

THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONFLICT IN THE NARRATIVES OF
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS (1908-1924):
ISLAMIC AND SECULAR INSIGHTS INTO EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

This study elaborates on the penetration of the secular point of view to the primary school textbooks that were theoretically rooted in a religious *tarbiyah* philosophy in the Second Constitutional Period. On one hand, it seeks the secularizing vision of the new pedagogy on the school subjects faced the challenge of modern scientific thought that had gained strength throughout the nineteenth century. On the other, it argues that the adaptation of the scientific discourse to the religious *tarbiyah*, legitimized the hold of the religious view on education. Focusing on religion, history and civics instruction through textbooks, it examines epistemological inconsistencies and dissenting ideological opinions in the state-approved school knowledge written by various authors. It illustrates the philosophy of education as evidenced in the curriculum of 1913 and highlights the alternative narratives of authors contrasting from one another and differentiating from the state guidelines. Thus it traces the discursive ideological standpoints in textbooks and off-the curriculum narratives which had both Islamist and ethno-secular propensities. The study provides answer to the question of where school texts contributed to the production and reinforcement of the Ottoman-Muslim nationalism, and on the other hand, to what extent they became tools for developing alternative school knowledge, opposing and transgressing the given guidelines of standardized curriculums. It reveals the reflections of the conflict between Islamic and secularist policy of the Unionist period through themes such as religion, history, national consciousness, homeland, civilization and backwardness.

ÖZET

Bu doktora tezi, dinin terbiye üzerindeki otoritesini bilimsel pedagojiye bırakmaya başladığı İkinci Meşrutiyet döneminde eğitim felsefesinin dünyevi ile dini arasında kalan muğlâk söylemini din, tarih ve yurttaşlık bilgisi ders kitapları içerikleri üzerinden incelemektedir. Çalışma, bir yandan on dokuzuncu yüzyıl boyunca yeni pedagojinin modern bilimsel düşüncenin metotları ile ders içeriklerini dünyevileştiren yönünü ele alır; diğer yandan da ele alınan dönemde, bilimsel söylemle dini terbiyenin sentezlenmesinin, dinin eğitim üzerindeki etkisini meşrulaştırdığı görüşünü ortaya atar. Bu çalışma; din, tarih ve yurttaşlık dersi kitaplarına odaklanarak, farklı yazarlar tarafından kaleme alınan devlet onaylı ders kitaplarının sergilediği epistemolojik tutarsızlıklar ve ideolojik farklılıkları incelemektedir. Kitap yazarlarının, 1913'te düzenlenen ilköğretim müfredatına ters düşen ya da ondan farklılaşan alternatif metinlerini gösterir. Böylece hem İslami hem de etno-seküler eğilimli müfredat dışı metinlerdeki çelişen ideolojik dayanak noktalarının izini sürer. Çalışma okul kitaplarının hangi noktalarda Müslüman Osmanlı kimliği ile bağdaştıkları sorusuna cevap ararken diğer yandan ne ölçüde standartlaşan müfredat talimatlarına ters düşen ve onun sınırlarını aşan malumat üretme aracına dönüşebildiklerini ele alır. İttihatçı dönemin İslami ve seküler politikası arasındaki çelişkinin, din, tarih, milli bilinç, vatan ve geri kalmışlık temaları üzerinden yansımalarını ortaya koyar.

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CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| PREFACE | XIX |
| CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Children as a Part of the Enlightenment | 8 |
| The Genealogy of the <i>Terbiye</i> in the Late Ottoman Empire | 31 |
| Reducing Islam to a Pedagogical Category: The Second Constitutional Period | 44 |
| “National” Education | 60 |
| Between Religious and National Revivalism: The Guideline of 1915 (1331) | 72 |
| CHAPTER 2: TEXTBOOK REQUISITION AND APPROVAL PRACTICES | 86 |
| The Debates on Curriculum Reform for the Primary Schools | 93 |
| The Curriculum of 1913 | 100 |
| The Procedure of the Copyright and Translation Office | 104 |
| The Approved and Disapproved Textbooks and Justifications | 112 |
| Objections from Authors | 119 |
| CHAPTER 3: TEXTBOOKS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION | 130 |
| Qualifying the Religious Education | 132 |
| The Articulation of the Moral Depression: Reports from the Provinces | 150 |
| Putting Religious Practices in Modern Forms | 158 |
| A High School Textbook | 173 |
| The Peasants’ Book of Religion | 177 |
| The Treatment of Nationalism | 183 |
| CHAPTER 4: CHILDREN OF ISLAM AND THE HOMELAND | 190 |
| Theoretical Discussions on Civilization and Religion | 195 |
| Teaching Identities through Economy: Muslims versus non-Muslims | 218 |
| Forms of Consciousness in the Disguise of Ottoman Citizenship | 231 |
| The Advent of the Secular School Knowledge: 1921-1926 | 242 |
| CHAPTER 5: HISTORIES: GENERAL HISTORY, OTTOMAN HISTORY AND ISLAMIC HISTORY | 256 |
| Situating General History in the Curriculum | 259 |
| Peoples (<i>Kavims</i>) in History | 271 |
| Islamic History | 278 |
| Imagining the Ottomans | 284 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| The Agency: Sultans versus Pashas | 303 |
| CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION | 316 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 328 |
| APPENDICES | |
| A. A mini-survey conducted by İsmail Hakkı in Balıkesir | 353 |
| B. Bizi Yaradan | 354 |
| C. Mekatib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı (1913) | 360 |
| D. A List of Translated Pedagogy Books Prepared by İsmail Hakkı Bey | 367 |
| E. İd-i Milli Üzerine Ders, On Temmuz | 369 |
| F. A Document of the Censorship on the Textbooks | 374 |
| G. Approved Textbooks for the <i>Rushdiye</i> Schools in 1917 (1333) | 375 |
| H. The List of the Books Withdrawn from Circulation upon the Certificates of the Inspectors of the Education Ministry-1908 (1324) | 376 |
| I. The Response of Fuat Köprülü to the Writing and Translation Office ... | 378 |
| J. Darülmualiminlere Mahsus Evkatname | 379 |
| K. Geography of Old Bigger Turkiya and Today's Turkiya | 380 |
| L. An illustration of the conflict between the church and modern schools in the 20th century | 381 |
| M. An illustration of primitive people | 382 |

PREFACE

The development of public education in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire could be placed in the context of the secularizing effect of schools created by the state bureaucracy. Secularization seems to have a crucial role in constructing the theoretical backbone of the Ottoman experience of modern education. Through public education, children were “saved from the family” since it was “sick”; and they were submitted to the state for pedagogical pretexts. Pedagogic professionalism came to direct the school knowledge by creating scientific discourses against the conventional circles of thought on child-raising. Yet, interpreting all the processes of public education as secularization leads to ignoring the possibilities of tensions and conflicts which took place in active authorship; and it nullifies the fact of textbooks as battle field of the power struggles in the lack of a central state power. In this study, textbooks which are ineluctably political scripts, in the disguise of pedagogical professionalism, will be used to display the vibrant atmosphere of the Second Constitutional period. My thesis revolves around the secularization process of social science knowledge in the primary schools between 1908 and 1924. Following the theoretical exploration of the term *tarbiyah* and new pedagogy in the period, textbooks for three subjects from the primary school curriculum- religion, history and civics- will be examined.

The period following the constitutional revolution was special with a wide variety of ideas and streams of thought competing in diversity for publications and printing houses. This study seeks for contradictions between the fixed state policy of education and the alternative voices in the politically and ideologically vibrant atmosphere of late Ottoman society. The traces of the religion in primary schools

deserve attention due to the religious goals in *tarbiyah* understanding and the frequency of religious subjects in the curriculum. How the secular worldview and knowledge were incorporated into the terrain of Islamic subjects is worth questioning. For this reason, one focus of this study is on the nature of the religious conception of education and the transformation of religious knowledge with respect to secular thinking. The way the secular discourse was espoused into the religious discourse needs to be revealed as well as the ways it was strengthened the Islamic worldview.¹ Thus, it seeks the tensions or resistances to modernity which was perceived necessarily as a smooth transition from the old to the new.²

The second theme to be pursued on the textbooks is how nationalism was situated into the religious thinking and in what forms it was presented in approved and disapproved ways by the authors. Nationalism and its multi-faceted variants were pursued in the contextual analysis of textbooks. The characteristics of the official nationalism which would be called Ottoman-Muslim proto-nationalism was distinguished from the multiple forms of nationalism among which Turkish nationalism is the most referred to and conjectured as the state ideology in the literature on education. The survey on textbooks questions the taken for granted Turkish nationalism as a Unionist policy since the period was generally held as a transition period channeling to the Turkish nation-state. Cautioned against this retrospective point of view, which sees the period as a back stage of the Republican ideology, the traditional continuities and Islamic links, which are generally ignored or oversimplified, are sought. This dissertation tries to fix to what extent Turkish

¹ For more recent analysis of the Islamic identity creating different modernities, see Nilüfer Göle, “Modernleşme Bağlamında İslami Kimlik Arayışı,” in *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), pp.83-95.

² Andrew Davison, *Türkiye’de Sekülerizm ve Modernlik* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2006), p.63.

nationalism could be situated as a constituent of identity in the primary school guidelines and regulation. The study uses textbooks and educational books to pursue the ideological tensions which increased the conflict between the primary school curriculum fixed in 1913 and the diversified educational theories in publications.

Methodology

This study is confined to an analysis of the three subjects in the curriculum via textbooks: religion, civics and history. It includes the *iptidaiye* and *rushdiye* school textbooks, which makes six grades of primary schooling in total. In terms of the curriculum, it covers the period between two curriculums, 1913 and 1926 in primary schooling. Since the changes in political regimes in 1908 and 1923 directly impacted the authorships, the scope of textbook examination was enlarged so that the two intervals from 1908 to 1913 and from 1923 to 1926 were covered while compiling school books.

The subjectivity of the produced knowledge for schools is described best by Copeaux's statement that a textbook is "a book of a certain piece of land."³ Additionally, what makes textbooks powerful is that they have privilege like scripts of law in terms of the sanction created in minds. Textbooks are the most read books and the knowledge produced there is taken for granted without questioning. This character of textbooks is not that effective in the present period since the means of socialization have increased in variety and in terms of availability. However, this drawback can be neglected for the historical studies in the early decades of the

³ Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk İslam Sentezine (1931-1993)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), p.2.

twentieth century, though the impact of family and neighborhood were still considered to be powerful on education of children. The constructive power of textbooks can be considered to have been unrivalled especially thinking about the primary school level children in the years under consideration. Even a single image, photograph or illustration had the power to create a considerable impact due to the limitations of access to different published materials for children. This makes the content of textbooks a major domain, which deserves academic attention and research.

The study of textbooks has opened new resources for historians and sociologists after new theoretical perspectives on the nature of education were posed. One of the most available means of serving for indoctrination and legitimization is through schoolbooks, which has drawn the attention of numerous researchers in Europe. Historically the increase of the state's interest in textbooks has gone in parallel with the emergence of new methods and subjects in the education programs. This increase in the interest in textbooks corresponds with the invention of the project to create "loyal citizens" for nation-states. Courses such as History and Civics gain more significance; hence, the content of textbooks is taken under strict control in modern states to indoctrinate the new codes of thoughts and life. Even math classes are reported to be used in such propaganda.⁴ The study of school textbooks and curriculum began to draw attention in Europe after the Second World War especially in Germany and France. Textbook analysis makes up an independent area

⁴ Mimar Türkkahraman, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Sosyalleşme ve Siyasal Sembolizm* (İstanbul: Birey Yayıncılık, 2000), p.33.

of research in Germany, where the scholars especially focus on the Nazi period.⁵ The George Eckert Institute serves as an international center drawing academics for comparative textbook analysis.⁶ The EU funds support for the projects and research with the aim to create a common language especially in history teaching.

In Turkey, academics began to study textbooks to decode the construction of state ideology, power relations and gender roles in both historical and sociological perspectives during the 1990s. International conferences and congresses have been held to develop comparative critical approaches for the reproduction of new narratives in the social sciences.⁷ The academics focused on the problems in history curriculums more.⁸ Two studies to be mentioned are Etienne Copeaux's *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk İslam Sentezine (1931-1993)*, and Nuri Doğan's book, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme, 1876-1918*, which provide a background to the period taken in this thesis.⁹ In more recent years,

⁵ Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk İslam Sentezine (1931-1993)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), p.2.

⁶ For the treatment of Hitler's period in textbooks which attracted much academic attention in Germany. Bodo von Borries, "The Third Reich in German History Textbooks since 1945," *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no.1 Redesigning the Past (Jan., 2003), p. 45-62. <http://www.gei.de/en/the-institute.html>

⁷ *Tarih Eğitime Eleştirel Yaklaşımlar. Avrupalı- Türkiyeli Tarih Eğitimcileri Buluşması*, Haz. Oya Köymen (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2001-2002); *Tarih Yazımında Yeni Yaklaşımlar: Küreselleşme ve Yerelleşme. 3. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000); *Türkiye'de İlk ve Ortaöğretim Düzeyinde Tarih Öğretiminin Yeniden Yapılandırılması* (Ankara: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000); *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: The Turkish Case*, eds. Deniz Tarba C. and Gürol I. (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004)

⁸ *Tarih Öğretimi ve Ders Kitapları, 1994 Buca Sempozyumu*, Haz. Salih Özbaran (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994); *Tarih Eğitimi ve Tarihte "Öteki" Sorunu. 2. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi- Tebliğler* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995); Salih Özbaran, *Tarih, Tarihçi ve Toplum* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1997).

⁹ Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk İslam Sentezine (1931-1993)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998); Nuri Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme, 1876-1918* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 1994).

Fusun Üstel's precious book pursued the conception of the citizenship which evolved in civics textbooks covering a large time period.¹⁰ The part of her study on civics textbooks about the Second Constitutional Period inspired ideas for this dissertation, too, although my focus on the primary school education authorships focuses more on the indecisive and inconsistent character of civics books which shows the lack of a coherent construction of citizenship narrative based on law and the entity of the state. The latest study on school books is Benjamin Fortna's contribution with *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic*.¹¹ His book describes the transition via the lens of reading and observes the "less often continuities" as well as "the frequently noted ruptures" from the late Ottoman decades to the early Republican years.

There are also theses and dissertations on textbooks in various periods confined to certain themes. One such study is titled "Türkiye'de İdeoloji-Eğitim İlişkisi: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Tarih ve Yurt Bilgisi Ders Kitapları Üzerine Bir İnceleme" by İsmet Parlak.¹² His dissertation examines textbooks between 1928 and 1946. His focus is on the reproduction of the official ideology. Pınar Özyürek brings a comparative perspective to the nationalistic discourse in Europe through the history textbooks taught in European countries in her dissertation, "The Transition of History Education and History Textbooks in Europe from a Nationalistic Discourse

¹⁰ Fusun Üstel, "Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi. (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005).

¹¹ Benjamin C. Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

¹² İsmet Parlak, "Türkiye'de İdeoloji-Eğitim İlişkisi: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Tarih ve Yurt Bilgisi Ders Kitapları Üzerine Bir İnceleme" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University, 2005).

to a Wider European-ness Discourse”¹³ Tuba Kancı’s dissertation focuses on the construction of gender in textbooks over a long period between 1928 and 2000 in “Imagining Turkish Men and Women: Nationalism, Modernism and Militarism in Primary School Textbooks”¹⁴ This dissertation complements the existing studies, shedding light on the period before the Republican radical reforms took place. It is primarily based on textbooks and articles in education journals, pedagogy books for universities and archive documents. The vast literature on education was visited especially in order to quantify primary school education with statistics and pursue the conception of education on a historically wider scale in the first chapter. The journals on education which reached to a considerable number after 1908 revolution were taken under scrutiny. Sorting out the articles on the policy of education, programs, courses, contents and books, I tried to follow the turn of ideas on “*terbiye*” (*tarbiyah*, pedagogy) which was debated in theoretical confusion. Archive documents in the Copyright and Translation Office (*Telif ve Tercüme Dairesi*) and the Grand Council of Education (*Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif*) were also incorporated to deduce the way the councils of education sanctioning textbooks in the ministry worked and in what procedure they approved or disapproved textbooks.

The content of the textbooks was examined to situate the ideas of authors within the theoretical sphere portrayed in the *tarbiyah* books. The textual analysis of the narratives in textbooks was based on the reading of every single page of the textbooks. The discourses dominating the ideas in between the lines of the books

¹³ Pınar Özyürek, “The Transition of History Education and History Textbooks in Europe from a Nationalistic Discourse to a Wider European-ness Discourse” (MA thesis, Sabancı University, 2006).

¹⁴ Tuba Kancı, “Imagining Turkish Men and Women: Nationalism, Modernism and Militarism in Primary School Textbooks” (Ph.D. diss., Sabancı University, 2008).

were categorized through a comparison of different authors within the same decade and in comparison to the preceding decade to underline the continuing themes. The study considered a wide variety of textbooks on each subject since a comprehensive study of as many authors as possible could reveal the off-curriculum narratives and the distinguishing features of textbooks.

Chapter One discusses the advent of the new “pedagogy” and its abandonment of the conventional theological epistemology with respect to its impact on the Ottoman conception of *tarbiyah* within its genealogical and historical transformation from Tanzimat period. The evolution of the conception of education is laid out theoretically, based on state documents as well as following the debates among the intellectuals. What the Empire proposed in the education of primary school children and where it differentiated from the succeeding and preceding periods can be deduced only by a closer examination about why and how specific subjects penetrated into the curriculums as a requirement of the new “pedagogy” at this certain time. It also enables us to see the evolution of the theoretical continuities and conflicts between decades and periods.

Chapter Two presents the contrast between the fixed curriculums and the fast-changing political atmosphere during the 1910s which made textbooks an available area for the exposition of the contingencies. During the decade, the practice of sanctioning the school knowledge began to be implemented on the yearly selection of textbooks due to the recurring territorial changes and the different reformulation of nationalism and national consciousness. The study shows the procedures of approval and disapproval practiced by the Ministry of Education. The friction

between the textbook authors and the members of the Copyright and Translation Office was followed through the documents, tracking through the Ottoman archives.

Chapter Three discusses the number of textbooks and the variety of authors, which demonstrates the popularity of writing religion textbooks in the 1910s. The richness in alternative point of views is revealed. The selection of religious information in the books under question is examined on a wide scale. The readings of religious instruction open a path to understanding the impact of secularization on the content of the religious knowledge provided. Religious knowledge combined with the positive sciences and a “new understanding of religion” which discovered the secular/profane part of Islamic sources emerged. The chapter also seeks the traces of the nationalist discourse of Turkism and Ottomanism in the religious content.

Chapter Four reveals the adaptation of “duty” into the Islamic discourse and traces the tensions of secular and religious discourse shaping the Ottomanist ideology. The content analysis of civics formulates the citizenry based on religious morals, on the one hand and it pursues the teaching of “civilization”, which created a secular standpoint on the other. The focus on the economic backwardness of the East, the reasons for the backwardness and the solutions are also presented as part of the civil education. The juxtaposition of an anti-Western image due to its process of capitalist expansion and colonialism with the narration of “civilization” in the texts conforming and non-conforming to the political context is exposed.

Chapter Five examines the tenets of Ottomanism as far as it was represented as the state ideology in primary school texts. The use of the past for identity conception is scrutinized in the historical themes gathered from General History, Ottoman History and Islamic History textbooks. The construction of progressive

history through the “civilization” discourse is sought with the contradictions it created for the Islamic time and history notion. The Turkist and Islamist tendencies intertwined in the Ottomanist policy are examined in order to differentiate the incorporated off-curriculum themes and emphasis under the titles of Islamic and Ottoman history.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Theoretically, what education is for or against is the determinant point to illustrate why the education system and its goals, methods and curriculum, are structured in a certain way. The theories in the sociology of education try to situate the interrelationships in between education, industry, economy, state, nation and family. The traditional liberal approach relates the development of education system to the emergence of industrial society. In this way, the rise of mass schooling and different subjects matters of teaching result from the developing industrial society and its needs. Thus the way the schooling goes, the expansion of mass schooling and higher education, are seen as a way to meet the needs of that society and economic competition.¹⁵ Putting the emphasis on the way led by the historical circumstances in the industrial society, in this approach schooling and public education are abstracted from the effect of the state apparatus as an agent.

Another approach focuses on the function of education with more emphasis on society than on economy. Two conflicting theories come from Durkheim's writings in *Moral Education*, which stressed the role of education to integrate and unionize a "society"; and from Marx who opposed the "social order" perspective

¹⁵ Francisco O. Ramirez and John Boli, "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling. European Origins of Worldwide Institutionalization," *Sociology of Education* 60, no.1 (Jan., 1987), pp. 2-17.

since he viewed society as a realm of conflict and struggle in contrast to the discourse of harmony, integration or union. Durkheim's theory viewed education as a process of integration or socialization within society. On the other hand, Marxist theory on education explicates the relationship of conflict. The basic Marxist thought points out that schooling structures and serves for the social stratification between the working class and the bourgeoisie.¹⁶ Education is seen as the means of controlling the working classes and preserving the existing relationship of production. This theory focuses on society and emphasizes the bourgeoisie as an agent determining and leading the education policies. Opposed to the Marxian emphasis that schooling produces contradictions in a society, Hall writes, "Durkheim sees the social process as leading towards some sort of functional integration."¹⁷ Durkheim's socialization concept theorizes the role of schooling as what Collin calls "a secular equivalent of religion in modern society."¹⁸ He states that group identification is provided through the rituals and symbols created for the goal of legitimization and commonly utilized in textbooks.

An alternative perspective appeared in the 1970s, called the New Sociology of Education. In the 1970s, which is called as "a decade of curriculum" in Europe, education began to be understood as linked to certain concepts such as "reproduction", "power", "domination" and "hegemony", which are the key words in the theories of Bourdieu, Foucault and Gramsci. The approaches generated in the

¹⁶ Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country and Race: Constructing Gender, Class and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: Buffalo: London: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

¹⁷ Stuart Hall, "Schooling, State and Society," *Education and State*, eds. Roger Dale et al, v.1 (Barcombe: Lewes: Sussex: The Falmer Press, 1981), p. 26.

¹⁸ Randall Collins, "Some Comparative Principles of Educational Stratification," *Education and State*, eds. Roger Dale et al, v.1 (Barcombe: Lewes: Sussex: The Falmer Press, 1981), p.279.

New Sociology of Education questioned the traditional liberal theory which identified the education with the optimistic goals of progress and productivity. With this atmosphere of scholarship, Michael Apple, an American sociologist of education, brought the content of education into inquiry with his book *Ideology and Curriculum* (1990). The distinctive feature of Apple's analysis of education is in his scrutiny of the content of education rather than the structural aspects of the educational system. Linking education to the concepts mentioned above, he tried to undermine the idea that the curriculum and knowledge produced in schools was "above politics":¹⁹

The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the cultural, political and economic conflicts, tensions and compromises that organize and disorganize a people.²⁰

Apple's analysis of the texts constructed according to the education policies gives meaningful insights into the 1990s. The liberal view that saw the schools as equalizer destroying all social and political conflicts was undermined by the reproduction theory, which argued that education reproduced "authoritarian, classist, racist homophobic and patriarchal relationships."²¹

¹⁹ "Introduction," *Ideology, Curriculum, and the New Sociology of Education: Revisiting the Work of Michael Apple*, eds. Lois Weis, Cameron McCarthy and Greg Dimitriadis (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 6.

²⁰ Michael W. Apple, *Cultural Politics and Education* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996), p.22.

²¹ Carlos Alberto Torres, "Schooling, Power, and the Exile of the Soul," in Weis, McCarthy and Dimitriadis, eds., p.51.

The development of public education in the Ottoman Empire could be framed in the secularizing effect of schools created by the state bureaucracy. Durkheim's theory seems to have had a crucial role in constructing the theoretical backbone of the Ottoman and Turkish perception and experience. The curriculum and textbooks were regarded as the battle grounds of power struggles. Textbooks, esteemed as ineluctably political, in the disguise of pedagogical professionalism, were used to lay out the impact of the vibrant atmosphere of the period. On one hand, children were "saved from families" on pedagogical pretexts and submitted to the state policies, and on the other, pedagogic professionalism came to be the way of directing school knowledge. Ismail Hakkı Bey's mini-survey conducted with twelve randomly chosen students in Balıkesir, reflected the worry of the state elites about the ordinary people's "ignorance."²² To him, the "ignorance" of the students was manifest in their lack of knowledge about the sultan, homeland, religion and nation. What was more striking was the fact that not only schools in Anatolian provinces like Aydın and Bursa but the schools in a village in Çamlıca, which was "just two hours away" from Istanbul, also failed in the goal of political socialization:

İH: Where is God?
S: He is sitting in Heaven.
İH: What does he do?
S: He turns the taps on and he makes it rain.
İH: Whose are the mountains over there?
S: They belong to milkman Ali, he pastures his cows.
İH: What does a policeman do?
S: He beats people.
İH: Where does the Sultan live?
S: I don't know.
İH: What is there in Istanbul?
S: Shoes and candy.²³

²² The table of this survey is in Appendix A.

²³ -*Yaşın kaç? On*
- *Cenabı Hak nerededir? – Gökte Oturuyor*

Ismail Hakkı found these answers worrisome for the future of the country. He sought rational thinking, according to which God, the Sultan, the homeland, the state and its capital were coded and envisaged within the modern civic settings. This disappointment was symbolic in that it reverberated in most of the educational theories. The pedagogy of the period was directed by this symbolic disappointment, which urged the state to engage in the political socialization of students. The involvement of a child in matters of social sciences was not uniquely created by Ottoman intellectuals since interest in the social sciences was a worldwide phenomenon in the early twentieth century with the introduction of the mass schooling.²⁴

Here, actually, not the answers but the questions seem to have been pedagogically more disappointing and worrisome. For the contemporary pedagogues, it must be in fact İsmail Hakkı Bey's questions that were erroneous if a pedagogical consideration is to be held above that of the student's creative imagination about milkman Ali. It seems evident that what mattered for Ismail Hakkı and for most of the modern states in the nineteenth and twentieth century involved this imagination. The aim was to change minds so that the identities of "we" and "others" could be reformulated in parallel to the political exigencies. Waging war against "such

- *Ne yapar? - Musluğu açar, yağmur yağdırır.*
- *Bu karşığı dağlar kimin? - Sütçü Ali'nin... İneklerini otlatıyor.*
- *Zabıt ne yapar?- Neferleri döver...*
- *Padişah nerede? – Bilmem.*
- *İstanbul'da ne var?- Pabuç, şeker...*
İsmail Hakkı, "Müesseselerden İsmail Hakkı Tarafından Verilen İzahat," *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Mecmuası* 1, no.1 (Eylül, 1332), p.14.

²⁴ Suk-Ying Wong, "The Evolution of Social Science Instruction , 1900-1986: A Cross-National Study," *Sociology of Education* 64, no. 1 Special Issue on Sociology of the Curriculum (Jan., 1991), pp. 33-47.

ignorance” thus became the catch phrase for engaging in the debate on educational matters.²⁵

The problematic of education inevitably leads to the “problem” of how children²⁶ or childhood were understood historically. Actually, what made the nineteenth century special for children was two-fold: the development of pedagogical professionalism and state interest in public education. While the former defined the limits and methods of the treatment of children, the latter spirited it, having the “right” to determine a purpose. Through the idea of mass schooling, schools came to be seen as the laboratory of the “science” of education. The state interest in education goes back to a document²⁷ by Mahmut II in 1824, which made it state policy to separate the child from the social domains of tarbiyah (traditional discipline of behaviors and mind). The document compelled families to accept a new domain, the school. It was the in the interests of the state to meet the needs of the centralizing state through the creation of a bureaucratic class. Whether the state interference in education proposed a religious or profane instruction remains controversial, though. One reading of this document is that the family is seen as the reason for the decline, for its attitude is to make use of child labor; thus they become ignorant of their

²⁵ İsmail Hakkı, “Müesseselerden İsmail Hakkı Tarafından Verilen İzahat,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Mecmuası* 1, no.1 (Eylül, 1332), p.14.

²⁶ The conceptual change of childhood and separation of children from adults’ environment is discussed in its historical context in a symposium published with the same title, *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk*, ed. Bekir Onur (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994). For another study on the impact of modernization in children’s clothes, photos, toys and entertainment, see Cüneyd Okay, *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler 1850-1900* (İstanbul: Kırkambar Yayınları, 1998).

²⁷ This could be considered as a modern attempt to exclude children from adults’ environment at work and home. In other words, through schooling, “childhood” was coded as a special period. Mahmut Cevad İbnü’ş Şeyh Nafi, *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcraatı - XIX. Asır Osmanlı Maarif Tarihi*, ed. Taceddin Kayaoğlu (İstanbul: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2001), p.3.

religion. Unawareness of what religion prescribed drew the anger and punishment of God, in the form of “backwardness” or lack of worldly prosperities.

Thus, the state called children to schools for religious enlightenment, instead of to become apprentices of craftsmen, artisans or tradesmen in real life. In other words, the state perceived religion as the source of progress, since religious enlightenment would prevent the impending divine punishments. A second reading of the edict reveals implicitly that the excuse of the religious instruction for schooling stemmed from the pragmatic interest of the state to legitimize schooling and persuade the public to accept the loss of the economic contributions of children to the families.

The following state edicts appeared with the clear dichotomy of worldly affairs and the religious illumination in their narratives. The goal of creating an awareness of this world was articulated, as a part of the justification of schooling, first in the edict of the Sultan Abdülmecit in 1845. The sultan ordered the ministries to make more effort to open new schools that would eradicate the ignorance of both religious and worldly affairs. This ambiguous place of religion, whether it was loaded as an intrinsic value or as an instrumental value, in the modern Ottoman educational philosophy is worth examining throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth century. It is equally possible to consider the whole educational philosophy as the beginning of the interest in religious enlightenment or as just a justification for what was going through secularization.

Starting with an overview of the concept of education in Europe in the nineteenth century, the Ottoman philosophy of education, which had been flirting

with European scientific thought since the Tanzimat, will be traced to display how *terbiye* was reconstructed with respect to the new science, pedagogy.

Children as a Part of the Enlightenment

The novelty of nineteenth century pedagogy was first its impact on the constructed “body” and “mind” valuation. The body Kilpatrick writes, “which was counted as principal source of sin” in Christianity and had been devalued in comparison to mind since Plato, came to prevail in the new understanding of childhood and the principles of education.²⁸ The human body, excluded from educational practices, was given its merits in the way of searching for a new harmony with the mind.²⁹ However; education, being defined within the biological and psychological constraints, came only to be accepted as a new discipline of science in the second half of the nineteenth century. Borrowing the Foucaultian term, this was certainly a process of the “scientification” of the child body, mind and soul.

How knowledge should be taught, that is, the method of instruction, is the essential question in pedagogy. But what is more important, these pedagogical methods, define, remold, and limit the content of the instruction while practicing

²⁸ William Heard Kilpatrick, *Philosophy of Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), p. 29.

²⁹ The body and mind were held in a dichotomy, in which the mind was prioritized in education during the Middle Ages. The same tendency was attributed to the Ottoman *medrese* and *tekke* educations until the nineteenth century while traditional sports were practiced as part of social life rather than formal education. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Eğitim Felsefesi* (İstanbul: MEB, 1967), pp. 277-278.

their methods.³⁰ The content of the education was expanded into different disciplines and arranged according to ages. The primary schools, exposed to the teaching of various disciplines, were no exception. The unchangeable content and method of the existing essential courses in the primary schools, such as reading and writing, underwent radical transformations during the nineteenth century. The natural sciences such as physics, biology and chemistry were transformed into courses as such *Eşya Dersleri* (Lectures for Objects) and *Tarih-i Tabiiye* (History of Nature) including the *Ulum-u Tabiiye* (Sciences of Nature), *İlm-i Hayvanat* (Science of Animals), *İlm-i Nebatat* (Science of Plants) for children. Nature and its laws were made pedagogically ready to be absorbed by the child. The subjects of history, geography, literature and vernacular languages also gained their license of instruction from pedagogy, which decide what children should learn and when. The teaching of the social sciences was adapted to the new methods of from near to far, simple to complex, concrete to abstract. Thus, pedagogy had the authority to decide the content of the knowledge deemed suitable for the child's mind. The novelty was that the subject, the extent, and means of instruction were all designed in parallel to the results of the scientific inquiry so as to convey knowledge to the child's mind in the most proper way.

This scientific content inevitably changed the philosophy of education. The education was removed gradually from the dominion of religion. The new goal in pedagogy was to encompass children, a considerable part of the population who had

³⁰ Rachitiues (1571- 1635) and Comenius (1592- 1670), who are frequently referenced by Ottoman educationists, determined the rational instructional methods in the seventeenth century. Bedi Ziya Egemen, *Terbiye İlminin Problemleri ve Terbiye Felsefesi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1965), p. 6.

been ignored by the Humanists in Europe³¹ and by the family until they were enough to yield economically, and to incorporate them into the modern project. The goal of such controlling of children was manifested in various ways formed within the domestic circumstances such as the bureaucratic needs, and capitalist and industrial demands. However, the explicit result through the end of the nineteenth century was that, in most of the geographies, the needs of the modern states were met with the pedagogically trained children. For this reason, the philosophy of education went hand in hand with political isms and doctrines all over the world.³²

The European Origins of Degeneration and Regeneration in Educational Theories

The nineteenth century modern states produced their educational projects with a moral agenda in the wide spectrum of experiences in the United States, Russia, Central Asia, China, France and Ottoman Empire.³³ The underlying impetus was the prevailing assumption of the “degeneration” phenomenon, which was interpreted extending into several aspects of social problems. The European origins

³¹ Philip Aries put forward that while Humanists ignored education for children, the awakening of an interest in the child issue began with the religious (especially Catholic) colleges that appeared as a result of the efforts of Moralists who aimed for a moral diciplinization for society in the seventeenth century. This supported the separation of children from adults in order to protect them from the harms of the adult environment. Mine Tan, “Çocukluk: Dün ve Bugün,” *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk* (İstanbul, Tarih Yurt Yayınları, 1993), pp.18-23. A second idea proposes that children were treated as a special interest group with the emergence of middle class families in France. Kürşat Bumin, *Batıda Devlet ve Çocuk* (İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1983), pp.49-53.

³² Hasan Ünder, “Philosophy of Education as an Academic Discipline in Turkey,” *Stud Philos Educ* 27 (2008): 405-431, p. 406.

³³ Benjamin C. Fortna, “Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman ‘Secular’ Schools.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, (2000) p.370.

of degeneration were strictly bound with the conception of progress.³⁴ The decline and degeneration were common concerns of the competitive European colonial powers. The rise of the “Condition of England” question in the British context was termed within the worries of the impending decline after the continuation of the progress during the Golden Age.³⁵ The worrisome of the declining population in France and Britain aroused interest against the German who were relatively more like the “old strong” people in the past which were shown as model of good health.³⁶ The challenge of the United States and the growth of socialism were also factors leading the British community into the debate of degeneracy. Soloway writes, “Equally worrisome were the parallels drawn with the French, whose comparatively low birthrate symbolized for many Englishmen the weakness and decadence of that unfortunate race, and in part its quick defeat by virile Germans in 1870.”³⁷ A “pathologizing language”³⁸ accompanying the “melancholy images of empty cradles and silent nurseries”³⁹ prevailed in the second half of the nineteenth century output on social evolution and depopulation.⁴⁰ The competitive laws of natural selection

³⁴ Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder 1848-1918* (Cambridge: New York: Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p.16.

³⁵ Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in the Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995) p. 2.

³⁶ Michael Winston, “Medicine, Marriage, and Human Degeneration in the French Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (Winter, 2005), p.269.

³⁷ Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in the Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995) p. 6.

³⁸ Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder 1848-1918* (Cambridge: New York: Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p. 15.

³⁹ Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in the Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995) p. 7.

⁴⁰ To name some of the scientists, a French physician Bénédict Augustine Morel’s *Treatise* in 1857, the first scientific criminologist Cesare Lombroso’s *The Criminal Man* in 1876, British psychiatrist

were applied to the struggle between nations. Soloway writes, "...there was reason to believe that 'survival of the most fertile, rather than the survival of the fittest, is very possibly now the keynote to evolution in civilized man.'"⁴¹

The first scientific clarification of the phenomenon was made in 1857 by a French physician, Bénédict Augustin Morel. Degeneration was defined as a "departure from the primitive type, or reversion to a lower type, causing deterioration and loss of native faculties or race characteristics."⁴² The notion of "change", which implied the end of the development and progress of human species, was interpreted within the biological laws of heredity. Hence, the procreation of "great men" inherited healthy and strong genes was held as the focal point to ensure the continuity of "greatness of the nation": "Degeneration in a general sense, may be considered an essence, aptitude or tendency, which hinders development (mental, moral, or physical) favorable to the species and tends towards diseases, which lead to dissolution of the species or offspring."⁴³ The faith in the law of progress in all aspects of life was doubted with the production of a scientific discourse and objectification of degeneration.⁴⁴

Henry Maudsley's *Body and Will* in 1883, a Hungarian physicist Max Nordau's *Degeneration* in 1892, an English zoologist and biologist Ray Lankester's *Degeneration: a chapter in Darwinism* in 1880. The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed increasing forms of evolutionary social theories which appealed to the authority of natural scientific truth while theorizing "degeneration".

⁴¹ Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in the Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995) p. 13.

⁴² Arthur MacDonald, "Moral Stigmata of Degeneration," *The Monist* 18, no.1 (January, 1908) p.111.

