

POLITICS OF MUSLIM EDUCATION DURING SULTAN ABDULHAMID II IN SALONICA

II. SULTAN ABDÜLHAMİT DÖNEMİNDE SELANİK’TE MÜSLÜMANLARIN EĞİTİM POLİTİKALARI

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Abstract

Period of Abdülhamid II and his administration started with a ruinous event, Turkish-Russia war of 1877-1878, and he intensely concerned about his Empire and territorial integrity. Thus he and his minister made a great effort for the development of education in the central and provinces of the Empire in order to consolidate Ottoman identity among his tebaa, subjects. One of the provinces that he instrumentalized education was Salonica where nationalist movements gained importance. The purpose of this study is to uncover Muslim schooling in Salonica during Sultan Abdülhamid II era; community’s thoughts on education; the policy of the government towards Muslim, especially women, and non-muslim population in terms of organization, establishment and funding of schools via mostly primary sources taken from Ottoman archives.

Keywords: *Sultan Abdülhamid II, Salonica, Education, Muslim-Non-muslim, Women*

Özet

II. Abdülhamid dönemi ve yönetimi 1877-78 Türk -Rus savaşı gibi yıkıcı bir olay ile başladığından dolayı imparatorluk ve toprak bütünlüğü hususları kendisinin yoğunlaştığı temel problemleri teşkil etmekteydi. Tebaası arasında Osmanlı gibi bir üst kimlik yaratıp ve onu sağlamlaştırmak için merkez ve taşrada eğitim gelişmelerine büyük bir hassasiyetle eğilmiştir. Eğitimin araçsallaştırıldığı taşra merkezlerinden biri de milliyetçiliğin yoğun bir şekilde yaygınlaştığı Selanik’tir. Bu çalışmanın asıl amacı Sultan Abdülhamid döneminde Selanik’teki okullaşma politikalarını; Halkın eğitim gelişmeleri hususundaki düşünceleri ve tutumlarını; okulların kuruluşu ve mali açıdan desteklenmelerini; Müslüman ve gayri müslüman popülasyona karşı Osmanlı hükümetinin yaklaşımlarını genellikle birincil el kaynaklar kullanılarak karşılaştırmalı bir şekilde analiz etmeye çalışmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Sultan II. Abdülhamid, Selanik, Eğitim, Müslim- Gayr-i Müslüm, Kadın*

Introduction

Late 19th and early 20th centuries were a period in which significant events took place in the Ottoman Empire. One of the incidents that left its mark on

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modernization process was Abdülhamid II's succession to the throne and seeing education as a tool to save the Empire. Educational reforms, which came to a turning point during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign, stand out more from the perspective of the Balkan, especially in Salonica Province.

Although there is an extensive works related with the modernization of Ottoman education system in the literature the aim of this study is to contribute to the subject by uncovering new and different archival materials taken from Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives¹. This paper attempts to analyze the general character of the Ottoman Islamic education in Salonica in the 19th century and depicts the close relationship between Muslim and Non-muslim education policies. I will begin by giving an outline of Muslim-Private educational initiatives, some of them referred as *Donme Schools*, because Donme schools and other private Muslim schools were established to answer the demands of the Muslim population in the modern education system. Then, I will elaborate on educational situation and features of Turkish- Muslim community in order to understand change of educational policies in Salonica. I wrote Muslim education system under two different titles; *Donme schools* and *Turkish-Muslim schools* because Donme schools were mostly founded and donated by Dönme people. Şemsi Efendi and subsequent schools (Terakki&Fevziye School) categorized as Donme Schools in some secondary sources. Therefore we have approached the topic under the different titles.

Ottoman administrators attempted major reforms in education and opened many schools in Salonica. What about the community's thoughts on education? Their attitudes which were reflected on the newspapers of the time will be discussed in detail. In addition, organizations, establishment and funding of schools will be examined. Transformation and developments in the education of the Muslim community were realized by the government unlike the non-Muslims. Ottoman Empire spread its system of education in the province by appointing the directors of education who were responsible to carry out issues and works of education; formed the main position between the center and the provinces in terms of efforts to improve and modernize education.² In other words, the schools that Muslims have attended were administered by the directors of education, not by their own community.

¹ The information contained in the article was extracted from the author's master thesis as well as from the new primary sources taken from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (BOA).

² Meryem Karabekmez, "The role of provincial directors of education in the formation of modern Ottoman schooling, 1881-1908", *İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü*, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2012, p. 93-94.

Unlike to the non-Muslims, the Muslims did not have a community statute or community council.

While there was a tangible pressure and supervision on the non-Muslim community, the Muslim community was more comfortable. The Muslim community was also more fortunate about the establishment and funding of the schools. The non-Muslim community had to fulfill the conditions of Statute on General Education to open a school. After these conditions are fulfilled, the funds required to open the schools were provided by the communities that the schools were affiliated.

Addition to these points that explained in more detail below, education of women will also be analyzed. The Ottoman Empire approached towards education of women in a more systematic and regular manner. The size of the role played by women in modernization of non-Muslim communities could not be neglected and the Muslim community was well aware of that. Despite his Islamic policy, Sultan Abdulhamid gave particular attention to the girls' education. Not only the Bab-ı Ali but also the community lived in Salonica supported the establishment of a modern school network for the Muslim community.

“The Spread of Education was one of the greatest stimulants of national uniformity”³

1. A Seperate Community: Dönme

Dönme or a group of *Crypto-Jews* in the Ottoman Empire had changed religion but the term of *Dönme* is especially used for the followers of Sabbetai Sevi, declared himself Messiah in the 17th century. After converting to Islam in order to escape punishment by the Sultan Mehmed IV, a number of Jews followed him into Islam and became *Dönme*.⁴

1.1. Dönme Schools: Private-Islamic Schools in Salonica

Some scholars who have written on the Ottoman education emphasized the Empire's Islamic policies in the late 19th century but non-Muslim communities went through major transformations. Thus, the Ottoman State tried to implement mass schooling and bring educational reforms in order to close the quantity and quality gaps between Muslim and non-muslim schooling. Main principle of the Ottoman policies for Muslim communities

³ Theodore Zeldin, *A History of French Passions 1848-1945*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977, p.141.

⁴ For details look at Scholem's work: Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626-1676*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989.

were to advance the education system and promote schooling. One of the provinces where schools were opened intensely by Abdulhamid II is Salonica. Aim of Muslim-Private educational initiatives in Salonica was to compete with the foreign and minority schools that were very popular because of the quality of education they provided. Thus, some Muslim parents strove to send their children to these educational institutions. In order to prevent this tendency, a series of independent initiatives with a civic character for private Turkish Muslim education did emerge. These initiatives initially appeared in Salonica to answer the demands of the Muslim population for a modern education system.

