were established to produce ideal Ottoman Greeks, Armenian, or Jewish etc. Ottoman subjects). In that sense, *Alliance* schools served best to the production of the *ideal Ottoman Jewish subject* –as might be expected from Jewish community schools.

When I began to do my research at Ottoman Archives in 2008, the documents of the Ministry of Education were not totally classified. When the documents remaining from the Second Constitutional Period will soon be ready for researchers to consult, studies concentrating on that period can be dealt with as well. Such a situation will, definitely, contribute to our actual understanding of the Ottoman education in the early twentieth century Ottoman society. The merge of materials in different languages, actually, will be quite essential in describing a larger picture of that period.

Concerning missionary schools, unlike the popular belief that there are lots of studies, in fact there are not as many studies as one expects. The reason is simple: most of them are mere repetitions. Because they rely on a single source of materials, they repeat previous errors and have the same shortcomings as previous researches suffered from. Especially in the case of British missionary schools, one should study both National Archives in England and Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. Italian and Iranian schools, furthermore, are quite untouched fields. Lack of linguistic knowledge, once again, appears the main reason behind this lack. There are many archives whose materials are in Italian regarding religious orders, in Italy above all; however they are not even known by Turkish researchers. The same flow can be seen for Iranian schools. Although they can be easily neglected due to their limited numbers, one should still use materials in Persian and Ottoman Turkish to see different perspectives

regardins them. Studies with multiple foci, in the future, will lead to new questions and answers.

Another interesting study would be a monographical one about Jerusalem and different local schooling activities. Apart from Ottoman public schools, there were several foreign schools established either by foreign organizations or by governmental agencies: Russian, American, British, French, and even Spanish schools. One has to put, into the picture, the community schools. Because some Greek community schools were under direct jurisprudence of Jerusalem Patriarchate, and not the Istanbul Patriarchate, such a picture would be very complicated, and worth to be analyzed.

APPENDIX A: The portrait of Avram Bohor de Camondo



Nora Şeni, *Seni Unutursam İstanbul*, translated by Saadet Özen & Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), p. 100.

APPENDIX B : A voluminous summary of the circular of the Chief Rabbinate, from 1856,
regarding communal schooling

Art. 1^{er}. - Vu le Hattı Humaïoun du 18 février 1856, il est un devoir pour le Hacham-Baschi de faire des efforts pour le bien des juifs de cette ville et de toute la Turquie, en envoyant des lettres à ses collègues pour leur ordonner de se conformer aux présentes dispositions, de lui faire des rapports et lui demander ses conseils.

Art. 2. - L'administration des communautés sera confiée à un comité composé des hommes les plus honorables et les plus instruits, et d'israélites francs habitant le pays depuis longtemps. Ce comité réglera les noya-assemblées pour qu'elles se fassent avec ordre et tranquillité; il veillera à l'exécution de nos règlements sur les impôts, etc.

Art. 3 - Il sera nommé aussi un comité d'instruction publique.

Art. 4. - Ce comité fera le budget, le Hacham-Baschi l'approuvera, et le caissier communal en opérera la rentrée.

Art. 5. - Il est recommandé aux membres de ce comité de tenir entre eux l'union la plus forte, et d'avoir la patience nécessaire à une œuvre de ce genre.

Art. 6. - Il sera pris des mesures pour que la langue sacrée soit enseignée et apprise par principes.

Art. 7. - Comme l'idiome parlé par les israélites du Levant n'est pas une langue proprement dite, et ne-peut être utile à la jeunesse, nous ordonnons la création d'écoles gratuites pour les pauvres, où on leur enseignera les langues turque, grecque, française, italienne, selon les localités; et partout la langue turque est obligatoire, vu que c'est la langue du pays et profite le plus à la nation. Dans ces écoles, on enseignera encore l'arithmétique, la géographie et toutes les connaissances nécessaires pour former l'homme de bien.

Art. 8. - Les rabbins et les comités veilleront à la marche des écoles et aux progrès des enfants.

Art. 9. - Les rabbins, dans leurs sermons, prêcheront, au nom de la loi, la nécessité de fréquenter ces écoles, et ils puniront ceux des enfants qui s'y refuseront.

Art. 10. - Les rabbins veilleront à ce que tous les enfants, même les plus riches, apprennent quelque chose, soit chez eux par des maîtres particuliers, soit en fréquentant les écoles publiques.

Art. 11. - Le comité d'instruction publique fera avec le Hacham-Baschi le budget approximatif des écoles, le présentera au comité administratif, qui approuvera après examen, et avisera aux moyens de couvrir les dépenses.

Art. 12. - Les deux comités tiendront exactement leurs livres de recettes et de dépenses.

Art. 13. - Le Hacham-Baschi et le comité administratif auront recours à la force publique pour faire payer ceux qui s'y refuseraient.

Art. 14. - Le Hacham-Baschi et le comité d'instruction publique réclameront la contrainte pour tout ce qui concerne l'exécution des règlements.

Art. 15. - Aussitôt que les écoles seront établies et fonctionneront, on cherchera aussi à en créer pour les filles, où elles apprendront la morale et les ouvrages de femme.

Art. 16. - Aussitôt la réception de la présente lettre, les grands rabbins s'empresseront de convoquer les notables de leurs villes, pour nommer les comités, régler les communautés, établir les écoles, et faire, en un mot, le nécessaire pour relever la nation d'Israël. Nous espérons que, sans que nous ayons besoin de leur faire imposer ces lois par le gouvernement, ils nous feront prochainement un rapport sur ce qu'ils auront fait dans ce but.

A ce rapport, ils ajouteront leurs bénédictions pour notre bienfaiteur le Sultan, et pour les amis d'Israël.

Nous présenterons leurs rapports au gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale, afin qu'Elle comprenne que nous sommes sortis de notre léthargie, et qu'Elle nous récompense selon nos mérites.

Le 1^{er} du mois Adar deux, 5616. (7 Mars 1856.)

Univers Israélite, No. 11, (1855), pp. 324-344.

APPENDIX C: The letter of the Chief Rabbi thanking to Ottoman sultan for having allowed Jewish children to study at Imperial Medical School

Devletli efendim hazretleri,

‘Ömür ve şevket iclâl cenâb-ı cihânânîyi gün-be-gün [...] ve [...] buyursun.

Zât-ı şevket-meab hazret-i mülukânenin [...] buyurdıkları şemîme-i fehime-i [...] ve ma’delet [...] hümâyunları iktizâsınca [...] padişâhaneleri tertîb-i amme kazıyye [...]sine ma’tûf ve mazrûf buyrulmaktan nâşî Yahudi milleti çocuklarının dahi tahsîl-i fûnûn-ı tabâbet etmek üzere tıbhâne-i âmireye yazdırılması hususunda irâde-i mekârimâde-i hazret-i tâcidârî irzân ve şâyân buyrulmuş olduğundan ol vechle icrâ-yı icâbına bakılmak üzere bazı rüesâ-yı millet ile çâker-i [...] ser-etibbâ-i hazret-i şehinşâhî sa’âdetlu efendi hazretleri bendeleri tarafından celb olunarak suret-i irâde-i seniyye yer yer tefhîm ve ifâde olunup alınacak çocukların mezhebimiz üzere [...] me’kûlât ve meşrûbâtlarla ifâ-yı [...] ve ibâdetleri maddesine dahi müsa’ade-i âliye şâyân buyrulacağı beyân kılınmış ve bu vechle milletimizin cehâletten kurtulup [...]i insâniyet olan ‘ulûm ve ma’ârifi iktisâb eylemeleri pek büyük ihsân olarak cümlemizin yeniden şeref ve ihyâsını [...] bulunmuş idüğine ve milletimiz kadîmden beri devlet-i aliyye reayâsından olup [...] mensûb olmadığından her halde velinimetimiz padişâhımız efendimizden gayrı sahâbet ve himâyet eder kimsemiz bulunmadığına binâen haklarımızda [...] ve şâyân buyrulan işbu nimet ve inâyet-i seniyyenin milletçe üzerlerimize farzı olan teşekkürü edâsında her vechle âciz olduğumuz ta’riften bedîdir.

Hemen cenâb-ı Hakk şevketli mehabetlu kudretlu velinimetimiz padişâh-ı âlem-penâh efendimiz hazretlerinin yevm-i kıyâmete dek şevket ve saltanatı daim eylesin, amin.

Ber-muceb-i irâde-i hümâyûn zıkr olunan tıbhâne-i âmireye gönderilecek çocuklar ma’rifet-i bendegânemle intihâb olunarak efendi-i müşarünileyh bendeleri tarafına irsâl kılınacağı derkârı bâbında ol babda ve her hâlde emr ü fermân lütûf ve ihsân hazret-i sâhibülemrindir.

İslambol ve tevâbi’i hâhâmbaşısı, Yako [...]

BOA, İ. HR. 41-1935 13 Şaban 1263 [27 July 1847]

APPENDIX D : The letter of Joseph Halévy to the Ottoman sultan, asking help for establishment of a community school in Edirne

Andrinople 12 Hesvan

Excellence !

Il y a peu de temps que la paix a été conclue et notre patrie entrée dans les rangs des puissances civilisées. Les droits du gouvernement Impérial sont maintenant reconnus solennellement; la justice a vaincu, et l'amour paternel de notre illustre Empereur a plus de loisir d'apporter sous ses soins au bien-être de ses sujets et d'appliquer au développement intérieur de son vaste empire.

Nous, Israélites, pénétrés de reconnaissance envers notre bienfaisant père, nous avons commencé à examiner plus attentivement notre état de civilisation, pour être dignes des soins paternels de S. M. Impériale.

Ainsi nous avons érigée une école, introduisant l'étude de la langue française, cette puissante machine de civilisation, comme aussi celui de la langue officielle de l'empire, la langue turque.

Mais la connaissance des langues et des sciences, même les élémentaires, étant presque ignorée parmi nous, nous sommes dans l'embarras, au trouver des maitres, pour en enseigner dans l'école.

C'est pourquoi nous implorons la bienveillance exemplaire de Votre Excellence, de nous prendre sous sa protection, sachant qu'il n'y a que sous l'égide Impériale que nous puissions réussir, prospérer et avancer.

Des prières sont adressées par toute notre communauté à la Providence divine, afin qu'elle accorde une longévité et un bonheur sans bornes a notre bienaimé et gracieux Sultan et à tous ceux qui vigilent généreusement sur la patrie.

Puissent nos humbles paroles être agréables à l'illustre Personne, dont les soins paternels nous comblent de bienfaits.

Agréez, Excellence, l'assurance de notre obéissance et fidélité.

Au nom de l'école israélite Joseph Halevy, maître provisoire.

BOA, HR. TO. 426 / 15, 24 December 1856

APPENDIX E : A case from the report submitted to the Sublime Porte in 1876, by Armenian National Assembly

Ishak Bey et plusieurs autres Aghas musulmans élevant des prétentions sur toutes les maisons, magasins, champs, vignes et jardins qui se trouvent dans les villages de Tcharsandjak (district de Karpout), ne cessent de forcer les Arméniens de ces villages à leur payer des loyers, pour ces immeubles, à recevoir d'eux les semences et à partager ensuite avec eux les produits de la terre.