⁴³ Arthur MacDonald, "Moral Stigmata of Degeneration," *The Monist* 18, no.1 (January, 1908) p. 112.

⁴⁴ Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder 1848-1918* (Cambridge: New York: Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p.11.

The early phases of degeneration thesis can be found in the eighteenth century as part of the enlightenment idea. The indissolubility of marital bond in Christianity was seen as an obstacle to increase fertility in the case of the childless families, by the philosophers like Montesquieu and Diderot.⁴⁵ In France, the beginning of the nineteenth century thus saw the Code Civil (1804) as a result of a search to rationalize the family policy according to the needs of the state.⁴⁶ The decline of the Western civilization, which was supported with the statistical data, resulted in the acknowledgement and spread of the pro-natalist perspective based on the medical discourses.

What carried the theories of degeneration beyond philosophical speculations was indeed the scientific discourse which involved in the theories of decline by explicating its characteristics, symptoms and treatment to regenerate the population and hence the nation or race. Winston argues that “It is the eighteenth century medicine that offers the most ambitious programs for improving the human race.”⁴⁷ The treatises were directed to maximize the reproduction of healthy bodies. The marriage was to be made between healthy bodies and the goal was procreation. Scholars such as Vandermonde argued that people in Europe went away from the true goal of marriage.⁴⁸ Thus the sexual disorder, which was the formation of marriages out of the scientific prescription such as seen in the conception of the

⁴⁵ Michael Winston, “Medicine, Marriage, and Human Degeneration in the French Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (Winter, 2005) p. 263; Yet the dissolubility of marriage, which turned into a mutual contract between man and woman, later argued to be the prompter of divorce which was another manifestation of decay and social disintegration. Brooks Adams, *The Law of Civilization and Decay* (New York: Vintage Books, 1959) p. 298.

⁴⁶ Michael Winston, “Medicine, Marriage, and Human Degeneration in the French Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (Winter, 2005) p. 263.

⁴⁷ Michael Winston, “Medicine, Marriage, and Human Degeneration in the French Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (Winter, 2005) p. 265.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

conjugal hygiene, was deemed to be leading to the social disorder. Winston writes, “the conjugal hygiene treatise becomes an instrument of social reform: by reforming the institution according to a procreative ideal, the state could be resurrected.”⁴⁹ The ideas of pro-natalist writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries presumed a population crisis which reached to the eugenics projects in Europe.

The debate around the decline of modern man paralleled the rise of eugenics movement to regenerate societies. Behind the eugenics ideas was the assumption that the modern civilization gave birth to unnatural illnesses and diseases.⁵⁰ The capitalist mode of production and consumption and the evil effects of long hours of labor were argued in the context of deterioration of species: “Addicted to false needs, (civilized) men become increasingly effeminate, in the entirely negative sense of being weak, sickly and denatured.”⁵¹ As philosophized by the eighteenth century scholar J.J. Rousseau’s ideas, the effect of the unnatural demands of luxurious modern life was deemed to end in the physical deterioration of human species. It was allegedly manifest in the habits of “a profligate, spendthrift, gambler, drunkard, opium fiend, libertine, and the like” in the moral sphere.⁵² The increase of celibacy, late marriages and few children were generally accepted as the prompters of the “calamity” which was thought to arise from the social and economic changes, also. Stoddard diagnosed

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.270.

⁵⁰ Sylvana Tomaselli, “Moral Philosophy and Population Questions in Eighteenth Century Europe,” *Population and Development Review* 14, Supplement: Population and Resources in Western Intellectual Traditions (1988), p. 25.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.24.

⁵² Arthur MacDonald, “Moral Stigmata of Degeneration,” *The Monist* 18, no.1 (January, 1908) p. 111.

two reasons in shot: “the high cost of living and the cost of high living.”⁵³ In addition to the physical defects, in most of the “scientific” treatises, the degeneracy was bound with the rule of genetic heritage and conceptualized in the criminological stigmatization of people with respect to social classes: “Defective persons are more or less unfit for holding useful places in the social order and tend to sink into the social depths, where they form those pauper, vagabond, and criminal elements which are alike the burden and the menace of society.”⁵⁴

Conscription was also seen as one essential hindrance for the refinement of generation. Spencer’s thesis was mostly referred to remind the evil of wars on human procreation: “...the removal of the strongest and the leaving at home of the weakest men to propagate the race is bound to have as result a physical deterioration of the population concerned.”⁵⁵ The human losses in the First World War aggravated the worrisome consideration of population and regeneration: “The great war was a eugenics nightmare. It allegedly destroyed the finest physical, mental, and social stock in the country and seriously disrupted the family life and selective production.”⁵⁶

The scientific discourse resulted in the strengthening of the male-dominated view restricting the role of women to the domestic sphere by motherhood. The

⁵³ Lothrop Stoddard, *The Revolt against Civilization: The Menace of the Under Man* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1922) p. 117.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.93.

⁵⁵ Gaston Bodart, *Losses of Life in Modern Wars and Race Deterioration* (London: Oxford University Press, 1916) p. 163.

⁵⁶ Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in the Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995) p. 138

thoughts and trends about liberation of women thus were perceived as making women “ill-suited” to lead domestic duties and for most of the writers, women were “the principal cause of human degeneration and population.”⁵⁷ Here treatises on the degeneration mostly addressed to the upper-class women who were not raised to provide for the demands of motherhood, saving the peasant women as the model of health and vitality in terms of regeneration.⁵⁸ The idea of degeneration was based on the high infant mortality and increasing birth control. As argued for the Italian case, since women transmitted their weakened ability of procreation to the descendants, the future generations would be indispensably corrupted and debilitated.⁵⁹ A series of reform projects⁶⁰ were prescribed to prevent the negative results of the influence of civilization which was commonly held caused by “corruption” in Rousseau’s sense of education in *Emile*, in which he addressed to the careless mothers. Tomaselli writes,

Modern women were loath to forsake the pleasures of society for the duties of motherhood. When they gave birth at all, they were unwilling to breastfeed their children; when they did

⁵⁷ Michael Winston, “Medicine, Marriage, and Human Degeneration in the French Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (Winter, 2005) p. 271.

⁵⁸ Peasants were appreciated to be natural women suitable for procreation. Yet the scholars found the comparatively more vital birth rates among the lower classes as a handicap to reach to the refined generation. The refinement of generation through the inheritance of lower class genes was found troublesome. Thus the fact that marriage rates among college graduates and upper classes were deplorably going down arose the concerns about regeneration. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Revolt against Civilization: The Menace of the Under Man* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1922), p. 111; Stanton A. Coblenz, *The Decline of Man* (New York: Minton Balch Company, 1925) p. 243.

⁵⁹ Michael Winston, “Medicine, Marriage, and Human Degeneration in the French Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (Winter, 2005) p. 272.

⁶⁰ The institutions such as the National Birth Rate Commission in Britain aimed to produce policies on marriage and family to keep away from the alleged “being on the verge of calamity”. Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in the Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995) p. 9.

breastfeed them, they were intent to wean them as soon as possible.⁶¹

Thus, “Women Question” in the nineteenth century challenged the defendants of the eugenics projects of the states. “The literal ascent of women to power” was imagined as making the society effeminate both physically and morally: “This development was epitomized in ... the flourishing salon culture of Paris.”⁶²

So many social questions from depopulation, women question, dissolution of the family to crime and suicide intersected at the end of the nineteenth century. This growing literature based on the scientific discourse calling upon the modern state education policies to integrate a new moral agenda. Policies about family and women were directed to regenerate the race upon a “‘strong, simple and pure’ family life”.⁶³ Degeneration which was premised upon the depopulation became a concern shared by both religious and secular authorities.⁶⁴ This reinforcement of the theology with what medicine prescribed was regarded, Winston writes, as a secular version of the biblical edict ‘be fruitful and multiply.’⁶⁵ The scientific discourse created on the marriage institution fostered the conceptual dynamic of the religious doctrine, which saw the salvation of humanity in its “adherence to a body of moral precepts.”⁶⁶ The

⁶¹ Sylvana Tomaselli, “Moral Philosophy and Population Questions in Eighteenth Century Europe,” *Population and Development Review* 14, Supplement: Population and Resources in Western Intellectual Traditions (1988), p.25.

⁶² Ibid., p.25.

⁶³ Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in the Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995) p. 9.

⁶⁴ Michael Winston, “Medicine, Marriage, and Human Degeneration in the French Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (Winter, 2005) p. 263.

⁶⁵ Michael Winston, “Medicine, Marriage, and Human Degeneration in the French Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (Winter, 2005) p. 264.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 264.

emphasis was made on the moral education and domestic values. Soloway writes the states “sought to marshal the vague moral pieties of a past life against the social anxieties of a fearful present” and it should be added an ominous future.⁶⁷

The Philosophical Background of The New Pedagogy

The discussion about the purpose of education goes back to the debate around the concept of “reality.” It is possible to trace the “reality” discussion to the “ideas” of Plato and Aristotle’s “material world.”⁶⁸ Despite it was not a new debate, the nineteenth century witnessed the crystallized form of the classical discussion in the realms of religion (ideas, truths, eternity) and science (the material world, nature, change). In respect to educational philosophy, the primary conflict arose between secular (scientific) and religious realists. The disagreement arose as a result of the competence between different viewpoints on the same phenomenon. Ozmon and Craver write that “Although realists promote the importance of knowledge about the physical universe, the ends to which religious and secular realists put such knowledge are different.”⁶⁹ What is common for both is the approval of useful and practical studies, which are “reading, writing, drawing, geography, astronomy, arithmetic, history and law” to be taught. However the idea behind teaching nature

⁶⁷ Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in the Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995) p. 9.

⁶⁸ Howard A. Ozmon., Samuel M.Craver., *Philosophical Foundations of Education* (New Jersey: Pearson, 2008)

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 61.

created the basic contrast: “The religious realist believes that knowledge ultimately should lead to things beyond itself, such as God or truth.”⁷⁰ That knowing the self, nature and God should be combined was rooted in Christian thought since Aquinas, the father of the Thomists in the nineteenth century. Ozmon and Craver write that,

For the religious realist, the prime reason for the study of nature is to transcend nature. God who is pure spirit, created the world. ..By studying the world carefully and by discovering its order, regularity, we can come to know more about God. Religious Aquinas, would say that this is our prime purpose: God created the world to provide a vehicle through which people could come to know him, and Thomists maintain that the curriculum should include both practical and speculative knowledge.⁷¹

While the methodology of education was progressing and the roles of learners and teachers were changing, the purpose of education continued to be wrapped in the Christian worldview, though some teachings of Christianity conflicted with the discoveries of science.⁷² It is clearly seen that education in the sixteenth century communicated with the Christian education on the macro level where “Christ [was] the teacher” and “all mankind [was] the learners.”⁷³ To start with John Locke and Luther, the understanding of European educators advocated a Christian education in

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 54

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 54.

⁷² Abbe Pluche’s (1732-1751) *Spectacle de la Nature*, one of best sellers throughout Europe, is an example of a science book popularizing scientific knowledge for children with a “faith in Divine Providence.” Cynthia J. Koepp, “Curiosity, Science, and Experiential Learning in the Eighteenth Century,” In *Childhood and Children’s Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1800* eds. Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore. (New York: Routledge, 2006) pp.153-181.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 54

its purpose in the sixteenth century.⁷⁴ Besides proposing a cosmopolitan education, the goal found its expression in molding all persons into the macro system of the fatherhood of God. Parallel to this, Comenius' (1592-1670) image of a teacher as the "gardener" aims to cultivate and nurture the seed of man "in the image of God": "the purpose of education was to get to know oneself so that one could direct oneself to God."⁷⁵ As seen, this expression is similar and adaptable to the common utterances of Islamic educational philosophy such as "one who knows himself knows the Lord." The next chapters on Ottoman textbooks will indicate that carrying out the "duties" towards God, and religious instruction in general, remained part of civics textbooks until the end of the Ottoman Empire.

Modeling the child within the religious moral values and the macro structure of the religious worldview continued to dominate education throughout the eighteenth century and in Europe remained one of the decisive factors still in the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ The duty of the teacher here was to help pupils find out the ultimate truth by transcending the material world. Ozmon and Craver exemplify this in the religious (parochial) schools, writing that "students study such areas as geography, history and science, but these subjects are presented in ways that emphasize religious ideas or morality."⁷⁷ The pioneers of education before and

⁷⁴ Madonna Murphy M., *The History and Philosophy of Education* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson/Merrill Perentice Hall, 2006), p.139; İsmail Kaplan, *Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999), p. 44.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 152. It should be noted that gardener image of a teacher was still used commonly in the educational philosophy.

⁷⁶ Robert Anderson, "The Conflict in Education: Catholic Secondary Schools (1850-1870): A Reappraisal," *Conflicts of French Society: Anticlericalism, Education and Morals in the Nineteenth Century: Essays*, ed. Theodore Zeldin (London: Allen&Unwin, 1970)

⁷⁷ Howard A. Ozmon. Samuel M.Craver., *Philosophical Foundations of Education* (New Jersey: Pearson, 2008), p.61; For the French case of expansion of the religious schools in the nineteenth

during the Enlightenment period such as Locke, Comenius, Pestalozzi, Froebel and Herbart, were all heralded as the developers of educational methodology such as using pictures and actual objects, the idea of developing the senses, child-centered education, interests and motivation. Yet, the end of the modern education in their teachings culminated in God's order of things.⁷⁸ Ozmon and Craver write that, "Although Froebel's education techniques began in the material world with material objects, he saw all things unified in God, who expresses Himself in physical nature and in the human spirit."⁷⁹

This combination of the scientific truths and religious morality was developed through the new interpretations of Christianity. The era of the Enlightenment truly witnessed the rationalized form of the religion in Europe, which was to mean a religion "free of mysteries, miracles, and the Trinity." Ozmon and Craver write that, "Gradually, highly educated Protestants and Catholics (mostly in France) thought about God's works as revealed by science than by his Biblical word."⁸⁰ The cooperation of the Biblical philosophy of life with empirical methods produced in education seems to have made its way through the works of educational pioneers like Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel, whose writings were quoted, translated or paraphrased by the Ottoman educators before and within the Second Constitutional Period.⁸¹ John Locke(1632- 1704), accepted as the founder of modern education with

century, see Sarah A. Curtis, "Supply and Demand: Religious Schooling in Nineteenth-Century France," *History of Education Quarterly* 39, no.1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 51-72.

⁷⁸ Howard A. Ozmon., Samuel M.Craver., *Philosophical Foundations of Education* (New Jersey: Pearson, 2008), p. 59.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 62.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 160.

⁸¹ Ozmon and Craver, p. 59.

his empirical method, stated the purpose of education as raising intellectually and morally strong humans by a tutor of “upright Christian character.”⁸² While submitting children to the Christian character of teachers, he was confronting religion with his idea of tabula rasa, which rejected the notion of original sin.

Following Locke, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746- 1827), described as a Christian humanist, was one of the most referred to educators in the writings of the Ottoman educators.⁸³ Pestalozzi placed education in a broader sphere than the school only. He warned about the restriction of education to the school. He said “For it is my opinion that if public education does not take into consideration the circumstances of family life, and everything else that bears on a man’s general education, it can only lead to an artificial and methodical dwarfing of humanity.”⁸⁴ Pestalozzi’s understanding of education came out with his critique of industrial society. His imagination of school as a good “home” and the teacher as a “father” resulted from his critical view of industrialized society begetting the lack of home education. His aim was to compensate what the family now lacked, by satisfying the child emotionally inside the school. Avoiding fear and punishment, education was to be given through interest and motivation. He was known for his method of group instruction and methods of teaching from the concrete to the abstract using actual objects. The three categories of education, which were extensively referred to in the local publications on education were derived from his works as well as those of others in later years. The moral, mental and physical development of the child

⁸² Murphy, p. 66.

⁸³ A translation of his biography, n. a., *Öksüzler Babası Pestalozzi*, trans. Mustafa Rahmi (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1339).

⁸⁴ Murphy, p. 182

resulted from what he considered the biological truth of “children (who) are made of head, heart, body, feelings and intellect.”⁸⁵

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) and Friedrich Froebel (1782- 1852) were contemporary educators both of whom created long-lasting educational theories which extend into today’s educational systems. Herbart, called the father of the lesson plans, developed an instructional methodology based on psychology. With the contribution of his developed methodology, education was turned into an area of discipline in the universities in the second half of the nineteenth century. The purpose drawn in Herbart’s conception of education insisted on the moral development of the child: “The goal is to help students develop a moral code that will guide their life.”⁸⁶ He advocated value-rich content in instruction, termed “educational teaching” which united the ends and means of education theoretically, where the ends referred to ethics and means of education to psychology/biology. This resulted in shaping the new knowledge so as to “serve for the moral insight and strengthen the character.”⁸⁷ For this character formation, each subject was given an educational purpose. For example, “mathematics should not be included in the teaching syllabus solely because of its practical value or technological significance, but essentially as a means of training the mind to concentrate.”⁸⁸ Herbart’s educational theory was based on “correlation and concentration”, which was to produce an integrated education. His stress on the integration of history, geography

⁸⁵ Murphy, p. 182.

⁸⁶ Murphy, p. 197.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 197, The idea of educational teaching found its expression best in the state guideline prepared by scholars in the 1910s, some of whom were Ismail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Sami Paşazade. The idea of educational teaching will be discussed below.

⁸⁸ Norbert Hilgenheger, “Johann Friedrich Herbart,” *The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* XXIII, no.3/4 (Paris: UNESCO: International Bureau of Education, 1993), pp. 649-664.

and economics became one of the most referred to parts of his system for educators of the early 1900s in the Ottoman Empire.

Although moral education tended to be based on Kantian secular ethics towards the second half of the nineteenth century, the idea of morals in Herbart did not put a definite distance to religion. Herbart thought moral education and religious education needed each other. To him, religious instruction, without the help of morality, which constructed on a rational foundation, might turn into hypocrisy. At the final stage, he advocated religious instruction fostered with a firm methodology. He thought that moral and “the religious education should not be begun too early; nor should it be needlessly delayed.”⁸⁹

Friedrich Froebel contributed to the education system with his program of kindergarten, where children were submitted to women specially. Parallel to Herbart, he enhanced a combination of the subjects regarding both instruction and education. His frame of instruction with educational goals lay in these statements: “Education, in instruction, should lead man to see and know the divine, spiritual and eternal principles which animates surrounding nature...it should express and demonstrate the fact that the same law rules both (the divine principle and the nature) as it does nature and man.”⁹⁰ The religious framework of education had its expression in his child-centered curriculum as such: “The Christian religion entirely completes the mutual relation between God and man; all education which is not founded on the Christian religion is one-sided, defective, and fruitless. The fruit of such a vision

⁸⁹ Johann Friederich Herbart, *Outlines of Educational Doctrine*, trans. Alexis F. Lenge (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1901) in Madonna Murphy M., *The History and Philosophy of Education* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson/Merrill Perentice Hall, 2006), p. 200.

⁹⁰ Friedrich W. Froebel, *The Education of Man*, trans. W. N. Hailman (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1887) in Murphy, p. 206.

must be a man who knows himself “to be one, not only with God and humanity, but also with nature.”⁹¹

In contrast to religious realists, secular realism saw the purpose of education in its value to create a civilization with the steady progress of science and technology. Scientific realism involved Bacon’s empirical method, induction against deduction of knowledge. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) stands out as an educator who followed scientific realism. What makes Rousseau’s opinions about such issues as physical education, illnesses, hygiene, fresh air and nutrition, and games all original was not that he invented these ideas but because he explained the necessity of these through the positive sciences.⁹² The autonomy of the child and childhood as a special period were emphasized within the research in the fields of biology and psychology. He said, “Pedagogues are always looking for the man in the child, without considering what he is before he becomes a man.”⁹³

While the conflict of religious reservations about scientific knowledge surviving in his contemporaries, Rousseau’s idea of natural education culminated in a liberal education abolishing religious boundaries. Rousseau’s *Emile* proposed a complete separation from the traditional structures as well. The revolution was that education was no longer defined within religious ends. Based upon the “tabula rasa” idea of Locke, Rousseau suggested that child was naturally good, which was

⁹¹ Friedrich W. Froebel, *The Education of Man*, trans. W. N. Hailman (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1887) in Murphy, p. 206.

⁹² İsmail Hakkı, *Jean Jacques Rousseau’nun Terbiye Felsefesi* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1931), p. 21.

⁹³ Kieran Egan, *The Educated Mind: How Cognitive Tools Shape Our Understanding* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 15.

theoretically opposed to the story of Adam's fall: "The Church knows Adam sinful and forces him to accept faith, while Rousseau knows him innocent and finds the faith in man. Because of this, he submits the education of a child to a man who has a heart, not to a priest." ⁹⁴

He believed there was no sin or vice in man. There was no need of Christian training to purify him. Thus he submitted Emile to nature, instead of the Church. To preserve the natural goodness of Adam, he was to be given freedom through which he would grow without the effects of society and its institutions, which were all corrupt. This revolutionary conception of education practiced on an imaginary child named Emile, was deservedly called "the embodiment of the Enlightenment's ideas." ⁹⁵ The scientific recognition of child revealed the ways to view "in the place of children":

We never know how to put ourselves in the place of children; we do not enter into their ideas; we lend them ours, and always following our own reasoning, with chains of truths we heap up only follies and errors in their heads. ⁹⁶

Despite his great contribution in terms of understanding child's autonomy, interestingly, Rousseau was neither followed by Pestalozzi, Froebel or Herbart in the secular educational perspective. His radical insight on education was adapted by educators only towards the end of the nineteenth century, after his secular view

⁹⁴ "Çünkü kilise Adem'i günahkar biliyor ve imanı zorla kabul ettirmeye çalışıyor. Halbuki Rousseau Adem'i temiz biliyor ve imanı onun içinde buluyor. Onun için din terbiyesini papaza değil kalp taşıyan bir insana teslim ediyor." İsmail Hakkı, p. 208.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 174.

⁹⁶ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile or On Education*, trans. Alan Bloom (USA: Basic Books, 1979), p.170.

found its base in another epoch-making study published in 1859. The secular realists found their moral grounds in the second half of the nineteenth century with the *Origins of Species*.⁹⁷ The empirical studies were not helpful in respect to the spiritual aspect of man: "...wherever life's values were involved, there it appeared, at least to many, that science could not penetrate."⁹⁸ The empirical inquiry of human behaviors, thoughts and feelings were bolstered by the moral value that *Origins of Species* imposed upon life. Rousseau's educational theories, fostered by the moral value of the Darwinian perspective, was only recognized in the first decades of the twentieth century by John Dewey and William James, who were popular American educators called pragmatists.⁹⁹

Thus, pedagogy was born into the Christian context of morality and developed dominantly within it during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is to say that until the beginning of the twentieth century, the philosophy of education relied on a religious worldview although it was methodologically developing with new interpretations of childhood as a special and autonomous period. Recent publications suggest that moralistic pedagogy was a global concern developed in reaction to modernity both in national and imperial regimes in the East and the West. Fortna writes,

⁹⁷ Egan, p. 124.

⁹⁸ Egan, p. 19.

⁹⁹ But the way they perceived science brought a different point. It is understood that what Dewey meant by science was more comprehensive: "Whereas Bacon thought that science should be concerned primarily with material things, pragmatists extended its range to include problems in economics, politics, psychology, art, education and even ethics... When Dewey used the term science he did not mean test tubes and statistics; rather, he meant orderly thinking and an experimental approach to the problems of life." Ozmon and Craver, p. 120.

Such simultaneity suggest that there was a common world-time reaction to the perceived speeding up of time, to concerns about keeping abreast with the “demands of the present”, and to the feeling that flight from the “traditional” theological understandings of the way in which the world worked was accelerating, leading to moral decay. New style education appeared as a seemingly universal beacon of hope, particularly when it was meant to convey a reworked but “traditionally” inspired notion of morality. It is this moral dimension, however, that is frequently overlooked in assessing education change.¹⁰⁰

It is not erroneous, in this context, to say that the new pedagogy flirted with Christianity before it was imbued with Islamic morality in the Ottoman Empire. Thus it is no big surprise to trace the lines of Islamic insights simultaneously to the scientification process of education in the Empire. The fact that the Christian conception of education survived to collaborate with pedagogy until the twentieth century seems to be neglected. In this study, the Unionist period was scrutinized to display the in-between character of education including both the traditional and the modern. The philosophy of education will be examined in state documents of education by exploring where it converged with Islamist and secular-nationalists worldviews and at which points it diverged from them.

The philosophy behind the pedagogical reconstruction of knowledge is observed to deviate from the Western codes within the local parameters in the late Ottoman period. Two lines emerged simultaneously: one was the new conception of education translated from the Western pioneers, which would result in the popularity of methods of education among the Ottomans. The second line, regarding the philosophy of education, had its manifestation in the content of instruction. For this

¹⁰⁰ Benjamin C. Fortna, “Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman ‘Secular’ Schools,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32 (2000), p. 373.

reason, the analysis of the subject matter of instruction becomes a more confusing part of the research on education, since the domestic values imposed on economy, culture, religion and politics, each of which had its own part to mess up the conception of the philosophy of education.

Benjamin C. Fortna conceives this in two discrete stages: “importation, which is to say horizontal ‘borrowing’ from West to East and delivery, the vertical transmission of the imported material from the state to its student subjects.”¹⁰¹ He criticizes the literature of education in the late Ottoman historiography where Western ideas, systems and pedagogical methods are taught to have been transmitted to the students directly. He points out that indigenous needs produced the curriculum and made it “less foreign and more Ottoman.” He criticizes the prevailing approach in the history of education which takes education as mere figures, statistics and systems as a whole quantified. This mechanically organized approach, combined with the presumptions of the post-Ottoman atmosphere, holds the content of education to the linear secularization project. While the role of local realities were reduced or given in an instrumental role:

The presence of anything Islamic in state schooling, to the extent that it was acknowledged at all, has been explained away as propaganda. This flatly functional approach to Islam precludes any possible discussion about the multiple valences that the combination of Islam and “Western-style” schooling could have produced. While the role of Islam is thereby diminished, the role of the state is universally exaggerated.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Benjamin C. Fortna, “Emphasizing the Islamic: Modifying the Curriculum of the Late Ottoman State Schools,” *Childhood and Youth in the Muslim World* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2007), p. 195.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 197.

At this point, the educational philosophy of the state in the Second Constitutional period and the textbooks as the fruits of this policy deserve academic attention. This study will examine two lines of the local reproduction of scientific education: the process by which pedagogy had its part by constructing minds, which is to be called secularization, and the way pedagogy, as a transformative instrument, is observed to have gone through reconstruction as a result of local interpretations. Hence, the Ottoman conception of “*terbiye-i etfal*” (pedagogy) is counted as fertile grounds for this study. While the term *terbiye* was situated in the science of education - pedagogy-, it simultaneously developed a language that communicated with Islamic insights on education. This could explain why the Ottoman conception of the new “*terbiye*” continued to be defined within the religious context until the end of the Empire, although the process of secularization created undermining breaks with the philosophy of the notions of the traditional and Islamic *terbiye*.

Terbiye became a controversial matter among the intellectuals. We have plenty of books, pamphlets, and articles written by people of various occupations, classes and status. The Second Constitutional period especially witnessed an intensive focus on the concept of *terbiye*. In this cacophony of educational views, it gained importance, revealing the genealogical transformation of this concept in the late Ottoman Empire. The difficulty is to decipher how the concept mutated under the impact of pedagogy, which was imported from Europe, and with what *terbiye* was associated in the traditional Islamic education. The connotation of *terbiye* in the Tanzimat period and the Hamidian regime will be held in comparison with the philosophy of education in Europe examined above. Here, within the genealogical journey of the term, diagnosing the birth of secular character from within the

religious context of education will be a central concern of this study. Secondly it will explore how much it deviated from this secular skeleton in the textbooks of the period of 1908 and 1924. Below, the Ottoman adaptation of the Western educational pioneers is discussed.

The Genealogy of the *Terbiye* Concept in the Late Ottoman Empire

Building up the relation between child and knowledge (*malumat*) is observed to have been demanded by the late Ottoman state.¹⁰³ One of the concrete ways of the reproduction of knowledge for children found its place in articles and books on *terbiye*. In the texts of the Tanzimat period, the *terbiye* notion commonly appeared as synonymous of morals, which were basically teaching good and bad behavior. A second common usage of the word was related to discipline. *Terbiye* and *maarif* were discriminated in the Ottomans texts and books.¹⁰⁴ While *maarif* was mostly used to refer to the institutional system, *terbiye* generally referred to the pedagogical framework.

The first regulation guide¹⁰⁵ for primary education, published in 1847, considered instruction and education differently. New methods of teaching how to

¹⁰³ For parallel remarks on knowledge envisaged as salvation by the modern pedagogy through the jadidist movement in Asia, see Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: London: Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 155-184.

¹⁰⁴ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908): İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), p. 86; Muallim Cevdet, *Bütün Türklerde Maarif ve Terbiye Tarihi Üzerine Bir Nazar*, 1327 (Document no: MC Evr_000014- 08, Atatürk Library).

¹⁰⁵ It was prepared by Emin Pasha, Fuat Pasha and Ahmet Kemal Efendi. The text legitimized the use of new school materials with its allegedly being used in Mecca and Medina. It is supposed that this

read and write were introduced to teachers in the document together with the new school materials to be used such as maps, ink holders, pens and the stone-boards needed for writing. The document interpreted *terbiye* as having good behavior worthy humans and humanity. The guide stated that the Council of Public Education (*Meclis-i Maarif-i Umumiye*) would provide the necessary textbooks of morals that were supposed to teach good and bad behaviors¹⁰⁶ in respect to both “ration” and “religion.” The text uses terms such as “*mucib-i tezhib-i ahlak*” (necessity of moral purification) and “*ahlak-ı memduhe*” (good morals). It also used the term raising “*terbiyeli çocuk*”(well-behaved child). In this guide, morals (*ahlak*) could easily be interchanged with “*terbiye*.”

A parallel use of *terbiye* is seen in a book by Ethem Ibrahim Paşa titled *Terbiye ve Talim-i Adap ve Nesayihü'l Etfal* (“Education and Instruction of the Codes of Behaviors and Advice to Children”).¹⁰⁷ The concept of *terbiye* was given as the codes of behaviors; thus what was meant by *terbiye* here was close to the word “morals.” In article titled “The Importance of the Education of Children” by Munif Pasha in 1862 it is also possible to see the parallel uses of the concept. What was meant by *terbiye* was a process of disciplining and character education within the religious formation. The usage of the concept in 1860s did not reveal any parallels

disinformation was deliberately made up in order to prevent the reactions of religious circles. Yahya Akyüz, “Ortaöğretimin Yenileşme Tarihinde Bir Adım: Nisan 1847 Talimatı,” *OTAM Dergisi* 5, (1994)

¹⁰⁶ According to the text, for example, girls’ and boys’ sitting together was not proper, regarding *terbiye*.

¹⁰⁷ It was latinized by Hıfzırrahman Raşit Öymen in 1979. A “*terbiyeli çocuk*” is described as one who does not eat his bread while standing and behaves silently so as not to disturb others. The picture of the *terbiyeli çocuk* is drawn at school, home, even at play and entertainment. Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Terbiyeli Çocuk: Mübtediler için Kıraat Kitabı* (İstanbul: Kırk Anbar Matbaası, 1303).

with the perception of child in the works of Rousseau, Locke, Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel, whose publications on education had already appeared.

The effect of the new insights on educational theories could only be seen in 1870s. Two articles published in *Takvim-i Vekai* in 1870 examined the concept of pedagogy translated as *İlm-i Terbiye-i Etfal* (pedagogy). The author of these articles is thought to have been Selim Sabit Efendi or Aristokli Efendi. The articles, for the first time, took the issue of *terbiye* in different aspects rather than restricting it to the codes of structured behaviors. The examination of “child” as an object of biology is observed to have had its place in terms of physical and mental education. The fact that children autonomously existed with the peculiarities of their body made up the agenda of physical education focusing on such issues as cleaning the body, physical exercises, ensuring clean air and sufficient sunlight inside classrooms and the importance of using desks and breaks as well.

Mental education was considered to be under the protection of teachers, yet the parents were to care about it, too. The major principles were teaching at a gradual pace according to the students’ ages and abilities; and transferring the information in a clear and simple language and content. Children should not be exposed to the frightening and ultra-natural narratives of oral or written culture. Instead they should be taught about “the history of natural sciences and the world.”¹⁰⁸

The goal of education was defined in moral terms: “The goal of the *İlmi Terbiye-i Etfal* (pedagogy) is to educate children so that they can lead a religious and

¹⁰⁸ “...bunlar da doğa bilimleri tarihi ile ilgili bilgiler ve dünya ile ilgili bilgiler olmalı. Cavit Binbaşoğlu, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Eğitim Tarihi* (Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık, 2009), p. 190.

favorable life from birth to adulthood”¹⁰⁹ Proper to the biological existence of the child, education was to begin at birth. The Herbartian concept of educational instruction can be traced in the article. The author pointed out the relation between education and instruction and he declared the superiority of education over instruction. Moral education was more necessary since while the physical and mental education raised learned (*malumatlı*) people, moral education yielded pious offspring and virtuous fathers.¹¹⁰ According to the passage though it was good to teach religion, discrediting or humiliating other beliefs had to be avoided. Here the Tanzimat Ottomanism was accompanied with the humanistic and cosmopolitan view of Enlightenment educators. Teachers were to treat the children kindly and the punishments were to be fair and avoid anger and violence. Generally the first article can be regarded as a paraphrased version of the conceptions of Pestalozzi and Herbart. The second article mostly focused on the instruments of instruction in detail so that the meters of desks and tables and the school buildings were all included to create the ideal ambience for education.

Although the present study restricts itself to the examination of the conception of education in the texts of educators, it is important to consider Ziya Pasha since he was the one who translated the most radical theory of education, *Emile or on Education*, into Turkish. The article¹¹¹ was republished in the journal *Tedrisat-i İptidaiye* (Journal of Primary School Education) in 1911. This article

¹⁰⁹Çocuk eğitimi biliminin (ilm-i terbiye-i etfalın) konusu, çocukların dine bağlı ve güzel bir biçimde yaşamaları için gereken şeyi öğrenmeleri amacıyla doğumlarından başlayarak ergin oluncaya kadar, uygun biçimde eğitilmeleridir. Ibid., p. 188.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 191.

¹¹¹ Binbaşıoğlu states that the article by Ziya Pasha, which was actually the preface written for *Emile* was published in *Mecmua-i Ebuzziya* after he passed away in 1881. Binbaşıoğlu, p. 156.

shows how Rousseau's (1712-1778) radically liberal education was adapted to the Ottoman moral education by a Tanzimat intellectual.¹¹²

Ziya Pasha's preface formulated the *terbiye* of his day as a "corrupted" moral education rendered in the family and extended into society with its ills: "When the morals of a society were spoiled, then the decline started in their civilization."¹¹³ The goal of the Islamic *terbiye* was to produce the "*insan-ı kamil*," the perfect (or on the way to be perfect) human being, which requires a process of *tekamül* (progress for perfection).¹¹⁴ In short, *tekamül* culminated in being a good subject in eyes of God, *Rab*,¹¹⁵ who was the *Mürebbi* (educator) of the whole universe as well as of human beings. This Islamic conception of education is present throughout his article. When he articulated the state of having or not having *terbiye*, he used *güzel ahlaklı* (well-behaved) or *ahlaksız* (ill-mannered). He exemplified an ill-mannered child as disobeying his parents or committing theft.¹¹⁶ Such a child is similarly considered as not educated (*terbiyesiz*).

This *terbiye* understanding mostly corresponded to the behavior education in modern terms. The use of *ahlak* and *terbiye* side by side several times can be considered as the character of the educational understanding until the 1890s.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Frank A. Stone. "The Evolution of Contemporary Turkish Educational Thought," *History of Education Quarterly* 13, no.2 (Summer, 1973) pp. 145- 161.

¹¹³ This formula originates from Islamic thought. "God does not change the situation of a society until they change their morals themselves." The worldly progress depends on religious morality.

¹¹⁴ References about *güzel ahlak* (decent morality) in the hadith and verses strictly intertwined with the term *ahlak* with the education conception

¹¹⁵ *Rububiyet*, *mürebbi* and *terbiye* derivate from the word, *Rab* (the Lord).

¹¹⁶ Ziya Paşa, "Aile Terbiyesi Hakkında," *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 1, no.11 (1911), p. 205-206.

¹¹⁷ Both Somel and Fortna drew on the concept of *ahlak* was problematized in curriculum changes and education policy. Moral instruction, termed "social disciplining" by Somel, was regarded as a local

Generally speaking, the science of education in the West seems to have been adapted in the religious problematic of morality. The adaptation process of knowledge was willingly or unwillingly censoring or molding the educational theories in accordance with Islamic belief.

It could be stated that the secular character of the new education was neglected by the Ottoman intellectuals of this period, which went parallel with the proliferation of religious realists in the West during the nineteenth century. It is explicit that what Ziya Pasha conceived of Rousseau's radical ideas did not imply any such revelations. However, Mehmet Nadir was exceptional with his articles published in the 1890s. He preferred using the term "pedagogy" instead of *terbiye* in his articles. His series of articles, titled "Knowledge to My Daughter" (*Kızıma Malumat*) was similar to Rousseau's *Emile* in its modern construction of knowledge for children.