1.1. 1. Şemsi Efendi School

There were many important Private- Islamic Schools in Salonica and the first *Dönme*⁵ school was *Semsi Efendi* which opened by Şemsi Efendi but didn't last long. According to Baer, the school was both popular and famous for teaching critical thinking, rather than rote memorization, and for inventing a new type of blackboard. His school became a role model for others, notably, the Terakki and Feyziye schools, founded by *Dönme* inspired by his example.⁶

1.1.2. Terakki (Kapanıcı) and Feyziye (Karakas) Schools

Terakki school was established in 1879 by a group of prominent Turkish businessmen and called it as “*mekteb-i terakkî*”. Founder of the school preferred to use the word *terakki* that is equivalent to progress or renewal. In accordance with this, the only way to progress was through a solid education in the arts and sciences. Education was seen as the basic means of societal improvement, thus became the most important field of reform and experimentation in the late Ottoman period.⁷ Establishment date of the school is unclear and disputable. According to *Selanik Salnamesi* (Salonica Provincial Yearbook), it was founded in 1881⁸ but some historians claimed that it was founded in 1879 or in 1877⁹. Then the name of the school was

⁵ In the article Ottoman Private Muslim Schools, which were opened by Donme, Şemsi Efendi, Terakki and Feyziye Schools will be referred as Donme Schools.

⁶ Marc David Baer, *The Donme; Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries and Secular Turks*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, p. 45-50.

⁷ Baer, *The Donme*, p.49-51.

⁸ *Salonica Provincial Yearbook, (Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi)*, Year 1324 (1906 Year), p. 144.

⁹ Songül Keçeci Kurt makalesinde bu bilgiyi şu dipnottan alıntılamıştır: Mehmet Ö. Alkan, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Terakkî Vakfı ve Terakkî Okulları*, Terakki Vakfı, İstanbul, Boru Yayın Grubu, 2003.

changed as “*Yadigar-ı Terakki*”. The main reason for the addition of adjective *yadigar* is to depict loyalty to the Sultan Abdulhamid II.¹⁰

Following the Kapancı Terakki, the Karakaj established a school in 1883-84, named Feyz-i Sibyan (The Excellence of Youth, later shortened to simply Fevziye, Excellence). In these new schools, teachers as well as students were trained to be modern individuals. Teachers were not only responsible for their lessons but had to discipline students and administer the school as well. Sports were promoted as a means of disciplining and managing the students. In order to raise a new generation of Donme youth able to expand the group’s international economic links, the Terraki school emphasized commerce, bookkeeping, accounting, and French, in addition to Turkish. The school fed students to the best schools in Istanbul and placed its graduates at positions in the fields of commerce, finance, and the railway in Salonica.¹¹

In these schools, Şemsi- Terakki- Fevziye, education of girls was not neglected. Fevziye and Terakki schools opened also girls’ schools. There were differences between men and women course schedule for example when we look at women’s school course such as hand works or cooking courses attracted our attention.¹² In girls’ schools not only women teachers but also men instructors worked and their directors were women. Headmaster of Boy’s school was İsmail Hakkı Efendi and headmaster of Girl’s school was Miss Katrin.¹³

Another private school opened by Muslims in Salonica was Commerce School (*Ticaret Mektebi*). Terakki and Fevziye Schools also had a strong emphasis on commerce and had courses related with commerce in their curriculum. In parallel with these schools, a new school was opened for those who graduated from Donme schools.

Donme schools emphasized on their students moral and ethics as a fundamental principle. According to the *Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi* in 1900 (Yearbook of the Province of Salonica), the Fevziye& Terakki schools tried

¹⁰ Songül Keçeci Kurt, Osmanlı Devleti’nde Özel İslam Okulları (Selanik), *Ekev Akademi Journal*, 2013, N 54, Vol. 17, p. 196.; Mehmet Ö. Alkan, “Selanik’ten İstanbul’a Bir Muhacir ve Mübadil Olarak Terakki Okulları”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, Sayı 190, Ekim 2009, p. 62.

¹¹ Bear, *The Donme*, p. 49-52. You can see details about Fevziye Schools’ course schedule and their teachers in the below as a tablo according to official yearbook of the province of Salonica in 1900. All teachers were Muslim and Turk except the French Teacher.

¹² *Official Yearbook of the Province of Salonica (Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi)* in 1900-1901years, p.342-342. You can see details about course contents for men and women at the below as a tablo.

¹³ *Official Yearbook of the Province of Salonica (Selanik Vilayet Salnamesi)* in 1900-1901years, p. 345.

to assure their students' spiritual and material development in Islamic virtue. Many morality books (such as *Rehber-i Ahlak*, *İlm-i Ahlak*) were written for improving students' morals in the reign of Sultan Abdulhamit II and these textbooks were required to read in those schools.¹⁴

Key features of Donme schools established in Salonica at the end of the 19th century were morals and ethics, foreign languages and progressive values. Founder of the school gave a speech in 1904 graduation programme about the plans to improve the education at the school as he stated:

“Next year more attention will be paid to students' moral development. Classes in morals and ethics are being added and increased in primary and middle school. It would be a mistake to forget about the body: we plan to hire a teacher of gymnastics. While in the past we thought it was essential to focus only on teaching French to the best of our abilities, without other foreign languages detracting from it, now we have decided to add Germany, an important language of commerce. We also plan to develop our girls school”.¹⁵

Donme schools, which had modern curriculums and new teaching methods, predated establishment of state schools in Salonica under Sultan Abdulhamid II. According to an archival document dated 1322 (1904), Government sent a letter to Education Director of Salonica related with *dönme* school. Building additive blocks to Terakki and Feyziye schools and construction a new commercial school would be supported financially by the state. At the end of the letter why the government assisted and donated for Donme schools has been explained in such way: Muslim parents send their children to foreign schools because of their rapid development and the quality of education offered. In order to prevent their Islamic morality and ethic values, government informed local authorities to forbade Muslim parents sending their children to foreign schools. That is why they supported the Donme schools.¹⁶ For their excellent aspect, Donme schools were always appreciated.¹⁷ It appears that the factor of foreign schools gave additional impetus to Bab-ı Ali to finance Donme schools and to increase the quality of the existing institutions. In other words, these foreign schools “forced” the Ottoman Empire to modernize its educational system in provinces especially in Balkans.

¹⁴ *Salonica Provincial Yearbook, 1900 year.*

¹⁵ Bear, *The Donme*, p. 46.

¹⁶ *BOA, MF. MKT.*, 792/ 65, 1322 Ca 15.(BOA:Prime Minister Ottoman Archive)

¹⁷ *Yeni Asır Newspaper*, p. 2, First Copy, 21 *rebiyülevvel* 1313 (August1895). The oldest and daily Turkish Newspaper published in Salonica.

1.2. Other private-Islam schools in Salonica

Selimiye Zükur ve İnas Mektebi; it was founded in 1904 year and its tuition was cheaper than other private schools' tuition. According to the Yearbook, there were about 400 students in the mektep.¹⁸

Mekteb-i Osmani; opened in 1882 and there were about 230 students.