Au sujet de ces différends qui existent depuis quinze ans, entre les villageois et Ishak Bey et les Aghas, le Patriarcat a adressé à la Sublime Porte un grand nombre de pétitions et a obtenu du Gouvernement de ordres à cet égard; mais l'autorité locale ayant toujours agi en faveur du susdit Bey et des Aghas, la Sublime Porte, dans le but de résoudre une question qui dure depuis si longtemps, et de mettre un terme aux plaintes et griefs des populations, a envoyé sur les lieux une Commission spéciale, chargée d'examiner la question.

Cette Commission, après avoir accompli sa tâche, a soumis son rapport, accompagné des pièces justificatives et des demandes du Patriarcat, à la décision du Conseil d'État, qui, après un examen sérieux et détaillé, a déclaré Ishak Bey et les autres Aghas musulmans mal fondés dans leurs prétentions, et a reconnu le bon droit des villageois. Il a été défendu en même temps aux Aghas de s'immiscer en quoi que ce soit dans les intérêts de la population arménienne. Il a été ordonné en outre de leur remettre les titres de propriété. Cette décision a été confirmée par Iradé Impérial et l'exécution en a été confiée à l'autorité locale. Mais celle-ci a critiqué la décision dit Conseil d'État sanctionné par ordonnance Impériale; elle l'a dite contraire aux principes de justice et de droit, et n'a pas voulu exécuter la décision dont il s'agit; cette même autorité a exigé la révision de l'affaire.

Le rapport adressé à ce sujet à la Sublime Porte par l'autorité locale a été soumis aux délibérations du Conseil d'État. Dans l'intervalle, deux des Aghas Islams de Tcharsandjak sont venus à Constantinople et se sont adressés au Conseil d'État. Ce Conseil, sans écouter les répliques des Arméniens, a trouvé insuffisante sa première décision, et sans prendre en considération la sanction déjà existante en vertu d'un Iradé impérial, a ordonné à l'autorité locale de procéder à une nouvelle enquête, d'entendre les deux parties et de rendre un jugement en premier ressort.

Cette nouvelle décision, qui annulait la précédente, sans examen légal, a été aussi confirmée par Iradé Impérial, et communiquée à l'autorité locale ainsi qu'au Patriarcat. Sur la plainte des populations de Tcharsandjak, le Patriarcat a adressé une demande à la Sublime Porte. Cette pièce, qui porte la date du 12 Djémazilakhir 1289 (5 Août 1872), se plaignait de ce que la dernière décision du Conseil d'État tendit à ajourner indéfiniment la solution de cette question déjà si ancienne, au préjudice des cultivateurs arméniens; que le Conseil d'État n'avait pas raison de casser son premier arrêt sans avoir entendu la partie adverse au sujet de la protestation des Aghas musulmans, et sans avoir déterminé quels étaient les points contraires à la justice et au droit ; que les Arméniens n'osaient point s'adresser avec confiance à l'autorité locale contre des Aghas riches et influents; que la population ne pouvait que s'en tenir à la première décision. Le Patriarcat, ajoutait la plainte, croyait donc de son devoir de demander à la Porte l'exécution pure et simple de la première décision.

Cette demande n'a pas eu de résultat.

Une nouvelle demande à ce sujet fut adressée à la Porte, en date du 23 Zilhidjé 1292 (8 Janvier 1876).
Elle n'a pas eu non plus de résultat.

Les Arméniens de Turquie, Rapport du Patriarche Arménien de Constantinople à la Sublime Porte, translated from Armenian to French by K. S. Achguerd (Paris : Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 1877), p. 11-13.

APPENDIX F: Complete List of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools, stating the date of establishment and their types

Locality	Type of school	Date of foundation
Edirne	primary, boys	1867
	primary, girls	1870
Aydın	primary, boys	1894
	primary, girls	1904
Bursa	primary, boys	1886
	primary, girls	1886
Kasaba-Turgutlu	primary, co-ed	1897
Istanbul		
Balat	primary, boys	1875
	primary, girls	1882
Dağhamamı	primary, boys	1875
	primary, girls	1880
Galata	primary, boys	1875
	primary, girls	1879
>Goldschmidt	primary, boys	1876
Hasköy	primary, boys	1874
	primary, girls	1877
>Tseror	primary, boys	1908
Haydarpaşa	primary, co-ed	1893
Kuzguncuk	primary, boys	1879
	primary, girls	1880
Ortaköy	primary, boys	(1882) 1901
	primary, girls	1882
>Rabbinical	boys	1897
Çanakkale	primary, boys	1878
	primary, girls	1888
Gelibolu	primary, boys	1905
	primary, girls	1913
Kırklareli	primary, boys	1913

	primary, girls	1911
Manisa	primary, boys	1892
	primary, girls	1896
Bergama	primary, co-ed	(1896) 1908
Tekirdađı	primary, co-ed	1904
İzmir	primary, boys	1873
	primary, girls	1878
	for the poor, boys	1898
>Karataş	primary, co-ed	1895
Çorlu	primary, co-ed	1911
Tire	primary, boys	1897
	primary, girls	1910
in today Bulgaria		
Filibe	primary, boys	1881
	primary, girls	1885
Rusçuk	primary, boys	1879
	primary, girls	1885
Şumnu	primary, boys	1870
	primary, girls	1874
Tatar Pazarcık	primary, boys	1880
	primary, girls	1883
Varna	primary, co-ed	1880
Vidin	primary, boys	1872
	primary, girls	1880
Yanbolu	primary, co-ed	1881
in today Greece		
Kavala	primary, boys	1905
	primary, girls	1905
Demotika	primary, co-ed	1897
Gümülcine	primary, co-ed	1910
Yanya	primary, boys	1904
	primary, girls	1904

Larissa	primary, boys	1868
Preveze	primary, co-ed	1908
Rodos	primary, boys	1901
	primary, girls	1902
Selanik	primary, boys	1873
	primary, girls	1875
	for the poor, boys	1897
	for the poor, girls	1897
Serez	primary, co-ed	1901
Volos	primary, boys	1865
in today Iraq		
Bağdad	primary, boys	1864
>Kadoorie	primary, girls	1893
>Nouriel	for the poor, boys	1902
>Saleh	for the poor, boys	1905
Basra	primary, boys	1903
	primary, girls	1913
	for the poor, boys	1913
Kerkük	primary, boys	1912
Musul	primary, boys	1907
	primary, girls	1912
in today Israel		
Hayfa	primary, boys	1881
	primary, girls	1895
Yafa	primary, boys	1892
	primary, girls	1894
>Mikve İsrail	agricultural, boys	1870
Kudüs	primary, boys	(1868) 1897
	primary, girls	1906
	vocational, boys	1882
Safed	primary, boys	1897
	primary, girls	1897
Tiberias	primary, boys	1897
	primary, girls	1900

in today Lebanon		
Beyrut	primary, boys	1869
	primary, girls	1878
Sayda	primary, co-ed	1902
in today Macedonia		
Manastır	primary, boys	1910
	primary, girls	1903
Üsküp	primary, boys	1902
	primary, girls	1905
in today Syria		
Halep	primary, boys	1869
	primary, girls	(1872) 1911
>Bahsita	for the poor, boys	1910
	for the poor, girls	1910
>Djemilie	primary, girls	1889
Şam	primary, boys	(1864) 1880
	for the poor, girls	1883

Aron Rodrigue, *Jews and Muslims Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries in Modern Times*, (Washington, University of Washington Press, 2003), pp.15-21.

The table excludes all institutions that received subsidies from the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* but were not directed by *Alliance* teachers or did not follow the *Alliance* curriculum. The dates between parantheses signify that the school was closed, and then re-opened in the second date.

APPENDIX G : The appeal of the founders of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* to world Jewry in
1860

Appel à tous les israélites,

Israélites !

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

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

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

Si vous croyez que la plus ancienne et la plus simple des religions spiritualistes doit garder sa place, remplir sa mission, proclamer son droit, manifester sa vitalité dans le grand mouvement d'idées toujours plus actif, dans la lutte de théories toujours plus ardente des sociétés modernes;

Si vous croyez que l'idée sublime et le culte rigoureux d'un Dieu unique dont nous sommes les antiques dépositaires et les obstines défenseurs, doivent être préservés plus que jamais des calculs intéressés ou des atteints du doute et de l'indifférence;

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

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

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

Si vous croyez que, par les voies légales, par l'invincible puissance du droit et de la raison, sans causer aucun trouble, sans effrayer aucun pouvoir, sans soulever d'autres colères que celles de l'ignorance, de la mauvaise foi et du fanatisme, vous pouvez obtenir beaucoup pour rendre beaucoup en retour par votre travail et votre intelligence incontestée;

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

Si vous croyez qu'il faut moraliser ceux qui sont corrompus, et non les condamner ; éclairer ceux qui sont aveugles, et non les délaisser ; relever ceux qui sont abattus, et non se contenter

de les plaindre ; défendre ceux qui sont calomniés, et non se taire ; secourir partout ceux qui sont persécutés, et ne pas seulement crier à la persécution ;

Si vous croyez que des ressources aujourd'hui disséminés, des travaux isolés, des influences sans portée suffisante, des volontés sans direction, des aspirations sans objet défini, peuvent trouver par l'association un emploi meilleur, et faire sentir l'action de tous à tous les coins du globe ;

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

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

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

Nous fondons l'ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE !

Les membres de la Commission Provisoire d'Organisation :

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

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

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

Leven, Narcisse : avocat à la cour impériale de Paris, 5, rue Saint-Hippolyte, à Paris.