Traces of New Pedagogy: Following Rousseau

Mehmet Nadir's articles in *Sabah* brought a new pedagogy "which deal[t] with how to turn children into adults scientifically". Proper to its historical background, he proclaimed that "pedagogy is a science of wisdom of which essence is constructed upon enlightenment, logic and morals. In fact, pedagogy depends on

regeneration in reaction to the foreign encroachment by Benjamin Fortna. *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (London: Oxford, 2002), p. 202; Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908) İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), p. 7.

human nature and psyche.”¹¹⁸ As Nadir defined it, according to its secular context in the Western Europe, pedagogy, on behalf of the scientific realists, came out as a newly defined area of knowledge within the context of secularization. Thus, this new knowledge had no space for “mysterious insights.”¹¹⁹ The tests, trials, scientific observations of child development and all these new methods would replace the old superstitious beliefs and insights.

His writings focused on the mental education of children, which brought the subject matter of education under examination. Besides giving theoretical elucidation on pedagogy, he presented the pedagogical methods by providing sample lessons on subjects like writing and the natural sciences. The text of the science lessons was constructed upon dialogues with Hadiye, his ten to twelve year old daughter. The first of these samples was about entities in nature and its laws. Nadir underlined that it was not going to be a lesson on the mistakes of orthography in Arabic, but on the mistakes arising from the lack of knowledge in science. He stated that though the lessons were going to be about physics, chemistry and biology, his little daughter would certainly understand the topics since the subjects had been prepared according to pedagogical principles. He was wary about choosing subjects from daily life and explaining them by means of positive laws. His “Knowledge for My Daughter”

¹¹⁸ “*Pedagoji bir fenn-i hikemidir ki esas ilim, ruh, mantık ve ahlak üzerine müessesistir. Çünkü pedagoji tabiat-ı ruh-ı insan üzerine istinad eder.*” Mehmet Nadir, “Pedagoji 1: Mutalaa ve Tedris,” *Sabah*, s. 2103 (21 Zilhicce 1312/ 2 Haziran 1311/ 14 Haziran 1895) in Mehmet Nadir, *Terbiye ve Talim-i Etfal: Bir Eğitim Öncüsünün Yazıları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Erkek Liseliler Vakfı, 2005), p. 3; Pedagogy as a word is introduced to the readers through the columnists in the Hamidian period. This shows the awareness for discrimination between pedagogy and *terbiye*. However, still most journals for children did not show recognition of the scientific conception of education. Cüneyd Okay, *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler 1850-1900* (İstanbul: Kırkambar Yayınları, 1998), p. 50-52.

¹¹⁹ “*İşte bu gibi hurafat ve itikadat-ı batıla ile çocukların zihinlerini teşvişe düşürmemek....tavsiye ederiz.*” Mehmet Nadir, “Pedagoji 3: Terbiye-i Ahlakiye,” *Sabah*, s. 2112, (30 Zilhicce 1312/ 11 Haziran 1311/ 23 Haziran 1895) in Mehmet Nadir, p. 75.

(*Kızıma Malumat*) actually developed critical viewpoints for the existing curriculums through which the students were extensively exposed to the instruction of Arabic orthography and language.¹²⁰

- Hadiye! Come on, let's go to the garden. We will walk and improve your understanding by talking about useful things, for you are now old enough. Being ignorant at this age is not appropriate for you, nor for me.
- My respected Father! Am I ignorant? I have already taken and learned so many courses at *Rüşdiye* School. How can such an educated child like me be called ignorant?
- Ok! Then. Get an onion from the basket up there! Peel it with a knife...
- What! What happened! Your eyes filled with tears! Why? Let's explain)
- Of course, my respected Father, the onion hurt my eyes.¹²¹

After listing other topics about how the sun heated humans, why a stone thrown into air fell, what pencils or soaps were made of, what matter was and its properties, it was concluded that students are not taught these things in schools.

The discourse in teaching science drew a secular line. The universe was presented more like a system that operated with natural laws where nature was described as its own agent. It did not search for a way to combine these scientific truths as God's creation. Beginning with the laws of the universe and holding the lesson in a garden instead of established school buildings was an important signal

¹²⁰ Orthography occupied a considerable place and perceived as a problematic by the Ottoman intellectual as the modern methods of language learning developed in Europe.

¹²¹ “-Hadiye, kızım! Haydi seninle bahçeye gidelim. Hem gezeriz hem de fenni, istifadeli şeylerden sana bahsederek, malumatını ziyadeleştirmiş oluruz. Zira sen oldukça büyüdün. Bu yaşta cahil kalmak sana da yakışmaz bana da!

-Efendi baba! Ben cahil miyim ya? Rüşdiye mektebinde bu kadar dersler gördüm; öğrendim. Benim gibi mektepten çıkmış bir çocuk hiç cahil olur mu?

-Pekala! Şurada duran sepetin içinden bir soğan al! Bıçakla bu soğanı soy!

-Ne o? Ne oldun? Gözlerinden yaşlar çıkıyor!

-Elbette efendi baba gözlerimi soğan yaktı!” Mehmet Nadir, “Kızıma Malumat : Birinci Mükaleme,” *Sabah*, s. 2147, (6 Safer 1313/ 16 Temmuz 1311/ 28 Temmuz 1895) in Mehmet Nadir.

here for the secular shift of both discourse and knowledge. He aimed to display the power of educational methodology to construct a view of the world. Thus, there stood, no longer, an obstacle to absorbing physics, chemistry or biology. The way pedagogy transformed the data and made it ready for kids' consumption can be seen in his sample lessons. It is explicit that Nadir, following Rousseau and "lay moralists,"¹²² separated the subject of education from the domain of the culture, religion or society. He used induction inquiry to set up this secular character of the education, as opposed to the holistic understandings.

Reconstruction of Pedagogy through Islamic Morality

The Hamidian period differed with its search for scientific knowledge infused with the moral values of Islam. Education which was equally instruction of morals until the 1890s was developed into a broader sphere in its theoretical roots. Except for Selim Sabit Efendi's "School Guide for Teachers (*Rehnüma-i Muallimin*)"¹²³ in 1870s, the increase of interest in a scientific education dates to the 1890s, as seen in Nadir's explorations. Some prominent pedagogues such as Ayşe Sıdika, Musa Kazım, and Hezargrathlı Mehmet Efendi adapted the western classics to the Ottoman

¹²² "There were lay moralists ... (whose) aim was only to make morals entirely independent of religion...In a lecture to school teachers on the moral education syllabus, ... the new lay system involved the training of the intelligence, to enable it to make moral decisions, as opposed to the Catholic catechism, which relied on the memorizing of rules." Theodore Zeldin, "Conflict of Morality," *Conflicts of French Society: Anticlericalism, Education and Morals in the Nineteenth Century: Essays*, ed. Theodore Zeldin (London: Allen&Unwin, 1970), p. 43.

¹²³ His booklet is on how to instruct reading and writing, history, geography and calculation. Teacher roles and behaviors show the impact of Pestalozzi who viewed teachers as fathers.

language. Ayşe Sıdika's *Usul-u Talim ve Terbiye* (1897) (Methods of Instruction and Education), which grouped education by its physical, mental and moral aspects, is one of these adaptations from Europe, namely Herbert Spencer's book.

Another work is Hezargratlı Mehmet Refet's *Terbiye-i Dimağıye yahut Usul-ü Terbiye* (1896) (Education of Mind or Methods of Education). He considered education to be more a training of the mind, which aimed to develop the ability to think and solve problems. In "*Rehber-i Tedris ve Terbiye*" (1897) (Guide of Instruction and Education), Musa Kazım proposed the union of religious perspectives with science. He referred to the French education minister Guizot, who claimed that "the atmosphere of the school should be compatible with religion and morals."¹²⁴ After cautioning the teachers not to use the importance of religion and morality repetitively, he suggested that the religious message should be given only at the end of a lesson.¹²⁵ To him, instruction should be based on religious morality, being careful about unnecessary and tiresome repetition: "In short, so many things of religion and morals could be articulated in the lessons of Astronomy, Physics, General history and History of Nature"¹²⁶

¹²⁴ "Fransa eğitim bakanlarından ünlü Guzi (Guizot) derdi ki: 'Okulun havası, din ve ahlakla uyumlu olmalı.'" Musa Kazım, *Rehber-i Tedris ve Terbiye 2* (İstanbul: Kasbar Basımevi, 1313), in Cavit Binbaşıoğlu, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Eğitim Tarihi* (Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık, 2009), p.237.

¹²⁵ Somel gives out this tiresome and boring character of religious instruction which made it ineffective. Ahmet Akşit, "Selçuk Akşin Somel ile Söyleşi, Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi Üzerine (1839-1908)," *Toplumsal Tarih* 204 (Aralık, 2010)

¹²⁶ "Kısaca astronomi, fizik, genel tarih ve tabiat derslerinde diyanet ve ahlakla ilgili birçok şey söylenebilir." Musa Kazım, *Rehber-i Tedris ve Terbiye 2* (İstanbul: Kasbar Basımevi, 1313), in Cavit Binbaşıoğlu, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Eğitim Tarihi* (Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık, 2009), p.237.

The tendency towards interpreting the new science in terms of religion is also observed in the work of Süleyman Paşazade Sami.¹²⁷ He wrote “In short, a true education (tarbiyah) is that one which is based on religion. No religion, no morality.”¹²⁸ The same is also observed in Abdürrahman Şeref’s work, *The Science of Morality (İlm-i Ahlak)*, counts religion as the part of the pedagogy.¹²⁹

Ziver’s *Bedreka-i Muallimin*¹³⁰ sets the educational basis similarly with the above-mentioned Hamidian educators. He took a holistic view point in that he did not see modern education as a secular sphere. Stating that it was unnecessary to elaborate on the history of *terbiye-i etfal*, he did not think of pedagogy as something new to be explained to the reader. Yet, he discriminates between it and the contemporary education in terms of its practical usefulness: “The religious obligation to teach the useful knowledge.”¹³¹ The author tried to place the pedagogy within the Islamic goals of education. Thus it is understood that the science of *terbiye* was not

¹²⁷ He translated the methods of education in Froebel and Pestalozzi. He had been one of the members of *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif* since 1909. He was also member of the board of Copyright and Translation between 1914 and 1917. He is one of the authors in the commission writing the guide for instruction and education in 1915 together with İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu. This work will be held in the following subtitles.

¹²⁸ “Hasılı kelam hakiki bir terbiye din üzerine tesis eden bir terbiyedir; din olmayınca ahlak olmaz.” *Meclis-i Maarif Azasından Sami, İlm-i Tedrisat-ı Etfal* (Dersaadet: Ikram Matbaası, 1328), p.113; Sami reported that originally the books belonged to Aristokli Efendi, a member in the Grand Council of Education (*Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif*); yet he had interpreted it within the contemporary knowledge and his own point of view. It is recorded by Nafi Atuf as *İlm-i Terbiye-i Etfal*, “written by Aristokli Bey and translated by Sami Bey,” in Nafi Atuf, *Türkiye’nin Maarif Tarihi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (İstanbul: Milliyet Matbaası, 1930), p.167.

¹²⁹ This combination of religion and pedagogy is generally presented as a fault of the Ottoman educators; however; religion was ingrained in the philosophy of education in Europe in the relevant periods, too.

¹³⁰ The book has the characteristics of the Abdülhamit II’s period in terms of its form. It starts with *besmele* and it included compliments to the sultan several times in the introduction.

¹³¹ “*Ulum-u naftanın tahsiline olan mecburiyet-i diniyye hasebiyle tedris ve terbiyeye müteallik kavaid ve nazariyat-ı mahsusaya dikkat ve itina bittabii İslam için elzemdir.*” Yanya Vilayeti Maarif Müdiri Ziver, *Bedreka-i Muallimin* (“n.p.”, Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete Matbaası, 1323), p. 5.

translated and formulated on the level or platform it was produced by the secular realists.

Ziver, the Director of Education in Ioniana, admonished teachers to connect the concrete facts with the existence of a creator: “for example, the fact that the brilliant and life-endowing light of the sun and the sun’s great body could only be explained with the existence of the Great Creator should be proved to the pupils.”¹³² As seen, this was a reproduction of Western knowledge with a new spirit. This verifies Fortna’s thesis: “...the moral instruction initiative represented an attempt to inject Islamic content through modern means and modes of organization. ...the campaign to infuse moral education into the Ottoman school system used the physical elements of schooling to produce change in patterns of thought, association and belief.”¹³³

While keeping the place of Turkish as the true language of the Ottomans, Ziver seems to have been content with the Arabic and Persian letters and words since they made up the first step in acquiring these languages.¹³⁴ His opinions about geography and history courses differed from those of the intellectuals in the Unionist period although the book was written only a year before the revolution. He considered religious instruction as a critical part of education, for the only way to be happy was through “belief.” Religion in particular was presented as the only pacifier of the human heart against all evils, which displayed an ambivalent approach towards

¹³² “Mesela güneşin evalim-i teşhin ve ihya eyleyen zıyasının şeklindeki cerm-i azimenin ancak sani-i hakikisi ancak Halık-ı Teali Hazretleri olduğu şakirdane ispat edilmelidir.” Yanya Vilayeti Maarif Müdürü Ziver, *Bedreka-i Muallimin* (“n.p.”, Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete Matbaası, 1323) p. 10.

¹³³ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 203.

¹³⁴ Yanya Vilayeti Maarif Müdürü Ziver, *Bedreka-i Muallimin* (“n.p.”, Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete Matbaası, 1323) p. 99.

what was Western and modern. He questioned the probability of a nation surviving without religion. In his opinion, it was evident that science and religion were thought of side by side without any incongruity and conflict, although he did not elaborate on the issue as much as the successive educators of the Second Constitutional period. To him, especially the teachers in villages were seen as responsible for supplying the religious instruction by reciting the *ezan* (call to prayer) and by enlightening “ignorant” people specifically through *namaz* (prayers) and obedience to the state.¹³⁵

In conclusion, education was understood as a matter of body and mind as well as morality in philosophical terms. Fortna defines the characteristic of the period as follows: “Here is Hamidian education policy in microcosm: a moving away from the more overtly ‘secular’ aspects of the Tanzimat conception of Ottoman education toward a consciously Islamic basis.”¹³⁶ The increase in the theoretical exploration of the instructional methods that were to train the mind in the 1890s and first decade of the 1900s, prepared a more “scientific” background for debates during the Second Constitutional period, when the thoughts of Locke, Jan Jacques Rousseau, Comenius, Pestalozzi, Froebel and Herbart made up the popular educational discourses.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp. 101-103.

¹³⁶ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 216.

¹³⁷ “Rousseau’nun *Emile*’ini, Locke’un düşüncelerini okumamış bir iptidai mualliminin malumat-ı meslekiyesi pek nakıs kalır”. Necmeddin Saru, “İlm-i Terbiyede Tetebbua Tarihinin Mevkii ve Ehemmiyeti,” *Tedrisat Mecmuası* 5, 32/6 (1331), p. 165.

Reducing Islam to a Pedagogical Category:

The Second Constitutional Period

What was clear in the first decades of the twentieth century is that the educators were no longer writing about *terbiye* as synonymous to *ahlak*. It was more established that education was a matter of “science” and perceived as independent from religious epistemology. What is more, this period differs in that pedagogy, constructed theoretically under the Hamidian rule with a scientific perspective, began to be practiced in the primary schools. This confrontation of the new versus “the old” was explicitly felt when such courses as physical education and art lessons were added to the programs of the primary schooling, which was the most conservative layer of education. For the commentators of the period, the change in the curriculum was a “revolutionary”.

The new generation of educators, some of whom graduated from Europe, engaged in a broad spectrum of debates on different educational theories. In this liberal atmosphere of the Constitutional regime, the increase in the translation of educational studies resulted in confusion of the data imported from the West. A well-known methodology was the eclectic approach to “foreign” epistemology formulated as being open to Western science and technology by avoiding its morality and way of life. This, for example, was expressed often in Ziya Gökalp’s writings on national education in the formulation of national education and modern instruction.¹³⁸ However, how exactly this demarcation could be realized was not clear as stated by

¹³⁸ Ziya Gökalp, “Milli Terbiye IV,” *Muallim Mecmuası* 1, no. 4 (Ekim 1332), pp. 97-102.

Baltacıoğlu: “It is so strange that even those who propose to ‘take advantage of western science by giving back their morality’ did not know what they will keep and reject.”¹³⁹ He regretted that the Constitutional years when the opposition to Tanzimat reforms gained impetus did not go further than imitation of the West: “...Yet, imitation was imitation...we were deprived of a national and indigenous system.”¹⁴⁰

Most of these debates revolved around the theoretical envisagement of an ideal education fit for the Empire, where the political borders and population steadily changed within the ongoing wars. Yet, the Unionist state policy on education was generally reduced to the ideology of Turkism based on an increasing secularism. In this part of the study, to overcome the crowd of educational formulations, the resources on education would be kept restricted to the books, articles or texts written by the pedagogues of the period. After gathering the general literature of the period, to what extent the state policy was in harmony with this debate and at which point it diverged from it will be indicated through the analysis of state guidelines theoretically. The discourse on the educational philosophy in these sources will be deciphered in terms of the intersections of the modern pedagogy with the Islamic thought and Turkish nationalism. The borrowed term “religious realism” explained above will be traced in the company of secular realists.

Within the physical, mental and moral education, the first two were welcome unquestionably, yet the moral education created the conflict between the educators, among whom İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Satı Bey were the well-known. The

¹³⁹ “Gariptir ki ‘Avrupa’nın yalnız ilminden, fenninden istifade edelim, ahlakını adatını almayalım!’ diyenler bile alacakları ve verecekleri şeyin ne olduğunu bilmiyorlardı.” İsmail Hakkı, “Milli Talim ve Terbiye Islahatına Medhal,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası*, (Nisan/1333), p. 17.

¹⁴⁰ “Lakin taklit yine taklit idi... milli ve mahalli bir teşkilattan mahrum kaldık.” Ibid., p. 16.

debate gathered around to what extent instruction and education were to operate independently from each other; in other words, whether an Islamic morality would dominate the modern school subjects like in the Hamidian period or not made up the controversy. A more difficult question was how to deal with the religious-based moral education and to what extent the conflict between moral education and the scientific subject matters was to be overcome.

The confusion was deepened since “*terbiye*” was historically synonymous with morals as seen in the previous interpretation of the education concept. The war conditions created a penchant to problematize “morality” once again. The Balkan Wars and the continuing Great War regenerated the problematic of morality, which was traditionally the answer to explain the losses and failures.¹⁴¹ A regeneration thesis was made upon a new morality which would sweep away the crisis led by the moral degeneration of the Ottomans. Below, the characteristic of the Constitutional period morality will be discussed in comparison to the previous period.

Debates on the “True” Religion and Terbiye

The Constitutional years, within the liberal atmosphere of intellectualism, yielded a comprehensive discussion on religion in which the *ulema* had to share its hold on Islam with different intellectual disciplines. For example, the authors of *İslam Mecmuası* (Journal of Islam) came from multifarious disciplines with their

¹⁴¹ “Young Turks found the reasons of 1876 defeat in moral degeneration”. Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), p. 122.

own viewpoints and they supported the reform in Islam.¹⁴² Thus, Islam was no longer a discipline in itself discussed and interpreted under the authority of the *ulema*; it was redefined and interpreted in view such subjects as sociology, economy, and pedagogy by the people with no affiliation with religious institutions professionally.

The Unionist approach to Islam was interpreted in two ways.¹⁴³ The dominant conviction explicated the role of Islam in Unionist policy merely an instrument of legitimization.¹⁴⁴ Islam as a vehicle to pacify the reactions against the reforms became the common ground especially among the Westernists. Şerif Mardin called it an artificial Islamism.¹⁴⁵ Şükrü Hanioglu has a similar conviction in his books.¹⁴⁶ His article draws an impressive picture of the instrumentalization of religion for political requirements in the writings of the Westernists, whose anti-Islamist ideas became more agitated and distinct only after 1908.¹⁴⁷

On the other hand, the intrinsic value imposed on religion found its explicit form in the apologetic psychology defending Islam against the overwhelming visibility of the science and progress of Europe from the daily life to the ideological dimension. This defense, which was shared by Islamists, nationalists and some

¹⁴² Masami Arai, *Jön Türk Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994).

¹⁴³ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak interpreted the search for a new conception of religion as the continuation of the Islamism of Abdülhamit the Second. He argued that the new Islam was generated as a reaction to the Ottoman Islam historically. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Türkler, Türkiye ve İslam* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009), p. 95.

¹⁴⁴ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler 3: İttihat ve Terakki, Bir Çağın, Bir Kuşağın, Bir Partinin Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2011) p. 377

¹⁴⁵ Mardin, p. 162.

¹⁴⁶ Şükrü Hanioglu, “Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük 1889-1902 (İstanbul: İletişim, 1985)

¹⁴⁷ Şükrü Hanioglu, “Garbcılar: Their Attitudes toward Religion and Their Impact on the Official Ideology of the Turkish Republic,” *Studia Islamica* 86 (1997), pp. 133-158.

Westernists on the grounds of anti-imperialism, was a common and learned reaction actually inherited from the Young Ottomans.¹⁴⁸

What made the defense of Islam an intrinsic effort lay in the conviction of a revival, since Islam was believed to be superior and more comprehensive than the knowledge acquired through induction.¹⁴⁹ The present progress of Europe had only been realized as a result of the contributions of Islamic civilization and values which had been allegedly neglected by Muslims. The failure was seen to be in the lost universal values of Islam. Thus, the intrinsic motive that sought a reconciliation/negotiation with modernity in the essential sources of Islam was an effort to strengthen the faith, which was thought to be losing its credibility especially among the youth.¹⁵⁰ Generally speaking, a religion of “*hurafes*” (superstitious beliefs) was

¹⁴⁸ For Namık Kemal’s well-known article as a response to Earnest Renan, who blamed İslam as a system against illumination and education, Namık Kemal. *Renan Müdafanamesi: İslamiyet ve Maarif*, ed. Fuat Köprülü (Ankara: Milli Kültür Yayınları, 1962); For the anti-emperialist thoughts of Young Turks and the defense of Ahmet Rıza, see Ömer Turan, “Oryantalizm, Sömürgecilik Eleştirisi ve Ahmet Rıza: ‘Batı’nın Doğu Politikasının Ahlaken İflası’nı Yeniden Okumak,” *Toplum ve Bilim* 115 (2009). pp. 6-46.

¹⁴⁹ The same period is reported to have witnessed the trials of the revival of Islamic thought in the works of Seyid Ahmet Khan Seyid Emir Ali, Muhammed İkbāl and the intellectuals writing in *Sebilürreşad* and *Sırat-ı Müstakim* such as İzmirli İsmail Hakkı. The common problematic was to push Islamic thought and make true the universality claim of Islam, which was supposed to have a say in the modern issues in practical and theoretical ways such as in banking and interest matters in economy, the reconciliation of pedagogy with Islam, philosophy with Kelām, Darwinism with the creation and rationalism with spirituality. Hilmi Z. Ülken, *Türkiye’de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi II* (Konya: Selçuk Yayınları, 1966), p. 443-458; For the eclecticism of Ottoman adaptation of the imported science and knowledge, “Enes Kabakçı, Özgür Adadağ, “İslahtan Devrime: Tanzimat’ta Cumhuriyet’e Osmanlı- Türk Siyasi Düşüncesinde Değişim Algısı,” *Divan* 14, no.26 (2009/1), p.13.

¹⁵⁰ The morality conflict in modern school students was described as such: “*İdadiye* (secondary school) youth were inflicted with the doubt and suspicion arising from the conflict between the old instruction of religion and morality and the instruction of enlightened teachers of the nature, physiology and astronomy.” *İdadi gençliği din ve ahlak tedrisatını idare eden eski hocaların telkinatını bir yandan tabiattan, bilhassa fizyolojiden ve felekiyattan bahs eden mütefennin muallimler tedrisatı altında şüphe ve tereddüt içinde kavruluyor.* İsmail Hakkı, “Milli Talim ve Terbiye İslahatına Medhal,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası* (Nisan 1333), p.17; For similar articulations of the same matter, see Ziya Gökalp, “Milli Terbiye,” *Muallim Mecmuası* 1, no. 3 (Eylül 1332), pp. 65-71.

cautiously sorted out and the essence of religion was reached as the “true religion.” Unionists approach to Islamic pedagogy, at least as well as the “true” Islam was concerned was manifest. As stated by Arai, the Unionists were not necessarily or absolutely nationalist secularists, yet they regenerated the modernization and Islamism simultaneously.¹⁵¹ Two main characteristics are observed in the treatment of Islam: First of all, most of the intellectuals believed religion was of vital importance for the reasons of morality crisis and preserving social integrity.¹⁵² The second is that Islam had no conflict with the modern world view unless it was distilled into its “true” essence.

The educational journals of the period viewed Islam as a space of defense against the foreign moral encroachment. It was suggested that a self- confidence extracted from a religious consciousness be instilled in the Ottoman child to overcome the inferiority psychology. Satı Bey especially spent much space in his articles in *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* (Journal of Primary School Instruction) to refute the attacks emerging from social Darwinism. Designating the contemporary Western civilization not as the fruit of Christianity in the middle ages, he evaluated the emergence of Islamic civilization and its establishment after the Prophet Mohammed. Referring to the Turks and Arabs altogether as constituents of Islamic civilization, the progress of Muslims in a short time was underlined as success of

¹⁵¹ Masami Arai, *Jön Türk Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), p. 147.

¹⁵² Most of the writers questioned whether the crisis in religious education arose from Islam itself or not. The reciprocity of science versus Islam forced the religious education to be tested on its negotiation with the modern modes. To Mehmet Emin, negotiation between science and beliefs was not a proper method to follow since it led to the dominion of one over the other. Religion and science could not be reconciled because their methods to reach knowledge differed. If religion was reconciled with science, then this would make religion lose its credibility when measured scientific terms. Thus, a moral crisis appeared among the youth who witnesses the domination of science over religion. Mehmet Emin, “Dini Terbiye-Dini Tedrisat,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası* (Mart 1334)

Islam. To him, the problem of backwardness was not about being Muslim, but holding onto *taassub* (bigotry) and *cehalet* (ignorance): two characteristics of the “wrong” Islam.¹⁵³ What was needed was to provide and feed the Turkish youth with hope, determination (*sebat*) and perseverance (*azim*):¹⁵⁴ “Yes, gentlemen, after my two-month long observation and examinations, I guarantee without doubt that Europeans do not have a superior intelligence and talent than us.”¹⁵⁵

He stated what he had found in Western civilization as such: “They are working in a more productive way, thinking in a more practical aspect; and that way and reason they succeed and progress. Their success and progress arises from nothing else than their orderly work and method.”¹⁵⁶ Orientalist point of view that fixed “backwardness” necessarily to being Muslim¹⁵⁷ occupied Satı’s writings. He juxtaposed the contributions of the Muslim scholars to the Western civilization and modern science. Reminding all these, he cautioned never to lose the sight of this “splendid progress” of Muslims in the past¹⁵⁸ warning that this consciousness of the past should not lead Muslims to nostalgia which caused a neglect of contemporary civilization. For him, the past was just to give Ottomans self-confidence and hope for

¹⁵³ Satı, “Ne için Geri Kaldık?”, *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 1, no. 2, p. 40.

¹⁵⁴ Satı, “Medeniyey-i İslamiye,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 1, no.11; Satı, “Ümit ve Azim,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 1, no. 4

¹⁵⁵ “Evet efendiler, iki ay devam ile müşahadat ve tetkikatım neticesinde size bilatereddüt temin edebilirim ki: Avrupalılarda bizden daha ziyade zeka, ve daha ziyade istidat yoktur.” Satı, “Ümit ve Azim,” p. 102.

¹⁵⁶ “Onlar daha müsmir bir surette çalışıyor, daha ameli bir surette düşünüyor, bu sayede ve bu sebeple muvaffak oluyor ve terakki ediyorlar. Onların muvaffakiyet ve terakkileri hep bundan, sayelerindeki intizam ve usulden neşet ediyor.” Ibid., p.102.

¹⁵⁷ Satı, “Ne için Geri Kaldık?”, p. 38.

¹⁵⁸ “İslamların bu terakkiyat-ı mazisi zihnimizden çıkmamalı, bu terakkiyatın şaşı gözümüzün önünden ayrılmamalıdır.” Satı, “Medeniyey-i İslamiye,” p. 184.

the future design. To those who criticized the adaptation of European civilization and asked why not to rely upon Islamic civilization only, he recalled the first Muslims and how they had progressed by adapting Greek civilization.

Europe adapted this (Islamic) civilization and developed it for centuries... Now, while the fruits of this progressed civilization are at hand, while it is possible to get its buds and produce more strength, how is it plausible to go five or six centuries back and adapt to it [Islam]? Following such a method is to neglect the wisdom of the great civilization [of Islam]. Did not Muslims develop their civilization only by borrowing and adapting in its first phase? ...Did not they recall Aristotle, Phisagores, Oklides ... by respect?" ¹⁵⁹

Ziya Gökalp's consideration of Islam as a part of education is well-known in his distinctive combinations of Islamic and modern ways. He depicted the attitude of a Turkish father to give the simple formulation in his article on Islamic education in 1914 (1330): "A Turkish father does not approve his son's inability to speak, write and read Turkish, and not knowing Turkish history. But at the same time, he cannot approve of his son's ignorance of Islamic beliefs, worshipping practices and ignorance of the history of Islam. This father wants his son to be raised as a modern human being as well as a Turk and Muslim. Then, a complete education for us

¹⁵⁹ "Avrupa bu medeniyeti aldı, bu kadar asırdan beri tevsii etti... Şimdi önümüzde bu medeniyetin bu kadar asırlık semerati dururken, bu şecere-i medeniyetten aşilar almak, çelikler yapmak mümkün iken onun beş altı asır evvelki haline tahamine avdet etmek nasıl makul olabilir? Zaten bu yolda hareket, o büyük medeniyetin hikmetinden gaflet demektir: İslamlar medeniyetlerini ancak işe iktibas ve taklid ile başlamak sureti ile elde etmediler mi? Aristoteles, Fisagores, Oklides, ... namlarını daima hürmet ve tevkir yad eylemediler mi?" Ibid., p. 189.

consists of three parts: Turkish education, Islamic education and modern education.”¹⁶⁰

According to him, these three educations could co-exist, only if they cooperated, unless they exceeded each others’ authorities. He defined the space of authority for modern education as limited to the material world, while the spiritual sphere was given to Turkish and religious resources. The discrimination between the national and religious ones was more difficult and needed further analyses. However, he foresaw that a historical religion, which conveyed the patterns of life, customs and attitudes of other nationalities, namely the Arabs, ought to be sorted out of what was Turkish.¹⁶¹

A “true Islam” was needed for its sociological and pragmatic yields in reformation. The terms sociology and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) came closer for a new synthesis in Gökalp’s interpretation. He developed a sociological approach to Islam and his national education gave considerable place for religion. Especially in his educational view, religion becomes an indispensable part of raising compassionate, patient, peaceful and self-sacrificing people.¹⁶² He drew an *ummah* (Islamist) program for education which necessitated Arabic letters, congresses for Islamic epistemology and education, and institutional partnerships under the *hilal* (crescent), the common symbol of Islamic societies.

¹⁶⁰ “Bir Türk babası, çocuğunun Türkçe konuşmamasına, Türkçe okuyup yazmamasına, Türk tarihini bilmemesine rıza göstermez; aynı zamanda İslam itikad ve ibadetlerini bilmemesini, İslam tarihinden habersiz olmasını da tasvip edemez. Bu baba çocuğunun Türk ve İslam olarak büyümesini istediği gibi çağdaş bir insan olarak yetişmesini de arzu eder. O halde bizim için tam bir terbiye üç kısımdan mürekkektir: Türk terbiyesi, İslam terbiyesi, Asır terbiyesi.” Ziya Gökalp, “İslam Terbiyesinin Mahiyeti,” *İslam Mecmuası* 1, no. 1 (1330). p. 14-16.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 14-16

¹⁶² Ziya Gökalp, “Dine Doğru,” *Küçük Mecmua* 5 (Temmuz, 1922) pp. 1-7 in Ziya Gökalp, *Makaleler VII*, ed. Abdülhaluk Çay (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982), p. 24.

The pedagogues from Anatolia also referred to the power of religion when effective social mobilization was needed. The impact of Gökâlp's ideas in the early 1910s can be traced in the early years of the 1920s. Ali Ali's text supported the preservation of religious discourse to maintain the reforms. Without a religious point of view, he claimed that people might become uninterested in the reforms and this would lead to the failure and disappointment of the newly established revolutions:

Our people conform to hygiene because cleanliness comes from the belief [Islam]. They go to war because *cihad* is a religious obligation. They comply with modesty since extravagance is forbidden by religion...They hate committing persecution since they know that it destroys the estate, not the disbelief. They respect justice since they perceive it as the essential estate. They believe God loves the hardworking and they work. They demand science since they believe knowledge is necessary from the cradle till the grave. If the sensitivities of our people on their religion are not taken into consideration, or if it is killed, a general downfall begins.

163

He warned that a non-religious education created deep trauma and reactions and it pushed people into general stagnation. He thought that Islam, which had no contradiction with the new sciences, "...has the essentials that will provide the needs of modern times." ¹⁶⁴ The only problem appeared to be organizing people with the help of religious discourse: "There is a language of religion in which people feel, understand, and think. One who addresses them with a discourse they do not

¹⁶³ "Halkımız temizliğe nezâfetin imandan olduğundan riayet eder. Harbe cihadın farz olduğundan gider. İktisadî; israf haramdır, kanaat kenz layefnadır diye kabul eder. Zulümden küfr ile mülk harab olmaz, zalim ile harab olur endişesiyle nefret eyler. Adaletle adalet esas mülktür diye hürmet eyler. Kesb habibullahıdır der çalışır. İlme; beşikten mezara kadar tahsil lazımdır kanaatiyle riayet eder. Halkımızın hissiyat-ı diniyyesi ihmal edilirse, öldürülürse bir sukut-u umumi başlar." Ali Ali, *Maarif'de İnkılap* (Samsun: Şems Matbaası, 1337) p. 28. (A book presented to the Education Congress)

¹⁶⁴ "Dinimiz ihtiyacat-ı asriyyeyi temin edecek esasatı muhtevidir." Ibid., p. 28.

understand finds failure.”¹⁶⁵ He believes that if a plausible degree of importance was not given to religion, the strong and sincere relations between the state and Muslim society could be dissolved.¹⁶⁶

Writing from Samsun, Ali supported a view of conflict-free religion which was helpful in keeping society and state intact. He advocated diminishing the distance between the *medrasa* and the modern schools. By teaching the science courses in *medrasa* and religious subjects in modern schools, the solidarity and fraternity of society would be accomplished. It is also noticed that the author instrumentalized religion to create or protect its credibility and to prolong its role as part of state policy. Here, the author’s conviction that Islam had no conflicts with modern education and thought indicates a more flexible understanding of secularism than the Republican years which brought a radical demarcation of religion and life.

The fact that Islam somehow constituted part of the policy during the Constitutional regime can be seen implicitly in the introduction to an uncompleted dictionary-encyclopedia prepared by Ali Seydi and Ali Reşad, the prominent members of the council of Copyright and Translation (*Telif ve Tercüme Heyeti*) in the Ministry of Education. The note in the introduction enunciates:

We gave a considerable importance to the science in the East and specially the studies of religion. We gave plenty of examples from verses and *hadith* and explained their meanings. In conclusion, not only the European scholars, but also the Muslim intellectuals of the past and contemporaries were all included.

¹⁶⁵ “Halkın dini bir hissediş, anlayış, düşünüş lisanı vardır. Ona anlamadığı lisan ile hitap eden sükut ile mukabele görür.” Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

Besides, we did not feel ashamed because of giving place to some obscene words.”¹⁶⁷

It was also declared that they would not restrain from providing enough information about foreign (*ecnebi*) scholars if they had a considerable place in the history and science.¹⁶⁸ This way they revealed their methodology in their eclectic approach, which shows the interest in imported data, but also the willingness to adapt the local productivity of the past with the present “foreign.” In this framework, how this defense of Islamic civilization was to be diffused into the Unionist education policy in intrinsic and instrumental ways is to be examined.¹⁶⁹

Revisiting Islamic Pedagogy: İbrahim Aşki

The resurrection or regeneration *basü badel mevt* originating from the Islamic belief system made up the hopes of educators in the late Ottoman Empire.¹⁷⁰ Islam’s role and contribution to the conception of *terbiye* was by no means envisaged outside the pressure of the conviction which proposed religion as the cause of backwardness.

¹⁶⁷ *Musavver Dairetü’l- Maarif*, eds. Ali Seydi, Ali Reşad, et al., (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1917).

¹⁶⁸ n.a., *Musavver Dairetü’l- Maarif (Prospektüs)* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331[1915]), p. 5.

¹⁶⁹ The role of religion in Republican education is discussed in the article that examines the post-1980 period of Turkish-Islamic Synthesis and how the army reintegrated “Islam” into the national educational system. Sam Kaplan, “Din-u Devlet All over Again? The Politics of Military Secularism and Religious Militarism in Turkey following the 1980 Coup,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34, no. 1 (Feb., 2002), p. 113-127.

¹⁷⁰ As drawn by Fortna, there were also fears accompanying hopes for the Ottomans, resulting from the “superior” foreign education. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 43.

This pressure led to the rejection and opposition to the established interpretation of religion while it developed as a reaction to the positivist circles, as well. The guilt of underdevelopment, ignorance and poverty led the Islamic mind to self-defense. This conflict of being against itself, or in other words refining itself, resulted in the discourse of “true religion” separated from the harmful contributions of historical Islam, which made up what was called “*hurafe*”(superstitions). Those educators who tried to revive a modern education from Islamic philosophy led the discussion over this “refined” or “rational” religion, which was believed to have taken place in the life-time of Prophet Muhammed. Education, increasingly gaining a scientific face during the Second Constitutional period, adapted the impact of this rationalized religion.