Leyli ve Nehari Ticaret Mektebi; It had a strong emphasis on commerce. It was founded in order to educated many important people in the world of commerce.¹⁹

As seen, Private-Islamic schools had significant importance in Ottoman Education system in terms of their education methods and equipments. With the aid of Dönme peoples, *Semsi Efendi, Terakki, Fevziye Mekteps* and Commercial schools were opened. Curriculum in those schools opened by Donme combined science and religion. Donme schools not only emphasized Islamic morality, but also taught languages especially French and Germany, which served to further international commercial relations. Education of girls' was not neglected and they were allowed to continue their education. In these Private- Islamic schools, women in manegarial positions attracted our attention. These private schools were role models for the others in the Empire. Due to Balkan war, Turkish- Muslim people had to migrate to the weastern part of Turkey especially to İstanbul and İzmir. With this migration wave, they brought along with them their own education system. For example, a group of young people who studied at Salonica Terakki School and emigrated to İstanbul established a school titled "Şişli Terakki School" to continue the tradition of their previous school as a home of wisdom and to help younger generations undergo the same tradition.²⁰

2. Turkish- Muslim Schools in Salonica

There were about 4000 students receiving education at Turkish- Muslim schools in multicultural city of Salonica in the 19th century. These schools, - consisted of kindergarden, primary and secondary schools-, were placed on the north of the city where Turks populated intensively.²¹ The mid-19th century reforms initiated obvious efforts to overhaul the educational system in Salonica. Official figures show that in the beginning of 1853 there were 14

¹⁸ Provincial Yearbook of Salonica, year 1325.

¹⁹ Kurt, p. 200-202.

²⁰ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Selanik'ten İstanbul'a Bir Muhacir ve Mübadil Olarak Terakki Okulları", *Toplumsal Tarih*, Sayı 190, Ekim 2009, p.65-72.

²¹ Meropi Anastassiadou, *Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri Selanik 1830-1912*, Translated by Işık Ergüden, Tarih Vakfı Press, 2010, p. 171.

Turkish schools in the city while in 1882 the existence of two Rüşdiye schools is mentioned, one for boys and one for girls.²² Graduates of these schools could continue on to higher institutions (theological, military, legal or medical colleges) or enter the civil service. In that year the girls' school had 130 students and four teachers. Besides, reading and writing were taught in parish schools located near the city's mosques. Apart from these institutions, there were also numerous private schools.²³ In 1887 an *İdadiye school* was founded to train students to fill senior administrative positions.²⁴ The school was turned into *Sultani* school and boarding where students stayed.²⁵

Table 4 (at the end of the article) gives clear educational tablo in Salonica and permits us certain conclusions and observations in terms of total number of students, structure of schools and number of students. According to the author, numerically the Turkish schools (about 5.500 students) come first while the Greek (about 3.900 students) schools are in the second and the Jewish in the third place²⁶

In the *Vilayet Salnamesi* (Provincial Yearbook) we can see only name of the schools and name of their teachers. Headmaster of *Selimiye Mektep* was Hasan Efendi and name of deputy principal was Selim Efendi. Other instructors of the Mektep were Hafız Abdülkerim Efendi, Tevfik Efendi, Hafız Hamdi Efendi. There were about 160 girls in *Hamidiye Mektep* that headmaster was woman named Firdevs Hanım. In the tablo, (tablo 4) number of students educating in *Ali Pasha Mektep* were 288 students, yet in the provincial yearbook total number of the students were 300 and name of the headmaster was Hafız Hüsnü Efendi. According to the table below, total number of boys receiving education in *Mustafa Pasha Boy Mektep* was 75, yet in the yearbook total number was 86 and headmaster of the mektep was Hafız Süleyman Efendi. In *Mustafa Pasha Girl Mektep* number of students was 75 and teachers were mainly consisted of women; name of them were Refis Hanım, Emine Hanım ve Nazmiye Hanım. Name of headmaster of *Yalılarda Ravza-i Sıbyan Mektep* was hacı Mehmet Efendi and his principal deputy was Mehmed Edib Efendi.²⁷

²² Sidiroula Ziogou- Karastergiou, Education in Thessaloniki: The Ottoman Period (1430-1912), *History and Culture*, 1997, vol: 1, ed. By I.K. Hassiotis Paratiritisi, p. 249-250.

²³ Ziogou- Karastergiou, p. 250.

²⁴ Ziogou- Karastergiou, p. 250.

²⁵ Fatih Demirel, Selanik Vilayetlerinde Modern Eğitim Kurumlarının Teşkili ve Gelişimi, *Yedinci Uluslararası Atatürk Kongresi*, Vol. 3, p. 1887.

²⁶ Ziogou- Karastergiou, p. 251-254.

²⁷ *Salonica Provincial Yearbook*, Year 1318, (1900 year) p. 345-346.

According to the Maarif Salnamesi (Yearbook of Education) headmaster of *Darulmuallim School* was İsmail Mahir Efendi who taught geography, history and calculus lessons. Tefvik Efendi gave lessons related with literature courses. Hacı Şükrü Efendi was responsible for the course of kavaid (regulations) and usul-ı tedris (methods of teaching); Abdurrahman Efendi gave religious courses such as the Quran. İsmail Said was responsible for history and grammer lessons.²⁸

Headmaster of *Selanik Rüşdiye Mekteb* was Hacı Şükrü Efendi and his principal deputy Mehmet Şevket Efendi²⁹; Deputy of *Selanik İnas Rüşdiye mekteb* was Hadice Hanım, and name of other instructor were Piruyen Hanım, Fahriye Hanım and Madam Anate who taught needlework.³⁰ As can be seen, teachers of the mekteps were mainly consisted of women.

The normal period of study at *Selanik Hamidiye Sanayi Mektebi* was five years. This mektep was established in the year of 1291 (1874 year).³¹ Courses were consisted of the Quran, religious science, Calculus, Grammer and Calligraphy, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Language and Geography. There were 180 students and 10 servants in the mekteb.³² This boarding school was a primary level (ibtidai) and poor pupils were accepted without tuition fee.³³

Except the table below, there was another school mentioned in the yearbook that was *Selanik Mektebi Rüşdiye-i Askeriye*. This militay school had 253 students and 2 servants.³⁴

Table 1 taken from Salonica Yearbook gives clear educational situation(madrasah) in Salonica in terms of total number of students, places of schools and name of teachers.

Table 1: Medreseler (Madrasa)

Name of Madrasah	Place	Mudarris(Instructors)	Number of Student
Ishaq Pasha	Near Sherif Mosque	Abdullah Efendi	17
Salım Pasha	Sherif Mosque	Ali Efendi	24
Yousof Pasha	Sherif Mosque	Hacı Ahmed	29
Nouman Pasha	SarıAtikNeighbourhood	Yakup Efendi	33

²⁸ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye, Educational Yearbook*, p. 515.

²⁹ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye, Educational Yearbook*, p. 516.

³⁰ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye, Educational Yearbook*, p. 518.

³¹ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye, Educational Yearbook*, p. 519.

³² *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye, Educational Yearbook*, p. 519. Compared to Salonica Provincial Yearbook, Educational Yearbook includes more details about education in Salonica.

³³ Demirel, p.1888-1889.

³⁴ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye, Educational Yearbook*, p. 521.

Sulaiman Beg	SarıAtıkNeighbourhood	Abdullah Efendi	29
Mehmed Çavuş	KasımPashaNeighbourhood	Şaban Efendi	47
Abdurrahman Beg	MustafaPashaNeighbourhood	İbrahim Efendi	41
Yakup Pasha	Yakup PashaNeighbourhood	Ali Efendi	25
Molla Beq	Çınarlı Neighbourhood	Hikmet Efendi	16

Source: *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiyye, Educational Yearbook*, p. 522.