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

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

Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, 2 January 1860, p.16

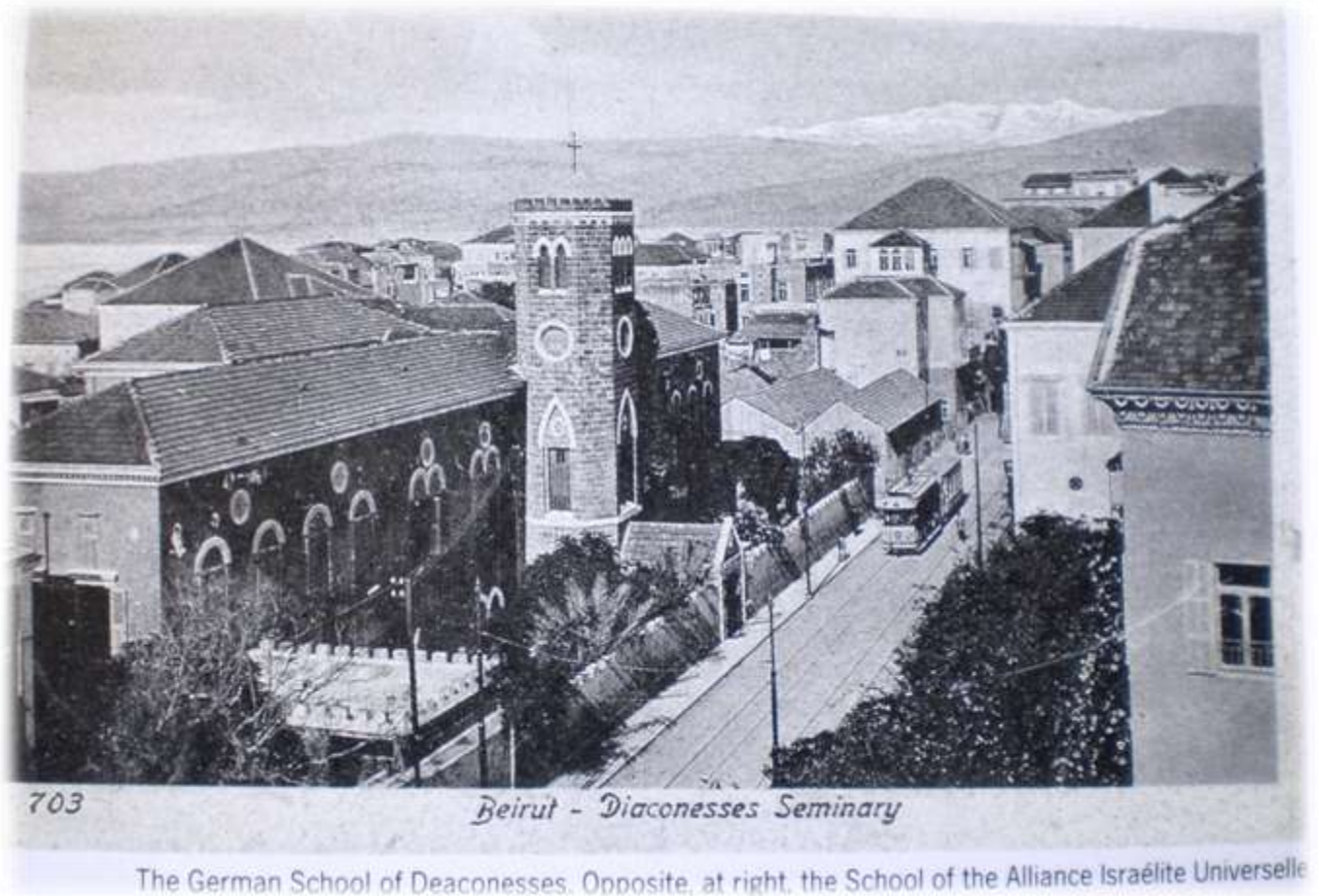
APPENDIX H: Schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in Turkey according to *Alliance Israélite Universelle Bulletin* of 1908

Town	Total Jewish population according to <i>Alliance</i>	number of boys	number of girls
Edirne	17000	1106	551
Aydın	3700	222	90
Bursa	3500	335	150
Kassaba	1100	79	
Kavalla	1800	112	127
Constantinople	65000		
Balat		359	352
Galata		235	352
Kuzguncuk		178	201
Goldschmidt School		250	
Hasköy		454	372
Ortaköy		269	215
Çanakkale	3000	206	146
Janina	3500	413	142
Manisa	2100	186	126
Monastir	6000		142
Rhodes	4000	180	175
Rodosto	1500	199	
Salonica	90000	461	437
Popular school		270	225
Izmir	35000	312	351
Popular school		219	
Üsküp	1300	167	104

Dimotika housed a Jewish population of 900 souls. It had a mixed school which had 182 pupils. Gallipoli's Jewish population numbered 2,500. Total number of pupils attending the mixed school was 219. Lastly, Serres was inhabited by 1200 Jews, and total number of pupils at mixed school was 114.

Paul Dumont, "Jewish Communities in Turkey during the Last Decades of the Nineteenth Century in the Light of the Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Benjamin Braude & Bernard Lewis (New York : Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), p. 232.

APPENDIX I: Beirut *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School



Beirut, our memory: a guided tour with postcards from the collection of Fouad Debbas
(Beirut: Naufal Group, 1986), p. 89.

APPENDIX J: First students of *Mikveh-Israel*, the agricultural school of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* at Yafa



http://www.jewishmag.com/127mag/cotopaxi/mikvah_israel.jpg

APPENDIX K: Gymnastics class at *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School for boys in Edirne,
May 1912



Ottoman inscription at the bottom: *Edirne'de Alyans mektebi.*

Erol Haker, *Edirne: Its Jewish Community and Alliance Schools: 1867-1937* (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2006), p. 80.

APPENDIX L1: Selanik *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School, after the famous fire in the city



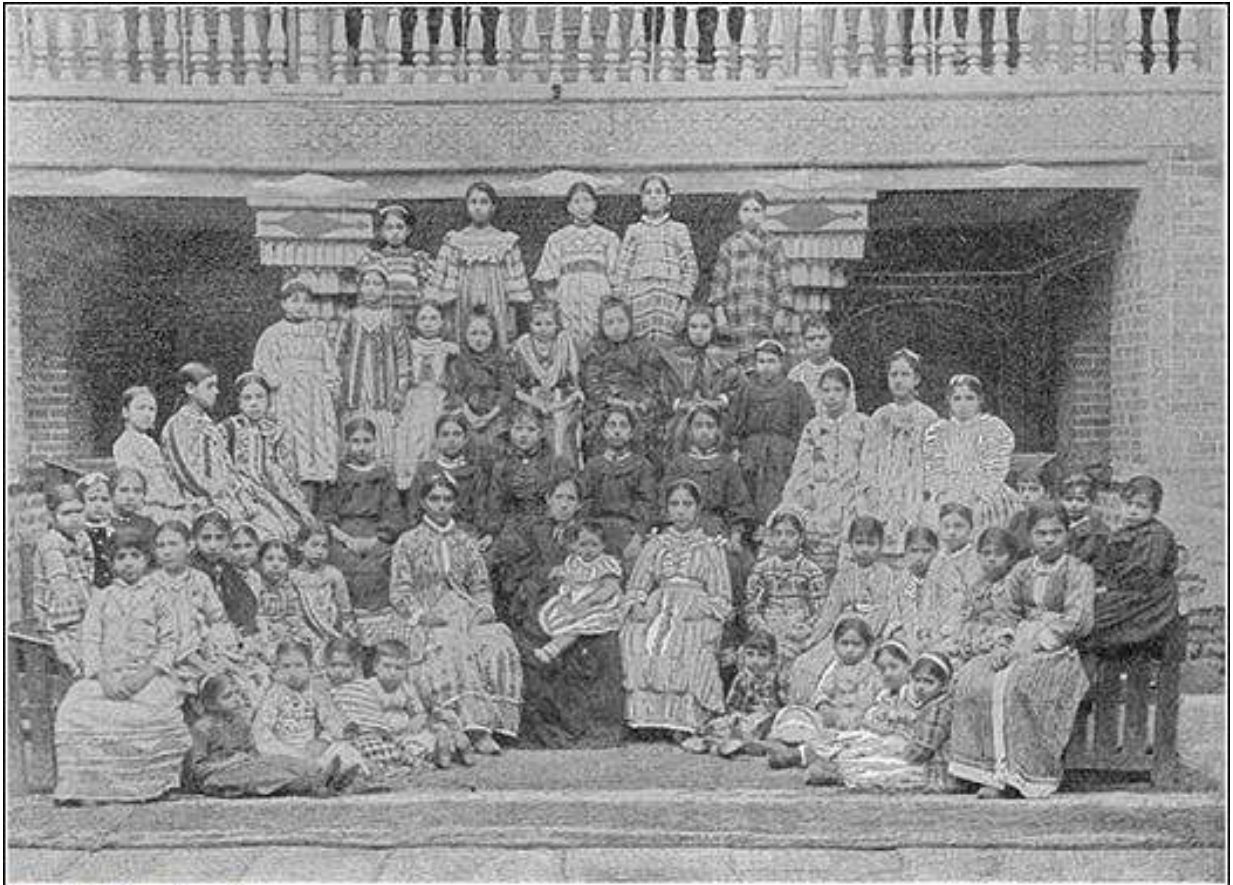
Γιάννης Μέγας, *Ενθύμιον: απο τη ζωή της εβραϊκής κοινότητας, Θεσσαλονίκη 1897-1917* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Καπόν, 1993), p. 132.

APPENDIX L2: Poor pupils of Selanik *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School, asking charities



Γιάννης Μέγας, *Ενθύμιον: απο τη ζωή της εβραϊκής κοινότητας, Θεσσαλονίκη 1897-1917*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Καπόν, 1993), p. 133.

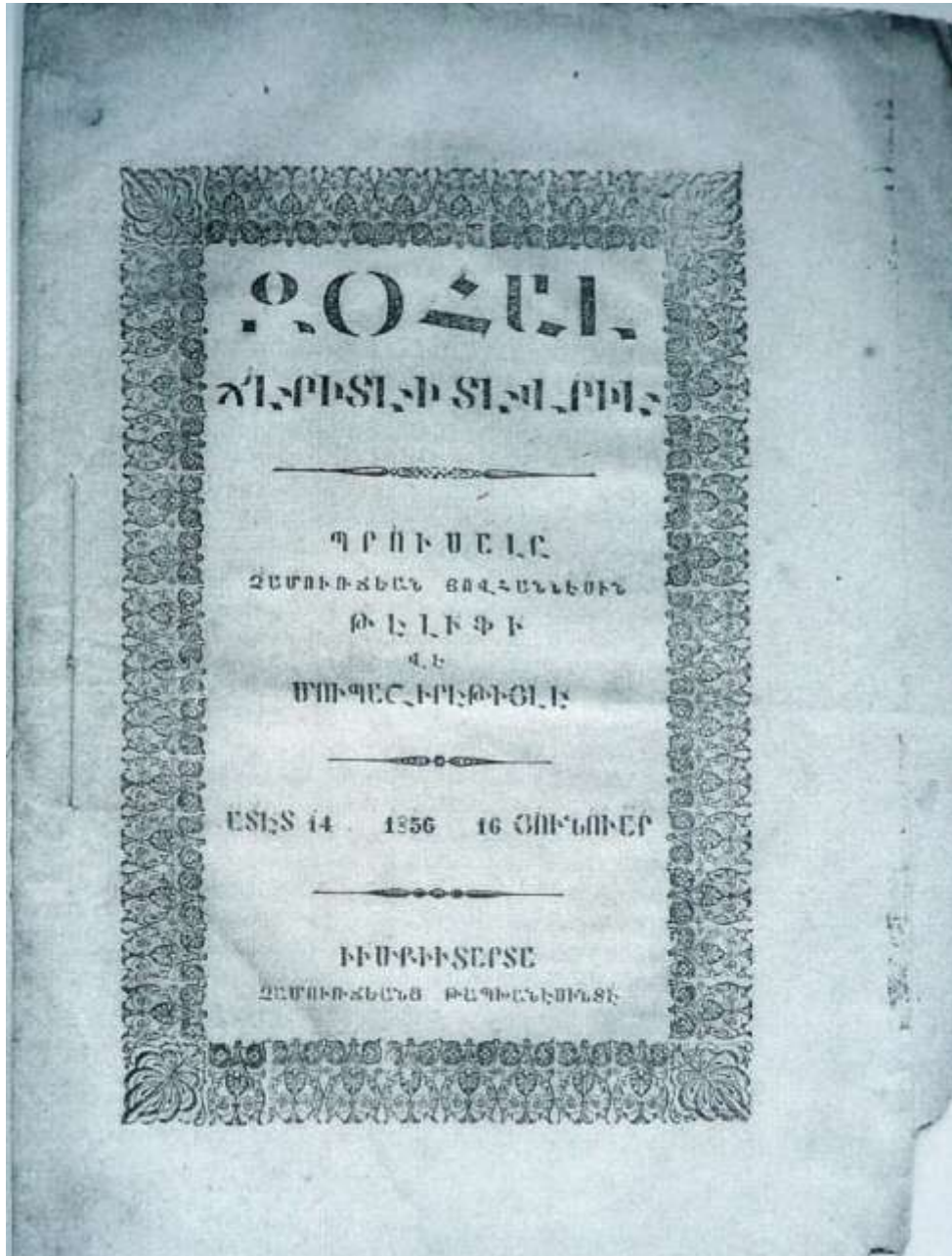
APPENDIX M: Girls at Baġdad *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School



[©JewishEncyclopedia.com](http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com)

<http://jewishencyclopedia.com/images.jsp?imgid=339&artid=114&letter=B&search=alliance>

APPENDIX N2: The cover of a magazine printed in Armenian alphabet but in Turkish language. *Zuhal*: a scientific, political and religious magazine, the issue of 16 January 1856. I would like to thank to Turgut Kut and Püzant Akbaş for having provided me a copy of the magazine, which is excessively difficult to find.