Mektep Terbiyesi,¹⁷¹ translated by Ibrahim Aşki Tanık¹⁷² in 1914, gives the idea of regeneration in such a refined Islam. This translated work does not have any note about the original book title and author. Tanık’s introduction and epilogue to the translated work interest us more, though. The book defined education as adapting the individual to the environment in physical, mental (intellectual) and moral grounds. To educate, to civilize, illuminate, and empower were utilized interchangeably for each other in a cause and effect structure throughout the book. It described the ideal man in a section titled “The state wants an educated society” (*Devlet terbiye görmüş ahali ister*). Its message is that unless the education is national, science alone cannot

¹⁷¹ Ibrahim Aşki [Tanık], *Mektep Terbiyesi* (İstanbul: Zarafet Matbaası, 1330)

¹⁷² He is known as the teacher of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek. Hasan Aycın, “Düşünce, Tarih ve Bir Coğrafya Tasarımı Olarak Büyük Doğu ve Necip Fazıl Kısakürek,” *Hece Dergisi (Özel Sayı)* 87 (Ekim, 2010).

enlighten a nation, it remains in ignorance.¹⁷³ Physical education was introduced as a necessity of civilization. However, in the past, it had been thought that the less people dealt with the needs of body, the more they educated the heart and soul.¹⁷⁴ The book depicted the radical change of mind from the ascetic philosophy to the physical education. Mental education was provided through especially the social science courses in which good behavior and morals were taught at the basic level for primary schools.¹⁷⁵ Thus, for children, knowledge of the social sciences, which educated the mind, also yielded moral ends.¹⁷⁶

The idea of teaching while instructing indicates the Herbartian effect on the translated work. For example, a child who obtained pleasure from the study of nature understood that every single thing operated properly with reason and certain laws. The child understood how nature operated when rain, snowing and lightening happened.¹⁷⁷ In short, teaching a child how to use his body and wisdom to grasp the world affairs civilized and empowered him. Moral education functioned as the instrument of controlling the actions and emotions of the intellectually empowered child. It is not too assertive to state that Herbart's term "educational instruction" turned into a functional base for states at the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹⁷³ İbrahim Aşki [Tanık], *Mekteb Terbiyesi* (İstanbul: Zarafet Matbaası, 1330), p. 13.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁷⁵ "Literature makes him dream; and history turns the dream into action and reality." p. 51. "When he reads, he should read about the homeland. When he is ten, he should learn all the products of his country. When 12, he learns the regions, cities and roads, at 15, all history, at 16 laws. There must remain no great men and deeds that the child does not appropriate to himself." İbrahim Aşki [Tanık], *Mekteb Terbiyesi* (İstanbul: Zarafet Matbaası, 1330), p. 102.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p.27.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p.49.

What is more important than these translated ideas is how Tanık interpreted what he translated. In a sixty pages-long epilogue, he assessed the foreign work with regards to the civilization of Islam, to which he thought the Ottoman society belonged. Complaining about the Western philosophical hegemony over the Ottoman intelligentsia, he regretted that “we are used to searching for proofs in the Western discourse in our every thought.”¹⁷⁸ He stated that the book, *Mektep Terbiyesi*, could only be adapted within Islamic constraints: “Though it comprises the various ways of civilized education in a concise way, we cannot take it as our guide in every aspect of spiritual and physical education. That is because we are the inheritors of a long Islamic life.”¹⁷⁹ In this way, an essential argumentation on Islamic science, faith, practice, religion and morals was put forward to compare and contrast with the Western education in the book. He diagnosed the conflicting and harmonious parts of Western understanding of education with Islamic essential laws.

Aşki tried to give meaning to the modern *terbiye* within the context of Islam. For example, the accordance of the individual and the environment in modern education found its counterpart in the saying “One who knows himself, knows God, and thus the universe.” (*Kendini bilen Rabbini bilir, Rabbini bilen alemi bilir*).¹⁸⁰ The statements here remind the Western religious realists and especially the insights of the pedagogues such as Froebel. The education of mind was debated referring to

¹⁷⁸ “Biz kendi sözüümüzün ve özüümüzün kıymetini pek bilmediğimiz için öteden beri garba teveccüh ile her işte delil aramaya alışmışız.” Mukaddime.

¹⁷⁹ “Medeni terbiyenin vecihlerini icmalen gösterdiğine göre kendince tamam addolunabilirse de biz uzun bir hayat-ı İslamiyenin varisi olduğumuz için terbiye-i maddiye ve maneviye hakkındaki böyle bir eseri her vechi ile kamil bir rehber ittihaz edemeyeceğimizden bir (tekmile) ilavesiyle her babına dair ve bu meyanda ilim, itikad, amel, din ve ahlak gibi esaslara müteallik bir muhakeme yürütülmüştür.” Mukaddime

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p.105-127

Ghazali, Yunus Emre, and Mevlana. Drawing some ideas from *tasavvuf* (Sufism), he compared them to Plato and the subsequent philosophers.¹⁸¹

Other issues that were found out to be parallel to Islam were about management of the body or physical education in pedagogy. Islam organized a healthy and moderate life as in the cases limiting what to eat, drink, consume and spend. Accordingly with such limits, the body was inevitably an area cared for and trained in religion. The merits of Islamic doctrine were exemplified in such acts as cleaning the whole body and ablution, not eating unless getting hungry, stopping to eat before filling the stomach, early rising, eating food prepared according to Islamic precepts, avoiding excesses and extremes in life, and not persecuting one's body. On the other hand, the ascetic philosophy called *zuht*, which was common in traditional education was found to be wrong and seen as extreme.¹⁸² He concluded that the Islamic education not only deductively embraced the good qualities which had been established after long empirical (inductive) reasoning by Western educators, but also it prepared one for the afterlife. In short, the author supported the new science, for Islamic education “[did] not conflict with pedagogy.”¹⁸³

As a result of comparative assessment, he articulated that the holistic knowledge of Islam was more secure than the knowledge inducted from experiments. The difference between the modern education and Islam now was formulated as such: Truly there is physical education in Islam, but the body is the horse of the man.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁸² Ibid., pp. 108-109.

¹⁸³ “*Binaenaleyh terbiye-i İslamiye, Avrupa’da mürebbilerin ve muallimlerin düşünüp ve görüp bulabildikleri cüzi iyilikleri külliyetiyle ve hakkıyla cami olduktan maada, talib-i hayat-ı atıye için dahi ihzar eder... Terbiye-i ahlakiye İslam’da terbiye-i ilmiyenin gayrı değildir... Maafih bu üç terbiyenin üçü terbiye-i diniyede dahildir.*” Ibid., p. 107.

The man should not consider himself the horse. The body is cared for, but the goal and existence of man cannot be reduced to service for body.¹⁸⁴ Here he drew a line to secular and materialist philosophy, and preserved the distance of religion to such discourses.

Singling out the harmony between the modern science of pedagogy and Islamic educational doctrines was more common than highlighting the contrasts in the treatment of the intellectuals. Osman Nuri, compiling the subjects from noteworthy professors from Austria and Germany in his book, in a way similar to that of Aşki, noted that he adapted the data to Islamic regulations and manners in the introduction of his book. The idea that Islam complemented well with all the “virtues and truths” in life was the underlying perspective in his book.¹⁸⁵

“National” Education

The nationalism propounded during the Unionist regime has been interpreted in various ways controversially. The education policy was generally attributed to the Turkist ideology. The conviction was supported by the government’s “secret” nationalist agenda despite resorting to Ottomanism and Islamism due to the political necessities. However, taking Turkish nationalism for granted as an education policy could be questioned considering differentiating various nationalisms and their role in

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁸⁵ “*Nezafet, merhamet, hemcinsine muavenet, say ve amel, namus ve iffet, kemal ve ulviyet, hubb-u vatan, fedakarlık, hürriyet hep mukteza-i din-i İslamdır.*” Osman Nuri, *Nazari ve Ameli Mufasssal İlmi Terbiye ve Tedrisatı* (İstanbul: Metin Matbaası, 1327), pp. 10-11.

the administrative organs of the Unionist government. Füsün Üstel underlines the party's distinction from the Turkish Hearths in its flirtation with Islamist and Ottomanist policies though they converged in being against the Hamidian regime's despotism and the Tanzimat policies.¹⁸⁶ Thus, the policy of the party had to remain a step behind the propositions of the ideologues in the Committee for Union and Progress.¹⁸⁷ Zürcher also describes the party's policy as eclectic and pragmatic: "Pan-Turkist sentiments like pan-Islamist ones, were exploited politically by the Unionist government, but the circle of convinced pan-Turkists remained very small and was dominated by immigrants from Russia. The Committee of Union and Progress never opted for a Turkish, rather than an Ottoman state."¹⁸⁸ What "national" signified was Ottoman-Muslim rather than Turkish identity: "The many clubs, committees and societies founded from 1912 onwards, which carried the epithet *milli* (national) in their name, were without exception organizations with an Ottoman-Muslim membership."¹⁸⁹ Zürcher proposed to look at the policies of the Unionist government which had a monopoly of power from 1913 to 1918 party, rather than trying to place it into an ideological structure. Based on the policies of national economy, the persecution of the Armenians, the National Independence Movement and the population Exchange, he wrote,

The Unionists were motivated by a peculiar brand of Ottoman Muslim nationalism, which was to a very high degree reactive. It was defined in a particular and antagonistic relationship

¹⁸⁶ Füsün Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları 1912-1931* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), pp. 69-80.

¹⁸⁷ Sina Akşin, *Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki* (İstanbul: İmge, 2001)

¹⁸⁸ Erik-Jan Zürcher, "Ottoman Sources of Kemalist Thought," *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London:New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 14-28.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p.21.

between Muslims who had been on the losing side in terms of wealth and power for the best part of a century and Ottoman Christians who had been winners. The Unionists' ideology was nationalist in the sense that they demanded the establishment of a state of their own...But the nation for which they demanded this political home was that of the **Ottoman Muslims**¹⁹⁰ - not that of all of the Ottomans, not only that of Turks and certainly not that of the Muslims of the world. In other words, what we see here is an ethnicizing of religion.¹⁹¹

He explains the religious and ethnic base of this nationalism as well as the pluralist Ottomanism time to time in its being political instruments: "Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism were tools to be used to strengthen the position of the Ottoman Muslims (as was westernization), not ends in themselves."¹⁹² He also added, "that is why the Muslim nationalism of the Young Turks could go hand-in-hand with secularist modernizing policies"¹⁹³ such as the removal of Şeyhulislam from the Cabinet, bringing the Islamic courts under the Ministry of Justice and the medresa under the Ministry of Education.¹⁹⁴

Zafer Toprak criticizes the easily-drawn conclusions of Turkification policy exercised by the Unionists especially in years following the First World War. He considers education to have been as the most effective means to clarify the ambiguity

¹⁹⁰ The emphasis belongs to the author.

¹⁹¹ Erik Jan Zürcher, "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists: Identity Politics 1908-1938," In *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, ed. Kemal Karpat, (Leiden: Boston: Köln: Brill, 2000) pp. 150-180

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 173

¹⁹³ Erik Jan Zürcher, "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists: Identity Politics 1908-1938," p. 173.

¹⁹⁴ Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, (London: New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009). p. 122

of the state policy and falsifies existing studies which report each other on the issue of the education policy in the period under consideration.¹⁹⁵

To what extent the Turkish nationalism became a part of the state education needs to be delineated with the educational materials used. To what degrees the Unionist government executed its nationalist ambitions through the pages of the school guidelines and textbooks, and the policy of education in terms of its secular grounds will be examined.

The search for an indigenous or “national” education was a result of the blames constructing the relationship between race and progress in the western sources. The popularity of comparisons among different countries’ educations, peoples’ characters in the articles written on education shows the domination of social Darwinist standpoint in the literature. A repeating comparison of Japanese, English, German, French and Ottoman systems in terms of education and modernization holds a considerable space in the literature of education. The negative ideas about the Ottomans were refuted on the grounds of comparisons. Satı, in this sense, gave the example of Japanese modernization to be followed with its non-Western quality:

Do not forget that today, the biggest rival of America and Europe is Japan both spiritually and materially. Bulgarians, who have taken major steps in progression, are from Turkish blood. Hungarians, who are completely European, are precisely Turkish...Please for these reasons, be sure that the evil is not in our blood. It is in our environment, traditions, customs and *terbiye*.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Zafer Toprak, “Bir Hayal Ürünü: İttihatçıların “Türkleştirme Politikası,” *Tophumsal Tarih* 146 (Şubat, 2006), p. 15.

¹⁹⁶ “Unutmayınız ki bugün Avrupa ve Amerikalılara maddeten ve manen büyük bir rakip olan Japonlar ırk-ı aferdendir. Terakki sahasında pek geniş hatveler atmış olan Bulgaristan en ziyade Türk kanı

A second refutation was drawn by questioning the purity of the Ottomans as a single nation. Satı suggested that the Ottomans were no longer pure Turks after centuries of mixing with other races.

Emphasizing that education was a local and national issue, Baltacıoğlu rejected the idea of adopting an understanding of education from Europe or America however good it was. In Baltacıoğlu's periodization, schooling falls into four categories in history: the *medrasa* and *mahalle/sıbyan* education; which was based on religion and characterized as otherworldly (*dini ve uhrevi*) was followed by the Rushdiye schools called Tanzimat schools, which were both religious and profane; *numune mektebs* (sample schools of the Unionist regime); and the national schools which were national and secular (*milli – dünyevi*).¹⁹⁷ He explored that the purpose in the *mahalle* schools was to raise the "Muslim child". Tanzimat reforms had not contended with this Muslim child and instead idealized a "European child" that was foreign to the society.¹⁹⁸

It is interesting that he divided the period he lived into two categories: the *numune mektebs* as a failed project of Ottomanism, and the term "national schools" as a non-governmental project. The *numune* schools were characterized with a tendency towards "life and liberty":

hamildir. Tamamen Avrupalı olan Macarlar bütün manasıyla Türk ırkındandır. Yalnız bugünkü Osmanlılar değil, hatta Osmanlı Türkleri bile ırk-ı asfer kanı kadar ırk-ı beyaz kanını hamildir... Onun için emin olunuz ki fenalık bizim kanımızda, damarlarımızda, aslımızda, ırkımızda değil, muhitimizde, adetlerimizde, ananelerimizde, terbiyelerimizdedir." Satı, "İrk ve Terbiye," *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 2, no.17, p.167.

¹⁹⁷ İsmail Hakkı, "Milli Talim ve Terbiye Islahatına Medhal," *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası*, (Nisan, 1333).

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

...in these schools, religion, morality, civics, history were taught with the inspiration of the revolutionary ideas such as freedom, justice, equality, fraternity ...this period's educators were seeing the educational reforms from a psychological and pedagogical point of view. They supposed that education reforms firstly target schools; and in order for reforming schools, the methods ought to be reformed; hence, this period witnessed a great effort to alter the instructional methods.¹⁹⁹

He ascribed an entity to the national education with the efforts of some teachers affiliated with organizations such as the Turkish Hearths.²⁰⁰ He elsewhere mentioned that the educational debates in the Constitutional years tended to Turkish nationalism only after 1916.²⁰¹ He described the emergence of Turkish nationalism as a voluntary movement triggered by the teachers affiliated with the Turkish Hearths. The new ground for education and instruction was prepared with the help of the nationalist authors and poets of the Journal of Turkish Homeland (*Türk Yurdu*):

Most of the teachers, both directly and indirectly, knew it was a duty to instill Turkish consciousness, inspired by nationalist suggestions and publications. Yet nationality was not regarded as an identity, rather, this Turkishness, which was not known or did not exist yet, was only felt as a strong feeling and inspiration...It was just at this time Turkishness was born as a feeling and inspiration in hearts that teachers began to teach children that they

¹⁹⁹ "... ortaya sürdüğü, hürriyet, adalet, müsavat ittihat, fikirlerinden müteessir oluyor, bu mekteplerde din, ahlak, malumat-ı medeniye, tarih dersleri bu gayelerden mülhem olarak tadil ve tedris ediliyordu. Bu devrin müteşebbisleri talim ve terbiye ıslahatını her şeyden ziyade bir psikoloji ve pedagoji meselesi gibi telakki ediyorlar, maarifi ıslah etmek için her şeyden evvel mektepleri, mektepleri ıslah etmek için de usulleri ıslah etmek lazım geldiğini farz ediyorlar ve bütün kudretlerini usulün bilhassa usul-u tedrisin yenileşmesine sarf ediyorlardı." İsmail Hakkı, "Milli Talim ve Terbiye Islahatına Medhal," *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası*, (Nisan, 1333), p.10.

²⁰⁰ National schools were generally seen as a belated project by the intellectuals in the Constitutional regime and they regretted that the Ottoman government failed to develop a national curriculum in contrast to the nationalist production of the minority schools.

²⁰¹ İsmail Hakkı, *Tarih ve Terbiye* (İstanbul: Sühulet Kütüphanesi, 1933), p. 7.

were Turk, that being Turkish was good and that they should love it.²⁰²

Baltacıoğlu, additionally, saw national education as a response to vulgar modernization, which was just a work of imitation. To him, the western adaptations of institutions and systems offended the religious and indigenous thoughts and emotions. The distance between the parents and schools expanded and this situation put the teachers of the constitutional regime in a rather difficult position.²⁰³

He found shelter in religion and morality since he believed in the impartiality of education in the context of social reforms. Devoid of religious revivalism, he saw no possibility of a real reform in education.²⁰⁴ His description of modern schools pointed out the contradictory lines created in schools.

Let aside guiding the perishing and dissolved youth in moral and religious direction, the secondary schools instead forced the protester students to stand blind in front of the light and the truth through their intimidation and expulsion by punishment. This deplorable period of our education has caused a religious and moral extinction as much as it has encouraged the dissolution of the abject and rotten beliefs in the society.²⁰⁵

²⁰² “İşte mürebbilerin çoğu gerek bilvasıta gerek bilavasıta milliyet neşriyat ve telkinatından mülhem olarak derslerinde ve temaslarında Türklük gayesini çocuklara aşlamayı bir vazife bilmişlerdi. Lakin henüz milliyet bir fikir olarak tarfi edilemiyor, ancak bir ilham gibi his ve telkin ediliyordu. Çünkü bu milliyet henüz malum ve mevcut bulunmuyor, ancak vücudu hissediliyordu... İşte Türklük böyle bir ilham ve his halinde kalplerde doğmuş olduğu esnada idi ki mekteplerde mürebbiler çocuklara Türk olduklarını, Türklüğün iyi olduğunu ve Türklüğü sevmeleri lazım geldiğini tavsiye edip duruyorlardı.” İsmail Hakkı, “Milli Talim ve Terbiye Islahatına Medhal,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası*. (Nisan, 1333), p. 10.

²⁰³ İsmail Hakkı, “Milli Talim ve Terbiye Islahatına Medhal,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası*, (Nisan, 1333), p. 11.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

²⁰⁵ “İdadi mektebi eriyen ve çürüten gençliğe din ve ahlaki bir istikamet vermek şöyle dursun, tehdit ve tard cezalarıyla itirazcılarını nur ve hakikat karşısında kör kalmaya icbar ediyor. Talim ve

Thus, according to him, the modern schools had created a scientific enlightenment which helped dissolve the rotten beliefs; however, it also caused a general degeneration in religious feelings. His emphasis on national education included such a national morality to be constructed once again:

The morality to be instilled in the people of a society should be indigenous both theoretically and practically. However, our moral education is not a social morality...it is gathered from this and that country's educational program. As there is no national moral education, there is no national moral book or program. It was because morality was assumed as a product of inference and reason. First of all, there is need for works of religion, language and literature to affirm and prove the national morality.²⁰⁶

A speech by Suleyman Paşazade, who had held membership in the Grand Education Council (*Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif*) since 1909, and on the board of the Copyright and Translation (*Telif ve Tercüme dairesi*) between 1914 and 1917, during a meeting in the Committee of National Instruction and Education displays the echoes of similar thoughts on the understanding of morality. His definition of morality does not depend only on religion: "For us, what morality means is first of all to believe in your soul, that is to love yourself, to be self-confident and self

terbiyemizin bu elim devri milletimiz dahilinde her nevi sakıt ve çürük itikadların inhilaline ne derece hizmet etmişse, birlikte olarak dini ve ahlaki sukutumuza da o derece sebep olmuştur." Ibid., p. 9.

²⁰⁶ "Cemiyetin fertlerine verilmesi lazım gelen ahlak, gerek nazari gerek ameli şeklinde bu cemiyetin ahlakı olmak iktiza eder. Halbuki, bizim ahlak tedrisatımız içtimai ahlakın değil... filan filan memleket maarifinin ahlak programlarından ve kitabından mülhemdir. Milli bir ahlak tedrisi olmadığı gibi milli bir ahlak kitabı ve programı da yoktur. Bunun sebebi ahlakın bir akıl ve istintaç eseri farz edilmiş olmasıdır... Her şeyden evvel din, lisan ve edebiyat gibi milli ahlakımızı teyit ve isbat edecek eserlere ihtiyaç vardır." Ibid., p. 29.

respected.”²⁰⁷ This seemingly secular definition of morality makes one face of his thoughts. The religious value ingrained in the conception of morality appears overtly at his last statements which connect this individual morality to God at the last phase by considering the responsibilities to God “superior to everything the soul, family, nation, race and homeland and all things created.”²⁰⁸ As seen in Paşazade, Baltacıoğlu and Gökâlp’s thoughts, a national ethics program was desired to accompany the Islamic moral system, although it was not explicit where the two were somehow to restrict each other.

Overall, in Baltacıoğlu and the others the dominant characteristic of the indigenous education was its being anti-foreign. In the opening speech of the Committee of National Instruction and Education, Baltacıoğlu approved of the war against foreign education in the occurrence of closing the foreign schools in wartime.²⁰⁹ Gökâlp shared the same idea in his writings underlining the function of Tanzimat schools where students had been raised up with harmful ideas against

²⁰⁷ “Bizce ahlak demek evvela nefsine iman demek, yani kendini sevmek, kendine inanmak, güvenmek ve hürmet etmek demek.” Süleyman Paşazade, “Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Açılışı- Süleyman Paşazade’nin Nutku,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Mecmuası* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, Eylül 1332), p. 10; For the guideline of the committee, *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1331).

²⁰⁸ “...elhasıl bütün ferdi ve içtimai ve icabat-ı hak ve hakikat-i mutlakaya, yani Allah’ın emirlerine tevfiğ etmek, Allah’ın emir ve nehyini bütün menafii ve icabatın fevkinde görmek, hak ve hakikati, Allah’ın emir ve nehyini vechile, nefsinden, ailesinden, milletinden, ırkıdan, ve vatanından ziyade sevmek ve bu sevgiyi bütün beşeriyetin fikir ve vicdanında tahkim etmeğe çalışmak demektir.” Ibid., p. 10

²⁰⁹ İsmail Hakkı, “Müesseselerden İsmail Hakkı Bey’in Nutku,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Mecmuası* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, Eylül 1332), p. 15.

patriotism and solidarism. The cosmopolite education of the Empire was epitomized by the booksellers who were grouped and located with three different goals.²¹⁰

The search for an indigenous education continued in the 1920s in articles written by İbrahim Alaattin. In one of his texts, he elicited Sheikh Sadi's *Gülistan* in comparison to the Western scholars and philosophers.²¹¹ He compared Nabi's ideas about education to Jean Jacques Rousseau in his second article.²¹² He declared his purpose as an attempt to make an indigenous contribution to the conception of education taught only with regards to the Western resources in the Teacher Training Schools. The "national character" in education was retrieved from two main sources: Islamic civilization and the Ottoman past.

The "Sick" Environment of the Ottoman Child: The Family

The beginning of mass schooling caused a friction between the family and the school. As far as can be seen from the compilation of Mehmet Nadir's articles, the schools were expected to instruct children rather than educate them. Nadir enunciated that education was a responsibility of both school and family; however,

²¹⁰ Sahaflar selling for medrasas; Beyoğlu bookstores, selling books for European education; Babıali bookstores, selling the "bad" translations of the Beyoğlu books to the students of "Tanzimat" schools. Ziya Gökalp, "Maarif Meselesi," *Muallim* 12 (1333).

²¹¹ İbrahim Alaattin, "Terbiye Nokta-i Nazarından Gülistan," *Tedrisat Mecmuası* 64, (Şubat 1341).

²¹² İbrahim Alaattin, "Nabi'ye Göre Terbiye," *Tedrisat Mecmuası* 65 (Mart, 1341).

each expected the duty from one another in the 1890s.²¹³ There was an ambivalent attitude towards modern schooling. On one hand families accepted modern instruction for they believed in its social economic benefits, such as government employment.²¹⁴ Yet as the modern pedagogy came to be more settled, the school confronted the family on the basis of interfering in the child's upbringing.²¹⁵

Baltacıoğlu drew similar conclusions about the approach of families to the schools. Families opposed or reacted to the school education, especially after the Tanzimat schools started to manifest a degree of impact on children. Baltacıoğlu found its reason in that the parents or the public was ignored by the reformers and the friction between school and family became apparent.²¹⁶ How *terbiye* turned into a power struggle between families and schools in the twentieth century Ottoman Empire deserves a detailed analysis. Yet, I will only draw some overall conclusions depending on the sources accessed within the framework of this study.

In the background of the battle lies the adaptation of scientific discourse of *terbiye* increasingly from the Hamidian years. Only then *terbiye* necessarily turned into a modern transformative medium. The scientific discourse first imposed that *terbiye* could only be provided in its best way by the state schools in the hands of the

²¹³ Mehmet Nadir, "Tahsil, Terbiye," *Sabah*, p. 2109, (20 Haziran 1895) in Mehmet Nadir, *Terbiye ve Talim-i Etfal: Bir Eğitim Öncüsünün Yazıları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Erkek Liseliler Vakfı, 2005), p. 3.

²¹⁴ Özkan Akpınar, "Geographical Imagination in School Geography during the Late Ottoman Period, 1876-1908" (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010), pp. 27-28.

²¹⁵ This might be explained in Selçuk Akşin Somel's finding that the new schools were not as prestigious as the older ones. This might be a truer idea since family disinterestedness turned into discontent towards the end of the nineteenth century as modern schools increased.

²¹⁶ İsmail Hakkı, "Milli Talim ve Terbiye Islahatına Medhal," *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası*, (Nisan 1333), p. 14.

enlightened and knowledgeable teachers.²¹⁷ The minister of education, Şükrü Bey, uttered this belief in a speech in the parliament. He explained the reasons for inclusion of the four to seven year old children into the education system in kindergartens. In this way, thousands of children were saved from the ills of family education and socialization in the streets.²¹⁸ That was why Ottoman pedagogues diagnosed the environment of the child as “sick” and the Ottoman child a “weak beast”. In return, the school claimed to cure children through civilization and empower them with knowledge. Thus, school subjects carrying the scientific epistemology were presented as the only source of happiness in opposition to the established epistemology of Islamic subjects. The family and social environment of the child were posed in contradiction to what the schools constructed.²¹⁹

Criticizing the tendencies in pedagogy that minimized the role of the family and society, Baltacıoğlu focused on the critical role of home and the streets on children. His *Terbiye ve İman* counts family as the critical agent in raising a child. Hence, public education was proposed as another important means of controlling the child and parents altogether. Recounting the event that some peasants had rejected the flag of the state, he admonished the fact that the peasants did not recognize

²¹⁷ The booklet of 1924 (1340) introduces how a baby should be raised from birth within a scientific pedagogy after articulating the value and role of mothers in religious terms. The message is in short: “each job ought to be given to its expert.” Doktor Ali Vahid, *Çocuk Büyütme İlmihali* (İstanbul: Vatan matbaası, 1340) (Türkiye Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti Hıfzı Sıhha Şubesi Neşriyatından)

²¹⁸ Şükrü Bey, “Maarif Nazırının Beyanâtı,” *Muallim* 1, no. 9 (Nisan, 1333), pp. 260-261.

²¹⁹ The contrast between family and school is seen in the post-Republican publications, too. Families being disinterested in the school projects like cases of scouting are mentioned. Another example is when the child went home at evening “he says (Akşam şerifleriniz hayırlı olsun, nasılsınız efendim?) and the mother replies by blaming the school, “let’s see what other weird things are we going to see? (Bakalım, başka neler çıkaracaklar başımıza?)” Kazım Nuri, *Pedagoji Önünde Gazi* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928), p. 26.

Rumelia as their homeland, saying “My homeland is Sivas, not Rumelia.”²²⁰ The preachers, beggars, disabled, blind, and dervishes in coffeehouses, in tekkes, in homes, on the streets and in graveyards were seen as spoilers of the people’s education.²²¹ Instead, parks and recreation centers were to be built, live music were to be listened to; and theatre and cinema were to be utilized to control people. The disabled and beggars had to be taken away from the sight of the people. The philosophy that degraded the profane affairs and “change”, that is, the old education (proposing “eternal”) was accused of pushing people to the graveyards while this world and the changes in it were not taken seriously. To him, Turks had been more interested in world affairs in the past when they were “conquering the world”: “There was a nation of profane (worldly) affairs in the past loving physical power”²²²

Between Religious and National Revivalism:

The Guideline of 1915 (1331)

The years following the Constitutional reform witnessed a penchant for attributing a supernatural agency to education.²²³ This is generally accepted as having been triggered by the Balkan wars. Yet, it could be observed earlier as seen in the messages of a booklet titled as The Essential Laws for Child Education in

²²⁰ “...benim vatanım Rumeli değil ki benim vatanım Sivas.” İsmail Hakkı, *Terbiye-i Avam* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1330), p. 8.

²²¹ İsmail Hakkı, *Terbiye-i Avam* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1330).

²²² Ibid., p. 49.

²²³ This was parallel to the case of the pedagogical utopia produced in France after the Revolution. Kürşat Bumin, *Batı’da Devlet ve Çocuk* (İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1983), p. 57.

1911: “A nation without an established education for children is sentenced to destruction and decadence”. The link between a proper education and progress and its opposite was very strong: “It should be well known that any mistake or wrongdoing that is made in the presence of the child has the potential of dynamite that will destroy the destiny of the country.”²²⁴ The success of different societies was counted as the miracle of education such as the miracle in Japan: “Education has created a wonderful Empire of Japan from a forgotten (*mensi*) and abandoned (*metruk*) nation in thirty years of duration.”²²⁵ For this reason, a resurrection idealized upon a proper education was meaningful and still probable according to most of the intellectuals in the period.

The Guideline for Primary Schools (1915) (Mekatib-i İptidailere Mahsus Talimatnamesi)²²⁶ is reported to have been written by a board, including İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Süleyman Paşazade Sami, who had held membership in the Grand Education Council (*Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif*) since 1909, and on the board of the Copyright and Translation (*Telif ve Tercüme dairesi*) between 1914 and 1917.

The document used a radical language in articulating its novelty in the understanding of *terbiye*, which was supposed to fall apart from established

²²⁴ “Bilinmelidir ki, her ne surette olursa olsun çocuk yanında irtikap olunan bir hata ve kabahat vatanın mukadderatını sarsacak bir dinamit kuvveti ve hamiyetini haizdir.” Halil Rüşdi, *Küçük Kitap, Büyük Faide: Çocuk Terbiyesine Mahsus Kanunu Esasi, (terbiye-i esasisi olmayan bir millet zeval ve izmihlale mahkumdur)* (Dersaadet: Matbaai Hayriye ve Şürekası, 1327), p. 6.

²²⁵ Ibid., p.6.

²²⁶ Üstel reports Baltacıoğlu as one of the authors of the document. Füsün Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları 1912-1931* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1997); Cavit Binbaşıoğlu reports Baltacıoğlu and Süleyman Paşazade Sami as co-authors, Binbaşıoğlu, p. 263. It should be noted that one can easily see the echoes of the ideas in Baltacıoğlu’s earlier book throughout the document. İsmail Hakkı, *Talim ve Terbiyede Inkılap* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1927) [(1912 first press)].

patterns.²²⁷ By *terbiye*, throughout the text, moral education was meant and problematized in that the mental and physical education were to help raise a moral man. In this sense, the text envisages an education functioning to form children's attitudes, behaviors, emotions and thoughts in the first place, which was character formation. It stated that the goal of the instruction and the education was not "to intimidate" children or "stuff their brains" with knowledge: "According to our long-established understanding, an educated and disciplined child is the child who learns his lesson by heart and avoids naughtiness."²²⁸ It explains teachers that the success in life does not arise from a docile, ashamed or cowardly person; despite his strong memory and smart brain. One can succeed only with determination, enterprise, patience and courage.²²⁹

The similarity of these thoughts to Baltacıoğlu's articulations in 1912 is remarkable: "From the worst *mahalle* school to the highest grade, all of our schools aim to produce 'the man of a docile character with a strong memory.' "All those recitations and memorizations of the Quran and the teaching of calculation in those *mahalle* schools target to stuff the memory; and the physical punishment, are given

²²⁷ In Baltacıoğlu's words, "The Pedagogy of the Constitutional Regime" focused on methods rather than the goals since it was the easiest way to make "the new" understandable. Especially after 1916, he considered the Turkish education to have succeeded at adapting "European positivist, naturalist and individualist philosophy". However, though the period adapted to the new pedagogy, he did not find Constitutional pedagogy completely successful. He stated that the philosophy of education appeared as a problem to be resolved only in the Republic. İsmail Hakkı, *Tarih ve Terbiye* (İstanbul: Sühulet Kütüphanesi, 1933), pp. 6-7.

²²⁸ "*Talim ve terbiyede gaye, şimdiye kadar bizde anlaşıldığı gibi 'çocukları uslandırmak, çocukların kafasını malumatla doldurmak' değildir. Bizde yerleşmiş olan bu eski itikada göre talim ve terbiye sahibi bir çocuk 'dersini ezberleyen ve uslu duran çocuktur.'*" *Mekatib-i İptidailere Mahsus Talimatname* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1331), p. 3.

²²⁹ *Sabır, sebat, cesaret ve teşebbüs. Mekatib-i İptidailere Mahsus Talimatname* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1331), p. 3.

to raise a “docile” man.”²³⁰ The timid (*mahcup*) and docile (*uslu*) character of the Turkish child was criticized severely.

It is understood that the educators were really interested in the reasons for this character of Ottoman children. To understand the case of “Eastern children,” Mustafa Şekip strongly recommended explaining the timidity (*mahcubiyet*) of childhood through an American psychologist’s article.²³¹ The opposition of docile versus naughty was interpreted on the level of nations by Ihsan Şerif. To him, docile nations were always beaten and suppressed by the naughty ones.²³² The existing character of the Ottoman child was disliked in the period and problematized in pedagogical terms.

What was really meant by this character formation finds an explanation considering the whole text. The simplicity of the formulation that was “*sabır, sebat, cesaret ve teşebbüs*” actually was pregnant with layered historical extensions finding its roots in the West-East contrast:

Today the surviving societies have only one goal in education; that is “to prepare their kids for life”. Who is the man prepared? He is that man who is physically healthy and powerful; who sees the realities and circumstances, who is decided, dauntless in the face of hardships, hardworking, avoids idle thoughts, is revolutionary, progressivist; a man who understands the interests of himself and his country... Even if he is less learned, such a man is prepared for life.²³³

²³⁰ “*En adi bir mahalle mektebinden tutun da en ali bir müesseseye kadar bütün mekteplerimiz bu ‘uslu ve hafızası kuvvetli’ adam gayesi peşinde koşmaktadır. Mahalle mektebinde okutulan tecvidler, kıraatler, hesaplar hep hafızayı doldurmak için okutulur; atılan dayaklar, falakalar hep uslu adamı yetiştirmek için atılır.*” İsmail Hakkı, *Talim ve Terbiyede İnkılap* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1927), [(1912 first press)], p. 5.

²³¹ Mustafa Şekip, “Mahcubiyet,” *İlk Terbiye ve Tedrisat Mecmuası* 1, no. 2, (Teşrinisani, 1340).

²³² Ihsan Şerif, “Tarihi Yaramazlıklarımız,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 4, no. 22, p. 171.

²³³ “*Bugün yaşamak azminde olan bir milletin bir cemiyetin çocuklarını talim ve terbiyede yalnız bir maksadı olabilir. Bu maksad ‘onları hayata hazırlamak’ tır. Hayata hazırlanmış adam kimdir? Bir*

Though instruction was also necessary, educational purpose was placed above instruction. The text's inclusion of character is really broad. Additional to being healthy, strong, creative, helpful, entrepreneurial, determined and brave, an educated person was also one who sees, understands and contemplates, who believes in God, and loves his family, country and the sultan according to the state guideline.²³⁴ The goal of educator appears to have been to indoctrinate this moral education with the help of instruction, content and methods so that it yielded the characters above. According to the text, this kind of an education was more crucial than teaching students reading and Math: "If to choose one, children should be left ignorant, but their morality and bodies should be saved healthily... It is a thousand times better to bring up an 'ignorant living being' than a 'learned dead.'"²³⁵ For example a lack of geographical knowledge or language problem was preferable to the lack of courage. Thus, instruction was important only when it served to create the new child.²³⁶ The schools should not consider the student's expressing himself, asking questions, opposing the teacher, singing songs, playing football, and sightseeing in the mountains as strange behavior. It was believed the great revolution would take place

adam ki vücudu sıhhatli, kuvvetlidir; eşyayı ahvali ve vakayı görür; verdiği kararı yapar, müşkülattan yılmaz, çalışmaktan usanmaz, miskin kanaatlara mahkum kalmaz, tecdidi sever, terakkiye can atar; bir adam ki hem kendisinin hem de memleketinin menfaatlerini anlar... –velev ki malumatı az olsun- böyle bir adam 'hayata hazırlanmış' bir adamdır." Mekatib-i İptidailere Mahsus Talimatname (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1331), p. 4.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

²³⁵ "Malumat ve terbiye unsurlarından birini feda etmek gerekse, malumatı fedada tereddüd etmeyiniz. Ve bu memlekete 'malumatlı bir ölü' yetiştirmektense 'cahil bir diri' yetiştirmek bin kere hayırlıdır." Mekatib-i İptidailere Mahsus Talimatname (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1331), p. 5.