Selanik Hamidiye Ziraat ve Ameliyat Mektebi was an agricultural school. In order to enter the mektep, students have to have some qualifications. Being child of a farmer lived in Salonica or Kosovo, being subject (*tebaa*) of Ottoman Empire, having primary school (*ibtidai*) diploma and having a health report were required qualifications to enter the mektep.³⁵ According to Yearbook, total number of students were 80 and each year 20 students were accepted to the school.³⁶ Curriculum of the school consisted of various disciplines; Quran, Religious Doctrine, Writing and Grammer, Calculus, Geography, Chemistry, Botanic, Maths, Science and Agriculture, French and Viticulture.³⁷

According to Salonica Provincial Yearbook dated 1318, there was a school called *İdadi Mülki Mekteb* which consisted from classroom, dining hall, dormitory and various rooms for civil servant. Total number of the students was 251³⁸ and main courses were history, Arabic, French, Turkish and Persian languages, religious doctrine, maths, cosmography and machine.³⁹ Another school not listed above was *Mülkiye Mektebi*.⁴⁰

Apart from the tablo given at the above, there are many *ibtidai mekteps* (*primary schools*). Those are;

Kale Hamam Mektebi; teachers, Hafız Zipir Efendi, Abdurrahman Efendi, Mehmed Ali Efendi.

Çınarlı Mektebi; teachers; İlyas Efendi, Hafız Moustafa Efendi.

Zihni Pasha Mektebi; teachers; Osman Efendi, Hasan Fehmi Efendi.

Akçe Mescid Mektep; teacher; Ali Efendi.

Yedi Kalede Popare Cami Mektebi; teacher Tevfik Efendi.

³⁵ *Salonica Provincial Yearbook, 1312 Year, 13. Def'a(times), p. 122*

³⁶ *Ibid, p. 122, 123.*

³⁷ *Ibid, p. 122, 123.*

³⁸ *Salonica Provincial Yearbook, 1318 Year, 16. Def'a(times), pp. 316.*

³⁹ *Salonica Provincial Yearbook, 1312 Year, p. 323.*

⁴⁰ *Salonica Provincial Yearbook, 1318 Year, p. 325.*

Ahmed Subaşı Mektebi: teachers; Hacı Hasan Efendi, Hafız Mehmed Efendi, Hafız Hasan Efendi.⁴¹

As it can be seen above, Salonica, metropolis of different nations and religions, was a place of substantial educational development. More researches have been conducted about Salonica and its education system but there were less works on Muslim education system. Tables and statistical information taken from archival sources clearly gives us picture of educational situation in Salonica. Data given at the below allow us to understand total number of schools and structures, the number of the students (boys and girls), contents of the course and nations of teachers etc. There were at every level and degree of schools in Salonica from *ibtidai* (primary), mekteps to *idadi* (high schools), from classical schools to vocational schools.

Salonica's multi-faceted society and the requirements of its economic life seem to have weighed heavily on the development of the curricula and the orientation of the Muslim schools.⁴² There were common features which constitute Muslim education schools; commercial courses and languages teaching. Besides Ottoman language, at least one foreign (western) languages were taught. As said before, Salonica was one of the great centers of commerce in Ottoman Empires so French was the common language which was taught in the Muslim schools. In other words, for the Hamidian bureaucrats the main aim of public education should be the raising of a new generation of Muslims who could become active in commercial life and thus promote the economic development of the Empire.⁴³

Education of girls' was not neglected and they were allowed to continue their education. In these schools women in managerial positions attracted our attention. There were courses related with their household such as manual works. Another feature of Hamidian schools was Islamic policy of the government. In the second half of the nineteenth century Islamic approach in Ottoman schools became decisive; curriculum consisted of Islamic courses such as Quran, Kıraat (reading Quran) or Akaid-i Diniye (principles of religion).

3. The Community's Thoughts on Educational Development

Different nations around Salonica (Serbians, Bulgarians, Greek, etc.) were carrying out nationalism propagandas at the schools. Being aware of this, the

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 347.

⁴² Ziogou- Karastergiou, p. 255.

⁴³ Selçuk Akşin Somel, Ottoman Islamic Education System in the Balkans in the Nineteenth Century, *Islamic Studies*, 1997, N. 2/3, Vol. 36, p. 446-447.

Ottoman administrators attempted major reforms in education. They opened many Muslim schools that were mentioned above in detail. Also, they drew up reports. One of those reports is drawn up by Mustafa Bey⁴⁴. In the report, it was emphasized that the Muslim people living in various townships and districts of Salonica area cannot speak a language other than Bulgarian and Wallachian. For that reason, the report emphasized that state schools should be opened here and financial resources that those schools would need should be provided on the local level. In the report, Radovişli has stated that the fact that local Muslim community cannot speak Turkish does not comply with the Islamic state politics and the local people has forgotten Islamic doctrines as well.⁴⁵ Thereupon, state schools were opened to teach Turkish Language and Islamic doctrines to the Muslim children and attendance to the schools was also kept under control. In other words, one can conclude that one of the aims of educational policies in the 19th century was consolidating Islam and Ottoman identity among Muslims.

Educational problems of the Muslim living in townships around Salonica province were also reflected in the newspapers of the time as well as archive documents. According to an article in the *Selanik*⁴⁶ newspaper in 1869 there is no school in the township of Filorina where over 20.000 people lived. One of the notable persons in the town, Petrol Emin Ağa had opened a high school to ensure that children are not deprived of education.⁴⁷ It can be said that education awareness and movements within the town was clearly observed.

The community's thoughts on the education were reflected on the newspapers of the time. In the Rumeli Newspaper, a number of articles were published on the establishment of a modern school network for the Muslim community and the importance of education in Salonica: "Education... It teaches people their position, self-respect and humanity with one word. People who were trained with education would not bow to the tyrant. They would rise up immediately. The ones who are deprived of the blessing of education, will

⁴⁴ Radovişli Mustafa Bey was born in Radovis. He was elected to the Parliament after the announcement of the 1st Constitutionalist Period. Then he went back to Salonica and served in Educational Directorates in significant positions. **For Details:** Selçuk Akşin Somel, 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 Journal*, 2005, N 2, Vol. 1.

⁴⁵ Somel, Maarif Müdürü Radovişli Mustafa Bey'in Raporları, p. 118-120.

⁴⁶ This is the official provincial newspaper. It was issued two times a week on Monday and Thursday.

⁴⁷ *Selanik Newspaper*, the first copy, 21 rebiülevvel 1286, 1 July 1869, p. 49.

be condemned to be unhappy. They would take up arms with hunger, because of hunger.”⁴⁸ One of the articles that drew attention to the situation as follows;

*We should draw a lesson from the Greek, Bulgarians and Jews. In entire Bulgaria, there is no school of the Muslim community which has made a reputation and progress in the century. What is the reason behind that? Does the local government stand in the way? No. If the Muslims want to build a school and be humans, local government would even contribute. It would support so that we would demand knowledge and ability, decency and virtue. The hope of the future would be manifested.*⁴⁹

According to another article which emphasized that the Muslims’ only weapon is education; “You should learn Turkish, which is the official language of the state, and then learn foreign languages. Otherwise you would always be in trouble like the nations left in the darkness of ignorance.”⁵⁰ This is the fact that, Salonica’s Muslim population were concerned about education that was the key of development.