Zohal [Zühal], Ceride-i Devriye, Brusalı Çamurcıyan Hovhannesian, Telifli ve Mübaşeretıyla, Adet 14, 1856, 16 Hanvar, Üsküdar'da Çamurcıyants Tabhanesi'nde

APPENDIX N3:: The cover of *Avedaper* magazine, published by *American Board for Commissioners of Foreign Mission* missionaries, printed in Armenian alphabet but in Turkish language, 1890



http://www.sahaf-turkuaz.com/english/resim_goster.asp?orijinal=kitap/123/2535.jpg



ΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΑΡΙΟΝ

Μικρασιάτακι ἀνατὰν Γιουνανὶ λισσιὰ
μαλὶκ ὀλμαγιαν τζοτζουκλαρὴν
ἰκτιζασὴ ἰτζοῦν.



Πρὸς χρῆσιν τῶν Μικρασιανῶν
παίδων, στερουμένων τὴν
μητρελληνικὴν γλῶσσαν.



Ἐστὶν ἔργον τοῦ

ΣΤΑΜΪΟΛΤΑ

Α. ΜΙΝΑΣΙΑΝΗΝ

Πασμαχανεσιντέ.

1864

Première année, n° 1.

Paraît le 15 de chaque mois 894

15 janvier 1894.



ABONNEMENTS :

France Un an : 6 fr.
Etranger Un an : 7 fr.
Les abonnements partent du 1^{er} janvier.

ADMINISTRATION :

ALLIANCE FRANÇAISE
45, rue de Grenelle, Paris.

Le titre a été gravé d'après la médaille dont l'exécution est confiée par M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique à M. Daniel Dupuis.

SOMMAIRE DU NUMÉRO 1.

Appel aux Maîtres et Écoliers français, par L. L. — Les Excommuniés, par E. S. — L'École de Kita (avec gravure), par P. P. — Nos élèves coloniaux au palais de l'Industrie, par E. P. — Les Ecoles anglaises et indigènes dans l'Inde, par L. L. — Petites nouvelles et correspondance.

APPEL

aux Maîtres et aux Écoliers français.

L'Alliance française est aujourd'hui connue, appréciée de tous les hommes ayant souci de l'avenir de notre race et de la diffusion de notre langue. Fondée il y a huit ans seulement par des patriotes éprouvés, clairvoyants, elle compte déjà plus de vingt-cinq mille membres; il n'est pas douteux qu'avant peu d'années ce chiffre dépassera cent mille.

L'Alliance française a tenu avec éclat son premier Congrès à Paris, où des délégués étaient accourus de tous les points du terri-

toire, plusieurs même de l'étranger. Cette affirmation solennelle de sa vitalité lui a valu immédiatement de quatre ou cinq généreux donateurs, très frappés des services éminents rendus déjà par elle, 108,000 francs de dons. D'autres plus riches encore sont espérés.

Depuis sa fondation, elle a soutenu ou créé dans nos colonies d'Afrique, en Orient, en Égypte, partout où nous avons des intérêts vitaux à défendre, plus de cent cinquante écoles françaises. Elle en eût soutenu et créé bien d'autres qui ont fait appel à sa générosité, si ses ressources eussent été aussi grandes que les besoins à satisfaire. Pourtant elle a relevé bien des courages abattus, réconforté des cœurs attristés parce qu'ils se croyaient oubliés de la mère-patrie; elle a fait passer, dans tous les pays, proches ou lointains, où l'antique et bon renom de la France nous avait gagnés des âmes et des intelligences, comme un souffle, un renouveau de fraîches espérances. Le terrain est donc prêt: il ne faut

APPENDIX O1: Brief bibliographical informations of Ottoman Jewish officers in the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

BOA, HR. SAİD. 16/13, Tahrirat hariciye kalem memuru Nesim İzidor Efendi

Nesim İzidor Efendi Alyans İsrailit mektebi muallimlerinden Avram Salah Efendinin oğludur ve tebaa-i devlet-i aliyyenin Musevi milletindedir. 1286 sene-i hicriyesinde sene-i maliye 1285 Dersaadet'te tevellüd etmiştir. Musevi ibtidai mektebinde ve Alyans İsrailit Mektebinde tahsil edip şahadetname ve mekteb-i tıbbiye-i mülkiyenin idadi kısmına bir sene devam ile terfi-i sınıf eylediğini müşar tasdikname almıştır. Türkçe ve Fransızca ve İspanyolca ve İbranice tahrir ve kıraat eder. 1306 senesinde bir müddet Paris'te bir ticarethane kitabetinde müstahdem olarak muahharen Dersaadet'e avdetle 1307 senesinden itibaren bir sene kadar Haydarpaşa'da kain Musevi mektebi ders nezareti ile müdüriyet-i saniyesinde bulunduktan sonra 1309 sene-i hicriyesinde yirmi üç yaşında olduğu halde adliye nezareti tercüme kalemine mülazemetle dahil olub 311 senesi rebiyülevvel guresinde (1 mayıs 1309) kalem-i mezkura irtibatı baki kalmak üzere üç yüz seksek dokuz buçuk gurus maaş ile Numune-i Terakki namındaki mekteb-i hususiye Fransızca muallimi olmuş ve 315 senesi muharreminde (Haziran 313) mezkur muallimlik yine uhdesinde olduğu halde mülazemetle hariciye nezaret-i celilesi tahrirat-i hariciye kalemine muntakal olmuştur.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 12/4, Malta şebenderliği kaçıları Moiz Hanail Efendi

Yahudi milletinden Moiz Hanail Efendi, veled-i Nesim Hanail. 1282 senesi zilhiccesinin yirmisinde Dersaadet'te tevellüd etmiştir. Evvela Yahudi sıbyan mektebinde ve badehu Alyans İsrailit Cemiyeti mektebinde Fransızca ve coğrafya ve hesap görmüştür. Türkçe ve İtalyanca ve Rumca tekellüm eder. Fransızca okur ve yazar.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 16/7, tahrirat-ı hariciye kalemi memuru Yako Efendi

Jak Yako Efendi, Haim Ağa'nın oğludur. Musevi milletindedir. 1280 senesinde Kale-i Sultaniye'de tevellüd etmiştir. Kale-i Sultaniye ve İzmir'de Alyans nam Musevi mekteplerinde sekiz sene tahsilde bulunmuştur. Türkçe ve İbranice ve Fransızca ve İspanyolca ve biraz Rumca ve Almanca tekellüm ve kitabet eder. Kale-i Sultaniye'de ve İzmir'de Alyans mektepleri Fransızca lisanı muallimliğinde ve yine Rodos ve Sakız cezireleri Alyans mektepleri müdürlüğüyle lisan-ı mezkûr muallimliğinde yedi sene kadar bulunmuştur.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 20/4, Batum şebender vekili Nesim Roditi Efendi

Nesim Roditi Efendi "Anker" nam sigorta kumpanyası memurlarından Danyal Roditi'nin mahdumudur. Musevi milletinden. 1293 senesinde Dersaadet'te tevellüd etmiştir. Galata'da vaki Alyans İsrailit mektebinde ve badehu ibtidaî ve rüşdî mekteplerinde tederrüs ettikten sonra Türkçeden beşinci ve Fransızcadan altıncı sınıfa kadar mekteb-i sultani'de tahsil ederek tasdikname almıştır. Türkçe ve Fransızca ve İspanyolca tekellüm ve kitabet eder. Rumca ve İbranice ve Almancaya aşınadır.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 21/21, Umur-ı şebenderi kalemi memuru Avram Badi Efendi

Avram Badi Efendi tüccardan Yako Badi'nin oğludur. Musevi milletindedir. 1293 senesinde Dersaadet'te tevellüd etmiştir. Hasköy'de Alyans İsrailit mektebinde ulum-ı ibtidaî tederrüsten sonra Dersaadet mekteb-i idadi-i mülkiyede ve mekteb-i hukuk-ı şahanede tahsil ile mektebi idadiden ve mekteb-i hukuktan dahi mezuniyet-i ru'us ahz eylemiştir. Türkçe ve Musevice ve Fransızca tekellüm ve kitabet eder. Rumca ve Almancaya aşınadır.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 23/4, Edirne vilayeti umur-ı ecnebiye müdürü Rober Yasef Merahim Efendi

Rober Efendi Körcüoğlu İlya Efendi'nin mahdumudur. 1285'de Dersaadet'te tevellüd etmiştir. Muallim-i mahsustan ve badehu Beyoğlu'nda kâin Cemiyet-i İsrailiye mektebinde mukaddeme-i ulumu görmüş ve mekteb-i sultanî'de ikmal-i tahsil ederek o beyan şahadetnamesi almıştır. Elyevm mekteb-i hukuka devam etmektedir. Türkçe ve Fransızca okur ve yazar. İbranice ve İspanyolcaya aşınadır.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 9/22, umur-ı şebbenderi evrak odası memuru İsak Asano Efendi

İsak Efendi, Nesim Asano Efendi'nin mahdumudur. Tebaa-i Osmanî'dendir. 1289 sene-i hicriyesinde sene-i maliye (1288) Dersaadet'te tevellüd etmiştir. Kuzguncuk'ta Alyans İsrailit mektebinde tahsil ve badehu Marsilya'da kâin ressam mektebine devam ederek tasdikname almıştır. Türkçe ve Fransızca ve İtalyanca ve İspanyolca ve Rumca tekellüm ve kitabet eder.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 7/6, umur-ı şebbenderi kalemi memuru Alberto Samuel Efendi

Alberto Efendi, Varna'da mütemekkin tüccardan David Samuel'in mahdumudur. Osmanlı tebaasındandır. 1290 senesinde Rusçuk'ta tevellüd etmiştir. Varna'da Alyans İsrailit mektebinde tedristen sonra beş sene kadar Paris'te Fransızca tahsil ve badehu Cenevre ve Almanya'nın Heidelberg darülfünunlarında 'ilm-i hukuk tahsil ederek şahadetname ahz eylemiştir. Fransızca ve almanca ve İspanyolca tekellüm ve kıraat eder. Türkçe ve Rumca yalnız tekellüm eder.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 21/4, Turnu Severin şebbenderi Nesim Alhayim Efendi