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

in education when the oppression, fear and above-mentioned limitations were abolished from the schools.²³⁷

The criticisms of educators in this period had a common point in their focus on the character of the Ottoman child. A similar criticism was made by Ethem Nejat, who accused the philosophy of “*tevekkül*” (one’s trusting that God will arrange things for the best) in education: “They [the teachers of the *tevekkül* philosophy] have destroyed the feeling of life and activity in people, by waiting for everything from *tevekkül*.”²³⁸ To him, it was better to leave children to nature than educating them with those teachers.

Mahmud Muhlis, an educator from Konya, complained about *tevekkül* since it made Muslims lose the economic war. He tried to build the relation between education and economy in his book: “In an age when the power moves from muscles to the minds, a nation can only survive via thought.”²³⁹ He insisted that western civilization had emerged as a result of economic hegemony, which had replaced the wars of faiths. In this sense the character formation in the old education was just the opposite of what this economic war required. He gave some examples of the old *terbiye* that vividly depicted the conflict of the modern necessities with the

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 5. The negative evaluation of the “old” education continued in the Republican period. The modern pedagogy, which kept children under surveillance and directed child education from birth, contrasted to the old perception of the child, who was not considered as part of any education until he was five: “...very few people imagined an education for the period of one to six-year-old, or even to ten years old. The kids of 1 to 6 ages are expected only to sleep and be obedient and silent. Obedience was without questioning. Such an obedient child was honored to have fame in the district, school and house. Silence: The value of a dumb child was higher than the active ones, in social life.” Hilmi A. Malik Evrenol, *Çocuk Ruhu ve Terbiyesi* (İstanbul: Hilal Matbaası, 1926).

²³⁸ “... ahaliden faaliyet hissini kaldıran, her şeyi tevekkülden bekleyen... hocaları tebdil eylemekte hiç teenni eylememelidir.” Ethem Nejat, *Terbiye-i Akliye Islahatı* (İstanbul: Çiftçi Kütüphanesi, 1331), p. 6.

²³⁹ “Kuvvetin pazudan dimağa intika ettiği yirminci asırda bir millet ancak fikir ile yaşar.” Mahmud Muhlis, *İnkılab-ı Efkarıdan Maarif* (Konya: Konya Vilayet Matbaası, 1329-1331), p. 4.

traditional formation. “Kneeing and sitting, not speaking in the presence of the elders, walking in a hunchbacked state and in sluggish way without looking to the right or the left...”²⁴⁰

The actions that made a child “*terbiyeli*” in the “old” education were thus found strange. Especially, yelling at children and terrorizing them, the use of corporal punishment were articulated as the methods to raise this type of a child: “Is there a possibility of a character of determination, patience and enterprise from this education?”²⁴¹ The verification of such *terbiye* was shown with its bad results on the *ulema* or *softas* who visited the villages and made their livelihoods with the help of the peasants. The non-governmental financing of *madrasas* and the *ulema* that were paid by the public were utilized to indicate what the old *terbiye* formed people like.²⁴² The lodges of dervishes and the *madrasa* were seen as the sustainers of the dangers of this type of education. He criticized the *ulema*:

O Ulema!! Please feel the necessity of working for this world as much as the other world. Since spirituality and materiality completes each other, we cannot survive only with spirituality in the presence of the other civilizations. Essentially, the religion of Islam is a materialist religion. It orders us to work harder than the enemies so that we can defeat them. Do not use statements like, ‘What is gained from a world of four days?’ and ‘Eternal life is

²⁴⁰ “Güya terbiye diz çöküp oturmakta, büyüklerin yanında ağız açmamakta, sokakta giderken hiç iki tarafına bakmayarak büzülerek ve miskin bir halde yürümekte, bir sual tevcih edildiğinde dudakları titreyerek serbest-i kelimadan mahrum, kızarak cevap vermekte tecelli edermiş gibi daha üç yaşından itibaren çocuğun bütün hareket-ı uzviyesindeki serbestiyeti ihlal, ve daha tabaka-i sefilede dövmek, bağırarak gibi bütün bütün izzetini nefsinin rahnedar idecek halatı ihtiyar ediyoruz.” p. 22

²⁴¹ Ibid., p.22. Simultaneously with Baltacıoğlu, he classified similar character types.

²⁴² Ibid., p. 43.

what we need to save' since our religion does not let us sit in a corner by harboring such an opinion.²⁴³

Lastly he warned that the loss of this world would be the loss of the eternal life too, since the “bells and the crosses on the minarets in Rumeli” posed it very well.²⁴⁴ The author contemplated the backwardness of the Muslims and declared the reasons for this fall to be the neglect of the religious commands about progression. The “divine punishment” which had been foreseen by Sultan Mahmut II in the decree of 1824 was believed to have manifested on the Muslims because of their “laziness, ignorance and gaunt, groundless, vain and fruitless bigotry.”²⁴⁵

The guideline and the writings of the educators in Anatolia are to be counted as a reaction to the existing *terbiye*, where the method was still memorization, discipline was only through physical punishment, and instruction was more for itself, without any purpose. It was a turn from knowledge-based instruction, which would produce “state employees,” to a primary-school-graduated man who knew less about history or Arabic grammar but who was successful in business, an entrepreneur in new trades, and earns good money.

This pragmatist philosophy of the guideline was criticized by Gökâlp in an article in which he confronted with Ismail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu's conception of

²⁴³ “Ya eyyühele ulema!! Artık ahiret kadar dünyada da çalışmak lüzumu hissedelim... Maneviyat maddiyatla, maddiyat maneviyatla kaim olduğu için yalnız maneviyat-ı diniye ile biz kainat-ı medeniye önünde yaşayamayız. Esasen din-i celil-i İslam maddi bir dindir. Bize çalışması ve düşmanlarımızı daima düşer inhizam etmek için onlardan daha çok gayret emr ediyor. ‘Dört günlük dünyadan ne çıkar. Ahiret lazımdır...’ diyerek bir köşe-i atalette oturması hiç bir din emr etmediği gibi haşa dini celil-i İslam da katiyen mesaj vermez.” Ibid., p. 44.

²⁴⁴ “Dünyayı elden kaçırmamanın ahireti de götüreceğini bunun işaretinin ise minarelerinde çanlar, salipler asılan Rumeli olduğunu söylüyor.” Ibid. p. 44

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

education: “Education has recently been given a rather wrong direction in Turkey: economic uses. It is indicated to fathers, teachers and students that the aim of education is to earn good money... (But) the goal of instruction should be education and the objective in education is to make individuals adopt the national culture.”²⁴⁶ For him, even Math and Physics were in curriculums because they trained deduction (*istidlal* and *istikra*). He went on to say that the branch of science should be abolished in high schools so that all students were taught in cultural instruction, which was what they would need when they became teachers, engineers or doctors.²⁴⁷

While reading about the discrimination of education and instruction, it is difficult to understand why the two were separated so insistently, or why one was necessarily seen as superior and prior to the other. However, it could be realized that this was in a way the continuation of the morality-centered education view of the Hamidian period, which philosophized the natural sciences with an Islamic interpretation. What was new was the emphasis on “life” and the economic means to progress in this world. As seen in Paşazade’s speech and the state guideline in parallel, the difference was that in the Constitutional years, morality was needed not only to make God content and the other world secure, but also for the purpose of this world’s rescue and happiness, which was prosperity and progress. The latter was overemphasized and prioritized the former. Parallel to cause and effect relationship between morality and fall/progress in the previous period, the text linked the

²⁴⁶ “Türkiye’de son zamanlarda terbiyeye gayet yanlış bir hedef gösterildi: İktisadi menfaatler. Babalara, muallimlere ve çocuklara terbiyenin gayesi (çok para kazanmak) suretinde irae olunuyor... Tedrisin gayesi terbiye ve terbiyenin gayesinde (ferdlerin milli harse temsili) olmalıdır.” Ziya Gökalp, “Milli Terbiye,” *Muallim Mecmuası* 1, no. 2, (Ağustos 1332), p. 38.

²⁴⁷ Ziya Gökalp, “Milli Terbiye,” *Muallim Mecmuası* 1, no. 2, (Ağustos 1332), pp. 33-39.

backwardness of the Empire to the rotten character of the Ottomans under the traditional system of the teaching. The significance of character formation was supported with the story of how Europe had progressed. “The powerful and the happy nations in the world” such as the German and English people were not the most intelligent and informed people, the progress was only due to their courageous and enterprising character which gave them mines, trade and crafts.²⁴⁸ Within the same logic, the reason for the Ottoman loss of Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro was linked to the loss of moral qualities, which is the tetra of being determined, enterprising, patient and courageous.

The “Fall and Regeneration” in the School Guidelines

From within such a diagnosis emerged the regeneration thesis, according to which the problem was not Ottoman’s civilization, nor their race and religion. The problem was their moral character, which needed to be molded under the supervision of modern pedagogy. Thus, the regeneration was bolstered by Western methods, but upon the local roots. The guideline stated that this resurrection was believed to come from two springs: The Ottoman past and Islam. The past was nourished by Islamic and national history, which dated as back as Ottomans only. The role model of this

²⁴⁸ “Bugün dünya yüzünde en kuvvetli ve mesut yaşayan milletlerden mesela Almanlar ve İngilizler herhalde dünyanın en zeki ve en malumatlı insanları değildir.” *Mekatib-i İptidailere Mahsus Talimatname* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1331) p. 6. The similar ideas are found in Satı Bey’s articles in *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası*.

character in the first place was the Prophet Muhammad, “establishing a state from a small tribe.”²⁴⁹

The disaster of the Ottoman Empire is not due to the lack of knowledge, but to the lack in education, which specifically referred to the weakness of the young generation physically and morally.²⁵⁰ The degraded morality was not a result of true Islamic teachings. The new morality to be built in children here was based upon the eclectically, cautiously treated Islam. It was constructed on the verses of Quran and the hadiths of the Prophet, since “religion was already telling us to be patient, determinant, and hardworking.” The pioneers of Islamic civilization, especially Prophet Mohammed’s life, should be taught in respect to its contribution to contemporary civilization. Thus universal values were to be taught intentionally using terms embedded in Islam. It made religion at peace with the contemporary world and adapted the new in the disguise of local sources. Teachers were told to instruct worldly affairs via the life stories of the Prophet and Four Caliphates. Especially the ascetic philosophy expressed as “satisfaction with what you have, not working for this world, or working only to survive” was to be attacked first and eradicated from the understanding of *terbiye* in order to reach a harmony with the requirements of economic progress.²⁵¹ It also was recommended to teachers to prove

²⁴⁹ “İslam alemini kuran Hz. Muhammed ve ilk müslümanların seciyelerine ve küçük bir aşiretten muazzam bir devlet çıkaran ecdadın şahane muazaffariyetlerini alarak geçmişi inşa ediyor ve bugüne temel atıyor.” Ibid., p. 5-6

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

²⁵¹ “Ahali kanaati çok çalışmamak, çok kazanmamak, yahut ölmeyecek kadar para ile geçinmek manalarına alır ki vatanımızın istikbaldeki terakkisi ve saadeti için ilk evvel mahvedilecek fikir ve duygu işte bu miskin kanaattir.” *Mekatib-i İptidailere Mahsus Talimatname* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1331), pp. 26-29.

that religion never contradicted with actual progress and reformation in its theory and in practice in the past.

The direction of the new generation was to be turned to this world, they must adore life. Teachers should first make them love of their properties, homes, villages, mosques and mountains to arouse an interest and love of the material world. A strong desire for this world was to be created through the help of the material side in Islamic doctrine. Those children who were called the future generation were to be the enemies of state employment, to be lovers of industry, trade and agriculture which bring money via “hands and legs:”²⁵²

The goal is to activate children’s bodies, hearts, lungs, hands, arms, legs and to save their health, to give them light, air and spirit, to teach them cleanliness and good nutrition, to teach them how to live in the present time and become rich and live in affluence and loving wealth, to make them love the army, and respect the homeland.²⁵³

Some other goals were listed as militarizing the schools via placing the flag in the school, making the students greet this flag, making them love it, adding the military exercises and games to the schools. In the ministry’s document, religion collaborated with the Ottoman past, thus national history takes its part in the educational revival. While religion set up the moral grounds of education in theory, the old sultans were used as vivid examples of success. Educating children “morally”

²⁵²“İptidai mekteplerimizden yetişecek çocuklara – ki biz onlara nesl-i ati diyoruz bütün ümitlerimizi, emellerimizi bağlıyoruz- her halde memuriyet düşmanı, el ve ayaklarla para kazandıran müstakil sanatların, ticaretin, ziraatlerin aşığı olmalıdır.” Ibid. p. 30

²⁵³ “Çocukların bedeni, kalbini, ciğerlerini, ellerini, kollarını, bacaklarını işletmek, sıhhatini kurtarmak, çocuklara hava, ziya, hareket vermek, çocuklara temizliği, muntazam ve iyi yemek yemeyi öğretmek, halle yaşamak ve hem de zengin ve müreffeh yaşamak ne demek olduğunu öğretmek ve sevdirmek, çocuklarda bir zamanlar dünyalara hakim olan atalarımızın eserine tabi olabilecek, onlar gibi cihanlar fethine kalkışacak bir duygu ve bir irade uyandırmaktır.” Ibid., p. 22.

so as to arouse a feeling to dare to conquer the vast lands “as their ancestors who dominated the world once upon a time” was the goal.²⁵⁴ The national history communicated with what was Islamic in that the social and judicial orders of Islam were matched with modern concepts like liberty, fraternity and equality. The doctrine of religion was kept from turning into bigotry so that it preserved its moral and social purity. What is more, the religion idealized in this resurrection did not turn into an assault on the followers of non-Muslims.²⁵⁵ While the first constraint revealed a rational religion, the second added secular/liberal lines to this rationalism. The ideas of the 1908 Constitutional regime were considered to have been secured within the new limits of true religion.

To conclude, the idea of importation was not approved in the making of the new education and generation. A search for an eclectic Westernization which arose from the sensitivity that Europe was only to be followed in its technique and science was proceeded. Although the Unionist policy of Islam was doubted and found insincere, it was clear from the detailed guideline that there was a tendency to make the precepts of Islam and the progressivist idea co-operate. The search for the true Islam took place in a pedagogical category. Thus, Islam was turned into a school subject taught within pedagogical directions from an agent behind educational philosophy and curriculum making. The Unionist education policy was distinct from the successive Republicanists in its incorporation of a revived Islam. However, the guidelines’ emphasis on this world and life in the religious doctrine caused it to diverge from the Hamidian Islamic pedagogy, which favored an Islam for and in

²⁵⁴ “...çocuklarda bir zamanlar dünyalara hakim olan atalarımızın eserine tabi olabilecek, onlar gibi cihanlar fethine kalkışacak bir duygu ve bir irade uyandırmaktır.” Ibid., p. 22.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 64.

itself as seen in Ziver Bey's explorations of Islamic pedagogy. A man who was self-reliant, entrepreneurial, courageous and determined was designed and placed in opposition to what the old understanding of education had produced. The Ottoman child was directed to develop an economic interest as well as a pious point of view.

Overall, the guideline draws parallel lines with the prominent pedagogues' educational thoughts. Satı Bey articulated it as the realization and officialization of the ideas which the teachers of modern Teacher Training schools strove to spread.²⁵⁶ However, the divergences could also be observed. The dominant use of Turk, Turkish history and Turkish nationalism in the educational journals do not take place in the state document.²⁵⁷ Ottoman nationalism with a religious tone, instead, is incorporated to the educational objectives. The emphasis on Muslim-Ottoman identity manifests in the resources of the next chapters on textbook analysis and the documents of archive. The Unionist education which is noticing with its anti-foreign peculiarity make the Islamic and Ottoman lines align closely. As a result a revival and civilization of its own are envisaged upon the local values in contrary to the Western civilization and morality against which the reservations increased.

²⁵⁶ Satı, "Meşrutiyetten Sonra Maarifimiz," *Muallim* 2, no.19 (Şubat 1334), p. 663.

²⁵⁷ The use of Turkish nationalism in children's journals is also seen although the state guideline did not pronounce the word "Turk" even once. The author describes the formation of a "nationalistic generation" in the journals, in which the epics of *Ergenekon* and *Bozkurt* are recounted. The content of these journals presented Turkishness as an identity overtly. Cüneyd Okay, "War and Child in the Second Constitutional Period," *Childhood and Youth in the Muslim World* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2007), pp. 219-231.

CHAPTER 2

TEXTBOOK REQUISITION AND APPROVAL PRACTICES

This part of the study uses secondary resources to measure primary school education quantitatively examining the students, teachers and schools in order to deduce the scope of the textbook production.²⁵⁸ It attempts to show how the Office of Copyright and Translation worked with examples of approved and disapproved books through primary sources both of the Ottoman archives and books. The objections that came from the authors to the system and the office members in the examination commission also were followed as far as the archives of the Copyright and Translation Office allowed.

Laying out the exact figures regarding schools, teachers and students in elementary level is difficult. Satı Bey treated the resources that provide information about the quantitative features of education carefully due to several problems with statistics. Satı Bey refrained from giving statistical information about the primary schooling and leaves it out of his evaluation of education. An inaccuracy of statistics arose from the confusion heated by the undifferentiated use of “*sıbyan*,” “*mahalle*,” village schools and the “*iptidai*” schools established on modern pedagogical bases.

²⁵⁸ There seemed no feasible resource to trace the number of published textbooks for primary schools regarding the private publishers in the Second Constitutional Period, whereas the total amount of the textbook production seemed to have been traced in the Hamidian period through archive records. Kodaman notes that 5000 textbooks were produced and distributed to the provinces and smaller administrative units in the Hamidian years. While rich and middle class students were charged, the ministry ordered textbooks to be given free to poor children. Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1980), p. 180

Satı Bey stated that this made the statistics unable to explain the quantitative aspects of education in the Constitutional Period. A second reason for this was the negligence or failure in documenting the fluctuating number of schools between the newly opened and closed ones. While the ministry kept record of the newly opened ones, they disregarded the closed ones.²⁵⁹

A speech by Satı transcribed as an article in the journal explained why the education of the Second Constitutional Period was hard to grasp though it had been relatively a short period. He pointed out the fast and frequent changes which made people fail to remember and appreciate the reformation in this period. Despite its inconvenience in terms of historiography, he said he had deliberately attempted to reveal the history of education from 1908 to the 1918 based on a comparison of government budgets in the Hamidian and Unionist periods. Basically, he suggested that the expenditure for education increased eight-fold in six years.²⁶⁰ Considering the lost lands in the Balkan Wars and the reduction in area in comparison to the increased expenditure, he appreciated the amount of the allocation for the Ministry of Education in the Second Constitutional period. Table 1 indicates the years and corresponding budgets:

²⁵⁹ The reality of the closed schools which continued to be presented numerically in the statistical documents was also articulated by Ibrahim Hilmi's remarks on the education system from the viewpoint of a publisher. Below in this chapter, the difficulties encountered by publishers were noted.

²⁶⁰ Satı, "Meşrutiyetten Sonra Maarifimiz," *Muallim* 2, no.19, (Şubat 1334), pp. 654-655. This conference was given by Satı Bey at the Committee of National Instruction and Education on Friday - 25 Kanunisani 1334 (1918).

Table 1: Budget of the Ministry of Education with Respect to Years

| Budget of Education | (1320-1324) 1904-1908 | (1325) 1909 | (1326) 1910 | (1330) 1914 |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| | 200,000 | 660,000 | 940,000 | 1,230,000 ²⁶¹ |

Yet, the remarks of the publisher İbrahim Hilmi contrasts with Satı Bey's positive convictions about the economy of education. İbrahim Hilmi said that the government should have spent much more money on education by restricting from the expenses on the army. The discrepancy in education expenses of the various countries and the Ottoman state was revealed through figures. The population of the Ottoman Empire was taken as twenty three million while 92,275,400 Lira was the education budget, which made 21.5 million Franks. In another formulation, the amount spent for education was just one-tenth of the amount spent for the army in 1913. The other countries and the proportion of their education budget to their population are as shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Comparative Education Budgets

| | Population | Education budget | Army budget |
|----------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Bulgaria | 4,337,513 | 23,916,349 Franks | 40,500,567 |
| Romania | 6,865,739 | 48,218,619 Franks | -- |
| Italy | -- | 128,484,973 Franks | -- |
| Spain | 19,650,347 | 61,335,098 Franks | -- |
| Ottoman Empire | 23,000,000 | 21,500,000 Franks | 894,870,500 |

²⁶¹ The exact amount of budget was 550,000 Lira. He added the allocation of budget for the provinces which made 640,000. Satı, "Meşrutiyetten Sonra Maarifimiz," *Muallim* 2, no. 19 (Şubat 1334), pp. 654-655.

Spain was given as an example since it was closest to the Ottoman Empire in terms of its underdevelopment and similar size of population. Italy was presented as another surprising sample with its huge budget on education (128,484,973 Franks) while “all our newspapers depicted it as poor and backward during the year when we had war in Tripoli.”²⁶² In his concluding remarks, he stated his belief in the parallelism between educational reforms and progress: “The last war proved to us clearly that the power which is going to save us from the disaster is not only the army and navy, but maybe education.”²⁶³ Agreeing with the general conviction, he thought that the investment in education would bring twice of the lost territories in other regions in fifteen years.²⁶⁴ These points reveal the fact that the Ottoman Empire’s gradually increasing investment in education could not rival that of smaller states due to the financial problems during a period of constant wars from 1912 to 1922. Primary schools, the goal of which was to establish a religious character and an Ottoman feeling, were configured in different ways according to the number of teachers. The standard *ibtidaiye* school was made of six classes and six teachers. Yet, for most of the *ibtidaiyes*, the lack of teachers was a prevailing problem. The number of state primary schools in the Empire was based on the 1912-1914 publications of a journal called *Maarif-i Umumiye Ihsaiyat Mecmuası* (The Journal of Public Education Statistics). Although the statistics about the primary schooling, as stated by Satı Bey, have numerous problems, the quantitative data had to be incorporated

²⁶² “Kendisiyle tam bir sene Trablusgarb’da boğuşduğumuz, bütün gazetelerimizin fakr ve sefaletini yazmakla bitiremediği İtalyan düşmanlarımızın bütçesi : 128, 484, 973 franktır.” Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarif ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1329), p. 24.

²⁶³ “Harb-i ahir bize vazihan isbat etti ki bu memleketi felaketten kurtaracak yalnız ordu ve donanmanın şevketi ve kuvveti değil belki maariftir.” İbid. p. 24.

²⁶⁴ İbid., p.12.

here in order to be able to provide figures for education in a concrete manner. In what follows some figures are drawn for this purpose.

Table 3: The Number Schools to Years

| Iptidai schools ²⁶⁵ | Male | Female | Co-education | Total |
|--------------------------------|------|--------|--------------|-------|
| 1912-1913 | 3433 | 395 | 366 | 4194 |
| 1913-1914 | 3554 | 489 | 479 | 4522 |

The number of the *sıbyan* schools, which was 6224 in the 1912-1913 statistics, is excluded from the figures above. The number of students in the elementary levels:

Table 4: Number of Students in Primary Schooling

| Number of students | In <i>iptidaiyes</i> | In elementary level of <i>sultaniye</i> and <i>idadiye</i> schools |
|--------------------|----------------------|--|
| 1912-1913 | 243,069 | 13,792 |
| 1913-1914 | 258,449 | 23,947 |

There were elementary levels of the *sultaniye* and *idadiye* schools as well as the separate *iptidaiye* schools.²⁶⁶ The report,²⁶⁷ prepared by the Education Ministry of the Turkish Great National Assembly in 1922, gives the number of the *sultaniye* schools with elementary level as 32. The first five years of these high schools corresponded to the elementary level, which was normally six years, and the next

²⁶⁵ Şamil Mutlu, “II. Meşrutiyet Devrinde İstatistik Bilgileriyle Eğitim (54 sayfa belge, 4 sayfa grafik, 10 harita ile birlikte),” *Belgeler: Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 17, no. 21 (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1997), pp.127-143.

²⁶⁶ The courses and programs were almost the same with the *iptidaiye* schools. The courses taught in the primary school period of the *sultaniye* schools were as follows: Quran, Religious Knowledge, Turkish, Math (*Hesap*), Geometry, Calligraphy, History, Objects (*Eşya*), Knowledge of Nature, Civics, Manual Work, Painting, Music and Physical Education.

²⁶⁷ *Türkiye’de Orta Tahsil* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1339), p. 3.

four years constituted the secondary school level. If the students wanted to receive a *sultaniye*²⁶⁸ diploma, they had to go a three more years for a vocational education.

They graduated after the twelfth grade.²⁶⁹ What follows is a table about the number of students in the elementary level of *sultaniye* schools which was stated as 23,947 in the 1913-1914 education period.²⁷⁰

Table 5: The Number of Students in the *Sultaniye* Schools of twelve years 1338-1339 (1922-1923)

| Primary school | First period | Second Period | total |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|-------|
| 2826 | 1285 | 236 | 4347 |

Table 6: Male Students in the *Sultaniye* Schools of nine Years²⁷¹

| Primary school | First period | Total |
|----------------|--------------|-------|
| 4998 | 1580 | 6578 |

Table 7: The Total Number of Female Students in the Various Types of *Sultaniye* Schools

| Primary school | Secondary level | Total |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 172+927+373 | 30+606+ 121 | 202+1533+ 294 |

²⁶⁸ The types of *sultaniye* schools were *sultaniye* schools of twelve years, *sultaniye* schools of nine years, Female *sultaniye* schools of nine years, female *sultaniye* schools of ten years and female industrial *sultaniye* schools.

²⁶⁹ *Türkiye’de Orta Tahsil* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1339), p. 8.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 14-16.

²⁷¹ To what the high school for nine years corresponded and at what point their aims and goals differed from the mainstream high schools are of question. The establishment of the high schools for nine years in some towns like Amasya, Yozgat, Niğde and Bolu demonstrates the non-uniformity in the system of education while others lasted for 12 years, such as, those founded in Malatya, Çankırı and Kırşehir. The total number of high schools for twelve years is thirteen in Turkey and they graduate 40 and 50 students each year. Fuad Gündüzalp, *Talim ve Terbiyede Buhran* (Sivas: Vilayeti Matbaası, 1340), pp. 92-93.

A comparison of 1913-1914 statistics with the 1922 figures reveals the deteriorated situation due to the warfare.

Table 8: Number of Primary School Teachers

| Number of Primary School Teachers 1913-1914 ²⁷² | |
|--|------|
| Male | 7038 |
| Female | 1232 |

Table 9: Number of Children Attending and Not Attending Schools

| Number of Children at 7-13 ages ²⁷³ | Not attending Male | Not attending Female | Attending Male | Attending Female | Total |
|--|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| 1913-1914 | 591,751 | 672,559 | 200,000 approximately ²⁷⁴ | 50,000 Approximately | 1,465,542 |

Considering the total number of children at school age, schooling did not go further than towns and most of the children in villages were deprived of schools.²⁷⁵ The lack of teachers and school materials complicated the problems about the quality of

²⁷² Betül Batır, “İkinci Meşrutiyet’ten Tevhid-i Tedrisata Türkiye’de İlköğretim (1908-1924)” (Ph.D. diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2007).

²⁷³ Şamil Mutlu, “II. Meşrutiyet Devrinde İstatistik Bilgileriyle Eğitim (54 sayfa belge, 4 sayfa grafik, 10 harita ile birlikte),” *Belgeler: Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 17, no. 21 (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1997), pp. 127-143.

²⁷⁴ The exact numbers are 206,707 for male and 48,283 for female and 254,990 in total, according to the publication of the Institute of Statistics, *Education Statistics in Modernization from the Tanzimat to the Republic 1839-1924, Historical Statistics Series* 6, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (Republic of Turkey: State Institute of Statistics Prime Ministry Republic of Turkey, 2000). p.167.

²⁷⁵ Criticizing the promoted officers and soldiers after the Independence War, he pointed out the injustice to which the peasants were exposed to: “...working for his children in cities with a Prophet-like patience and submission, counting the days until his death. O God! What is this misery and despicability of the Turkish peasant?” It is noticed that Gündüzalp, like most educators, was concerned by the separation of the schooling and education for villagers and townsmen. The teachers for village schools should be trained more specialized on religious matters in order to combat the reactionist *softas* in religious disguises. The intellectual comprehension expanding into the theoretical explorations in scientific and philosophical debates was considered as harmful for the teacher sent to the villagers since much intellectual knowledge violated his mind to reduce it to the level of the peasants. For more details on teachers and children in villages, see Fuad Gündüzalp, *Talim ve Terbiyede Buhran* (Sivas: Sivas Vilayeti Matbaası, 1340), pp. 82-87.

education. The curriculum debates were prolonged along with the crushing failure of education in supplying the quantitative demands and needs.

The Debates on Curriculum Reform for the Primary Schools

The literature on education focuses on qualitative characteristics of primary school of education more than its numbers in the period. Ibrahim Hilmi Çığıracan's book is one of the informative resources about the school textbooks from the viewpoint of a publisher. He also revealed his criticism about the education policy of the Union and Progress party. He made by comparisons with European countries, where education was as usual perceived to be the essential incentive and factor behind the progress. The colonialism and industrial power and the social and economic changes were not taken into consideration. Throughout the book the pessimism of the author recurred at times of contrasts between the "magnificent" schools, classes, materials and books in Europe and the "poverty," "deprivation," "cheapness and nothingness" in the Ottoman Empire.²⁷⁶ The scantiness of the budget allocated for education, which was to him absolutely necessary for overcoming the catastrophe, was neglected as a result of the political conflicts.²⁷⁷ He saw no difference when compared to the Hamidian regime in terms of education policies: "Here is the policy of the education of the four years of the Constitution. Each

²⁷⁶ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarif ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1329), pp. 10-11.

²⁷⁷ Ibid. p.11.

minister came and made up his own organization and violated the operations of the other... The chaos and irregularity dominated the governance of the ministry.”²⁷⁸

He reported that the bureaucratic cadres in the commissions and councils of the ministry lacked the capability to make education progress.²⁷⁹ The frequent change of ministers was shown as a basic reason behind the non-uniformity in policies.²⁸⁰ The ten years between 1908 and 1918 saw eighteen ministers. Among the ministers taking over the duty for a few months, the periods of Emrullah Efendi (01.10.1910-02.18.1911, 01.01.1912-07.21.1912) and Şükrü Bey (01.24.1913-12.09.1917) remained exceptional, exceeding one year on duty each.²⁸¹ The remarkable and efficient decisions for curriculum change were only taken during these exceptional longer periods.

Satı Bey was of the same opinion regarding the disorderliness of the policies. He demarcated the constitutional years into three sub-periods: 1908-1909, 1909-1912 and 1912-1914. He excluded the years between 1914 and 1918, saving only to say that it had been held in two periods.²⁸² He reported that the first curriculum for the elementary schools curriculum was made in 1909. The details of this program were not elaborated; yet with a generalizing discontent, he contended saying that the government had ignored the elementary schools.²⁸³ He explained the failure of the

²⁷⁸ “İşte, dört senelik meşrutiyette idare-i maarif! Her nazır geldi bir teşkilat yaptı, öteki geleninkini bozdu. Birinin yaptığı öteki bozdu. Bir kargaşalık, intizamsızlık hüküm sürdü.” Ibid. p.19.

²⁷⁹ Ibid. p.18.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. p.22.

²⁸¹ For the list of the ministers between the period 1857 and 1922. Teyfur Erdoğan, “Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Teşkilatı-1,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 51, no. 1-4 (1996: 183-247), pp. 235- 239.

²⁸² Satı, “Meşrutiyetten Sonra Maarifimiz,” *Muallim* 2, no. 19 (Şubat 1334) p. 656.

²⁸³ Ibid., p. 661.

“*numune*” schools, considered to be the new regime’s schools, in the first of his periods. Despite still being disorganized, the period between 1909 and 1912 was marked with the discussion of a new Public Education Law, which was prepared in 1909 (1325). Yet, he said it needed more care, time and exertion. This plan was reduced to the renewal of the law of primary schooling first. The following year, the idea of preparing a new law of public education was revisited. A new outline of the law was prepared.

The attempts to renew education could only be achieved in the third period, which was, for Satı, characterized as the period in which education was turned into a matter both among ordinary people and in the publications. The power affiliated with the army began to be attributed to education. It was no longer only the educators or the Ministry of Education configuring reforms, projects or problems about education. Due to the disagreements on this “matter” of education, the law of primary school education was passed as a decree law (*muvakkat kanun*) in the parliament while, for the same reason, the bigger project of the Public Education Law could not be issued.²⁸⁴ The Decree Law on Primary School Education (*Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Kanun-u Muvakkatı*) in 1913 brought novelties in many respects.²⁸⁵ First of all, the curriculums were aligned with the new educational goal described in the law. What followed the law was a detailed Guideline for Primary Schooling (1915), which was gauged on a scholarly level in the previous chapter in terms of its entailments with the new content and methods of the courses.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 662.

²⁸⁵ Betül Batır, “İkinci Meşrutiyet’ten Tevhid-i Tedrisat’a Türkiye’de İlköğretim (1908-1924)” (Ph.D. diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2007), pp. 99-117.

One of the issues that changed with the new law concerned the finance and administration of primary schools. The law, which decentralized the regulation of primary school education, made people internalize education as a social matter. The provinces were given the rights to open schools and appoint teachers. In addition to the financing of the primary schools, the law of 1913 also left the regulation of the primary schooling to the administration of the provinces. Thus the primary schooling remained under the local control and administration for the most part. The councils of primary schooling and the commissions of education which were constituted under the provincial rule had large entitlements. He also pointed out the unwise points of this partly decentralized system, stating that the councils of education in some provinces went further by interfering in the curriculum of the schools and trying to change it.²⁸⁶

Yet such manifestations of misuses were taken under control by the order of the center. Such incidents also were reported in the writings of the Republican period educators. Gündüzalp recounted two examples of the lack of central control over education. The provincial council of education in Kastamonu had taken the decision to remove the pedagogy and psychology courses in the Teacher Training School in three or four years earlier (most probably 1920 or 1921);²⁸⁷ and lessons on the organization of funerals took its place. Similarly, it was reported that the council in Zonguldak attempted to remove the textbooks with pictures from the schools in the Constitutional years.²⁸⁸ Similarly, Ibrahim Hilmi recounted how he resisted the

²⁸⁶ Satı, “Meşrutiyetten Sonra Maarifimiz,” *Muallim* 2, no. 19 (Şubat 1334), p. 663.

²⁸⁷ The arrestment of three teachers informing about Darwin in Natural Sciences classes in Kastamonu was reported also by Abdullah Cevdet in *İctihad* in 1913. Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma* Haz. Ahmet Kuyaş, (İstanbul: YKY, 2002) p. 441.

²⁸⁸ Fuad Gündüzalp, *Talim ve Terbiyede Buhran* (Sivas: Sivas Vilayeti Matbaası, 1340), pp. 55-56.

reaction of some teachers and the attempts at confiscation when reading and alphabet textbooks were printed with pictures for the first time.²⁸⁹

The discussions on the textbooks of the Second Constitutional Period can be pursued in the reports and comments during the congress of education held by the Ankara government. A critical commentary on the education of the period was prepared by Ali Ali in order to be taken into consideration during the congress and published in Samsun. His evaluation on textbooks marked the inconsistency in philosophical point of view: “Some textbooks are written on conversation, some are as short as to be called commentary of the curriculum, others contravene with the program since they are deluged with unnecessary explanations and exemplifications.”²⁹⁰

Teachers were another obstruction to the official goals and direction of education. The remarks in between the lines of the speech given by the minister demonstrated that teachers were somehow taken under control through instruction by textbooks. Textbooks gained much more importance in the politically vibrant atmosphere after 1909, when the political disintegration increased among the Unionists. The minister implied the importance of textbook production for unifying the multiple points of views among teachers. Thus the state-approved textbooks served to put an end to the diversity of political ideologies by which the Second Constitutional period was characterized: “The university and *medrasa* lecturers and professors were held responsible for writing textbooks in order to make firm what

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 44.