For the education of Muslims, Ottoman Empire did not hesitate to make any help; It means that local government would provide all kinds of support if the Muslims demand education and ask for help to ensure that we are well educated.⁵¹ As it can be understood from the examples above, both the government and the Muslim community have emphasized the importance of education diligently.

Among the Muslim community, not only the children but also the adults have attempted to have education. For example, one of the locals in the township of Salonica, a man called Mustafa Ağa has attended a primary school despite the fact that he has never seen a school or even walked past a school in his entire life.⁵²

According to an article published in Yeni Asır Newspaper, schools in some villages were opened with the support from local people. The underlying reason behind these efforts of the local people for the education of their children is a lot different that it seems. The educated children would be more

⁴⁸ *Rumeli Newspaper*, N 15, the first year, 10 mart 1322 (23 march 1906), p. 2.

⁴⁹ *Rumeli Newspaper*, N 14, the first year, 3 mart 1322 (16 march 1906). p. 1.

⁵⁰ *Rumeli Newspaper*, N 8, the first year, 13 kanun-ı sani ?. (The date is partially illegible due to damage.) p. 4.

⁵¹ *Rumeli Newspaper*, N 30, the first year, 7 temmuz 1322, (20 July 1906), p .4.

⁵² *Selanik newspaper*, the second copy, 19 muharrem 1287(21 april 1870), p.20.

informed about agricultural activities in the future and thus the yield would increase in agriculture.⁵³

In Salonica, some people reacted to the modern schools established for Muslim community and they did not consent that their children are educated at those modern schools. People, who wanted their children had religious education from imams, objected that teachers coming to the villages and towns teach their children. They objected to modern education and teachers thinking that children would adopt “non-Muslim traditions”.⁵⁴

4. Muslim Women Education in Salonica During Abdulhamid II Era

Ottoman educational institutions constituted mainly of *madrasahs* (the continuation of traditional Islamic *Madrasas*), *sıbyan schools* (Primary school, common education places), *Enderun School* (a palace school) and military educational institutions during the early Ottoman Empire. Muslim women were only educated in the *sıbyan schools* however some daughters of wealthy families received private education in their home. Thus they continued to their education.

As the role and power of women in changing the society was realized, a great importance was given to the education of women. In the increasing number of girl schools in Salonica, it was obligatory to educate women for the need of female teachers for female students. The main objective here was to raise educated and informed mothers and well-equipped housewives who will hand down the ideology to the next generations and thus to increase the quality of the community, not to enable girls to have an occupation.

Tanzimat extended educational opportunities for Ottoman women. One of the very last investments of the Ottoman State for women education were the *Tibhane-i Amire Mektebi*, a midwifery school founded in 1842.⁵⁵ Then it was followed by the *Inas Rüşdiye* (secondary education for young girls), the *Sanayi Mektepleri* (vocational schools for girls) and the *Darulmuallimat* (Women’s Teachers schools). In this period, many journals and newspapers become one of notable sources that give effort to provide a better status for women in order to create the “ideal new woman”. According to one of the articles written in *Takvim-i Vekayi Newspaper* (the first fully Turkish language newspaper), aim of *Rusdiye schools* opened for girls was to make religious and secular

⁵³ *Yeni asır*, N 42, the first year, 7 şaban 1313, (23 Ocak 1896), p.3.

⁵⁴ *Yeni asır*, N 74, the first year, 4 mayıs 1312, 16 May 1896, p.2.

⁵⁵ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı’da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908); İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin*, Translated by Osman Yener, İletişim Press, İstanbul, 2010, p. 225.

information acquisition to them and therefore they could protect their honour and help their husbands in domestic works.⁵⁶ According to publications, women were seen as a good mother, as a good Muslim and as a good wife who could raise well-educated and cultivated generations in homeland. Therefore they become symbol of the civilized society and they were seen as one of the indicators of the modernization.⁵⁷

There were many publications in Salonica that questioned muslim women's education. According to one of the articles published in the *Selanik newspaper* in 1869 everybody had to send their children to schools. People who did not send their children schools or opponents of this rule had to fine range from about 5 *guruş* to 100 *guruş*.⁵⁸ These publications enhanced awareness of women education in Salonica and encouraged a change attitudes positively in the society. In other words, publications played an important role in women education.

Some people tried to restrict Muslim women's education in Salonica, but we can say that this attitude or restriction was taken a great reaction in the community. According to one of the articles of Rumeli Newspaper published in Salonica there was a great reaction in community towards to those people who avoided sending their children especially their girls to schools. "...a number of people in our community (muslim population) pay no attention to improvement of our *mekteps*(schools) because they don't want to know what is meaning of mektep. Also especially some narrow-minded people of our religion regard learning French and Bulgarian languages as an equivalent to abandon their religion." In the following article, underlying reason for this reaction has been explained: "...Whereas, we will suffer under any authority as long as we don't know any foreign languages or we don't demand for learning foreign languages.⁵⁹ Importance of girls' education were touched on in another article: "...how illiterate community will develop and how they bring the real revolution?.." ⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Somel, p. 225.

⁵⁷ Ayşe Bozkurt, 93 Harbi Eşiğinde Selanik'te Bir Kadın Dergisi: Ayine (1875-1876), *Kebikeç Journal*, 2005, N 19, p. 73. Some notable Ottoman journals about women; *Aile, Alem-i Nisvan, Asar-ı Nisvan, Ayine, Bilgi Yurdu Işığı, Çal kuşu, Demet, Diyane, Erkekler Dünyası, Ev Hocası, Firuze, Genç Kadın, Hanım, Hanımlar, Hanımlar Alemi, Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete, Hanımlara Mahsus Malumat, İnci, İnsaniyet, Kadın, Kadın(Selanik), Kadınlar Alemi, Kadınlar Dünyası, Kadınlık/ Kadın Duygusu, Kadınlık Hayatı, Kadın Yolu/ Türk Kadın Yolu, Mehasin, Musarrer Kadın, Müriüvvet, Parça Bohçası, Seyyale, Siyanet, Süs, Şükufezar, Terakki, Türk Kadını, Vakit yahud Mürebbi-i Muhadderat.*

⁵⁸ *Selanik Newspaper*, p. 8 0, the first issue, 18 cemadiyelevvel 1286(26 August 1869).

⁵⁹ *Rumeli Newspaper*, N 23, the first year, 12 mayıs1322, 1June 1906, p. 3.

⁶⁰ *Rumeli Newspaper*, N 24, the first year, 19 mayıs 1322, 1 June 1906, p.1.

Female education programme differed from boys' curriculum which is including maths, arithmetic or scientific courses. Unlike boys' curriculum, girls' courses were Ottoman language, principles of religion, history and geography, music, sewing, home economics that were necessary for girls destined for motherhood. Besides, different courses related with cultural studies were combined into one course called "history and geography".⁶¹ As can be seen, aim of girls' curriculum is that Ottoman Empire intended to further elevate their roles in the society; *being a good mother, being an educator and being a good wife*.

Sultan Abdulhamid II saw education as a crucial battleground for the Empire's future so he chose not to try to direct the new educational changes through the religion. Despite his promotion of Islamic policy, he gave particular attention to the girls' education and he ignored suggestions for girls' education restriction coming from the religious community.⁶² The most important indication is foundation of *ibtidai* and *rüşdiye* schools for girls in the center of the Empire and the provinces.