Nesim Efendi Vidin'de Alyans İsrailit mektebinde tahsil ederek tasdikname almıştır. Türkçe ve Fransızca ve almanca ve İspanyolca ve Ulahça ve Bulgarca ve Sırpça tekellüm eylediği ve bu elsinde ile okuyup yazdığı ve İngilizce ve Rumca ve Rusçaya aşına olduğu tercüme-i hal varakasında muharrerdir. 1 Eylül 1324'teki tenkisatta kadro dışı bırakılmıştır.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 6/8, Rodos ticaret mahkemesi başkâtibi Yako Menase Efendi

Yako Menase Efendi Rodos hukuk mahkemesi azasından Hoca Mevsani Efendiin mahdumudur. Tebaa-i devlet-i aliyenin Musevi milletindedir. 1290 senesinde Rodos kazasında tevellüd etmiştir. Sıbyan mektebinde ve beş sene kadar da terakki nam mektepte tedris ettikten sonra muallim-i mahsustan dahi lisan-i Osmanî tahsil etmiştir. Türkçe ve Fransızca ve İbranice ve İspanyolca tekellüm ve kitabet ve İtalyanca kıraat ve tekellüm eder.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 9/30, Bükreş Sefareti 2. Kâtibi Vitalis Franko Efendi

Vitalis Franko Efendi tüccardan müteveffa Lazaro Franko Efendinin oğludur ve tebaa-yi Osmaninin Musevi milletindedir. 1297 senesinde Dersaadet'te tevellüd etmiştir. "Miss Graham" idaresinde bulunan İngiliz ibtidai ve Alyans İsrailit nam Musevi ibtidai mekteblerinde ve badehu Mekteb-i Sultani'de ikmal-i middet-i tahsiliye ederek şahadetname almıştır. Türkçe okur yazar, Fransızca ve İtalyanca ve İspanyolca tekellüm ve kitabet eder. İngilizce ve Rumcaya dahi aşinadır.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 11/15, Tiflis şebbenderi vekili Benyamin Uziel Efendi

Benyamin Uziel Efendi tüccardan Moşe Avram Uziel Efendinin oğludur. Tebaa-i devlet-i aliyenin Musevi milletindedir. 1294 senesinde Sofya'da tevellüd etmiştir. Galata'da Alyans İs. Nam Musevi mektebinde ve mekteb-i sultanide tahsil ederek Fransızca kısmından ehliyetname almıştır. Türkçe okur yazar, Fransızca İtalyanca İspanyolca tekellüm ve kitabet eder.

BOA, HR. SAİD. 11/31, istişare odası muavini İsak Yuşa Efendi

İsak Yeşua Efendi tüccardan müteveffa Bensiyon Efendinin oğludur. Tebaa-i devlet-i aliyenin Musevi milletindedir. 1291 senesinde İzmir'de tevellüd etmiştir. İzmir mekteb-i ibtidaisinden sonra mekteb-i sultanide tahsil ederek tasdikname almış ve Elyevm mekteb-i hukuka devam etmektedir. Türkçe Fransızca İspanyolca tahrir ve tekellüm ve Rumca ve İtalyanca tefekkür eder.

APPENDIX O2: Personal registers of İzak Farhi: a pupil and, then, a teacher at local *Alliance Israélite Universelle* Schools, a bureaucrat at the Ministry of Education

Tebaa-i devlet-i ‘aliyenin Musevi milletinden İzak Farhi Efendi mu’allimlikle müştegil Menahem Farhi’nin oğludur. 1285 sene-i hicriyesinde (sene-i maliye-i 1282) Rusçuk’ta dünyaya geldiği nüfûs tezkire-i Osmâniyesi’nde muharrerdir. Galata’da kâin Alyans İsrailit mektebinde tedrisât-ı ‘aliye kısmına kadar tahsîl edip tasdîknâme almıştır. Türkçe ve Rumca yalnız tekellüm ve Fransızca ve İtalyanca ve İspanyolca ve İbranice tekellüm ve kitâbet eylediği gibi biraz da Almanca yazar ve söyler. 1308 sene-i hicriyesinden itibâren (sene-i maliye 1307) üç sene kadar Haydarpaşa Musevi mektebi lisân-i Fransevi mu’allim mu’âvinliğinde bulunarak 1310 senesi cemaziyelahirinin yirmi dördünde [...] 350 guruş maaşla ma’ârif nezâret-i celilesi matbu’ât-i ecnebiye müfettiş mu’âvinliğine ta’yîn ve 1311 senesi rebiyyülevvel gurreesinde (21 Eylül 1309) maaşı 500 guruşa iblâğ edilmiştir. [...] mezkûr [...] istihdâmıyla mikdâr-ı maaşını mübeyyin ma’ârif muhâsebesinin derkenârı ile Alyans İsrailit Mektebi tasdîknâmesi ve nüfûs tezkire-i Osmâniyesi’nin sûret-i musaddakaları ma’ârif sicill-i ahvâl şu’besinde mahfûzdur.

18 Rebiyyülevvel 1317-14 Temmuz 1315

Mumaileyhin maaşı 1312 senesi cemaziyelahirinin on beşinde (1 Kanunievvel 1310) 800 guruşa ve 1314 senesi cemaziyelahirinin on üçünde (7 Teşrinisani 1312) 850 guruşa iblâğ ve sene-i merkume şevvalinin dokuzunda (1 Mart 1313) 765 guruşa tezeyyül ve 1316 senesi cemaziyelevvelinin üçünde (7 Eylül 1314) 965 guruşa ve 1317 senesi cemaziyelevvelinin sekizinde (1 Eylül 1315) 1215 guruşa ve 1320 senesi cemaziyelahirinin on birinde (1 Eylül 1318) 1400 guruşa ve 1323 senesi zilhiccesinin yirmisinde (2 Şubat 1321) 1500 guruşa ve 1324 senesi şabanının yirmi beşinde (1 Teşrinievvel 1322) 1570 guruşa ve 1325 senesi zilhiccesinin yirmi üçünde (14 Kanunisani 1323) 1610 guruşa iblâğ ve 1326 senesi recebinin on altısında (1 Ağustos 1324) karâr-ı ‘umûmiye tevfiķan 1305 guruşa tezeyyül edilerek 1327 senesi recebinin yirmi yedisinde (1 Ağustos 1325) icrâ kılınan tenkîsâtta on birinci madde mucibince kadro haricine çıkarılıp 30397 guruş tazmînât olarak hizmet-i devletten kat’-i ‘alâka eylediği 8 Ağustos 1326 tarihli vuku’ât pusulasından anlaşılmıştır.

BOA, DH. SAİD. 88 / 339

APPENDIX P1: Stamp of Galata *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School, with the signature of the school principal, Avram [...]



BOA, MF. MGM. 7/29

APPENDIX P2: Stamp of Hasköy Alliance Israélite Universelle School for Girls



BOA, MF. MGM. 10/25

APPENDIX P3: Stamp of Haydarpaşa *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School.



Although the school belongs to *Alliance* network, the stamp does not refer to it.

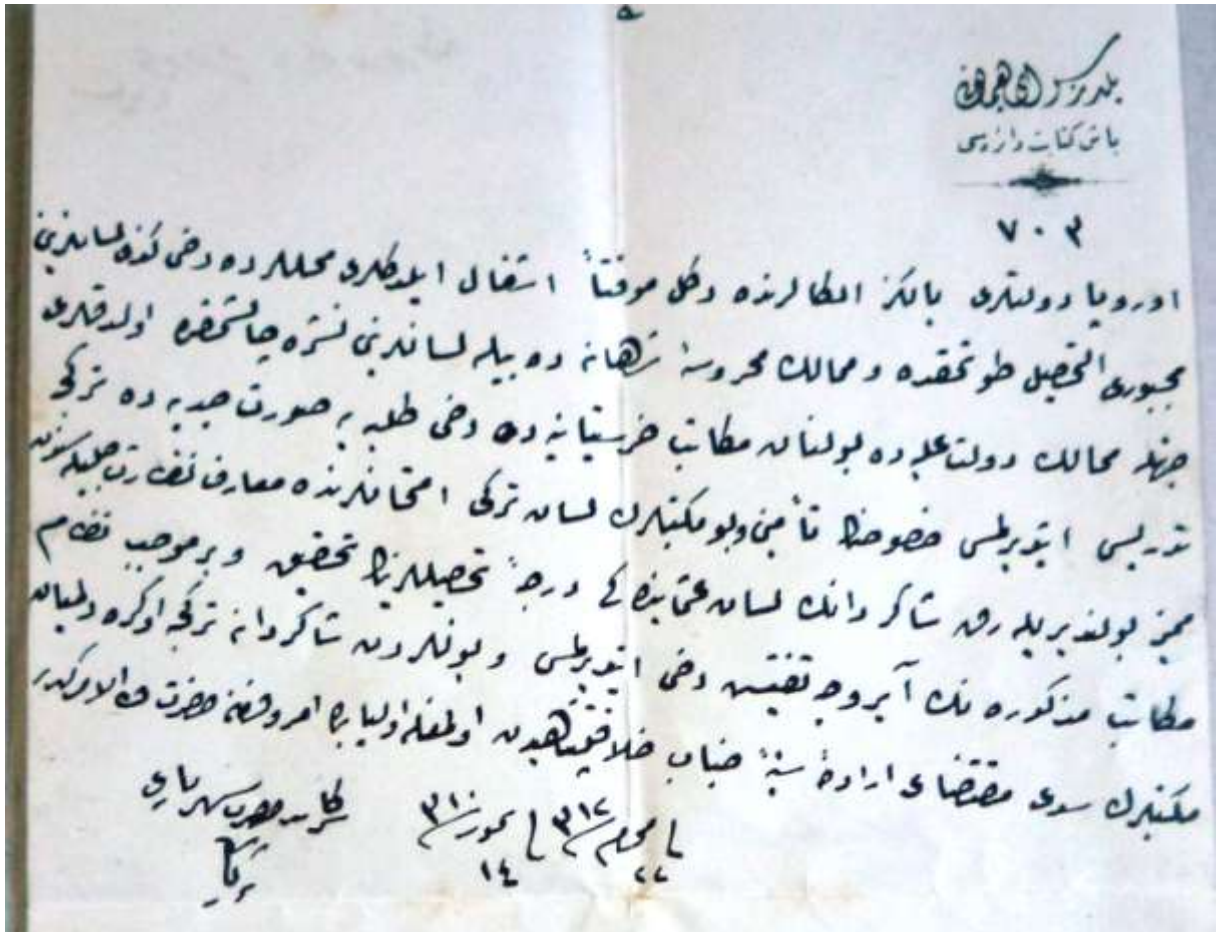
Haydarpaşa'da Geçen 100 Yılımız, edited by Anri Niyego (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın, 1999), p. 93.

APPENDIX Q: The imperial decree which made Ottoman classes ‘obligatory’ in Christian millet schools

İ. HUS. 27 1312 M-101

Avrupa devletleri yalnız ülkelerinde değil muvakkaten işgal eyledikleri mahallerde de kendi lisânlarını mecbûrî'l-tahsîl tutmakta ve memâlik-i şâhânedâ bile lisânlarını neşre çalışmakta oldukları vechle memâlik-i devlet-i aliyedeki mekâtib-i Hıristiyaniyede bile talebeye sûret-i ciddiyede Türkçe tadrîs ettirilmesi hususunun te'mîni ve bu mektebelerin lisân-i Türkî imtihanlarında ma'ârif-i umûmiye nezâretinden mümeyyiz bulundurularak şâkirdânın lisân-i Osmânîdeki derece-i tahsîllerinin tahkîk ve ber-muceb-i nizâm mekâtib-i mezkûrenin ayrıca tefîş dahi ettirilmesi ve bunlardan şâkirdâna Türkçe öğretilmeyen mekâtibin seddi muktezâ-yı irâde-i seniyye-i pâdişahîden olmağla ol babda emr ü fermân hazret-i minlehu'l-emrindir.