²⁹⁰ “Kitapların bazıısı mükaleme şeklinde, bazıısı ders müfredatının şerhi denecek kadar muhtasar, bir kısmı da lüzumsuz izahat ve misallerle... programa gayri muvafıktır.” Ali Ali, *Maarif’de İnkılap* (Samsun: Şems Matbaası, 1337-1339), p. 35.

they taught... The matter of unification of thoughts must first be ensured in the university... If they teach the way the state demands, the aim will be achieved.”²⁹¹

Textbooks were for unifying the teachers rather than and before the students in a sense. The discord among teachers in terms of educational philosophy became one of the common pretexts of the inefficiency in education.²⁹² On the other hand, it was sometimes the “textbooks, guidelines and programs puzzling teachers”: Each teacher came to develop a policy according to his own ideas and convictions. The national, religious, international and non-religious doctrines continued to co-exist.”²⁹³ One of the strongest worries was that the generations would be raised aimless due to the ideological disputes among the teachers.²⁹⁴

The second important change was of the duration of the “*iptidaiye*”s. The three year of compulsory education was extended to six years. The law also was critically targeted by numerous educators for this change. The dominant conviction was that the law failed to correspond with the social and economic circumstances in the country. Gündüzalp stated that there was no other law disregarded by people more than the compulsory education law and he added: “Regrettably, the disrespectfulness to (this)... law led to a terrible social behavior breaking the

²⁹¹ “*Muallimler, medreseler, orada tedris ve talim ettikleri ulum ve fûnunu tesbit edebilmek için kitap yazmakla vazifedar kılındı... Vahdet-i fikriye meselesi işte asıl darülfünunlarda temin edilecektir... Eğer onlar telkinatı memleketin arzusu dairesinde yaparlarsa işte vahdet- i fikriye temin edilmiş olur.*” Şükrü Bey, “Maarif Nazırının Beyanâtı,” *Muallim* 1, no.9 (Nisan 1333), p. 261.

²⁹² Mahmud Muhlis (Konya Idadiye Katibi), *İnkılab-ı Efkardan Maarif* (Konya: Konya Vilayet Matbaası, 1329-1331), p. 38.

²⁹³ “*Her muallim kendi kanaat ve düşüncesine göre hareket ediyor. Talebeye dini, mili, asri, beynelmilel, gayri dini telkinat berdevam.*” Ali Ali, *Maarif’de İnkılap* (Samsun: Şems Matbaası, 1337-1339), p. 36.

²⁹⁴ Mahmud Muhlis (Konya Idadiye Katibi), *İnkılab-ı Efkardan Maarif* (Konya: Konya Vilayet Matbaası, 1329-1331), p. 38.

venerability of the phenomenon of law at the sight of the people”.²⁹⁵ He illustrated the impossibility of the realization of the legal imperatives about education. He estimated the number of the girls and boys at the age of compulsory education as two million. The third article of the law limited the number of students in a class to fifty students only; the result was that 40,000 teachers were needed, according to the new regulation. Yet, a statistic in 1914 (1330) fixed the number of teachers in the whole country as 11,137, and its 3,700 of which were in Istanbul.²⁹⁶ He concluded that 1,600 teacher needed to be trained every year. The cost was estimated at reaching to 20 million lira and he noted that three times this number was spent on the army in war time.²⁹⁷ Making compulsory education six years through the combination of the *rushdiye* schools with the primary schooling, despite some support for it,²⁹⁸ was objected to by such statements by Ali Ali: “It was not foreseen that the people who had not demanded three years education couldn’t be obliged to complete the six years.”²⁹⁹

The opposition to the law emanated from the discrepancies between what the Decree Law of Primary School Education proposed and the shortages of teachers and physical qualities prevailing in especially Anatolia. Teaching traditionally was seen as the last choice of people who were able to read and write, at times when other

²⁹⁵ “Yazık ki kanun namını taşıyan bu matbu varakaların düçar olduğu hürmetsizlik, milletin nazarında kanun mefhumunun kudsiyetini ihlal etmek gibi dehşetengiz bir içtimai mazeret tevliid ediyor.” Fuad Gündüzalp, *Talim ve Terbiyede Buhran* (Sivas: Sivas Vilayeti Matbaası, 1340), p. 40.

²⁹⁶ Gündüzalp, p. 41.

²⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 42.

²⁹⁸ Mahmud Muhlis (Konya Idadiye Katibi), *İnkılab-ı Efkardan Maarif* (Konya: Konya Vilayet Matbaası, 1329-1331), p. 35.

²⁹⁹ “...üç senelik tahsili iptidaiyeye rağbet gösteremeyen milletin altı senelik bir tahsile mecbur tutulamayacağı düşünülemedi.” Ali Ali, *Maarif’de İnkılap* (Samsun: Şems Matbaası, 1337-1339), p.5.

state jobs were impossible to obtain.³⁰⁰ The reforms sought an essential change in teaching through the experimental explorations of pedagogy and psychology. The scientific perspective on children who “shouldn’t be left to rough and inexperienced hands” aimed to make teaching a distinctive profession which was more than the instruction of writing and reading.³⁰¹ The new regulation gave teaching the status of a profession while leaving primary school teachers economically vulnerable to the local conditions. The contrast between the drawbacks of reality and the idealism of the reform documents is apparent in some other writings. Osman Zeki wrote his own observations on the villages he visited while carrying out his administrative duty in a district. What he noticed were the teachers who supported themselves by collecting wheat from each house in a village.³⁰² Moreover, the teachers in villages were more than only teachers. They were also the imams in the mosques. Thus some of their duties included conducting affairs related to worshipping, marriage and funerals. Teaching in primary schools promised a lower economic status and it could not be overcome during the period.

The Curriculum of 1913

The note following the title of the curriculum of 1913 demonstrates the diversity of primary schools which consisted of four, five or six grades: “The Curriculum in the Primary Schooling: Pertaining to the Schools of Six, Five and Four

³⁰⁰ Gündüzalp, p. 70.

³⁰¹ Gündüzalp, p. 77.

³⁰² Osman Zeki, *Kıymettar Hatıralarımdan: Bizde Maarif-i İptidaiye* (İstanbul: Osmancık Kaymakamlığından Müsteki Matbaası, 1337), pp. 13-19.

Classes and Teachers.”³⁰³ The guideline gave information on how to adapt the curriculum for use in four and five year grade schools.³⁰⁴ Another adaptation is illustrated in the subjects of religion, civics and history in specific for girls’ education. Religious subjects were to be identified considering the rules about women in religion. In the civics lessons, the main goal for female education was arousing love of family and compassion. In history classes, female figures were supposed to be heroines in the narratives. The prominent women in Islamic history such as Amine, Hatice, Fatıma and Ayşe stood out as well as the Ottoman women who showed courage in wars, such as Bosnian Şerife Hanım.³⁰⁵

The curriculum stipulated the tools and school materials that were compulsory. Some of the necessities were as follows:

1. The Ottoman flag
2. A sheet of *besmele* written in *Cali* calligraphy
3. A sheet of the name of the school (to be hung below the sheet of the *besmele*)
4. Sheets with the Quran verses or hadith regarding the moral and social subjects. (The Turkish meaning of the hadith or verse must be given just below its Arabic script.)
5. A sheet on which written “Long live my Sultan!” and the photo of the Sultan (to be hung behind the teacher’s desk so high that it could be seen from every area of the class).
6. Sheets of the photos of all Ottoman sultans (to be place at the right of the teacher’s desk).
7. National song and anthem (at the right of the teacher’s desk).
8. Sheets of songs with pictures
9. Sheets of moral and patriotic stories
10. The picture of the capital city

³⁰³ *Mekatib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı- Altı, Beş, Dört Dershane ve Muallimli Mekteplere Mahsustur* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1329).

³⁰⁴ “Altı Dershane ve Muallimli Mekatib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatının Üç, Dört, Beş Dershane ve muallimli Mekteplere Suret-i Tatbikine Dair İzahat,” in *Mekatib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı- Altı, Beş, Dört Dershane ve Muallimli Mekteplere Mahsustur* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1329).

³⁰⁵ “Ders Müfredatının İnas Mekatib-i İptidaiyesine Suret-i Tatbikine Dair İzahat,” in *Mekatib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı- Altı, Beş, Dört Dershane ve Muallimli Mekteplere Mahsustur* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1329).

11. A picture of villages and if possible a picture of the relevant village
12. Illustrations about illnesses such as scarlet fever, measles and smallpox³⁰⁶

However, it is misleading to imagine a great transformative power of the state during the 1910s. The writings of the educators underlined the miserable conditions and lack of state image and power instead of its visibility. Here is how Ismail Hakkı Bey describes a village school thirty minutes outside of Bursa, called Düberciye. The school materials were listed as follows: “ One axe for chopping wood, one black board, four desks, three reading desks (*rahle*), one stove, two windows, one sheep hide (*koyun postu*), one pot, one stick, one sweeper, tongs, and a patched cushion.”³⁰⁷ He added that there were twenty five students of this village school. He wrote that it would be erroneous to assess education considering only the schools in İstanbul both in terms of physical qualities and teacher availability.

306

- 1- *Osmanlı Bayrağı*
- 2- *Calı Hattı ile yazılmış matbu besmele-i şerife levhası*
- 3- *Mekatibin ismini havi levha (besmele- i şerife levhasının altına asılacak)*
- 4- *Ahlaki ve içtimai ayat-ı kerime ve hadis-i şerife levhaları (her levhanın altına ayet-i kerimenin veya hadis-i şerifin Türkçe manası yazılacaktır)*
- 5- *Padişahım çok yaşa levhası ve padişah tasviri (Dershanelerde muallim kürsüsünün arkasına ve dershaneinin her tarafından görülecek vecihle duvarın yüksek bir yerine asılacaktır.)*
- 6- *Osmanlı padişahlarının tasvirlerini cami levhalar (kürsünün sağ tarafına)*
- 7- *Milli şarkı ve milli marş (kürsünün sağ tarafına)*
- 8- *Resimli şarkı levhaları*
- 9- *Resimli ahlaki ve vatani hikaye levhaları*
- 10- *Payitaht resmi*
- 11- *Köy resimleri ve mümkün olan yerlere mektebin bulunduğu köyün resmi*
- 12- *Kızıl, kızamık, çiçek hastalıklarının boyalı resimleri*

“Levazım-ı Terbiye ve Tedrisiye” in *Mekatib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı- Altı, Beş, Dört Dershane ve Muallimli Mekteplere Mahsustur* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1329).

³⁰⁷ “Odun kırmaya mahsus balta (1 adet), yazı tahtası(1), sıra(4), rahle(3), ocak(1), pencere(1), pencere(1), koyun postu(1), toprak testi(1), değnek(2), süpürge(1), yamalı minder(1), maşa(1) . Bu mektebin kız oğlan yirmi beş talebesi var. ...işte yalnız İstanbul’un mekteplerine bakıp da hayal kurmak çok tehlikelidir .” İsmail Hakkı, “Müesseselerden İsmail Hakkı Bey’in Nutku,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Mecmuası* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, Eylül 1332), p. 15.

The guidelines determined the age limits of the students to be between seven and thirteen. The students were to have a record showing their vaccinations and another record from a doctor in order to demonstrate that they did not have any contagious disease. The education was divided into three periods. The earliest period (*devre-i ula*) was for seven and eight year-old children, the middle period (*devre-i mutavassıta*) for nine and ten year-old children, and the upper period (*devre-i ali*) for eleven and twelve year-old children. If the number of children in five and six year-old section exceeded twenty, kinder-garden classes were to be opened. The breaks between classes lasted twenty minutes and the midday break was two hours. The cleanliness of the students was checked by teachers in the mornings. Before lessons started, children sang religious songs and the song of the school. Additionally, students recited prayers, greetings and the Quran on Tuesdays and Thursdays.³⁰⁸ The number of the students in a class was limited to 50. Corporal punishment was prohibited, specifically making students stand on their feet for hours, slapping and beating.

The curriculum of 1913 introduced new courses for the elementary level. The courses to be taught were the Quran (*Kur'an-ı Kerim*, for Muslims), *Malumat-ı Diniye* (non-Muslims were to be taught their own beliefs), *Kıraat ve Hat* (Reading and Calligraphy), *Lisan-ı Osmani* (Ottoman Language), *Coğrafya- özellikle Osmanlı Coğrafyası* (Geography, especially Ottoman geography), *Hesap*(Math) and *Hendese* (Geometry), *Tarih- özellikle Osmanlı Tarihi-* (History, especially Ottoman history), *Dürrus-u Eşya* (Lessons on Objects), *Malumat-ı Tabiiyye ve Tatbikatı* (Natural

³⁰⁸ Religious recitations and ceremonies seemed to have had an important part of the daily practices required in the primary schools. The schedule of a day in the elementary level of the Teacher Training schools was arranged regarding to the hours of the religious prayers of five times a day. *Darulmuallimin İptidailere Mahsus Mufredat Programı* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1330), p. 141. See Appendix J.

Sciences with Experiments), *Hıfzısıhha* (Sanitation), *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye ve İktisadiye* (Civics), *Elişleri ve Resim* (Hand work and painting), *Gına* (music, religious music and national songs), *Terbiye-i Bedeniye ve Mektep Oyunları* (Physical Education), *Talim-i Askeri* (Military Training, for boys), *İdare-i Beytiyye ve Dikiş İşleri* (Home economics and sewing for girls). The new subjects were criticized for falling short of giving any help to the system by educators. One of the educators reported that the number of subjects, which was more diversified with courses such as painting, hand work and civics, confused most of the primary school teachers. Ali Ali summarized his depiction with the truth of an idiomatic expression: “No matter how big the size of the mosque, the *imam* reads what he knows.”³⁰⁹

The Procedure of the Copyright and Translation Office

Textbooks became part of the discussion with the new curriculum. It is possible to pursue some of the debate on the new programs and textbooks in the parliament sessions for the budget of the Ministry of Education. The changes in the programs and the aim of the education were questioned by the parliamentarians in these sittings. One speech by the minister, Şükrü Bey, tried to explain the necessity of a new curriculum.³¹⁰ Another such a speech in the parliament was published in the ninth volume of the journal titled *Muallim* (Teacher). Şükrü Bey explained for what goals the curriculum of 1913 (1329) had been created. The major yield of the

³⁰⁹ “*Cami ne kadar büyük olsa imam bildiğini okur.*” Ali Ali, *Maarif’de İnkılap* (Samsun: Şems Matbaası, 1337-1339), p. 5.

³¹⁰ Şükrü Bey, “Umumi Bütçe, Meclis-i Mebusan, Maarif,” *Tedrisat Mecmuası*. Ameliyat ve Tatbikat Kısım 4, no. 27 (Haziran 1332), p. 108-109.

program was articulated as raising “a complete man” who “was devoted to his religion and patriotic-spirited with feelings for his nation and homeland.”³¹¹ One of the parliamentarians brought up the “prevailing” atheism among the youth sent to Europe for education. The minister refrained from labeling it a trend among those students. His reservation was that such a label might arouse hatred and reaction against Europe and thus science and progress.³¹²

Instead, the minister underlined their policy seeking production of an indigenous knowledge in the social sciences. The minister talked about their projects to minimize the use of translated textbooks, which was one of the most lamented points since the incorporation of modern education. It was reported by Rauf, the Director of Education, that almost all textbooks in schools were inappropriate to the program and the purpose since most had been translated from foreign languages, with variations of translation and wrong translation, misspellings, or had been selected incorrectly. He recommended that a professional translation office to be established in order to translate western resources more soundly to prevent the strange inconsistencies between the school texts and knowledge.³¹³

A journal called *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* (Journal of National Studies) was issued by a council assigned with the examination of Islamic art and science for the goal of avoiding the European-centered knowledge: “We really do not know our

³¹¹ “Memlekete adam yetiştirmek, her manasıyla adam yetiştirmek gayesi programlarımızda birinci düşündüğümüz nokta oldu. Tam adamın nasıl olabileceği meselesi nazarı dikkate alınırda dinine merbut, vatanını sever, milliyetini tanır...” He explains more and repeats his statements: “... yani muhtelif namlarla zikrolunan şu vezâifî hüsn-ü ifaya gayret eder, dinine riayetkar olur, vatanını sever ve kendisine bir vahdet-i siyasiye veren milliyetini his eder bir adam....” Şükrü Bey, “Maarif Nazırının Beyanatı,” *Muallim* 1, no. 9 (Nisan 1333), p. 258.

³¹² Ibid., p. 260.

³¹³ BOA, TTD, 63/18 (25 Mayıs 1330).

history, our progress in history...This is a crucial need to be fulfilled...”³¹⁴

Transferring the basic geographical knowledge from European textbooks did not yield a detailed analysis on types of climate and vegetation, to the minister.³¹⁵ One archive document also displayed how the government painstakingly encouraged the printing and distribution of the journal *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye* (Primary School Instruction) to the schools of charge in order to encourage the internalization of pedagogy.³¹⁶

Another matter brought up was in regards to troubles in the production, publication and distribution of textbooks that were to go with the new programs. The minister tried to clarify the claims that the schools were deprived textbooks after the curriculum change in 1913:

One of the points to be managed is to produce textbooks appropriate to the changed curriculum...it is rumored that schools lack textbooks. Yet, these are just some judgments arisen from a lack of investigation and verification. We encouraged teachers and scholars to write textbooks agreeing with the new programs...The primary school grades needed 35 new textbooks and we have accomplished creating 30 of them so far. Twelve of these textbooks were printed by non-governmental publishers and 18 of them were inevitably printed by the state, *Matbaa-i Amire*, since the other publishers failed to do it due to the difficulties of war-time...The textbook need of the Teacher Training Schools, which was nine in number, was also supplied. Now I do not understand how such claims about a shortage of textbook in schools were taken seriously. I see that all these rumors rest on the lack of information and verification.³¹⁷

³¹⁴ “Memleketimizi yani mazimizi, terakiyat-ı mazimizi hakiakten bilmiyoruz...bu ihtiyaç her halde tatmin edilecek kadar mühim bir ihtiyaçtır.” Şükrü Bey, “Maarif Nazırının Beyanâtı,” *Muallim* 1, no. 9 (Nisan 1333), p. 262.

³¹⁵ Şükrü Bey, “Maarif Nazırının Beyanâtı,” *Muallim* 1, no. 9 (Nisan 1333), p. 262.

³¹⁶ BOA, MF.VRK, 33/56, (1329).

³¹⁷ “*Tedrisat-ı iptidaiye hakkında yaptığımız nükudattan biri de programlara muvafık kitap vücuda getirilmesidir. Bu nokta suret-i muhtelifede bazı yerlerde mevzu bahs oluyor. Mektepler kitapsız kalmış deniliyor. Halbuki bunlar adem-i tedkikten mütevellid mütalaattır. Mekatib-i iptidaiye için öteden beri neşredilmiş kitaplar bulunmakla beraber biz yaptığımız programlara tevfikân kitap telif*

The complaints about the new textbooks were not limited to the shortage of books. How the textbooks were selected and approved by the state was also questioned. The 1912 regulation had reorganized the Grand Council of Education in Emrullah Efendi's period of ministry. This gave result to a series of changes in the way the textbooks were produced, examined, printed and distributed, which was configured in the Office of Copyright and Translation. Historically, the examination and inspection of school texts were transformed into an official duty with the implementation of the Regulation of the Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*) in 1869, which organized the local branches of the great council in the provinces under the name of Provincial Council of Education (*Vilayet Maarif Meclisi*).³¹⁸

The Office of Copyright and Translation had been established under the Office of Knowledge (*Daire-i Ilmi*) in the Grand Council in 1870 and promulgated its first regulation.³¹⁹ The office, the duty of which was to engage in the production and inspection of textbooks, underwent several changes in its administrative structure when the Grand Council of Education (*Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif*) was reformed during the Hamidian years. Textbook production was taken under control

*ettirmek için muallimleri ve hariçten erbab-ı malumatı teşvik ettik. Mekatib-i iptidaiyeye otuz beş kitap yaptırmak icab ederken şimdiye kadar bunların otuzunu yaptırdık ve bunlardan on ikisini dışarıdaki matbaalar bastı, küsur-u onsekizini de zaruret-i harbiyeden dolayı başka matbaalar basamadığından Matbaa-i Amireye tab ettirmek mecburiyetinde bulunduk... Darülmualiminler için de yaptırmış olduğumuz kitapların adedi dokuzdur. Zaten oraya da dokuz kitap yaptırmak icab ediyordu. Mekatib-i iptidaiye ile darülmualiminlerin kitapsız olması meselesi bu suretle nasıl mevki-i mebahiseye konulduğunu anlamıyorum. Görüyorum ki sorulmamaktan, tetkik edilmemekten ileri geliyor.” Şükrü Bey, “Maarif Nazırının Beyanâtı,” *Muallim* 1, no. 9 (Nisan 1333), p. 260.*

³¹⁸ Uğur Ünal, *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif 1869-1922* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2008), p. 4-5 “An inspector and a director of education was assigned to each province between 1879 and 1886; and the government imposed an education tax.” p. 224.

³¹⁹ Teyfur Erdoğan, “Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Teşkilatı-1,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 51/1-4, 1996:183-247, p. 209.

with the establishment of specific commissions *Encümen-i Teftiş and Muayene Heyeti* in 1880 and *Tetkik-i Müellefat Komisyonu* in 1892³²⁰ worked efficiently in this period.³²¹ In 1903, another commission was convened under the name of *Kütüb-ü Diniyye and Şer'iyye Tedkik Heyeti*, which specialized in the control of the books on religion.³²² Except for some minor changes in 1914, the last structural change in the office occurred in 1917 and 1918 under the general directorship of Cevdet Bey; and members were Sami Bey, İsmail Hafız Efendi, İshak Efendi, Ziya Bey, Fazıl Nazmi Bey and Rükneddin Bey.³²³

The Office of Copyright and Translation in 1912 took over the duties conducted in multiple bureaucratic organs in the Hamidian period. This office also examined the production of textbooks in the elementary schools.³²⁴ The archive of the Office has 63 files. Part of the data in this part is retrieved from only five of these files, which hold documents of the Second Constitutional period. The last file comprises the years from 1913 up to 1924. This shows how the work of the Office decreased after the new regulation of 1912. While the file of 1908 replete with sheets recording the banned newspapers, journals, books and textbooks, it becomes less common to come across lists of prohibited books in the following years of the Constitutional Period, except for in a few documents.

³²⁰ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908) İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), p. 126.

³²¹ The first members of the commission are listed as follows: Ahmed Zühtü Pasha (head and minister), Abdürrahman Şeref Bey (Director of Mekteb-i Sultaniye), Hasip Efendi (Inspector of Foreign and Community schools), Ali Galip Bey (Director of Evrak), Hacı Zihni Efendi (member in the Great Council), Azmi Bey (Director Rushdiye schools); Uğur Ünal, *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif 1869-1922* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2008), p. 16.

³²² Ünal, p. 17.

³²³ Ünal, p. 55. For the members of the Great Council of Education in 1912-1913, see Appendix I, p. 54.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 21.

*The Guideline of Textbooks Examination and Approval*³²⁵ describes in what periods of time and ways the Committee of Copyright and Translation examined and submitted the drafts of textbooks to the writers. The submission of textbook drafts was to be made from the beginning of January to the end of the month each year.³²⁶ The pages would be enumerated, kept like a notebook and put in an envelope, if hand-written. The ministry stated firmly that late submissions would be in no way accepted in Article 2. The examination committee was held responsible to end the examinations in February and March, opening the envelopes of the hand-written works in the presence of the members.³²⁷ The members of the examination committee would write a report elaborating the reasons for both approved and disapproved works and the report would be presented to the Office of Copyright and Translation.

In the next article, the authors of the approved books were given two weeks to make the necessary modifications and submit the second draft. After that, the committee would make its last decision on the second draft in two weeks time.³²⁸ The article also determined the specific time period for the objection of the authors whose works had been rejected. The approved drafts of textbooks were to be taken from the Ministry in April. The authors would have their works printed by mid-July and were to present the printed book to the committee to check once again.³²⁹ The article strictly prohibited of textbooks which had failed to have this process of

³²⁵ “*Mekatipte Tedris Edilecek Kitapların Sureti Tedkik ve Kabulüne dair Talimatname*” BOA, MF.MKB, 211/85 (1331).

³²⁶ BOA, MF.MKB 211/85/1 (1331) Article 1.

³²⁷ BOA, MF.MKB 211/85/1 (1331) Article 3.

³²⁸ BOA, MF.MKB 211/85 /2 (1331) Article 4.

³²⁹ BOA, MF.MKB 211/85/2 (1331) Article 5.

examination before mid-July onto the list of the approved textbooks of that year. Lastly, textbooks which had already been sanctioned before would be re-examined according to this guideline, except for those books accepted for five years.³³⁰

The Second Constitutional Period saw a considerable increase in textbook production while in the Hamidian period generally, as for each course only a limited number of textbooks was determined and approved. This created a more liberal atmosphere in terms of the number of textbooks and authors. The schools were allowed to make their own choice among the alternatives. In the Unionist period, the provinces were free to make their own production of textbooks to be valid for only a limited geography.³³¹ For example, reports sent to the ministry from the provinces demonstrated the use of textbooks for a certain province. Most of the textbooks examined in this study were printed for Istanbul and its surrounding area. Textbooks printed in Anatolian provinces also are listed in bibliography. The diversity of authors and publishers no doubt created more possibilities of differences, conflicts and inconsistencies to arise in terms of textuality in the atmosphere of insufficient central control. For sure, this multiplicity made the effort of this dissertation more meaningful.

Problems in Printing, Pricing and Distribution

The Guideline of the Textbooks to be Printed in *Matbaa-i Amire*, the state publishing house describes the process textbooks printed and distributed. One of the duties stated in Article 7 in the guideline was that the publishing house was

³³⁰ BOA, MF.MKB 211/85/2 (1331) Article 7.

³³¹ Teyfur Erdoğan, “Maarif Umumiye Nezareti Teşkilatı II,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 52/1-4 1997:247-285, p. 264.

responsible for the distribution of the textbooks. Article 12 stated that textbooks were first sent to the Office of Goods (*Mal Dairesi*) in the provinces, and then stored and sold through the officers of the Office of Goods. The officers took ten percent of the total profit from selling and the rest of the revenue was sent to the account of the state publishing house. It was also stated that the provincial councils of education (*vilayet maarif encümenleri*) could demand as many textbooks as they wanted provided that they paid in cash. That way they could save the ten percent portion of the officers in the accounts of the local council. Another article stated that the sold textbooks could not be sent back; thus demands for more books than the need of schools would be disadvantageous for the councils.³³²

Another document shows that the state struggled against the overcharging of textbooks chosen by competition and catalogued. It dealt with bookstores that overcharged by forcing them to write the price of each textbook on its front cover.³³³ Moreover, the lists of textbooks chosen after the competitions were published in the newspapers, with their prices.

Fraud was one of the problems that led the state regulation of textbooks into crisis. Many of the textbooks on the list were printed and marketed by unauthorized publishers with few changes in their titles. The ministry recommended new precautions in order to differentiate the original books from fraud prints before the distribution of textbooks to the schools.³³⁴ Another fraud was reported in production and distribution of Halim Sabit Efendi's textbook on religion, which was listed in the

³³² BOA, MF.MKB 210/108/1-7 (1330).

³³³ BOA, MF.MKB 210/47/1 (1330).

³³⁴ BOA, MF.MKB 208/93/2 (1329).

catalogue. The ministry warned teachers and students to be alerted about texts printed without the name of the author.³³⁵

The Approved and Disapproved Textbooks and Justifications

The Second Constitutional Period created a considerable diversity in textbook production compared to the previous period. Textbooks published especially for the primary schools had the potential of yielding fair profits due to the fact that the elementary grades had the most students in the Empire. Ibrahim Hilmi expressed what probable chances the primary schools created together with the frustration the publisher was pushed into:

...and in the newspapers it appears that the Ministry has opened two thousand schools this year again. The textbook sellers become happy. They hope that the elementary level textbooks will be sold. Two years pass and no increase in sale is observed. (The booksellers) are confused; they publish a catalogue and send it to schools. The post system sends back the remaining catalogues. It is written on the envelopes that “the school in the so and so street was closed since it wasn’t financed and it didn’t have teachers.” The booksellers have become used to being disappointed and murmur, “what a contrast is this?”³³⁶

Despite some disappointments from time to time, the competition between the private publishers in textbooks production no doubt gained speed in the period. The present study sheds only a limited light on the enterprises of the publishers and their profit margins. It could have been a significant contribution to analyze the

³³⁵ BOA, MF.VRK 33/21/1 (24 Mayıs 1327).

³³⁶ “... ve gazetelerde Maarif Nezaretinin bu sene tekrar iki bin iptidai mektebi birden açtığı okunur. Mektep kitapçıları sevinir. İptidai kitaplardan satılacağı ümit edilir, aradan iki sene geçer, kitapların satışında hiçbir fark görülmez, hayret eder, fihrist bastırır, mekteplere gönderir. Posta ekser fihristleri iade eder. Zarfların üzerine postanede şöyle bir yazı yazılır: (Filan mahalledeki mektebin tahsisat-ı mahaliyesi olmadığından ve yahut hocası bulunmadığından sad edilmiştir) Kitapçı hayretle kendi kendine ‘bu ne perhiz bu ne turşu’ diye söylenir. Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarif ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1329), p. 27.

power relationships between the authors and publishers in this period. *Kanaat Kütüphanesi* seems to have outpaced the other prominent textbook producing printing houses, such as *Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri* or *Kütüphane-i Hilmi*, *Artin Asadoryan* and *Şirket-i Mürettebiye*, in the scale of the textbooks researched in this thesis.

This study sheds light on the authors and their affiliation with the state to contextualize textbooks outside the given parameters in order to question to what degree one textbook might have been preferred to another owing to the preference of one author to another. This question developed when the correspondence between the names of textbook authors and the names at the various councils of education increased. Criticism of the textbooks selected by the state in the archives increased the feasibility of finding an answer. To give a few names of popular authors, one of the longest-used textbooks in religious education was by Hacı Zihni Efendi, who held membership in the councils from 1890s.³³⁷ Ibnül Cevad Efdalüddin was a history textbook writer when he was the member in the Grand Council of Education. Ali Seydi and Ahmet Refik, who produced sets of history books for children during the period, were members of the council on the Ottoman History. Ali Seydi's petitions during the submission process introduced him as a permanent member of the Council on the Ottoman History.³³⁸ What this meant to the commission examining his books no doubt resulted in good money for Ali Seydi. Examining his books on civics course, one could say that some of his books can at least be counted as hastily written paragraphs which had no contextual integration. This shows that some texts from some names were only roughly examined for an inclination to

³³⁷ Uğur Ünal, *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif 1869-1922* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurum, 2008), pp. 27-54.

³³⁸ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/54 (21 Nisan 1331).

approve and disapprove. Indeed, textbook writing offered a profitable opportunity for the people of these education councils. The disappointments expressed and the complaints stated in the documents of the Copyright and Translation Office give voice to some of the other people who remained outside the circle of the high state offices.

The reports on some primary school textbooks in social sciences show the accepted and conditionally accepted textbooks: “Geography: Faik Sabri and Safvet Bey’s work, accepted for five years in 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 grades provided that they immediately update their work as cases of change occur.”³³⁹ The results of the wars required immediate changes in history, and especially geography textbooks more than any others since geography was taught with more effective means of education like visual materials, charts or maps. The last decision about the reading, writing, grammar and alphabet books were left to Faik Bey, the Director of Primary Schooling, and Naim Bey, one of the members of the council.³⁴⁰

The ministry announced the results of the competition of textbooks. For example, one document reveals the notice of results which ranked Ahmed Cevad’s *Ottoman Language* the first and Köprülüzade Fuat Bey’s *Turkish Language and Grammar* the second for two years. In reading classes, Köprülüzade Fuat Bey’s reading textbooks were chosen, too.³⁴¹

Ihsan Şerif and his history textbooks seemed to have been accepted by the council successful and received praise.³⁴² His *Historical Lessons for Children*

³³⁹ Coğrafya: Faik Sabri ve Safvet beylerin eseri: 2,3,4,5,6 sınıflar için beş sene müddetle ve fakat vuku bulacak tebeddilat derhal hin-i tashihi olmak meşruttur. BOA, MF.MKB, 209/92/1-2 (1330).

³⁴⁰ BOA, MF.MKB 209/92/1-2 (1330).

³⁴¹ BOA, MF.MKB 209/109/1-2 (1330).

³⁴² BOA, MF.MKB 210/147/1 (1331).

(Çocuklar için Tarih Dersleri) was appreciated since the photos and illustrations in it were found proper and sufficient. This book was accepted for two years in the second grades in elementary education. His *Ottoman History* (Tarih-i Osmani) also was accepted for one year in the third and fourth grades provided that the lacking parts were completed considering the important events described in the program and a new examination was held in the final stage.³⁴³ His *General History with Illustrations and Maps* (Resimli ve Haritalı Tarih-i Umumi) also was accepted for the fifth grades for one year only on the condition that he rewrote the chapters like the “Period of Awakening” completely, and that he broadened subjects like the formation of the Balkan countries, the Revolution in France and England, Discoveries and Inventions. Also the foreign names and words in his three textbooks reported above were to be given with their pronunciations clearly.³⁴⁴ A sample of the table showing the approved textbooks for the *rushdiye* schools for one year in 1333 (1917) can be found in Appendix G³⁴⁵

The reply of the ministry to the petitions written requesting the re-examination of Ahmet Refik’s textbook set on history said that the textbooks once rejected by the commission would not be considered once again. Yet, the author was directed to write an objection petition in order to see the specific reasons behind the refusal of the textbooks.³⁴⁶ In another petition presented to the Copyright and Translation, Ibrahim Hilmi, the publisher of Ahmet Refik’s textbooks, praised his

³⁴³ BOA, MF.MKB 209/116/1-5 (1330).

³⁴⁴ BOA, MF.MKB 209/116/1-5 (1330).

³⁴⁵ BOA, MF.TTD 63/76/1 (1333).

³⁴⁶ BOA, MF.MKB 211/10/1 (1331).

books on General and Ottoman History for children with additional thanks to the ministry for the new curriculums.³⁴⁷

A disagreement over the work of Mithat Sadullah appeared among the documents. His civics book *Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* was approved by the commission on the grounds that parts found lacking would be amended. Yet, it was rejected by the Council of Education and the author was directed to write in a clearer language and to include more useful passages. That way the Copyright and Translation Office had to examine the book once again.³⁴⁸

The prohibited books, newspapers and magazines, most of which were published before July 10, are observed to have increased in the year 1908. An example of such lists of prohibitions is given in Appendix H.³⁴⁹ Some other reports displayed the books banned from printing in Trabzon,³⁵⁰ a list of harmful magazines and newspapers,³⁵¹ a group of banned newspapers,³⁵² and a book banned due to its obscenity.³⁵³ Following the 1908 revolution, it seems that the load of the Office was lessened. It becomes rare to come across lists of publications to be withdrawn from circulation. For this reason, after this year, prohibitions are less frequent about the school knowledge.

Whether the schools of the non-Muslims taught Turkish elaborately or roughly were questioned and the documents of the office accommodated by the

³⁴⁷ BOA, MF.TTD 63/54/1-5 (1330).

³⁴⁸ BOA, MF.TTD 63/52/1 (1331).

³⁴⁹ BOA, MF.TTD 60/20/1 (1324).

³⁵⁰ BOA, MF.TTD 58/74/1 (1324).

³⁵¹ BOA, MF.TTD 58/89/1 (1324).

³⁵² BOA, MF.TTD 58/88 (1324).

³⁵³ BOA, MF.TTD 58/127 (1323).

inspection reports. It was suggested that the textbooks on the social sciences be controlled by translating the Turkish history and geography books into the other languages.³⁵⁴ Some documents revealed that textbooks written by the non-Muslims which were found harmful and were rejected. For example, a book of Armenian songs and poems were not given permission in 1908,³⁵⁵ while another Armenian author's petition for an illustrated geography textbook was still waiting for a reply.³⁵⁶ A document reports that some books in Bulgarian were found perilous and exterminated in the inspection of Hüseyin Hilmi, the inspector of Rumelia, in Salonika in 1910. A map which used the word "Macedonia" was one of the items considered hazardous among the textbooks of civics, general history, knowledge of useful things, knowledge of animals and some other books.³⁵⁷

It seems that the vivid illustrations, photos and drawings relevant to subjects were peculiarities in an ideal textbook. Another most preferred feature was the explicitness and simplicity of the language. Some documents report that the commission had to select one of the textbooks on civics just not to block the education of students although none of them deserved it. One such example is Mithat Sadullah's textbook which lacked the required photos, pictures, and a simpler and more explicit language.³⁵⁸ A reading textbook was also rejected on the grounds that its language was improper to the level and age of the students.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁴ BOA, MF.TTD 63/79-80 (1333).

³⁵⁵ BOA, MF.TTD 58/60 (1324).

³⁵⁶ BOA, MF.TTD 58/67-68 (1324).

³⁵⁷ BOA, MF.TTD 60/15 (1324).

³⁵⁸ BOA, MF.MKB 209/116-117 (1330).

³⁵⁹ BOA, MF.MKB 204/149 (1330).

Kemalettin Bey rejected some books due to their contents. One of them was Ahmet Cudi Efendi's textbook on basic religious knowledge. It was stated in the report that "firstly, the book is not proper to the program; secondly, the way it was written does not look like the textbooks taught in schools, and lastly, it must be a civics text more than a religion textbook."³⁶⁰ A similar comment was made on the textbook of Tüccarzade Ibrahim Hilmi, once again by Kemalettin Bey. His book called *New Basic Religious Knowledge of Muslim Child* (Müslüman Çocuğun Yeni İlmihali) was rejected on the same grounds, that its content covered civics instead of religion.³⁶¹ Yet, Ibrahim Hilmi's same titled religion textbook succeeded to be published in 1910. It marks the change of mind with the new curriculum. Hüseyin Hıfzı's textbook on *Tecvid* teaching the pronunciation of the Quran was not seen proper since it was made up of questions and answers.³⁶² On the other hand, a *tecvid* book written by Hacı Erşed who was a well known religion textbook writer was appreciated and found proper not only for the elementary level but even to the high school students since its content was comprehensive enough. Yet Kemalettin Bey recommended that the language used in the book to be reduced to the age and understanding of elementary school students.³⁶³

It seems that after 1918 the Office of Copyright and Translation worked in a direction drawn by the Entente powers. The Appendix F table, which traditionally

³⁶⁰ "Mekاتب-ı sultaniyenin kısm-ı iptidaiye programına muvafık olmadığı gibi tarz-ı tahriri mekteplerde okunacak kitaplara benzememekle beraber bir ulum-u diniye kitabından ziyade malumat-ı medeniye kitabı olsa gerektir. 1335, 24 Temmuz. Kemalettin ?"BOA, MF.TTD 63/93 (1335).