5. On Organization of Schools

5.1. On Establishment and Funding of Schools

During Abdülhamid's reign, it was tried to take education out of the centre to the provinces and the countryside. Sultan Abdülhamid, who has made a great effort to maintain centralization, also wanted to extend primary&secondary and high school education in provinces. Struggling with financial problems, the Empire started to seek resources for modern education practices. Primary resources allocated to education in Abdülhamid II's reign were tithe, education fees taken from students (on payment of a small fee) and deductions from officers' salaries, etc.⁶³ Despite all these measures, Ottoman Empire has failed to allocate sufficient budget for education. Money raised for schools were spent on other needs and priorities.

Providing financial support for education is a common practice in Islamic tradition and it is possible to see various examples of this in provinces. However, these aids cannot be benefitted from as required.⁶⁴ For that reason, Ottoman Empire has tried to solve financial resource problem in Salonica province in various ways;

⁶¹ Somel, p. 227.

⁶² Benjamin Fortna, The Reign of Abdulhamid II, *In Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 4, edited by Resat Kasaba, Cambridge, pp. 38-61.

⁶³ Mustafa Gündüz, Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Eğitimi Sisteminin Finansmanını Sağlama Düşünce, Öneri ve Uygulamaları, *New World Science Academy*, 2010, N. 4, vol. 5, p. 1663.

⁶⁴ Somel, Radovişli, p. 127.

- Six lands on which destroyed mosques and small prayer rooms are located among the Christian and Jewish neighbourhoods in Salonica were sold and the revenues of those structures were transferred to the Ministry of Education,⁶⁵
- The sufficient amount of money for the provision and continuation of the girls school in Demirhisarı town of Salonica was obtained locally,⁶⁶
- Permission is given for repairing the destroyed wall of a classroom which was annexed to the Salonica Girls High School and the money required for this repair will be paid from the construction allowance of the provincial section of the annual budget,⁶⁷
- Large boats which connect the banks of Vardar and Karasu rivers were confiscated and the revenue obtained from operation of these boats were used for education.⁶⁸ As seen from the examples, various ways were tried for the establishment and funding of the Muslim schools.

When we look at the schooling activities of the non-Muslim community living in the Salonica province of the Ottoman Empire and establishment and management of these schools, we encounter a different scene. Following the Imperial Edict of Reorganization (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) and the Imperial Reform Edict (*Islahat Fermanı*), new arrangements were made in the non-Muslim schools with the Statute on General Education passed by the government in 1869.

According to this statute, non-Muslim community had to comply with certain rules to open a school. The most important one of those conditions was having a diploma to be accepted by the Ministry of Education. In addition, the schools were required not to be involved in any actions against ethics and overall policy of the country and course materials were required to be approved by the Ministry of Education.⁶⁹

Moreover, according to the statute, the request of the non-Muslim community to open a school was approved and given official permit only after it is completed in accordance with the following conditions and there is no harm seen in it. These additional conditions were:

It was required that the results of the investigation by the local administrators and the opinion of the provincial administrative assembly on

⁶⁵ *MF. MKT.*, 82/101, 1301 R 4.

⁶⁶ *MF. MKT.*, 117/70, 1307 N 19.

⁶⁷ *MF. MKT.*, 493/18, 1317 Za 14.

⁶⁸ *YMTV*, 37/56, 1307 C. 1.

⁶⁹ Hidayet Vahapoğlu, *Osmanlıdan Günümüze Azınlık ve Yabancı Okulları*, M. E. B. Press, Ankara, 1997, p. 96.

*whether an adequate population lives in the area from this nation and sect, whether there are adequate number of children in educational age and whether there is any political intention or impediment were submitted to the approval of the government.*⁷⁰

In Salonica province, the main financial resources of the non-Muslim community's schools were the founders of the schools or the foundations. The money provided by or the revenues from the properties which belong to the churches/synagogues or the consulates or Patriarchate/Exarch to which the schools were affiliated; money raised from events organized, donations, the money donated regularly by bishops and wealthy people from their incomes and tuition fees taken from students constituted the revenues of the schools.⁷¹

Foreign states, missionary organizations, Mihitarist and Alliance Israelite organizations have played significant roles in establishment and funding of their own communities' (Armenian or Jewish) schools in Salonica.⁷² Especially since the Jewish schools were supported by rich merchants, numerous schools were opened and funded in the Ottoman country, especially in Salonica. Educational expenses of the non-Muslim communities were tried to be covered from various resources as it can be understood from various examples such as

- secret aids to the Greek schools in Salonica, Kosovo and Manastır provinces by the Greek government,⁷³
- the houses donated to the Jewish schools by one of the leading figures in Salonica Jewish community, Mişon Nivenestin Efendi⁷⁴
- building a new school on the land of a destroyed Greek school with the money raised by the Greek community.⁷⁵

Occasionally, Ottoman Sultans contributed in the non-Muslim schools. Although these are mostly the schools in İstanbul, it was also seen that the Sultans helped schools on their routes during various trips.⁷⁶ Although help was requested from the government in relation to the funding of the schools which belonged to the non-Muslim community, mostly no help was provided to the schools in the countryside. According to a document dated 1322, an

⁷⁰ Arzu M. Nurdoğan, II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Kosova'daki Gayrimüslim Okullaşma ve Babiali'nin Bu Okullara Yönelik Politikası, *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri Journal*, 2013, N 1, vol. 13, p. 578.

⁷¹ Vahapoğlu, p. 100.

⁷² Vahapoğlu, p. 66.

⁷³ *MF. MKT.*, 566/4, 1318 Ş 15.

⁷⁴ *MF. MKT.*, 795/28, 1322 Ca 26.

⁷⁵ *MF. MKT.*, 895/27, 1323 N 23.

⁷⁶ Vahapoğlu, p. 101.

answer to the request of the non-Muslim Community was: Since no money could be allocated from the Ministry of Education's budget for repairing the non-Muslim schools in Salonica province, these schools should be repaired by the related communities in accordance with the Statute on Education.⁷⁷ These attitudes can be meaningful to depicts the claim that the Hamidian administration was not favourable to non-muslim schooling.

5.2. Management and Supervision of Schools

Education managers during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign started a series of works against the nationalism movements which was spread to the entire Balkans in that period. They have emphasized that the idea of closing the schools of the non-Muslim community in the province cannot be realized due to the political depression of the period; on the other hand that it did not seem possible that the government overlooked this activity; for that reason the only thing to be done by the government was to bring more administrative control and inspection on the schools and teachers.⁷⁸

Non-Muslim schools could reject the teachers appointed by the government and accept the personnel of their organization or the teacher sent by the organizations they were affiliated to. In such practices, the government did not pay the salaries; for example, It was notified to the Salonica Directorate of Education that the Ottoman Language teacher appointed to the Greek school in the township of Ağustos was not accepted by the Metropolitan Bishop and he has employed a teacher of his own choice, but the salary of teachers who were assigned this way would not be paid by the Ministry of Education.⁷⁹ Since these teachers were free in the classroom, they could act differently.