22 Muharrem 1312, Serkâtib-i Hazret-i Şehriyârî [26 July 1894]



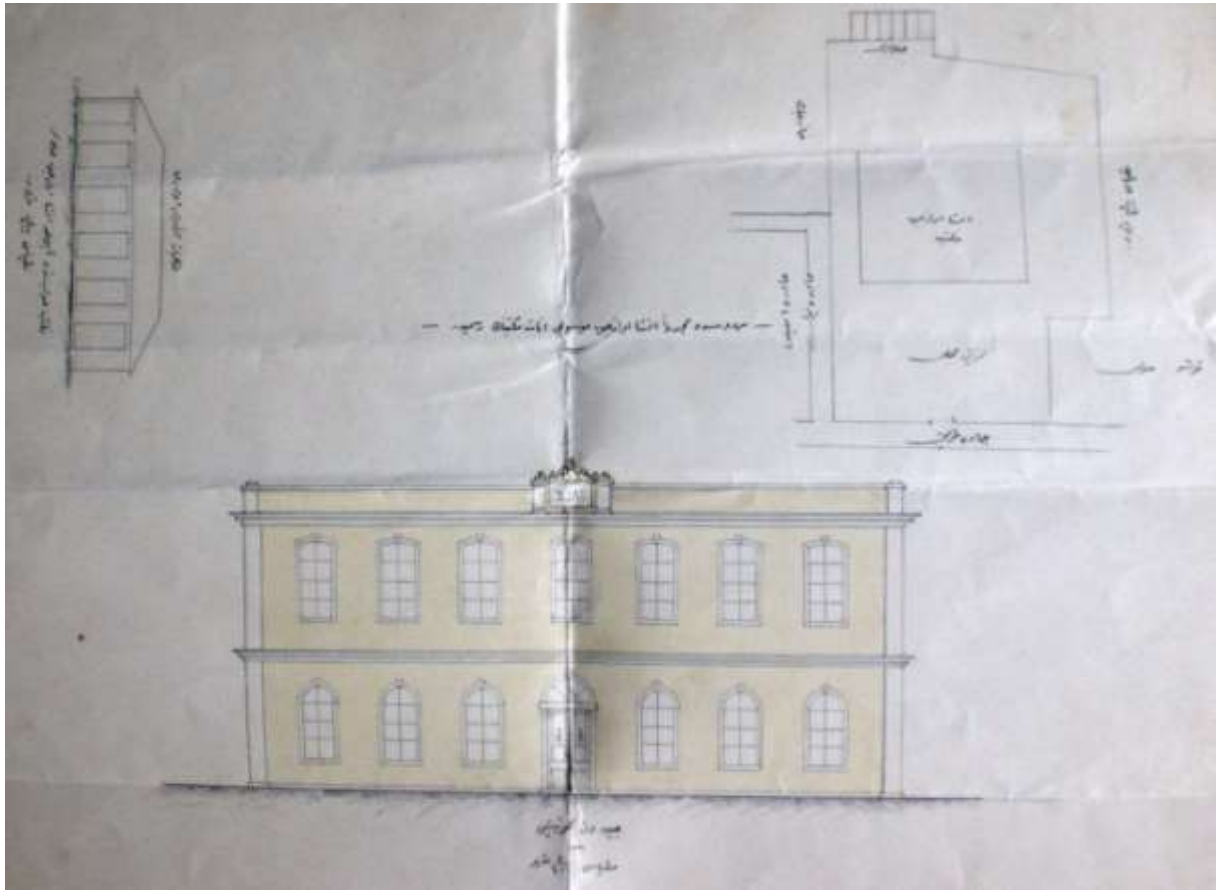
APPENDIX R: List of those who followed evening classes at Kuzguncuk *Alliance* School for Boys, 15 May 1897

M ATALI, Behor- m pharmacist
M AHITOUB – m peddler
M ALAMAN, Haïm – m maid
M AMAM – m fishmonger
M ALCOUMBRIMBRE – m tailor
M BENOUM – m baker
M BERHAR, Elia – m tinsmith
M BESSONDO, M. – m peddler
M BONFIL, D – m peddler
M CORDOVA, I – m grocer
M CORDOVA, N. – m peddler
M COHEN, Ménahen- m cabaretier-owner/actor of cabaret
M CASTORIANO, H. – m peddler
M COHEN, A. – m peddler
M CASTON, Aaron – m commissioner
M DALVA- m second hand cloth dealer
M DJOUROUKDJI – m mercier-haberdasher
M ESKENAZI, N. – m bedeau-beadle
M FOUENTES, M. – m tinsmith
M FOUNES, M. – m peddler
M GALIPAPA, Is. – m fishmonger
M HEKIM, M. – m cabaretier-owner/actor of cabaret
M HALPHON, M. – m tinsmith
M ISCH, Ab. – m tinsmith
M ISCH, B. – m tinsmith
M LEVY, Jos. – m tinsmith
M LEVY, Ab. – m colporteur
M LEVY, Moïse – m colporteur
M LEVY, Jos. – m colporteur
M MENASSE, Ab. – m passementier-person who sells an ornamental edging or trimming (as tassels) made of braid, cord, gimp, beading, or metallic thread
M MOUGNON (?) – m unemployed
M NIEGO, Jos. – m unemployed
M PALENSIA, Ab. – m colporteur
M - PONLER, B. – m second hand cloth dealer
M PONLER, Juda – m modes de nouveautés?
M PALENSIA, Isaac – m quincailler-seller of ironsmith
M PILO, Jos. – m haberdasher
M PEREZ, Jacob- m greengrocer
M ROMI, Conorté – m butcher
M RUBEN, Is.- m colporteur

M RUBEN, Moïse – m greengrocer
M ROMI, Moïse – m tinsmith
M SIVA, Conorté – m shoemaker
M TEBETH, Moïse – m shoemaker
M TEBETH, Marco – m greengrocer
M VITAS, Béhor – m grocer
M ZONANA, H. – m merchant of wood