³⁶¹ BOA, MF.TTD 63/94 (1335).

³⁶² BOA, MF.TTD 63/95 (1335)

³⁶³ BOA, MF.TTD 63/96 (1335)

started with *Besmele*, showed the improper paragraphs and parts in the examined textbooks in 1920 (23 Teşrinisani 1336).³⁶⁴

Objections from Authors

The petition of the director of Necm-i Terakki School complained about the poor quality of the textbooks in the catalogue and questioned on what reasons his textbooks had been returned.³⁶⁵ The director, emphasizing his long career in education both as a teacher and a supervisor, articulated his opinions in the petition as follows:

...I don't know how but some of the textbooks written by my humble efforts for the competition were not taken into consideration and examination and were shelved in a corner by the commissions gathered for textbook competition. Yet it became obvious afterwards that the selected textbooks in the list were in a lower degree than mine both in content and form.³⁶⁶

He wished fairness from the ministry in the next competitions and his books to be examined. In the reply of the ministry, it was stated that his works had not been considered in examination because his application had arrived after the competition had ended and the lists had been prepared.

³⁶⁴ BOA, MF.TTD 63/97 (1336)

³⁶⁵ BOA, MF.MKB 208/92 (1329)

³⁶⁶ “Acizleri pek çok senelerden beri bulunduğum mektep müdir ve muallimliklerinde vaki olan tecrübe-i acizaneme istinaden tahrir eylediğim asarı acizanemden bazıları sene-i sabıkta mektep kitapları intihabı için teşkil eden komisyonlarca her nasılsa nazarı tetkik ve muayeneye alınmayarak kuşe-i metrukiye atılmış ve muahhiren intihab edilen kitaplardan bazısının asar-ı acizanemden gerek münderecat ve gerek istifadece daha dun bir mertebede olduğu görülmüştür... 11 agustos 1329. Necm-i Terakki mektebi reisi ve müdiri.” BOA, MF.MKB 208/92 (1329).

Another petition about the rejected textbooks came from a teacher. In his introductory words, we learn that had he taught in the *Enderun-u Hümayün* School for fifteen years and felt competent to write textbooks with this experience in education. He wrote books for primary school and *rushdiye* schools (the last period of primary schooling):

...my Knowledge of Religion textbook of which ten thousand copies were printed two years ago but was not included in the official catalogue was all consumed today upon the demand of the private schools, even though those well-known publishers played all roles in order to promote their own textbooks. This demonstrates the degree of the impact of my modest study on the public opinion...³⁶⁷

The author stated his confidence in his book's superiority compared to the other textbooks provided that "an objective and conscientious person examined it."

The schools were warned about the catalogue but this petition demonstrated that the concern to prevent the use of textbooks not on the state list seemed not to work efficiently although the government engaged in controlling the schools against any use of unlicensed textbooks.³⁶⁸

Fuat Köprülü's objection to the decision of the council is remarkable among these authors. Thanks to his petition, the reasons for the rejection of a textbook was revealed more openly, the objection of the author as a reaction and the response of the ministry in details. The document informed that Fuat Köprülü's *Mektep Şiirleri* (School Poems, 1916) was not approved as a school textbook.³⁶⁹ Secondly, his set of

³⁶⁷ "...iki nüshasını takdim eylediğim ulum-u diniye kitabı iki sene mukaddem on bin tab edildiği ve her neden ise o vakitler Maarif Nezaretince resmen kabul edilmediği ve malum kitapçıların kendi kitaplarını sürmek için roller çevirdikleri halde hususi mekteplerin tercihleri üzerine bugün matbu nüshası kalmamıştır. Bu hal ise eser-i acizanenin efkar-ı umumîyedeki tesir derecesini irae ve arz eylediği gibi..." BOA, MF.MKB 208/30 (1329).

³⁶⁸ BOA, MF.MKB 210/47 (1330)

³⁶⁹ BOA, MF.TTD 63/77 (1332)

reading books was turned down although a set of readers were permitted to publish in 1914. The objection of the author began as follows:

To the Sublime Directory of Copyright and Translation
I have very carefully deliberated on the report about my set of reading books titled *National Reading* which I wrote for the elementary school. Although such reports should include a scrutiny and criticism on the way the book is written, its content, its purpose, its concerns, considerations, -especially with comments and criticism on its language in the reading textbooks-, and although the secondary examination should be held only after such a general scrutiny of the texts, unfortunately, I could no way see something about the correctness or wrongness of the essential principles that guided me.”³⁷⁰

Fuat Köprülü was critical of the fact that the report sent to him did not contain any examination criteria relying on scientific principles. He stated that most of the comments had been roughly prepared, such as “such and such passage is good” or “such and such passage is bad” or “there is or isn’t need for references or quotes.”³⁷¹ He then declared the report meaningless: “I have to say that this report cannot be regarded as having a scientific base in the view of the experts in pedagogy.”³⁷² Köprülü reported that he had gone over the changes directed by the examiners by shortening long passages, and adding passages highlighting the bravery of the army

³⁷⁰ “*Telif ve Tercümesi müdireyeti aliyyesine*
‘Milli Kiraat’ ünvanıyla yazmış olduğum mekatib-i iptidaiyeye mahsus kiraat silsilesi hakkındaki raporu kemal-i dikkatle mütalaa ettim. Bu gibi raporlarda tetkik edilen eserin tarzı tertibine, mahiyetine, gayesine, ne gibi nukuat-ı esasiye gözetilerek vücuda getirildiğine ve kırat kitaplarında bilhassa lisanına ait tenkidat ve mütaalat mevcut olmak ve bu mütaalat-ı umumiyyeden sonra tenkidat-ı taliyeye geçilmek icap ettiği halde, maatteessüf, eserin tertibinde bana rehber olan enzar-ı esasiyenin doğruluğuna veya yanlışlığına dair hiçbir şeye tesadüf edemedim.” BOA, MF.TTD 63/76 (1332)

³⁷¹ “*Umumiyetle “filan parça iyidir” “falan parça fenadır” veyahut “telmihlere, nakillere ihtiyaç vardır yoktur tarzında hiçbir delil- i ilmi ve maddiye istinad edemeyen veya takib edilmeyen...”* BOA, MF.TTD 63/76 (1332)

³⁷² “*...bu raporun terbiye mütehassısları nezdinde ilmi bir mahiyeti haiz addedilemeyeceğini söylemek mecburiyetindeyim.*” BOA, MF.TTD 63/76 (1332)

in the first draft. Yet he stated that he could not accept some of the criticism. He explained that the introductory part of the book in which he had written notes for guiding teachers was important especially for teachers in the rural regions.

Fuat Bey argued that the books like *Teachers' Guide* were still popular in Europe and they fulfilled an important function. Secondly, he refused to make any change in his opinions of the reading passages. It seems that the members of the council and Köprülü disagreed on to what degree Turkish-ness should be stressed. Köprülü refused to omit a poem titled “Ergenekon” from the content, arguing that his work could not be molded by decisions taken by the council, which was prone to ideological circulations of members every year:

As for the poem titled “Ergenekon”, which was suggested to be omitted in the fourth part, this nice piece of verse which narrates the national history in a simple language cannot be omitted from a reading book claiming and only aiming to be “national” before everything. The National Reading (*Milli Kiraat*) which was formed within a certain wording for a certain goal is not like works which take shape with regards to the pleasure and ambition of the ever-changing miscellaneous members of the councils in order to get the state approval. And its author is not one who will give up the idea that he is free to enjoy his own opinions as long as the framework of the program is not deviated.³⁷³

Another subject criticized in the report was the lack of pictures and illustrations.

Köprülü said that illustrations were a general problem in the country since there was a lack of graphic artists and painters. His books were better than the others in terms of its graphics, though. He additionally drew attention to the disorder, aimlessness

³⁷³ “...dördüncü kısımda çıkarılması teklif edilen Ergenekon manzumesine gelince, milli ananemizi en basit bir lisanla ihtiva eden bu güzel manzumenin her şeyden evvel milli olma iddiasında ve sırf o maksatla yazılan bir kiraat kitabından çıkarılmayacağını arz ederim. Muayyen bir usul dairesinde ve muayyen bir gaye istihdaf eyleyerek vücuda getirilen milli kiraat her sene teşekkül edecek muhtelif heyetlerin keyif ve hevesine göre sırf mekteplerde kabul olunmak maksadıyla (her...?) şekle girecek eserlerden olmadığı gibi muharriri de Nezaret-i Celilesinin programı dairesinde içtihad-ı zatiyesiyle harekette serbest olduğu kanaatinden ayrılacaklardan değildir.” BOA, MF.TTD 63/76 (1332)

and bad Turkish of some books which had been rejected by the directorate several times but still tolerated while his works were rejected for such trivial problems. He also claimed that his reading book for village schools had been rejected because the council was unfamiliar with the program. He suggested a new commission be set up to examine his books before the textbook catalogues were made and published.³⁷⁴

Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi's remarks on textbooks shed light on the deficiencies regarding the state regulation of school textbooks. Though he put forward contrasting views sometimes, he seems to have been consistent in his admiration of European education. On one hand, he expostulated that Turkish students were enslaved to textbooks compared to the students in the German system, in which he observed most students did not have textbooks and each teacher served like "a book."³⁷⁵ He juxtaposed the Ottoman schools and the well-equipped and built schools in Europe with a focus on the physical qualities most often:

A primary school at the edge of a graveyard... It has no desk or table. Students read their texts in a chaotic way; most often they do not have a teacher. ...and the *rüşdiye* and *idadiye* schools where parochialism dominates the buildings, classes, meals and drinks which are in untidiness, disorderliness and lack of cleanliness. Alas! What could be expected from such a life of schools for the future?³⁷⁶ ... If we can build schools like Robert College, English and Greek schools... then we can talk about Turkish school in Turkey.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ BOA, MF.TTD 63/75-81 (Ağustos 1332)

³⁷⁵ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarif ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1329), p. 45.

³⁷⁶ "Bir mezarlık kenarında mekteb-i iptidai... Rahlesi, masası yok, talebe karmakarışık ders okuyor, ekseriya okutacak hocası da bulunmuyor. Sonra rüşdiye ve idadi mektepleri ki binalarında, derslerinde, yemek ve içeceklerinde bir karışıklık, intizamsızlık, nezafet ve taharetten ari bir köylülük hayatı hükümferma oluyor. Artık böyle geçen bir mektep hayatından istikbal için ne beklenir." Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarif ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1329), p. 34.

³⁷⁷ "Robert koleji, İngiliz, Rum okulları gibi okullar tesis edebilirsek ... O vakit Türkiye'de Türk mektebinden bahsedebiliriz." Ibid., p. 29.

One of the recurrences of the admiration of the European schools was manifested in statements as follows: “The thing making Europe Europe is their schools. [No], it is not the schools, it is the teachers and directors who manage the schools. What intelligence! What grasp is it!”³⁷⁸ He continued to make comparative comments on the school materials: “The European countries take great pains with the instruction and the curriculums.”³⁷⁹ He criticized the defects and misuse of the textbook regulation process as follows:

...the scandals of textbook selection in which so many illiberal interests are concealed cannot occur there [Europe]. The Ministry of Education makes up a short instruction program for elementary, secondary and high schools. But this program is not formed by one or two officers of the ministry in a few days; it takes months of examination and study....then authors write their textbooks accordingly.³⁸⁰

He described the regulation of textbook selection in the Ottoman Empire as follows:

A very indiscriminately prepared list of books means a program in our country. This method, which is the result of Hamidian period to exert pressure on education and keep teachers from following the textbooks of liberal ideas, was censorship and bad management. In the beginning of the Freedom [1908 Second Constitutional Regime], a new curriculum was produced upon the need of reforms; yet its practice yielded nothing than raising a conglomerate of civil servants who would be useful for nothing. As a matter of fact, the aimlessness in instruction proved that the programs worked well for nothing.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ “Bugün Avrupa’yı Avrupa eden mektepleridir. Mektepleri değil mektepleri idare eden müdür ve muallimlerdir. O ne zeka! O ne ihata!” Ibid., p. 43.

³⁷⁹ “Milel-i garbiyede tedrisata, tedrisat programlarına son derece itina edilir.” Ibid., p. 50.

³⁸⁰ “Yoksa bizdeki gibi zamanında bir çok hasis menfaatlerin gizlendiği kitap cetvelleri programı rezaleti oralarda katiyen görülmez. Maarif Nezareti iptidai, tali, ve ali sınıflara ait mufassal bir tedrisat programı yapar. Fakat bu programı öyle maarife mensub bir iki kişinin toplanarak bir kaç gün içinde tertip edivermeleri kabilinden olmayıp aylarca tedkikten, iştigalden sonra vücuda getirilir... sonra programa göre muallimler, müellifler kitaplarını yazarlar.” Ibid., p. 51.

³⁸¹ “Bizde program denilince lalettayin bir kitap cetveli anlaşılıyor. Bu usul devr-i Hamidiyede maarifi sıkılamak, tazyik etmek, hocaların serbestane tedrisatta bulunmalarına, serbest-i efkara ceryan verecek kitapları takip etmelerine meydan vermemek maksadıyla yapılmış inhisarımı ve fena bir usuldür. Mebde-i hürriyette maarifte bir yenilik göstermek iktiza etmiş, bir müfredat programı yapılmıştır ki bugün bununla amel olmak memlekete hiç bir şeye yaramayacak yine bir yığın memur

After all, I know very well that while the curriculum was being made up, it was designed taking into consideration the catalogues and contents of some textbooks written twenty or twenty-five years ago. If we examine the program of any course, what draws our attention is the same deficiencies. Even those who make up the program selected their own textbooks, which had been written but had not been published somehow before.³⁸²

Ibrahim Hilmi implied the power relations in the process of the textbook approvals.

The fact that textbook writing had turned into a profitable area for some members in the councils of education yielded low quality books.

Because of the program, so many obvious injustices and exploitations happened in the four-five years in the period of Freedom that I couldn't make myself understood in the Ministry... even I submitted my petition printed to be read clearly and not to be shelved. If I happen to write the responses I got after months and the treatment of the petitions here, even cats would laugh at this. Six months ago, a catalogue of [selected] textbooks for Istanbul and Eyüp, Galata and Üsküdar was printed with a hurry. Most books on the table comprise textbooks written and printed hastily in a month. Even it consists of the textbooks which stand in sharp contrast with the curriculum of the Ministry.³⁸³

yetiştirmek demektir. Nitekim tedrisattaki tezbezeb, gayesizlik programların bir şeye yaramadığını ispat etti". Ibid., p. 51.

³⁸² "Zaten program tertip edilirken pekiyi bilirim, bizde yirmi yirmi beş sene evvel yazılmış bazı kitapların ser levhaları, bahisleri kaydolunarak program vücuda getirilmiştir. Herhangi bir dersin programını tetkik edecek olursak aynı nevakis göze çarpar, hatta programı bizzat terbiye edenler evvelce yazılıp da bir türlü tab ettiremedikleri kitapları fırsattır diyerek programlara geçirmişler..." Ibid., p. 51

³⁸³ "Program yüzünden dört beş senelik devr-i Hürriyette o kadar açık haksızlıklar ve suiistimaller olmuştur ki fisebilillah maarifte uğraşdığım zaman kimseye derdimi anlatamamış, hatta istidayı hasıraltı olmamak ve okunmak için ayrı hurufatla matbaada tab ettirerek vermiştim. Aylardan sonra aldığım cevapları, istidaların gördüğü muameleyi şuraya yazacak olsam kediler bile güler. Bundan altı ay evvel bütün İstanbul ve bilad-ı selase için alelacele bir kitap cetveli basılır. Cetvele münderiç kitapların ekseriyası alelacele bir ay içinde yazılıp basılmış kitapları ihtiva eder. Hatta maarifin müfredat programına bile taban tabana zıt kitaplardan mürekkeb bulunur." Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarif ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1329), p. 52.

He once again petitioned the Ministry and asked about the criteria of the textbook selection:

Four years have passed since your curriculum was made. More than two hundred textbooks have been printed in the provinces and Istanbul. There are well-written and organized textbooks among them. Why didn't you select at least a few of them you found rewarding by just examining cursorily? Why have you issued an order monopolizing the public education of the one and half million populated- capital with these foolish works and prohibiting the instruction in contravention to the catalogue with the invention of a new procedure which has never been experienced at any country? ³⁸⁴

According to the author, the ministry accepted the complaints and the unfairness. It took a series of decisions against this obvious corruption and "the fact that public education had turned into a sport in hands of a few people".³⁸⁵ The new policies taken by the ministry displeased Ibrahim Hilmi. He paraphrased the reply of the ministry as such:

Truly the other publishers printed very nice and good books and they brought them to us. We saw and appreciated their works. Yet, unfortunately, we did not have enough time to examine them. Your complaint is right as some teachers came to the ministry and said that the textbooks in the catalogue were up to no good. To prevent all of what happened, we have decided to return to the list of textbooks selected in 1324[1908] by writing a circular letter and sending it everywhere.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ "Sizin müfredat programından sonra dört sene geçti. Dört sene içinde İstanbul'da ve taşrada iki yüz bu kadar mektep kitabı basıldı. Bunların içinde pek nefisleri ve pek güzel yazılmışları da var. Hiç olmazsa şu eserleri sathi bir tetkikten geçirerek istifadeli bulduğunuz bir kaçını olsun neden cetvele geçirmediniz. Bir buçuk milyon nüfuslu bir payitahtın maarif-i umumiyesini böyle saçma sapan eserlere inhisar ettirmeniz ve hiç bir millette görülmedik bir res'i usul icadıyla bu kitapların hilafına tahsilde bulunmak memnudur diye nasıl emir veriyorsunuz?" Ibid., p. 53.

³⁸⁵ "...milletin maarif-i umumiyesinin bir iki kişi elinde baziçe kalmasına karşı seri bir karar verir."

³⁸⁶ "Filhakika ekser kitapçılar pek nefis ve pek güzel kitaplar bastılar, bize de numunelerini getirdiler. Gördük, hayran olduk. Ne çare ki bunları tetkike vaktimiz zamanımız müsait değildir. Sizin de şikâyetiniz haklıdır. Zaten ekser muallimler de maarife gelip cetveldeki kitapların bir şeye yaramadığını söylediler. Bu şikâyetin önüne durmak için bir teşebbüse kara verdik. O da her tarafa tamim yazacağız 1324 senesinde intihab olunan kitapların tedrisini emredeceğiz." Ibid., p. 53.

The new strategy to prevent the injustice still works for the disadvantage of his publishing house since he had written new textbooks himself after 1908 and also compiled new textbooks to be published. Thus he went much crazier about this plan and noted these statements out of anger:

I beg your pardon, but whichever nation on Earth leads its education and science back with one decision? Can a nation – especially one like ours which has undergone an allegedly revolution and revival- retrogresses to the nothingness of four years ago by neglecting so many beautiful and good quality works prepared during the four years period of time and by closing its eyes to the light of progress?³⁸⁷

Why has the ministry chosen such a retrogressing strategy? First of all, they considered the interests of the people who made up the catalogue and secondly, the bother of examining the new textbooks³⁸⁸

... Which author has the zeal to write a nice textbook and which publisher desires to print a beautiful and costly textbook under this unreasonable and unfair treatment and policy? Now, don't we have a right to petition the ministry collectively: "Please only stand out of our light." ³⁸⁹

Textbooks were of low quality since the cost of the production was prioritized to the physical betterment of the printing. What made Ibrahim Hilmi, as a publisher, bookseller and textbook writer, upset was the fact of cheap production for the expense of low standards:³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ "Rica ederim küre-i arz üzerinde hiç bir millet maarifini irfanını bir hareket-ı rica ile dört sene evveline doğru sürükler mi? Bilhassa bizim gibi güya bir devr-i inkılab ve intibah geçiren bir millet dört sene zarfında vücuda getirilmiş bunca güzel ve nefis asarı çekinerek, ziya-yı terakkiye gözlerini yumarak dört sene evvelki hiçliğine rücut eder mi?" Ibid., p. 54.

³⁸⁸ "Maarif bu hareketi irticaıyeyi niçin ihtiyar eyledi? Evvela cetveli tertip edenlerin hatır ve gönlü, sonra yeni kitapların tetkiki zahmeti vesaire..." Ibid.,

³⁸⁹ "Artık maarifin şu mantıksız ve haksız hareketi karşısında hangi muharrior güzel bir kitap yazmağa, hangi bir kitapçı nefis ve masraflı bir mektep kitabı tab etmeğe heveslenir? Şimdi hepimiz yek zaban olarak maarife: ' Gölge etme başka ihsan istemez' dersek hak kazanmış olmaz mıyız?" Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarif ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1329), p. 54.

³⁹⁰ The fact that the booksellers had many different functions is displayed as one characteristic for the late Ottoman period. Sinan Çetin, "Booksellers and Their Catalogs in Hamidian Istanbul, 1884-1901" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010), p. 7.

These cheap books have also low quality in their calligraphy and illustrations. It is our publishing house which produced durable school textbooks by stitching them and binding them with a cover... One can only by force keep himself from laughing or crying at the [quality of] textbooks, chosen by the Ministry of Education to reward students. If the most worn-out and shabby books of the publishers that remained on hand ...are distributed to students as rewards, then what illumination of aesthetics could be expected from students who are raised under these circumstances?³⁹¹

Hilmi's criticisms entailed the pedagogical deficiencies in the textbooks as well as the problems of the printing quality. He said that the textbooks for children had not been written considering objects and events that could be perceived at the level and age of the students. On the contrary, the events and phenomenon outside the sight and environment of children were described in a language which was even difficult for the teachers to understand, let alone the students.³⁹²

What these critical assessments signify for the scope of this thesis lies in the fact that a state-sanctioned textbook did not emerge only as a result of some criteria drawn in the guidelines; rather sometimes it was bound with the personal status and relationships. The Second Constitutional period was no exception. These critical arguments also could be considered as a result of commercial disappointments. Ibrahim Hilmi's publishing house, *Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri*, for example, invested in publications on the military and education with high expectations of

³⁹¹ “Bu kadar ucuz kitapların tabı, yazışı, resimleri de pek melus ve murdardır. İlk defa mektep kitaplarımızı dikerek ciltleyerek mutazam bir şekilde ortaya koyan kütüphanemizdir... Maarif nezareti de içinde dahil olmak şartıyla mükafatlık olarak intihab edilen kitaplara gülmemek ve ağlamamak için cebr nefis etmelidir. Kütüphanelerin satılmayıp elde kalmış en pejmurde en evgelik kitapları... şakirdane mükafat olarak verilirse artık böyle bir milletin mektep irfanından yetişecek şakirtten ne gibi bir zevk selim beklenebilir?” Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Maarif ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1329), pp. 56-57.

³⁹² Ibid., p. 59.

economic return although it never brought him satisfactory profits.³⁹³ The documents of the archive help to reveal the power relations in the approval of textbooks written by the high level council members and educators affiliated with the state at a lower status and some publishers. Yet the political ambience in which the textbook approval criteria were situated was still considerable as best epitomized in the different treatment of Köprülü and İbrahim Hilmi's textbooks at certain years of the 1910s.

³⁹³ Johann Strauss, "'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute' Printing and Publishing in a Multi-ethnic Society," *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (New York: Routledge, Curzon, 2004), p. 230.

CHAPTER 3

TEXTBOOKS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

Bureaucrats in the Hamidian years strove to balance the religious instruction with the challenge of modern knowledge in school curriculums.³⁹⁴ The proportion of religious instruction was increased in the curriculum as a solution to the supposed “moral degeneration” of the youth whereas the content of the courses remained unchanged and repetitive.³⁹⁵ One of the criticisms was that the authors were not suitably qualified to write pedagogical textbooks graded both in language and subject matter, which were to be conveyed to the students by encouraging the practice of reasoning instead of memorization.³⁹⁶

Besides pedagogical problems, the content of textbooks was conservative in that they sustained the classical religious subjects, the discourse of which had been established in the earlier periods. The textbooks were in the scope of an *ilmihal* book which illustrated the basic principles and practices of Islamic belief with the required details in worshipping. Two books prepared by the Office of *Meşihat* (the office regulating the religious schools and policy) for the primary schools (*sıbyan* schools)

³⁹⁴ Aziz Berker, *Türkiye’de İlköğretim I. 1839-1908* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945) pp. 158-165.

³⁹⁵ Zeki Salih Zengin, *II. Abdülhamit Dönemi Örgün Eğitim Kurumlarında Din Eğitimi ve Öğretimi* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2009), p. 77.

³⁹⁶ It is reported in a document prepared by a commission in 1885 and gathered to evaluate the religious instruction in primary schools. *Ibid.*, p.97.

were the duplications of *Dürr-i Yekta* and *Risale-i Birgivi*, which had been textbooks of Rushdiye schools and Enderun in Tanzimat period.³⁹⁷ Textbooks titled *İlmihal* and *Muhtasar İlmihal* reproduced the religious knowledge in the following change of curriculum in 1891; however, the search for an ideal composition of religious subjects continued since the existing sources were not found satisfying in respect to the new pedagogical terms for students who had developed new perspectives and interests with their engagement in courses teaching science and nature. Zengin, in his contextual evaluation of the textbooks of religion in Hamidian period, comments that reproduction of textbooks failed to catch the “needs” of the modern period due to the conservative attitude of the *Meşihat*.³⁹⁸

Teaching Islamic knowledge, which was realized to have been remolded through the means of the pedagogical perspective³⁹⁹ in the Hamidian period, tended to develop an approach communicating with modernity. Yet, the new theoretical explorations in modern pedagogy were not exercised on the content and form of textbooks. The use of the new scientific explorations in reproducing the religious knowledge was propounded in the textbooks as a reformist policy to communicate with the modern patterns of thoughts following the Constitutional Reform. The conflict between the modern school knowledge and the religious epistemology thus gained a visibility over the pages of the textbooks of religion taught in the modern school system. The main conflict was that the Islamic epistemology, which incorporated and supervised all other forms of knowledge, was diverted into a

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 97.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 106.

³⁹⁹ As discussed in the first chapter in Ziver Bey’s guide to teachers, he supported the idea of inter-relating the scientific truths to the Quran verses and hadith.

regulated and categorized subject as well as preserving an overall impact in the curriculum.⁴⁰⁰

Qualifying the Religious Education

Religious instruction in the modern schools was problematized for two reasons: one was the scientific “need” to define Islamic knowledge with respect to pedagogy, the other was the supposed “moral depression” (*ahlaki bunalım*) among the youth, who were noted as having lost their faith under the influence of materialism. Here the two reasons complemented each other in that it was believed that the pedagogical reformation of knowledge would resurrect Islam and thus combat the evils of materialism. Behind this was, on one hand, the challenge of religion through the reproduction and empowerment of Islamic knowledge against the modern science; on the other, the secularization of Islam under the impact of the modern science and its epistemological philosophy.⁴⁰¹ The writers of textbooks and Islamist intellectuals can be observed as having had one or both of the discourses during the Second Constitutional Period.

The reformist policy about the curriculum of Islamic subjects seemed to gain widespread support due to the “moral depression” supposed to dominate the youth in modern schools. The Unionist policy targeted the content of the religious education instead of increasing the proportion of the religious instruction in the curriculum. This renovation attempt has been neglected by studies on the policy of religious

⁴⁰⁰ Shiraz Tobani, “The Dilemma of Islam as School Knowledge in Muslim Education,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 27, no.1 (2007) p.12.

⁴⁰¹ İsmail Kara, *Din ile Modernleşme Arasında Çağdaş Türk Düşüncesinin Meseleleri* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2005)

education in the Unionist regulation.⁴⁰² The government generally is criticized having decreased the hours of religious instruction without an interpretation of the contextual analysis. The Union and Progress's operation in the content of religious instruction aimed both at the modern schools and the old established school system in the medrasas. While secularization of the state was occurring as the policy, the party's attempts to reform the medrasas and the religious education in the modern schools reinforced the Islamic epistemology within a new understanding of religion.⁴⁰³

A reform of the medrasas was no ways feasible without coming up against the Office of *Meşihat*, which institutionally supervised the medrasas and directed the religious policy. The medrasa and the modern schools were related in that the religious education in the modern schooling was carried out by medrasa graduates.⁴⁰⁴ Not only the religious courses, but also the courses on social sciences such as history and geography were taught by medrasa graduates who had passed in the proficiency exams. Thus a change in the policy of the religious teaching in the modern schools was indispensably part of the medrasas and ulema class on a larger scale. The propaganda about the matter of religion was led in two directions. On the one hand, the policy led by the Office of *Meşihat* until the Second Constitutional period was

⁴⁰² Hasan Sabri Çeliktas, "II.Meşrutiyet Sıbyan Mekteplerinde Din Öğretimi" (MA thesis, Uludağ University, 2006).

⁴⁰³ Whether medrasa reform was proposed for restoring Islam or for undermining it in order to strengthen secular Turkish nationalism is discussed in Sarıkaya's work. The author assumes all Unionists were secular nationalists. The policy of Islam is counted just as a trap for religion. He agrees with the linear modernization theory that ignores the ruptures and resistance created by the conservatives among the Unionists. Yaşar Sarıkaya, *Medreseler ve Modernleşme* (İstanbul: İz yayıncılık, 1997). For a counter argument on medrasa reform in the same period, see Zeki Salih Zengin, *II. Meşrutiyette Medreseler ve Din Eğitimi* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2002).

⁴⁰⁴ M. Zekeriya, "Zühti Terbiye," *Muallim* 2, no.17 (1333).

criticized on the grounds of the separatist trends among Muslims and the failure of religious epistemology across the scientific thought. The declaration of medrasa students in 1913, coinciding with Musa Kazım's period of chairmanship of the ulema, drew the outlines of the reasons for a reform in the medrasa programs.⁴⁰⁵ The declaration called for a reform in the medrasas giving that the political foundation of the constitutional regime made people clearly see it as a crucial policy.⁴⁰⁶

The Office of *Meşihat* was criticized for its policy of religion which was seen to be inefficient against nationalist demands. The periphery of the Empire, which stretched along the borders of the conquered lands, was believed to have been left without official religious instruction. To these critical ideas, the governments had accomplished its business by conquering new lands, but the Office of *Meşihat* had been unsuccessful and insufficient in setting up Islamic ties with these geographies throughout the history. The case of the Albanians was posed to be the most disconsolate example of the failure of religious policy. All of the Rumeli was seen as having converted to Christianity or to various nationalisms. The discontent of the Arabs also was presented as a result of the failure to establish strong ties between the center and the periphery. Anatolia, on the other hand, was no exception in terms of religious illumination: Hilmi Sabit wrote, "They know nothing about Islam. The schools are in a miserable situation, and the mosques are ruined... Religion survives in these lands only with customs, there is no such knowledge acquired through formal instruction."⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ Kazanlı Hilmi Sabit, *Islah-ı Medaris Münasebetiyle* (İstanbul: Sırat-ı Müstakim Matbaası, 1329).

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁰⁷ "Ahalinin dinden, İslamiyet'ten haberi pek az. Mektepler perişan, camiler harab... buralarda din görenek ile tevarüs tarikiyle gelmiş bir şey... yoksa talim ile esaslı bir tarzda bilinmiş malumat kabilinden değil." Ibid., p. 9.

A second criticism on the Office of *Meşihat* concerned its academic production. It was accused of being just as an office of state without contributing to the accumulation of Islamic knowledge. The Ottomans had not contributed to the flourishing of Islamic subjects due to the Office's neglect: "No prominent scholiast (*müfessir*) and scholar of Hadith (*muhaddis*) have been raised in our time"⁴⁰⁸ The education in the madrasas was bounded to the content and interpretation of some ancient books so that it was impossible to go further than the interpretation in those sources, if one attempts "to interpret more scrupulous and ulterior meaning:" "Thus reason, intellect, experience and necessity lost its importance."⁴⁰⁹ The failure in "trade, industry and agriculture," three points which were commonly used in the literature to make sense of the progress or backwardness, arose from the *Meşihat*'s inefficiency. The declaration drew the program of an ideal education in the medrasas as such: the first period would be given to Islamic courses, the second to the natural sciences to strengthen the acquired religious knowledge; the third year would be allocated to the social sciences to connect with life.⁴¹⁰

The worries about religious education became more evident in articles proposing an ideal education for the Empire. To exemplify, the Committee of National Instruction and Education declared one of its aims as saving the "poor youth who have lost virtue and honor in the streets of Istanbul" referring to the expansion

⁴⁰⁸ "*Bizde mümtaz bir müfessir, mümtaz bir muhaddis yetişemediği gibi, akıl ile fikir ile pek ziyade temasta bulunan usul-u fıkıh, fıkıh, kelam fenlerinde de ayrıca maşer balınıştan olan kimseler yetişmedi.*" Ibid., pp.11-14.

⁴⁰⁹ "...daha dakik, daha gizli manalar çıkarılmak istenilir, düşünülür... aklın, fıkırın, tecrübenin, ihtiyacın, ehemmiyeti kalmaz." Ibid., p.19.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., p.45.

of moral decay.⁴¹¹ It announced that the committee would organize congresses calling upon the educators and scholars of Anatolia and other regions for a debate on educational issues. The committee decided to prioritize the subject of moral and religious education upon its vitality. According to Ismail Hakkı, the trouble was that most of the young people had become atheist. However, since religion as an indispensable constituent of communities should be preserved, the objective of the congress was to find out a new approach to religion that could communicate with the “imperatives of the twentieth century.”⁴¹²

The pedagogical exploration of religious education made up one part of the discussion in the journals on education. Educators who dealt with the application of modern educational methods to the courses of social and natural sciences in the curriculum seemed not much interested in the reproduction of religious education as much as the other courses. For the abandonment of the religious education, some prominent university (Darulfünun) teachers called for new studies on teaching religion, which had a substantial significance in the elementary school curriculum especially. This reformist approach to the education of religion steered the way to new methodological suggestions in which religion was taken as a subject of study defined and categorized within the pedagogical context. The “pedagogical İslam”

⁴¹¹ “Cemiyetin bazı müesseseleri, İstanbul sokaklarında sürünen kız erkek çocukları izzet-i nefis ve namusunu satan kadın ve erkekleri görmüşlerdir.” İsmail Hakkı, “Müesseselerden İsmail Hakkı Beyin Nutku,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Mecmuası* (İstanbul: Matbaai Amire, Eylül 1332), p. 16. (The journal has this sub-title: “Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Tarafından Gayri Muvakkat Olarak Neşredilir. Müdürü Süleyman Paşazade Sami.”)

⁴¹² “*Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti, bu memlekette yirminci asrın icabatıyla telif edilebilir bir din ve imanin ehemmiyetini büyük görür.*” Ibid., p.18.

inevitably gave way to the “tailored⁴¹³” Islam and proposed a new Islam which was reformulated according to the needs of modern life in order to preserve the credibility of religion.

The Moral Depression and “Imperatives of the Twentieth Century”

Ideas which sought to combine the Islamic epistemology with modern philosophical insights appeared both in the works of the ulema and university professors. Milaslı İsmail Hakkı’s *Din-i İslam ve Ulum-u Fünun* (Islam and the Positive Sciences)⁴¹⁴ was one of the most influential books on the textbook writers. Ali Seydi revealed his influence in order to detail the merits of Islamic practices such as ablution. The Islamic prescription of lifestyles and preferences were compared with scientific truths and the religious knowledge was confirmed in the modern scale of ideas.⁴¹⁵

This reproduction of Islamic pedagogy in modern ways went in parallel with the works of university teachers. Mehmet Emin, teaching history and philosophy at Darulfünun, probed the question of religious education in his conference speech titled “Dini Terbiye, Dini Tedrisat”(Religious Education, Religious Instruction) and published in the *Journal of National Instruction and Education*.⁴¹⁶ His article

⁴¹³ The term is borrowed from Eleanor A. Doumato and Gregory Starrett, “Conclusion: Tailor-Made Islam,” *Teaching Islam: Textbooks and Religion in the Middle East*, eds. Eleanor A. Doumato and Gregory Starrett (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007).

⁴¹⁴ Milaslı İsmail Hakkı, *Din-i İslam ve Ulum-u Fünun* (Dersaadet, n.p.,1328).

⁴¹⁵ Ali Seydi, *Vezaif Nazariyesi Üzerine Mürettip Ahlak-ı Dini* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1329) (30 Teşrinievvel 1326), p.23.