The main purpose of supervising these well-educated, conscious and volunteering teachers was "*to be sure about what they do and say in the classroom*". For that reason, the control mechanism on teachers became more and more perceivable during Abdülhamid II's reign. As it can be understood from examples such as not assigning teachers from Bulgaria, Serbia and other foreign countries without good standing certificate from the commission, not employing teachers from foreign communities in non-Muslim schools,⁸⁰ notifying all educational administrations to keep the officers and inspectors of the non-Muslim schools under control constantly and report the situations,⁸¹

⁷⁷ *MF. MKT.*, 795/42, 1322 Ca 26

⁷⁸ Nurdoğan, s. 563.

⁷⁹ *TFR. I. SL.*, 92/9200, 1323 Za 14.

⁸⁰ *MF. MKT.*, 856/37, 1323 Ra 17.

⁸¹ *MF. MKT.*, 932/7, 1324 R 9

not appointing foreign teachers to the Ottoman Muslim schools, duly replacing the ones who were appointed and appointing teachers from the Ottoman community instead of them⁸², teachers of the non-Muslim schools were kept under control.

The diligence shown in the supervision of teachers was also shown in the schools opened recently and the books taught at those schools. In the course books taught at Muslim schools during Abdülhamid II's reign, religious and authoritarian social values on one hand and earthly and progressive perception on the other hand were emphasized. The first part of this emphasize occurred in the text books and course books on ethics and spelling and the second part was apparent in history books in all levels. The double headed aspect of the Ottoman state education, social discipline and modernism, has manifested itself in course books in this manner.⁸³ In short, the distinctive feature of the curriculum contents of the school system during Abdülhamid's reign was the emphasize put on religious and authoritarian values.

Some kind of measures were taken to prevent nationalism and independence ideas of the communities in Salonica province, especially the Bulgarians; we encounter incidents such as appointing Bulgarian schools inspector for continuous supervision of Bulgarian schools and licensing the unlicensed Bulgarian schools and supervising their curriculums,⁸⁴ inspection of books and booklets on Bulgarian doctrines by Salonica Educational Commission and Salonica Administrative Commission and sending the ones contents of which were not understood to the Ministry of Education⁸⁵.

Since there were all kinds of harmful books in the libraries of the Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian schools in Salonica and their teachers were educated abroad, they had taught all kinds of subjects against the Islamic community.⁸⁶ Educational activities of the Bulgarians were monitored closely and since the books on Bulgarian history were harmful, they were collected and destroyed to prevent that they were brought to the city and publication of those books were not allowed.⁸⁷ The books, which were allowed to be published despite the fact that they were harmful, were collected and necessary action was taken; for example, upon the notification that the Bulgarian Geography book gave

⁸² *MF. MKT.*, 320/ 64, 1314 M 8.

⁸³ Somel, *Modernleşme*, s. 253.

⁸⁴ *MF. MKT.*, 566/4, 1319 Ra 12.

⁸⁵ *MF. MKT.*, 130/39, 1309 M 15.

⁸⁶ *BEO*, 173/12951, 1310 § 29.

⁸⁷ *MF. MKT.*, 74/93, 1299 S 9.

harmful ideas to the students, a copy of the book was sent to the Salonica Directorate of Education to take necessary action.⁸⁸

Another community that Ottoman Empire wanted to take under control was the Greek. After declaring its independence, the Greek state has supported the Greek to extend their ideologies in the Greek schools in Salonica area. As it can be understood from the examples such as secretly giving money to the Greek metropolitan bishops to be distributed to the Greek schools in Salonica⁸⁹ and covering the educational expenses of the Greek children by the community⁹⁰ they were protected.

In addition to the Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek communities, the Empire has supervised other communities which had schools in Salonica and were involved in harmful activities. For example, *New Ethics*, which was a book published by the Jewish community in Italian was banned and other directorates of education were informed about this matter.⁹¹

As of the Tanzimat Era, non-Muslim schools started to be opened in Salonica area increasingly. Since Sultan Abdülhamid II knew the contribution of the schools in this area in nationalist schools, he tried to keep the schools under strict control. The management of the schools, teachers and the course books to be taught were controlled and inspected strictly. In addition, Sultan Abdülhamid II has adopted one of the practical methods of central state concept to be implemented in education and made teaching Ottoman Language obligatory at the non-Muslim schools.⁹² A supra-identity was tried to be created by overcoming the political, ideological and cultural compartments among various factors by means of language education and on the other hand Ottoman language was used as a means and initiation of including ethics education in state schools.⁹³

On the other hand, the matter of determining the teachers who would teach Ottoman language has created a discussion. Sultan Abdülhamid has provided moral and material support for encouraging the generalization of Ottoman language in non-Muslim schools in Rumeli provinces.⁹⁴ Teachers who would teach Ottoman language should be the Muslims who were educated at state schools, however some of the Non-Muslim schools in Salonica could appoint

⁸⁸ *MF. MKT.*, 135/38, 1309 B 2.

⁸⁹ *BEO*, 988/74041, 1315 S 5.

⁹⁰ *MF. MKT.*, 505/21, 1318 M 22.

⁹¹ *MF. MKT.*, 231/22, 1312 R 6.

⁹² *BEO*, 931/69807, 1314 Za 5.

⁹³ Nurdoğan, s. 565

⁹⁴ *MF. MKT.*, 721/49, 1321 Ca 5.

people from their own community instead of the teachers appointed by the government. For example, it was notified to the Salonica Directorate of Education that the Ottoman Language teacher appointed to the Greek school in the township of Ağustos was not accepted by the Metropolitan Bishop and he has employed a teacher of his own choice.⁹⁵ The underlying reason behind such incidents was the possibility that foreign teachers played a significant role in development of nationalist thought and movement in the province.

Conclusion

In the paper, we aimed to give the readers general perspective of Ottoman society in terms of educational system in the period of late 19th and early 20th centuries in Salonica. During Abdülhamid II's reign, it was seen that the number of schools increased not only among the Muslim community but also non-Muslim and foreign communities. In other words, Abdülhamid II's reign was not a period in which schooling has taken place only among the Muslim community. However, most of these schools were used as instruments for independence by non muslim communities.

Education of the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Salonica was affected by the nationalization and nationalism movements that the whole world was involved in during and after the Second Constitutional Era. Along with modernization, the main objective of the education of women (teaching social ethics and religious assignments) was replaced with nationalism. Within the non-Muslim communities, instilling nationalist feelings and teaching the doctrines of their own cultures to the girls became the main objective together with the modernization process. In other words, all objectives (ethical, religious and professional purposes) were left behind and nationalism became prominent. It can be said that the education of women was shaped around this ideology. Therefore, the main reason of educating girls was to equip them with nationalist ideology so that they could support the objective of raising nationalist generations as primary educators and mothers in the family.

It can be said that educational reforms attempted in Salonica for the continuation of the Empire and raising a generation devoted to the sultanate and caliphate failed to give the desired outcomes and also caused growing of the staff who would cause the fall of the Empire and building a nation among the communities. Most of these nations in Salonica, which is a cosmopolite involving different communities and societies, had their own churches and schools. In time, these nations planted the seeds of nationalism in the Balkans

⁹⁵ *TFR. I. SL.*, 92/9200, 1323 Za 14.

by giving education in their own language at their own schools. They demanded that work and the books they have prepared are taught by the teacher they have raised at those schools.