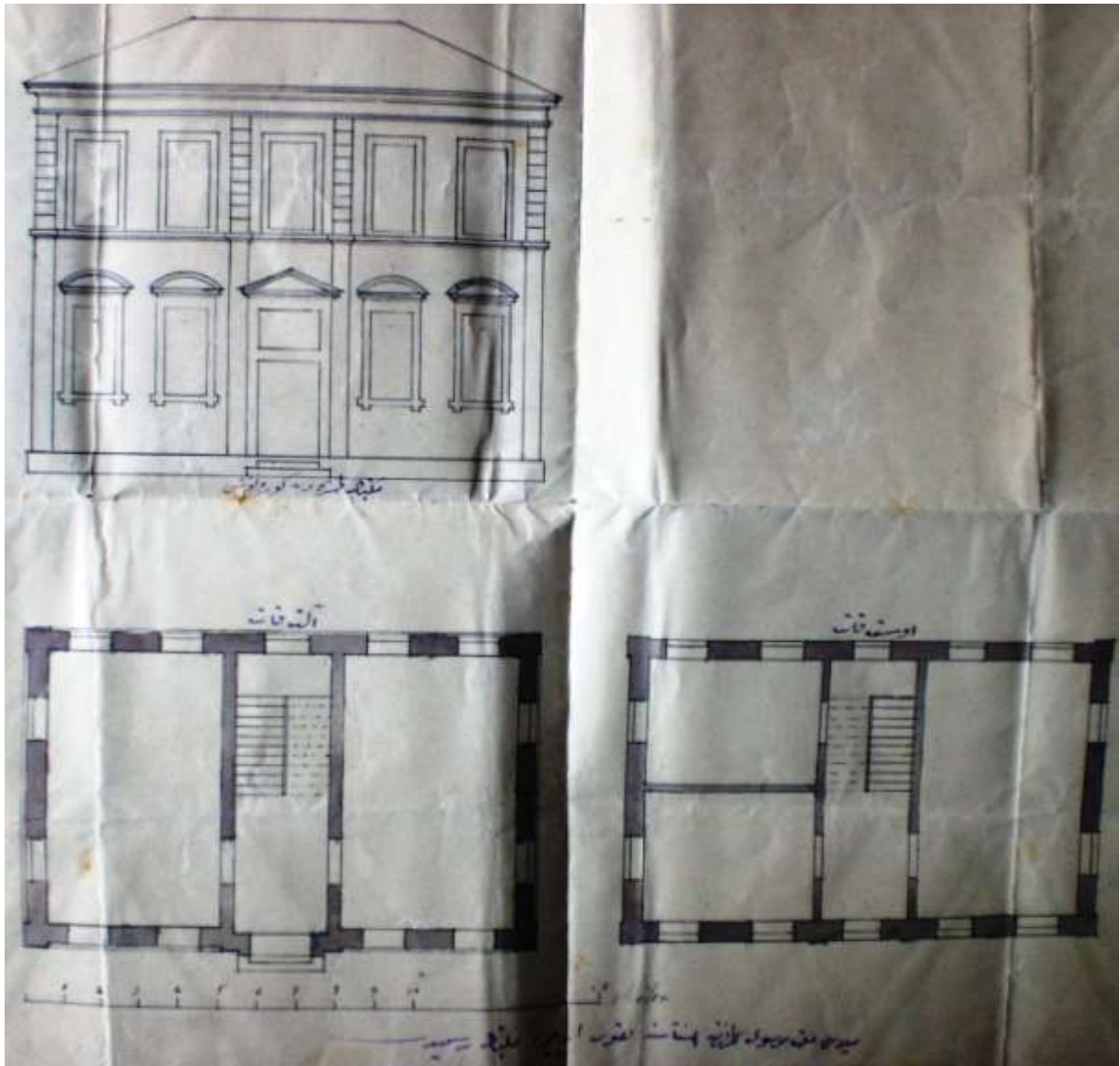
<http://www.aiu.org>

APPENDIX S1: Plan of Rodos Alliance Israélite Universelle School for girls



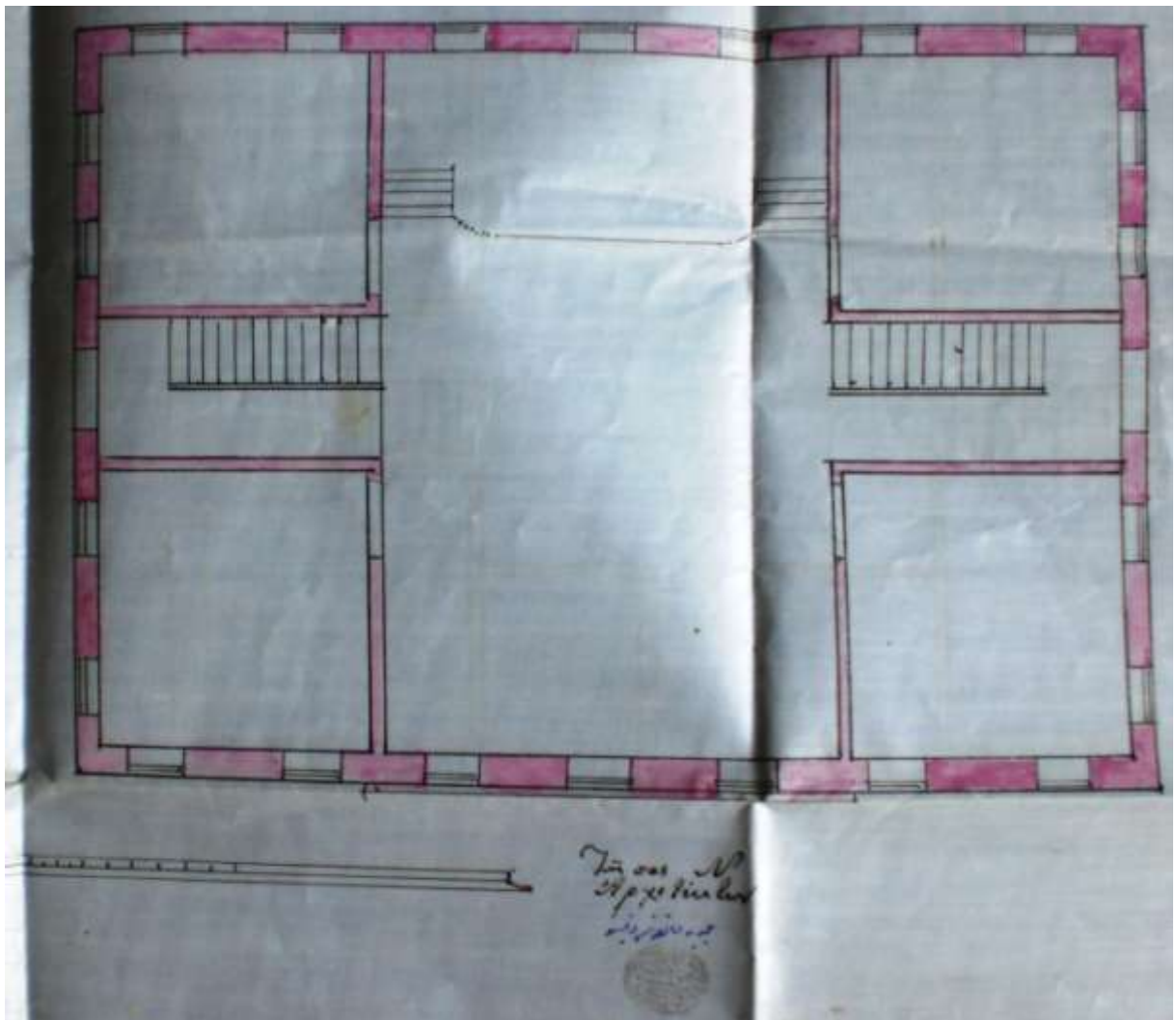
BOA, İ. AZN. 59 / 1322 Za-16

APPENDIX S2: Plan of Milas Jewish community School



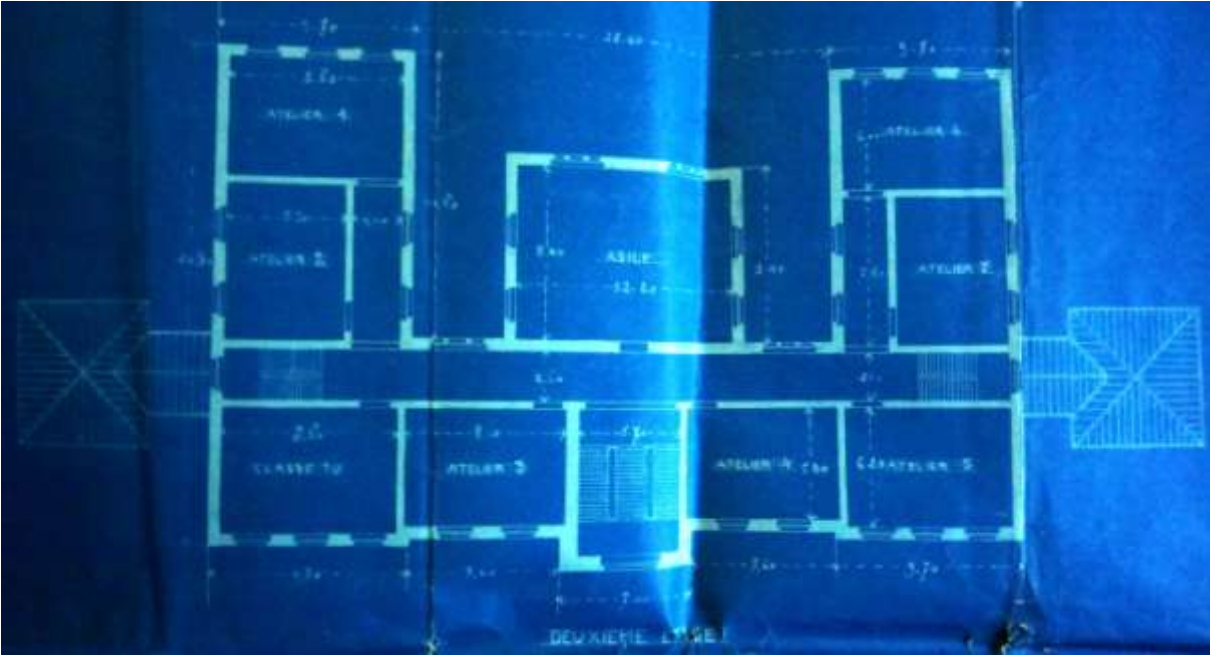
BOA, I. AZN. 5 / 1311 M-13

APPENDIX S3: Plans of Kırk Kilise Jewish community school

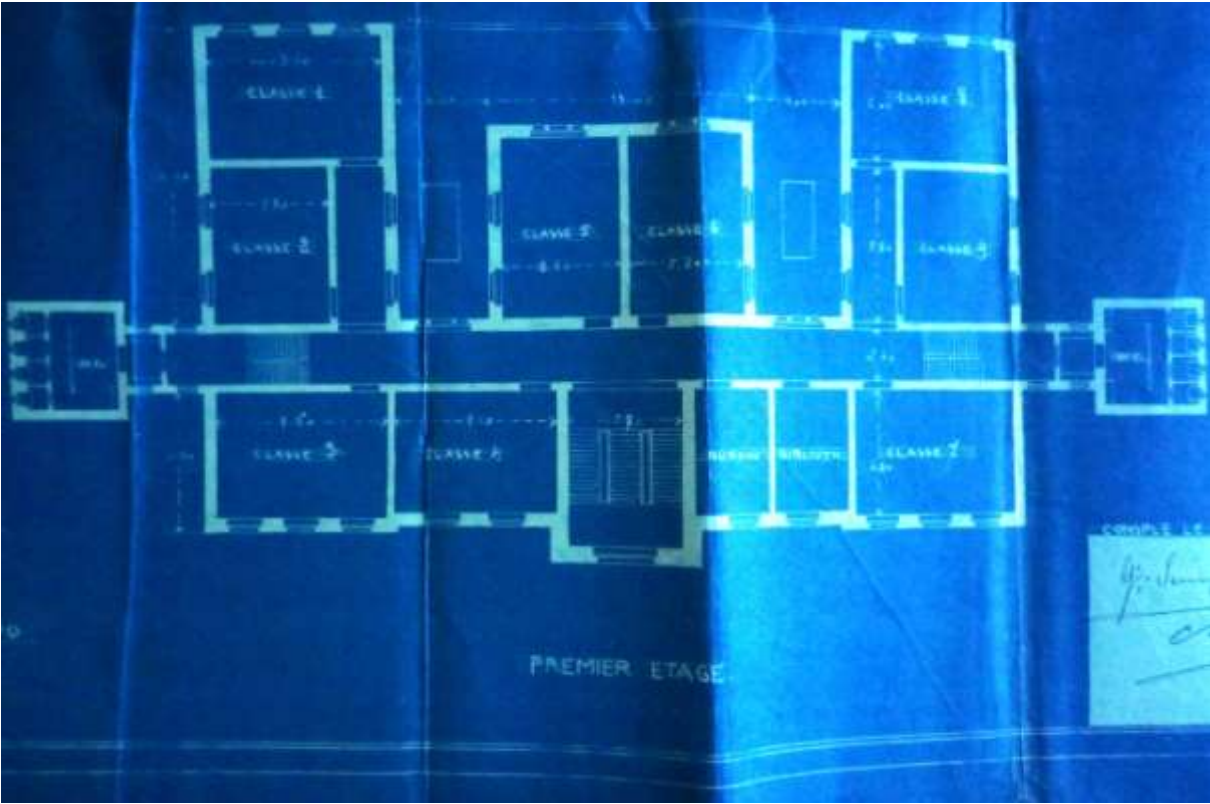


BOA, İ. AZN. 36 / 1317 Ş-01

APPENDIX S4: Plans of Hasköy Alliance Israélite Universelle School for Girls

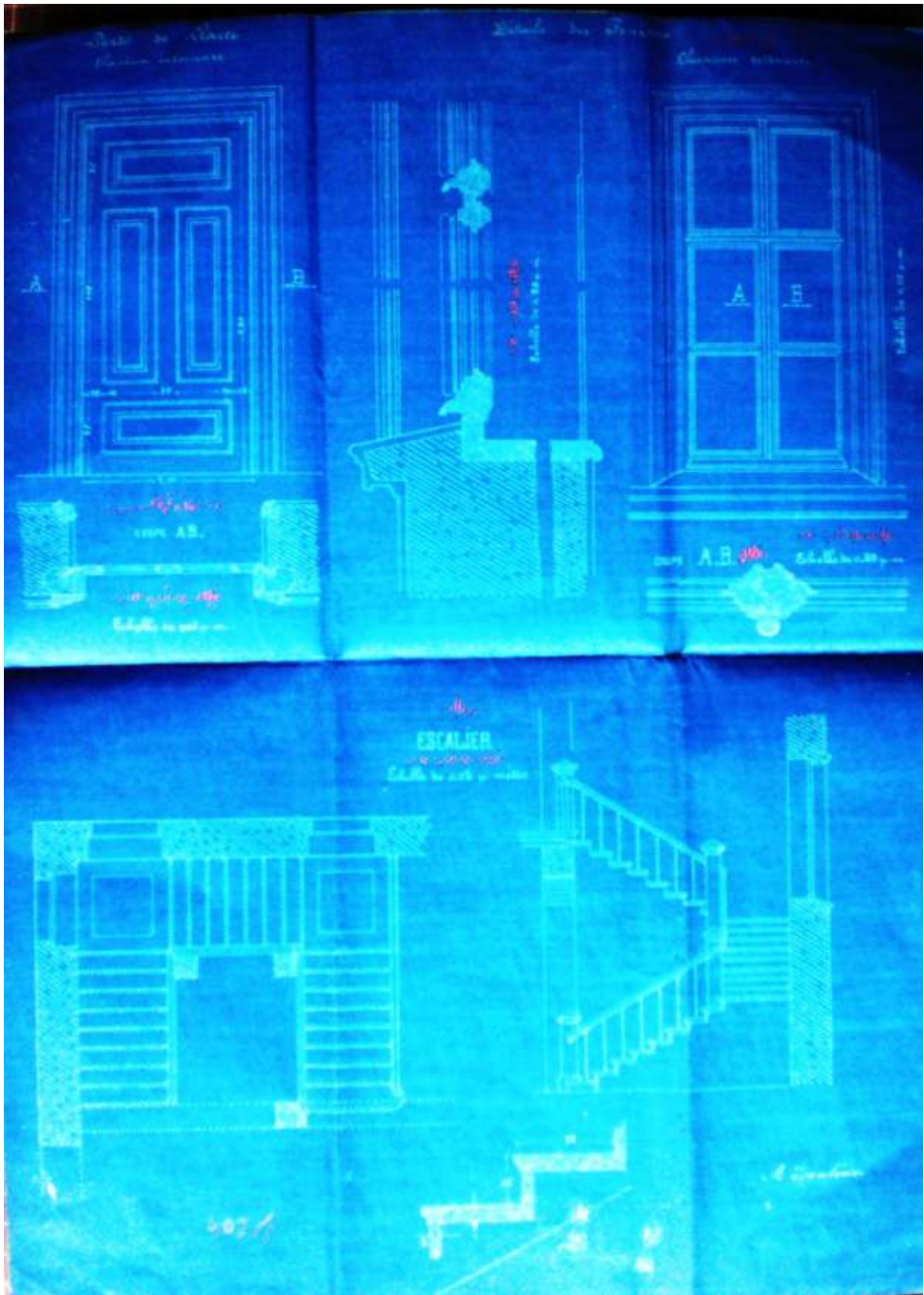


Plans of Hasköy Alliance Israélite Universelle School for Girls, second stage



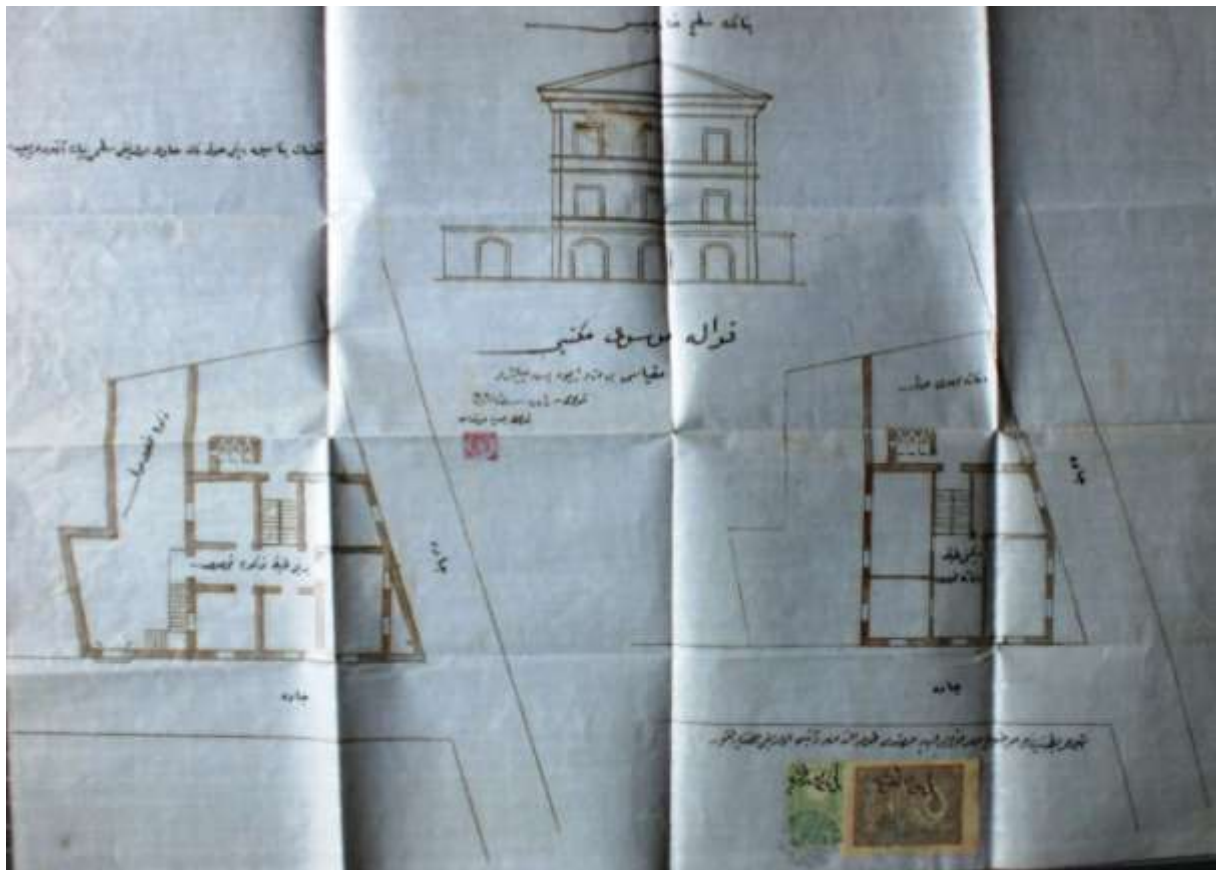
first stage

APPENDIX S5: Plans of Edirne *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School



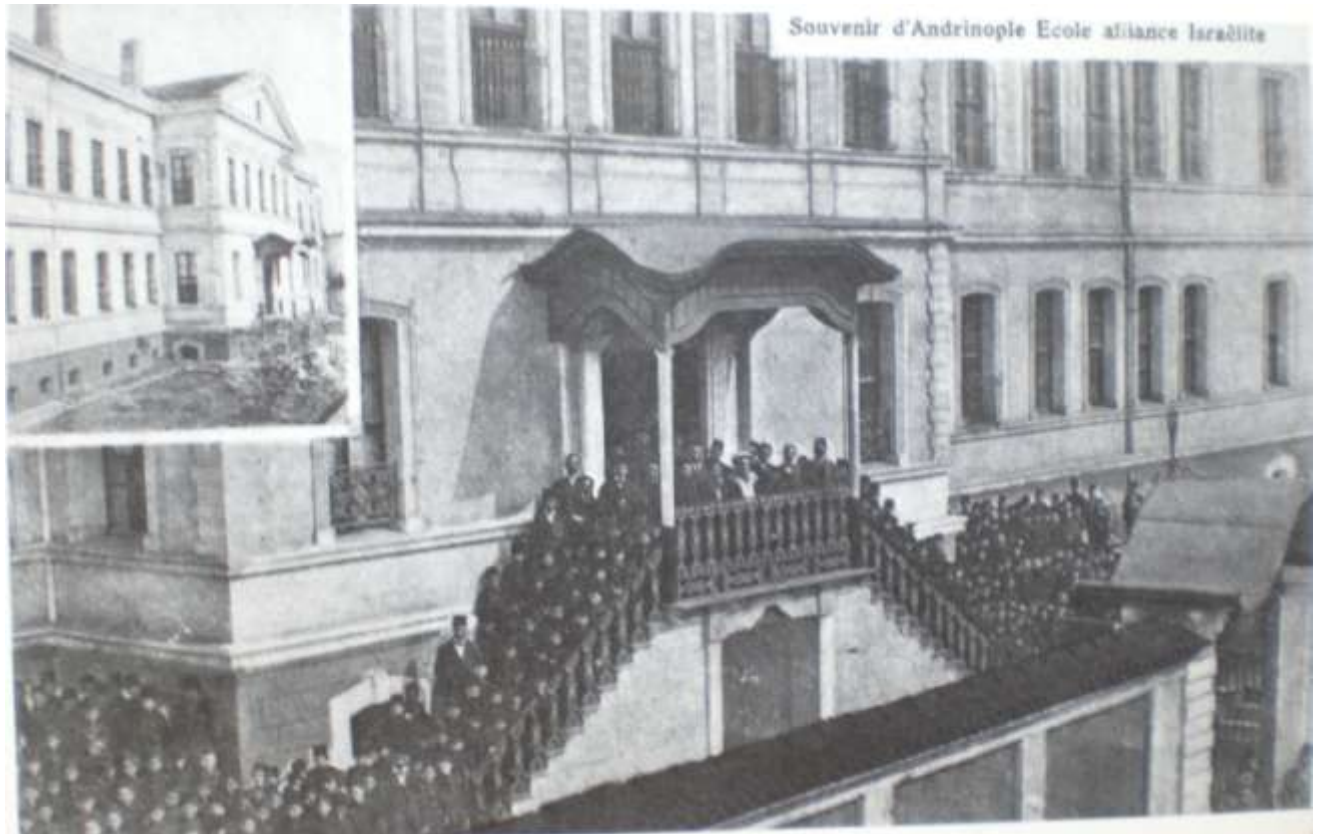
BOA, MF. MKT. 403 / 1

APPENDIX S6: Plan of Kavala *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School for Boys and Girls



BOA, I. MF. 12 / 1324 B-12

APPENDIX T1: The building of Edirne *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School for Boys with its pupils



Gérard Silvain, *Images et Traditions Juives: un millier de cartes postales, 1897-1917, pour servir à l'histoire de la Diaspora* (Paris: Éditions Astrid, 1980), p. 120.

APPENDIX T2: Edirne *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School for Boys



Gérard Silvain, *Images et Traditions Juives, un millier de cartes postales, 1897-1917, pour servir à l'histoire de la Diaspora* (Paris: Éditions Astrid, 1980), p. 120.

APPENDIX T3: Edirne *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School for Girls, dance of children