Schools became the propaganda instruments of each nation. The role of these schools in extension of nationalism among the non-Muslim community in Salonica was so obvious that the Sublime Porte failed to prevent it despite its efforts. Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbians were trained at their own schools in their own languages by the teachers they have trained. Thus, they tried to instil nationalism to the next generations of these communities by means of these schools.

These schools affected not only the non-Muslim community but also the Muslim community. It can be said that schooling activities have laid the ground for raise of nationalism and emergence of new communities and nations in Salonica. After his reign of thirty years, it was the Young Turks who dethroned Abdülhamid and announced the Constitution (Kanun-ı Esasi) again. The Young Turks were raised in the Balkan province of the Empire. Another thing that they had in common was that the most of them were educated at the state schools that Abdülhamid opened in Salonica. Thus, it can be said that the schools, which aimed to educate a community which is loyal to the state and devoted to the Empire, have mostly failed. It stands out that “Turkism” ideology has replaced the “Ottomanism” idea which was the objective of Abdülhamid who have opened numerous schools in primary, elementary and high school level in order to prevent that Muslim children were assimilated and lost their identities at the non-Muslim schools.

The extension of education to the countryside has brought along the necessity to train the required bureaucracy. According to the needs, vocational schools, vocational high schools, law school and even police and gendarmerie schools were opened. As well as the government, the Muslim community has made efforts for opening the schools and having a good education. After the Tanzimat, especially during the reign of Abdülhamid II, schooling rate has increased among the Muslim community when the education was extended to the provinces off the centre. Although some circles were against the education of Muslim children and tried to impose restrictions, the community did not allow that. Thus, it was seen that schooling has increased among Muslims during Abdülhamid’s reign despite the intensive censorship.

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Appendix

Table 1: According to official yearbooks of the province of Salonica in 1900(Selânik Vilâyeti Salnâmesi H.1318), name of courses of Fevziye Schools and their's instructors:

Müdür ve Lisan-ı Osmanî (headmaster and Ottoman Language)	Ahmed Mehdi Efendi
Lisan-ı Arabî ve Akaid-i Diniye (Arabic and Principal of religion)	Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi
Lisan-ı Fârisî (Persian Language)	Mustafa Sadık Efendi
Akaid-i Diniyye (Principle of religion)	Şemsi Efendi
Lisan-ı Fransevi (French)	Şövalye Efendi
Coğrafya ve Tercüme-i Franseviye (Geography and Translatorship of French Language)	Ali Saib Efendi
Riyaziyyat ve Fünun (Maths and science)	Ahmet Şükrü Efendi
Akaid-i Diniyye ve Kırâat (Principle of religion and Reading)	Mehmet Sadık Efendi
Lisan-ı Osmanî (Ottoman Language)	Necip Necati Efendi
Resim (Drawing)	İstefan Lanse Efendi
Hatt (Calligraphy)	Abdurrahim Efendi
İbare-i Türkiye	Edhem Müfid Efendi
Şube-i Kırâat-ı Türkiye	Ahmed Efendi

Source: Official yearbooks of the province of Salonica (Selânik Vilayet Salnamesi, 1318) pp. 339- 340.

Table 2: Courses taken by boys who study at Fevziye Boy School in Salonica.

Kuran-ı Kerim (Quran)	Lisan-ı Osmanî (Ottoman language)	İlm-i Eşya (Science of Commodity)
Akaid-i Diniyye (Principle of religion)	Lisan-ı Fârisî (Persian Language)	Hesab-ı Zihni(Mental calculus)
Arabî (Arabic)	Usûl-i defteri (About Accounting Education)	Kırâat(Reading)
Tarih-i Umumi ve Osmanî (General History and History of Ottoman Empire)	İlm-i Ahlâk (Science of morality)	Hukuk-i Ticaret (Law of commerce)
Edebiyat (Literature)	Hikmet-i Tabiiyye (Physical scienc	Coğrafya-yıUmrani
İlm-i Servet (About wealth knowledge)	Tarih-i Tabî'î (History of creation)	Coğrafya-yı Umumi (General Geography)
Kitâbet-i Resmîye(Official correspondence)	Hesab(Calculation)	Kimya(Chemistry)
İnşa (Rhymed prose)	Resim(Drawing)	Cebir(Math)
Hendese (Geometry)	Hutut (Borders)	Adab(Etiquette)
Fransızca (French)	Mesail-i Sıhhiye ve Taharet (About Medical and Cleanliness)	

Table 3: Courses taken by girls who study at Fevziye Girl School in Salonica.

Kuran-ı Kerim (Quran)	Coğrafya-yı Umûmi (World Geography)	Hesab (Calculus)
Akaid-i Diniyye(Principal of Religion)	Coğrafya(Memalik-i Osmaniye);Geography (Ottoman Empire)	İmla(Spelling)
Tarih-i Enbiya (History of the Prophets)	Biçki ve el işleri (Tailoring)	İdare-iBeytiyye(Home Economics)
Tarih-i İslam (History of Islam)	Hesab-ı Zihni(Mental Calculus)	Hatt (calligraphy)
Tarih-i Osmanî(History of Ottoman Empire)	İnşa(Rhymed prose)	Lisan-ı Fransevi (French)
Adabve Ahlâk(etiquette&moral)	Lisan-ıOsmani(Ottoman language)	Biçki ve Elişleri (Tailoring)
Kırâat (reading)		Piyano(Piano)

Source: Salonica Yearbook, Year 1318, pp. 341- 342.

Table 4: Turk Schools in Salonica

Name of schools	Type of schools	Teachers	Students
İdadiye(founded 1887)	High School	22	530
Rushdiye	Higher Primary school	-	93
Commercial Mektep	Commercial school	20	124
Darou'l Muallimin	Teachers school	-	55
Selanik Hamidiye-Sanayi Mektebi	Vocational school for orphans	-	155
Selimiye (1884)	Selimiye Mosque for primary school.	-	100
Hamidiye	Schools for girls	-	100
İnas Rushdiye Mektebi	Schools for girls	-	176
Ali Pasha Mektebi	Mixed&primary school	-	288 (154 boys,134 girls)
Mustafa Pasha Mektebi	Mixed&primary school	-	159 (75 boys,84 girls)
Ravza Sıbyan Mektebi	Mixed&primary	-	226 (96 boys,130 girls)
Yadigar-ı Hamidiye	Mixed&primary	-	259 (117 boys,42 girls)
Zihni Pasha Mektebi	Mixed&primary	-	220
Osmaniye mektebi	Mixed&primary	-	214 (66 boys, 148 girls)
Hasan Fehmi Pasha	Grils' Primary school	-	160
Hadika-i İrfan	Kindergarden	-	68
Zınarlı İptidai Mektebi	Kindergarden	-	132
Kale-i Bala	Kindergarden	-	105
Law school (1908)	University	-	365

Police academy	Police collge	-	65
Hamidiye Ziraat&Ameliyat mektebi	Practical Agricultural College (3yearsprogramme)	-	80
Jandarma Mektebi The first Gendarme Offical School opened in Selanik (1904)	Gendarmeric School (6months)	-	140

Source: Ziogiou- Karastergiou, p. 252