Ottoman script is read: *Edirne Alyans İsrailit Mektebi çocukları*

Gérard Silvain, *Images et Traditions Juives, un millier de cartes postales, 1897-1917, pour servir à l'histoire de la Diaspora* (Paris: Éditions Astrid, 1980), p. 120.

APPENDIX U1: Pupils of Manastir *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School for Boys and their teachers



Gérard Silvain, *Séfarades et Juifs D'Ailleurs* (Paris: Biro, 2001), p. 87.

APPENDIX U2: Pupils of Manastir *Alliance Israélite Universelle* School for Girls and their teachers



Gérard Silvain, *Sépharades et Juifs D'Ailleurs* (Paris: Biro, 2001), p. 90.

APPENDIX V : Lyrics of the *Alliance* Anthem

Hymne à l'Alliance: paroles d'après Auguste Brun, musique d'Alexandre Brody

Vivant espoir de l'Alliance,	Avec elle à la Liberté !
Frères debout ! Serrons nos rangs !	Au Progrès marchons avec elle
Et sur l'autel de l'espérance	Avec elle à la Liberté !
Sacrifions nos différends !	Vous qui toujours souffles la haine,
Aux protecteurs qui nous contemplant	Contre nos Frères d'Orient
Montrons amis, que nous savons	De vos forfaits brisez la chaîne,
Faire bien, à leur exemple	Ou redoutez le châtement !
Et rendre hommage à leurs leçons	Malgré l'orgueil qui vous enivre,
Acclamons cette œuvre si belle force et dignité	Craignez les coups du lendemain :
Au Progrès marchons avec elle	Israël malgré tout doit vivre,
	Nous serons son ferme soutien.

Bulletin de l'Amicale, Association des Anciens Elèves de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, September 1912, pp. 65-67.



The cover of the anthem

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