⁴¹⁶ Mehmet Emin, “Dini Terbiye, Dini Tedrisat,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası* (Mart, 1334).

expresses well the silence on the role of religion. It is understood from his speech that proposing religion for the agenda of pedagogical exploration was daring and challenging since the general tendency was to maintain a silence about the role of religion. He considered religious education a “morbid” issue in that it was felt to be “incompatible” with modern life by more and more people each day, although this was not articulated or expressed openly. To him, this silence and reluctance to discuss the question of religion increased the severity of this social problem: “Religious education in schools is one of such subjects that has been able to become subject of a common argumentation so far although everyone rather has felt and realized it as unnatural.”⁴¹⁷

According to Mehmet Emin, this unnatural, incompatible situation had arisen from the “wrong” religious insight which was shared on a common ground among the school masters, teachers and students: “Due to the incorrect understanding of religion in our schools and some wrong methods practiced, a real depression has come into being.”⁴¹⁸ He said that families also were complaining about the ineffectiveness of the religious courses in the curriculums.⁴¹⁹ The contrast between religious and scientific knowledge had triggered the crisis and created an incongruity in the minds of the students. The moral crisis in the schools was especially sensed in the secondary education (idadi and sultani schools). One reason behind was that the students of primary school generally were taught by the same teacher and a harmony between the courses was possible to achieve. However, in the higher grades of

⁴¹⁷ “Herkesin az çok gayri tabiliğini hissettiği halde şimdiye kadar umumi bir münakaşaya mevzu olamayan meseleler içinde mekteplerdeki dini tedrisat ve terbiye de bulunur.” Ibid., p.12.

⁴¹⁸ “Mekteplerimizde dini terbiyeden yanlış mana anlaşılması, yanlış yollar ihtiyar edilmesi yüzünden mekteplerimizde, gençlik ruhunda hakiki buhran hasıl oluyor.” Ibid.,

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p.14.

schooling, the teachers varied according to the branches of school subjects. In this variation of knowledge, students were pushed into conflicting views of the world. Moreover, the secondary schools were financed by the state while the finance of the primary schooling was decentralized and left to the local authorities or indirectly to families. Thus creating a revival or reform against the established religious epistemology and methodology was more troublesome and less probable in primary schooling. In addition, the emergence of a critical attitude towards the content of curriculum was more possible considering the ages of the students in secondary schools.

Another point encouraging the crisis in religious education concerned the varying treatment of teachers by the state. Comparing the status of teachers, the students began to despise the teachers of religious courses. The students, exposed to such a conflict, chose the scientific point of view that they had acquired in the natural and social sciences courses. As a result, this double point of view deviated the purpose of education which was supposedly to direct all students in one direction.⁴²⁰ Depending on all these problems, he put forward that religious education was not as fruitful as it was expected to be, regarding the proportion it had in the curriculum. As a result, the religious subjects which had been increased in hours during the previous period effected the youth negatively instead of strengthening their belief and making them more pious.

The depression, described as a depression of religion or morality, was treated in three different ways by Mehmet Emin: Contending with the decreasing value of religion and shifting it with the secular and scientific mode of thought, replacing

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p.14.

religion with the “national ideal,” and reviving religion upon a national and modern ideal of society. The majority of educators can be characterized as having been conservative about the role of religion. Mehmet Emin, who was one of those developing the third attitude towards religion, opposed the devaluation of religion and thought it very harmful for the society. He disagreed with the secular nationalists in that the “national ideal” could not be thought of separately from religion. Behind this was his conviction that religion was of vital importance for the solidarity and survival of communities. Religion pacified the souls and strengthened the spiritual side of human beings.⁴²¹ For this reason, he passionately endorsed religious education.⁴²² Zekeriya’s diagnosis implied the same prescription, which a sort of “true” religion was incorporated to national and modern education, having complained that religious education did not hold as much importance as the history and language classes in schools.⁴²³

According to Emin, the goal of religious education must be to inculcate the belief in God to prepare the ground for other principles of Islam in the souls of children.⁴²⁴ Emin recommended faith be taught in such a way that students felt it. The practice and performance of Islamic faith took up a huge space in curriculums, whereas the faith was less emphasized. The unnecessary details of some religious commands, such as the details given to discriminate clean water from dirty, were not worth teaching or spending so much time on programs for they were out-of-date guidance: “While the teacher of religious education dealt with such unnecessary

⁴²¹ Ibid., p.17.

⁴²² Ibid., p.15.

⁴²³ M. Zekeriya, “Dini Terbiye ve Dini Tahsil,” *Muallim* 2, no. 16, 1333.

⁴²⁴ Mehmet Emin, “Dini Terbiye, Dini Tedrisat,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası* (Mart, 1334) p.18.

details, the mind of the child develops and he starts to reason and search for the scientific truth. His faith is demolished. And he begins to perceive all the things taught him by teachers as useless and futile.”⁴²⁵

The “true” religion taught faith as a personal issue, which meant that the practical side of the faith had to be felt by students in time: “Children should not feel forced into religious performance; the need for such performance, prayers should first be aroused in their souls. So many people hate religion because they were forced into its practice without preaching the faith in their souls.”⁴²⁶

Those issues that do not originate from the essence of Islam and the details which do not function to strengthen the faith, and the regulations (*ahkam*) which are not in agreement with the “imperatives of the century” ought not to be taught to the students.⁴²⁷

The sample lessons on teaching religious subjects in the *Journal of Primary School Instruction* (Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası) exhibits an example of a gradual introduction to the Islamic faith. In the sample class, the teacher had students reason over the necessity of a creator in the universe. After establishing the belief in God, the reason for thanking God, the role of prophets and the necessity for the Quran were presented in a logical and natural sequence of necessity. Asking questions and making students reflect on them were some common methods recommended: “If one

⁴²⁵ “Ulum-u diniye muallimi böyle fîruu tafsilatla vakit geçirirken yavaş yavaş çocuğun zihni inkişaf eder; ilim ve mantıkla düşünmeğe başlar. İmanı yıkılır. Ve bütün muallimin öğrettiği şeyleri beyhude addetmeye başlar.” Ibid., p.22.

⁴²⁶ “Dinin esasına taalluk etmeyen ve imanı takviyeye medar olmayan fîruu ve asrın ihtiyacına gayri muvafık ahkam talebeye telkin edilmemelidir.” Ibid., p.24.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., p.24.

proposes that human beings came to existence by coincidence, would you believe it?”⁴²⁸

Nazım İçsel’s textbook made use of this method of discovering the truths through asking questions. His book differed from the others in that it taught in dialogues instead of a plain narrative. The author used a dialogue between a little girl and her grandmother. It is the only book that addressed to a female audience although it was not written specifically for girls.

Q: My Daughter, who made this watch?

A: I don’t know.

Q: Does it come into being by itself?

A: No, of course. A man made it.

...

Q: My Daughter, could man build or create the sea, the moon and the sun that you see over there?

A: You said he can’t.

Q: No, no, find out yourself and tell me.⁴²⁹

Satı, being one of the educators pushing religious education into the pedagogical agenda, specially recommended at educators develop methods for teaching Islam since teaching Islamic subjects occupied more hours and constituted the basis of the primary school curriculum in the Second Constitutional Period. He considered the existing textbooks and teachers of education ineffective compared to

⁴²⁸ “Biri sana insanların kendiliğinden olduğunu söylese inanır mısın?” İhsan, “Bizi Yaradan,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 1, no.1 p. 7. For the whole text transcribed in Latin, see Appendix D.

⁴²⁹ “S: Kızım bu saati kim yapmış?

C: Bilmem.

S: Bu kendiliğinden mi olmuş?

C: Hayır, elbette. Onu yapan biri var.

...

S: Kızım, şu gördüğün denizi, ayı ve güneşi insan inşa edebilir mi, yaratabilir miydi?

C: Yapamaz dediniz.

S: Hayır hayır, kendin bul ve söyle cevabı. ” Nazım [İçsel], *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye, Birinci Kitap* (Devre-i Ula, Birinci Sınıf) (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekası: 1331) (*Son programa göre tertip edilip mekatib-i iptidaiye sınıflarında tedris edilmek üzere maarif nezaretince kabul edilen ulum-u diniye külliyyatının sultani sekizinci sınıflarına mahsus kısmıdır.*), p. 12-13.

the informal teachings in family and community. The pedagogical approach to Islam was also necessary in order to combat the settled understanding of religion, which was described as bigoted prevailing in the country and is discriminated from the essence of Islam.⁴³⁰ The ineffective teaching of Islam did not originate from the insufficiency of teachers; instead, a method that classified and limited Islamic knowledge was what was needed. He criticized teaching six-seven year old children the abstract definitions of “*farz, sünnet, vacib*”- (the levels of “must”s in worshipping) in Islamic teaching. Without taking into consideration the ages of children, the textbooks of *ilmihal* (The book explaining the principles of Islam to the public) were written for people from seven to seventy years old with the same form. These abstract definitions led children to memorization, which was the method dominating the education system. To Satı, the program in primary schools should be limited and leveled with these subjects: the oneness of God, the Prophet Mohammed’s life, and the belief in the Hereafter. The requisites of forms of worships, the detailed information about the religious performances ought to be disregarded in children’s texts. The existence of God should be inculcated through the things and the facts children were able to conceive. God should be taught through His work of art, nature.⁴³¹ Prayers had to be taught with its practice without rendering the details about how it was classified.

Prophet Mohammed’s life story was interpreted pedagogically in parallel to the modern life in the “*asr-ı hazır*” (twentieth century). Hüseyin Ragıp’s article noted the details of choice of subjects accordingly with the true Islam in teaching the

⁴³⁰ Satı, “İlmihal Nasıl Öğretilmelidir?” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası*- (Nazariyat ve Malumat Kısım) 1, no.7, p. 12.

⁴³¹ Ibid., p. 13.

Prophet Mohammed's life.⁴³² The Prophet's engagement with trade in his twenties was presented as proof of his being the father (*imam*) of the tradesmen in the present day. His application of quarantine and recommendations for the public health were considered as proof of his being "the first doctor and educator" because of his teachings.⁴³³

Prophet Mohammed is the best model for the ideal man who relies only on himself. It is contrasting and opposing that a group of people who do not comprehend the truths in the aims and actions of the Prophet Mohammed neglect the world life and count it as a suffering and complain about the world believing that it must be hated, construct the Hereafter by abandoning the world, prefers to prepare the road of Hereafter to improving the Bab-ı Ali Street... It is not surprising to see that such a man who humiliates the material side of the world due to a baseless mindset will despise the life of his family and the social community to which he belongs.⁴³⁴

The parallel points between the modern pedagogy and the Prophet Mohammed's sayings were also given to the regard of the readers such as the principles from simple to complex gradually, teaching calmly without rage or intimidation.⁴³⁵

The subject matter, method and purpose of religious instruction were debated in the years following the 1908 revolution. The educational journals brought the issue of religious education into question and developed a new point of view that

⁴³² Hüseyin Ragıp, "Hz. Muhammed, Mürebbi," *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 4, no.22.

⁴³³ Ibid., p.114.

⁴³⁴ "Hazreti Muhammed, insanın mededi kendisinden umması lazım geleceğine bizzat en büyük bir misal idi. Hazreti Muhammed'in emel ve hareketlerindeki hakikatlere vakıf olmayan bir zümrenin bu devirde hala dünya hayatını ihmal etmeleri, dünyayı, cefa addederek ve 'dünya' dan müşteki olduğunu söyleyerek ondan nefret etmek lüzum geleceği itikadını beslemeleri ve hayat-ı dünyayı bırakıp hayat-ı ahireti imar etmek, Babıali caddesini tanzim etmektense ahiret yolunu hazırlamak icab edeceği mütalaasında bulunmaları ne kadar yanlış ve bizzat Peygamberimizin niyet ve ameline ne kadar zıd ve muhalıdır... Batıl bir zihniyetle yeryüzündeki maddi hayatını istihkar eden adamın evvela hayat-ı ailesini sonra bağlı olduğu içtimai heyetin hayat ve varlığını da hakir göreceği pek tabii bir keyfiyet olmaz mı?" Ibid., p.118-119.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., p.115-116.

categorized religious instruction in pedagogical terms. The aim of the instruction, the methods and subject matters which were to be taught according to the biological and mental development of children were redefined in the period.

It is really difficult to differentiate the treatment of religion in the 1910s and 1920s. What could be clarified easily is that the texts teaching religion remained unchanged until 1927, when the religious courses were removed from the curriculum in cities. What characterizes the post-1922 books is an increasing emphasis on “the national need” (*ihhtiyac-ı milli*) point of view in addition to the “imperatives of the present century” (*asr-ı hazırın icabı*). For example, the emphasis on language gained strength with the search for a proper Turkish accent by teaching from the simple to complex.⁴³⁶

A second difference lay in the education philosophy of the two periods. The Republican years witnessed the use of religion for the secular establishment of the state and society rather than attempts at developing ways to revive and “rescue” religion.⁴³⁷ The policy of religious education in the period of the Unionists can be differentiated from the Republican period which fixed the curriculum in 1927, in its search for strengthening belief and overcoming the moral degeneration with more piousness in the scope of the prescribed true religion.

The debate in educational philosophy actually was a reflection of the macro battle between religion and science in the minds of the Turkish intellectuals. The battle was understood as part of the epistemological transformation in Europe and

⁴³⁶ Mehmed Halid, *Kur'an Muallimi* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1341) (*Darülmualimin ve darülmuallimatlar ile mekatib-i sultaniye ve iptidaiyede tecvid talimi için kabul edilmiştir.*), p. 3.

⁴³⁷ Ozlem Altan, “Turkey: Sanctifying a Secular State,” eds. Eleanor Abdella Doumato, Gregory Starrett in *Teaching Islam: Textbooks and Religion in the Middle East* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007); Hasan Şen, “Din ve İktidar: Ortaöğretim Ders Kitaplarında Yaşam Dünyası” (MA, Thesis, Ege Üniversitesi, 2002)

America from the translations and quotations of the Ottoman intellectuals in the 1920s. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı's translation of an article titled "*Do Scientists Become Pious?*" aims to show the return to religion in the developed countries: "This precious and exalted article aimed to show that some principal English speaking scientists believe in God."⁴³⁸ The article, in short, described how religion complemented science without contradicting it. Questions such as "Can an educated man become pious?" and "Is there a place for religions in a scientific world?" gathered in the conclusion that "Religion needs science to reach its goals. Science needs religion for moral (correct) usage of its inventions and discoveries."⁴³⁹

As discussed in the first chapter, science and Christianity co-existed in the works of the Jesuits, the followers of the Thomists, who were categorized as religious realists in Chapter One. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı believed that "true" religion which had been purified from "superstitious beliefs" were regenerated after its stagnation in the West. It is possible to find the same attitude in different textbook authors in the Constitutional years. Mehmed Asım and Ahmed Cevad offered to examine the question of religion through the scientific view in their textbook titled "*Anadolu Yavrusunun Kitabı- Malumat-ı Diniye*" (The book of Anatolian Child-Knowledge of Religion) and they added: "İslam is the most proper religion for the civilization."⁴⁴⁰ After recounting the harmony between the two, they wrote that the

⁴³⁸ "Kıymetli ve ali eser lisanı İngilizce olan belli başlı mütefenninlerin Allah'a inandıklarını göstermeği emel edinmiştir." Mr. Vurman, *Mütefenninler Dindar Olabilir mi ?* trans. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, (İstanbul: n.p., 1928)

⁴³⁹ "Tahsil ve terbiye görmüş bir insan dindar olabilir mi? ... Tamamen fen olan bir alemde dine ihtiyaç var mıdır? ... Din gayelerine erişmek için en iyi vesaiti öğrenmesi itibariyle fenne muhtaçtır. Fen de keşfettiği hakikatlerin insanlar tarafından doğru bir tarzda istimal edilmesi için dine muhtaçtır." Ibid., p. 22.

⁴⁴⁰ "İslam medeniyete en muvafık dindir." Mehmed Asım, Ahmet Cevad, *Anadolu Yavrusunun Kitabı: Malumat-ı Diniye* (Mekاتب-i İptidai, Altıncı Sınıf) (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1338), p. 4.

rise of Islam, which was foreseen by some European intellectuals, would falsify the cause and effect relation between the rise of education and the demise of religions.⁴⁴¹

Ahmed Aksekili, another textbook writer, pointed out the “revival” of religion in Europe as were the case in the above-mentioned authors’ points. First he stated that the trend of atheism had ended in Europe. Second, he thought, like the Tanzimat intellectual Namık Kemal, that Islam and Christianity should not be put in the same pot: “After so many sorrowful experiences, the European thinkers have understood that surviving without a religion is impossible... They say that faith is necessary for humanity.”⁴⁴² The discourse borrowed from the foreign countries, which was what Europeans said and did about their religion was seemingly given to the notice of the Republican reformers proceeding the secular reforms.

To Aksekili, Islam was compatible with what the modern world of man was obliged to do and have: “How should the natural religion be? There is no doubt such a religion combines the material and spiritual demands justly fastening the weapon of one to the other.”⁴⁴³ Islam was presented as a religion balancing the two worlds. To him, the justification of Islam, differently from Christianity, lay in its adaptability with the “imperatives of the time”(asrın icabatı) which were of vital importance. Satisfying the needs of ummah and the nature of “humanity” in the

⁴⁴¹ Ibid. p.4

⁴⁴² “Birçok acı tecrübelerden sonra Avrupa mütefekkirleri anladı ki beşeriyet için dinsiz yaşamak mümkün değildir ...Diyorlar ki beşeriyet için bir din lazımdır.” Ahmet Hamdi Aksekili, *İslam Dini Fitridir* (İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1341), p. 3, (Maarif Nezareti Telif ve Tercüme Encümenince mazhar-ı takdir olmuştur).

⁴⁴³ Ibid., p.3.

⁴⁴⁴ “Acaba mütefekkirin, beşeriyetin rücuu etmek istedikleri ‘dini tabii, dini fitri’ nedir? Bu nasıl bir din olabilir? Şüphe yok ki bu din matlubu cismaniye ile matlubu ruhaniye beynini adilane bir surette tefkik eden, birinin silahını diğerine rabt eyleyen bir din olacaktır. Ahmet Hamdi Aksekili, *İslam Dini Fitridir* (İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1341), p. 3, (Maarif Nezareti Telif ve Tercüme Encümenince mazharı takdir olmuştur).

twentieth century was what makes Islam legitimized universally.⁴⁴⁴ Thus an acceptable religion or ideal Islam was justified upon its relation and value to the material world.

His conception of the state in religious patterns of thought reveals that the reformist approach here was not necessarily an invitation for the secular worldview, though the legitimization of Islam with its profane value made one think that the author supported a sort of secularization. He criticized the conception of the state in the secular world view openly in 1927. It is clear that he did not agree with the space allocated for religion in the secularized state systems. What he proposed aimed to strengthen Islam by directing it for the betterment of worldly affairs. This could be seen as the process of the making of a profane worldview inside the belief system. Thus what he called “natural religion” both stood against the process of secularization and became a part of it.

The parallelism between the effort of Aksekili to reconcile religion with this world and the modern discourse manifest in textbooks shows the prolongation of the Second Constitutional period until the late 1920s. This parallelism is also observed to be in public sermons other than the textbooks. The defense of religion in this way is observed to have continued its impact in Republican Turkey. The high school textbook written by İsmail Hakkı perpetuates the utilitarianist approach to the Islamic school knowledge.⁴⁴⁵ The forms of worships, such as fasting, pilgrimage and alms-giving were related from the same perspective in terms of their use, but especially for social life rather than emphasizing the personal gains as was proposed in the texts of the Constitutional years. The author emphasized the sociological use

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p.3.

⁴⁴⁵ İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, *Din Dersleri* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1927).

of Islam. For example, people returned from pilgrimage with an understanding of life regarding trade, agriculture and arts. They brought a lot of new useful experiences to the homeland.⁴⁴⁶ Alms-giving helped to secure society with social help to needy people. Evils such as theft and robbing and killing could be eradicated, the soul and property were given guarantee.⁴⁴⁷ The scope of religious education, which was considered as the quintessence of the philosophy, reveals that the Unionist government opted for Islamic trajectory rather than the vulgar materialism of some liberal Unionists such as Abdullah Cevdet for whom “modernity entailed the birth of a society devoid of all unscientific characteristics.”⁴⁴⁸ The adaptation of a more secular discourse was not yet adapted after the curriculum change in 1926, the year that the reformers in the Republican Period altered the education policy completely.⁴⁴⁹ The disagreements between the modern science and religion seem to remain latent until the end of the 1920s in the Republican period.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., p.94.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.115-116.

⁴⁴⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, “Blueprints for a Future Society: Late Ottoman Materialists on Science, Religion and Art,” in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London: New York: Routledge: Curzon, 2005: 28-116) p. 89.

⁴⁴⁹ One of the most explicit change of content is observed in Muallim Abdülbaki’s and Hilmi’s textbooks published in 1927. Muallim Abdülbaki’s textbooks published in 1927 exemplifies the turn in textbooks towards a national-religion agenda. Islam is diverted into the national religion. These titles from his books of various grades depict the change very well: “The Religion of Present Turks, not Interfering Other’s Beliefs, Islam Forbids Asceticism, Religious Hypocrisy and Deceitfulness, Turks are the Strongest among Muslim Nations, Every Nation Addresses to God in Its Own Language, Reason is Superior to Anything in Islam.” İbrahim Hilmi, *Türk Çocuğunun Din Kitabı* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1928) (*Sade bir tarzda İslam dinini öğretir. Maarif Vekaleti Milli Talim ve Terbiye dairesinin 15 Eylül 1927 tarihli 154 numaralı kararıyla ilk mekteplerin dördüncü sınıfına kabul edilmiştir.*); Muallim Abdülbaki, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğunun Din Dersleri* ([İstanbul]: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1928-1929) (*Maarif Vekaleti Milli Talim ve Terbiye Dairesinin 23 –VI-1928 tarihli ve 88 numaralı kararıyla ilk mekteplerin dördüncü ve köy mekteplerinin üçüncü sınıfları için kabul edilmiştir.*)

The Articulation of the Moral Depression: Reports from the Provinces

The mail traffic between the ministry and the directors of schools in provinces show that the worry of reforming the religious knowledge and education occupied the Ministry of Education. The archives of the Ministry reveal that religious instruction was treated specifically. In the documents the Ministry tried to evaluate the quality of the religious instruction from the first grade to the twelfth grades, which covered elementary, secondary and high school levels. The questions suggested to the schools in Istanbul and the provinces were as follows:

1. What do you think about the subjects of the course? Is the number of classes enough? Is the proportion of the hours to each grade proper?
2. Are the subjects for each grade appropriate for the age and level of students? If not, how could they be altered and which subjects should be taught?
3. Which methods did you use in each grade to teach this course? What kind of difficulties have you encountered? What is your expectation about the success of students?
4. Which books have you used this year? What is your opinion about these sources?⁴⁵⁰

The questions are asked to estimate the congruence of the subjects in religion courses regarding the levels of students and the methods used. Moreover, the existing textbooks are evaluated accordingly with the experiences of teachers. It is understood

⁴⁵⁰ “1-Mevad-ı dersiye hakkında suret-i umumiyyede mütalaanız nedir? Saat-i tedrisiye kafi mi?

Saatlerin sınıflara tevzii münasip midir?

2- Her sınıfta okutulan mebahis talebenin senesine ve seviye-i umumiye-i ilmiyesine muvafık mıdır?

Değilse nasıl tadil edilmeli ve hangi bahisler okutulmalıdır?

3- Her sınıfta bu dersi ne usul üzere okuttunuz? Ne gibi müşkülata tesadüf ettiniz? Tedrisinizden nasıl bir semere iktidaf ediyorsunuz?

4-Bu sene hangi kitaptan ders okuttunuz? O kitap hakkında mütalaanız nedir?”

that the ministry aimed to direct religious teaching by including the views of school teachers of Religious Knowledge (*Malumat-ı Diniye*) course.

The answers of these teachers from almost all provinces are available in the Ottoman archives. These reports about religious education can illuminate the quality of education in three respects: The methods, the selection of subjects in religious education, and the evaluation of textbooks as materials of the course.

The methods reported by the teachers generally consist of asking questions and making students answer, summarization of the subject by the teacher, introducing the subject in the beginning of the class, making students tell their own experience of learning. Some teachers emphasized that they taught some practices such as ablution by dramatization. It is understood that teachers did not have different views how to develop new methods. All of the teachers repeated the same sequence, that they introduced the subject orally, and then they directed students to the textbook, each student read a part, and questions were asked to check their understanding.

The evaluation of textbooks by teachers demonstrates that the central regulation of unifying the school knowledge was not effectively executed due to several reasons. First, some teachers noted that they used no written text in the first grades of elementary school. The reason for this was shown as the lack of textbooks properly prepared and written in clear Turkish for this level. A teacher from Yozgat Sultani School regretfully stated that “the shortage of textbook has ruined education.”⁴⁵¹ The reports revealed that the distribution of textbooks to the rural areas was not successfully carried out.⁴⁵² The teachers who could not acquire any

⁴⁵¹ “...kitapsızlık bizi perişan etti” BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/32; BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/37.

⁴⁵² BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/44.

textbooks stated that they used their own compilation of notes, which they could give to be checked by the ministry.⁴⁵³ Those teachers who followed a certain textbook used Halim Sabit Efendi's and Hafız Nuri's textbooks which seemed to be the most widespread obtainable sources in the periphery. At the secondary school level, the most referred to textbook was Hacı Zihni Efendi's. Yet, it was generally criticized for being above the level of the students, not being written as a textbook, using a complex language, covering the subject without filtrating according to the levels of the school students.

Textbooks were discarded by teachers not only because of the distribution problems, but also due to quality. It is also discerned that some teachers did not follow a textbook since the existing textbooks did not cover the subjects in the program. Moreover, even if the subjects were covered, teachers complained that the substantial textbooks did not comprise a sophisticated point of view that had an analytical discourse comprising both Islamic and scientific knowledge, which were popularly and unproblematically reconciled in the period.⁴⁵⁴

Another remarkable demand among the answers of the teachers involved adding subjects about religious sects (*mezhep*).⁴⁵⁵ A teacher from Aleppo stated that the textbooks of religion were insufficient enough for his Arab students, and for this reason he had given up following a book. Instead, he noted that he focused on reasoning alongside pursuing the knowledge memorized from the books.⁴⁵⁶ Ahmed Hamdi from Bitlis articulated the problem arising from the state policy of orthodox

⁴⁵³ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/6 (25 Şubat 1329).

⁴⁵⁴ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/6, (25 Şubat 1329); BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/16; BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/17.

⁴⁵⁵ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/27.

⁴⁵⁶ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/29.

(*Sunni*) Islam in teaching religion.⁴⁵⁷ He stated that a textbook considering the *Şafii* sect of Islam would encourage people more to demand formal religious education in schools. He proposed that textbooks should be written in two columns that gave information about the *Şafii* sect side by side the orthodox Islam. What is more, he noted that the success of students was low due to the trouble regarding the religious sects although he personally tried to cover the lack of information about the *Şafii* sect. Ahmet Hamdi did not neglect to add a note at the bottom that he was a *Sunni* Muslim. He mentioned two textbooks by Hafız Nuri and Ahmet Ziyaeddin, both of which will be analyzed contextually below.⁴⁵⁸ A third textbook is understood to have been a locally published book. This shows that the uniformity in regulating textbooks and a central control still had not been accomplished by the state.

Religious education in the eastern regions of the country also was discussed in the parliament. The session in which the discussion over the budget of education was held displays the worries about religious education which was thought to be ignored by the government.⁴⁵⁹ The Ministry of Education was called to pay more attention to religious education in general and to send teachers who were well trained on religious subjects to Kurdistan.⁴⁶⁰

There was a consensus among teachers on the addition of “jihad” as a religious subject to the elementary textbooks.⁴⁶¹ Other subjects recommended to be

⁴⁵⁷ BOA, MF.TTD 63/16/13.

⁴⁵⁸ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/18 (17 Mart 1330).

⁴⁵⁹ Şükrü Bey, “Umumi Bütçe, Meclis-i Mebusan, Maarif,” *Tedrisat Mecmuası* (Ameliyat ve Tatbikat Kısmı) 4, no. 27 (18 Haziran 1916), p. 108.

⁴⁶⁰ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/18 (17 Mart 1330).

⁴⁶¹ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/45; BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/48.

added to the program were the issues of debt, poverty and sanitation. The subjects to be removed from the program were the tiresome and detailed regulations about weddings and the regulations of religious performances led by imams.⁴⁶²

Generally, the teachers gave detailed comments on the school subjects such as hadith (*hadis*), commentary (*tefsir*) and Islamic philosophy (*kelam*). These subjects were taught in the upper grades of secondary schools. Since the elementary books were written by filtrating from these subjects, the comments laid out in these documents are informative on the general situation of religious education. A common point in all answers touched upon enriching the religious subjects with modern knowledge accumulated in the areas of sociology, economics, politics, morality and natural sciences. El- Hac Tevfik, a teacher of *Ulum-u Diniye* (religious sciences) in Mamüratilaziz (Elazığ) Mekteb-i Sultani proposed to teach religious courses such as hadith (*hadis*), the study of Prophet Muhammed's life (*siyer*) and commentary (*tefsir*) within comparisons to morality, economics, civilization and politics in order to explore the truths of religion and prove its credibility.⁴⁶³ He emphasized that the reason behind Islamic regulations and their benefits to "the world," life also should be revealed with an emphasis on social and personal gains. He thought especially, it would be useful to teach a *Kelam* course (Islamic Philosophy) in comparison with modern and ancient philosophy. The challenge of religious knowledge over the modern epistemology emerged as one of the clear objectives in proving Islam's superiority and credibility still after centuries. Another concern was to extinguish the moral depression, the doubts and hesitation about

⁴⁶² BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/47; BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/57.

⁴⁶³ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/6 (25 Şubat 1329).

religious beliefs and practices, by maintaining a method that allowed students to question religious beliefs openly and deeply.⁴⁶⁴

A teacher from the Sultani School in Üsküdar mentioned a parallel idea in that the best aim should be to provide to students that the principal regulations, orders and obligations in Islam did not contradict the positive sciences (*fünun-u müspete*). Thus for him, the religious knowledge should be based on positive and scientific grounds. He regretted that the leading textbooks lacked such a point of view.⁴⁶⁵ A teacher from the Sultani Mektep in Trabzon explained that he made students reflect on the benefits of Islam regarding this world as well as the Hereafter.⁴⁶⁶

A reporter from Edirne commented on the purpose of the new program. The first period of Sultani, which corresponded to the primary school, focused on the teaching of forms of worships (*ibadat*), while the second period (secondary school) taught the articles of belief (*akide*).⁴⁶⁷ To the reporter, the program did not yield good results because the teaching of religious beliefs especially in the upper grades did not satisfy students who were entangled with the modern science in methodical, experimental and theoretical ways. The subjects of religion were taught but they could not be proven efficiently by the teachers of religion depending on their insufficiency in the positive sciences.⁴⁶⁸ To obtain good results from religious

⁴⁶⁴ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/6 (25 Şubat 1329).

⁴⁶⁵ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/16.

⁴⁶⁶ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/17.

⁴⁶⁷ The translation of the terms are borrowed from Susan L. Douglass and Munir A. Shaikh, "Defining Islamic Education: Differentiation and Applications," *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 7, no.1 (Teachers College Columbia University: 2004).

⁴⁶⁸ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/56-57 (20 Sefer 1328 : 18 Şubat 1325).

education the subjects of beliefs in Islam needed to be inculcated before the students were exposed to the natural sciences. Only in that way could the belief of the students survive and resist the positivist worldview instilled intensely at secondary school.⁴⁶⁹

A teacher from Yozgat also articulated that he had taken into consideration the material gains of all of the orders of Islam. He wanted to extract the worldly side of religion, which he considered contributed to social and personal problems.⁴⁷⁰ As a result, one of the main goals in the program must be the demonstration of proofs that Islam was not a hindrance to progress according to the teachers of religion in the Empire.

The comments of the teachers mostly concentrated on some serious debates especially within the evaluation of the higher grades. While the teachers of the lower grades mainly stated overall comments about the hours, methods and subjects, the teachers of higher grades went further than commenting and criticized the program and policies. Mehmet Tevfik, at the Kabataş Sultani School, teaching students from the eighth to twelfth grades, criticized the exaltation of scientific knowledge while religion was discredited. Believing that not Islam but some *hurafat* (superstitious beliefs) in the disguise of religion were the cause of backwardness, he defended Islam, which was the only protection against the “degeneration” of secularization in the pious societies.⁴⁷¹ He agreed with the common conviction which emphasized Islam’s universality, the harmony drawn between the orders of Islam and the modern sciences. He advised for example, to write about the *taharat* (cleaning) issue by

⁴⁶⁹ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/58-60 (20 Sefer 1328 : 18 Şubat 1325).

⁴⁷⁰ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/44.

⁴⁷¹ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/34.

presenting the worldly gains with respect to the natural and social sciences in the textbooks.⁴⁷²

A teacher of the Istanbul Sultani School, Mesud, said he found the new program of *Kelam* course constructive to strengthen Islamic knowledge of *Kelam* so as to “combat against and triumph over the present materialist and naturalist philosophy,” which led the youth to degeneration.⁴⁷³ However, he warned that the present program of *Kelam* course left teachers in enormous hardships since the commission which had been established to form a book had not produced a work. He proposed the foundation of a new commission, consisting of Ahmet Naim, Ismail Hakkı, Abdüllatif Efendi from the university and some teachers in the Sultani schools for the goal of making up a new *Kelam* textbook.⁴⁷⁴

The textbook selection of the Writing and Translation Office concluded its report on the written samples in 1330: “...since there was no work meeting the necessary conditions among the submitted textbooks, they were not worthy of approval; however, until a work appropriate to (our) demands is compiled, ...the books of Erşed and Ahmet Ziyaettin are counted favorable because they are better ordered and well-written comparatively.”⁴⁷⁵ It is evident that the commission was not satisfied with the existing textbooks. It would be great to know on what pretexts some books were returned; however, the archive renders very limited knowledge on

⁴⁷² BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/35.

⁴⁷³ “...bugünkü felsefe, maddiyyun, tabiiyyun ve saire ile pençeleyecek ve temin-i galebe edecek bir hale getirmek...” BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/39.

⁴⁷⁴ BOA, MF.TTD, 63/16/39.

⁴⁷⁵ “...ulum-u diniye kitapları arasında şerait-i lazıme-yi haiz bir eser mevcud olmadığından şayan-ı kabul olmadıkları ve ancak matluba muvafık bir kitap telif edilinceye kadar talebeyi istifadede mahrum etmemek üzere mevcud asara nispeten takım teşkil edilmiş, iyi yazılmış olmak itibariyle Erşed ve Ahmet Ziyaüddin Efendilerin kitaplarının mekatibin Muvazzah Malumatı Diniye, ve Ameli İlmiyal namındaki mezkureye kabülü münasip görülmüştür.” BOA, MF.MKB, 210/56/1 (1333, M, 27).

this question. What is clear is that most of the textbooks lost the chance of publication due to physical conditions such as the complexities of organization of the subjects and titles inside the book, incomprehensive language use, lack of illustrative figures, and pictures.

It is important to see in what discourses the religious instruction, which turned into a Constitutional right in 1908, were reproduced within the scientific modes of thought and practices in daily life. The knowledge of this world (the secular or scientific point of view) and the other world (the religious indoctrination) came into conflict through the lines of the primary school textbooks. The clashes and reconciliation of the two world views and epistemologies will be discussed below through the multitude of primary school textbooks written by different authors for different levels. Twenty-nine school textbooks written between 1908 and 1928 for the course of *Malumat-ı Diniye* are examined with a contextual analysis to characterize the state policy on teaching Islam. The textbooks conflict with the classical texts of Hamidian period which explain religious obligations through merits and sins in the religious system; in what follows how textbooks following the Constitutional reform developed a modern discourse which reinterpreted and formulated the religious duties so that a scientific verification of religious knowledge was reached will be discussed.

Putting Religious Practices in Modern Forms

The official name of the course according to the curriculum text of 1913 was Knowledge of Religion, but the textbooks do not have a uniform title. Some common

titles of textbooks are “Religious Knowledge for Children, Comprehensible (*Muvazzah*) Religious Knowledge,” “Practical (*Ameli*) Religious Knowledge” and “Scientific Religious Knowledge for Students.” These titles transform into “The Religion Book of the Turkish Child” and “The Religion Book of the Republican Child” in the last years of the 1920s. Compared to the other social science textbooks, religious instruction seems to have had no physical attractiveness. Pictures, photos or illustrations were used rarely. The only textbook that included multitude of pictures was Asım and Cevad’s “The Religion Book of the Anatolian Youngsters” in which seventeen pictures were used in thirty-two pages.⁴⁷⁶ In terms of page and paragraph order, most books lack a favorable appearance. One of the authors articulated his regrets about the quality of textbooks as such:

When I started to print the textbooks, I had to read and go over the books, of course. The situation was so deplorable that I wanted to cry. Thousands of books were printed but each was a copy of the other. Then I pitied this nation. I understood why education cannot progress and the sons of the country remain ignorant.⁴⁷⁷

In terms of the narratives in the textbooks, the explication of the subjects was provided with simple and concrete examples. In parallel, the cover pages of the books emphasized their best quality as simplicity and clarity, which made the knowledge of religion compatible with the perception of children by language. The

⁴⁷⁶ Mehmed Asım and Ahmed Cevad, *Anadolu Yavrusunun Din Kitabı* (Devre-i Ula Birinci Sene) (İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1332).

⁴⁷⁷ “Mektep kitapları tabına başlar başlamaz tabi bu yolda yazılmış bütünü asarı okumak ve tetkik eylemek icab etti. Bu asar-ı matbuayı okudukça ağlayacağım geldi. Binlerce kitap tab edildiği halde dokuz yüz doksan yedisi birbirinin kopyası... O vakit bu millete acıdım, maarifin niçin terakki etmediğini evlad-ı vatanın niçin cahil kaldığını anladım.” Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Müslüman Çocuğun Yeni İlmihali* (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1326) (*Küçük çocuklara akaidi talim eder. Tertibi güzel, yazılışı sadedir.*)

language of some books was found “even difficult for a secondary school student to understand the meanings in a primary school textbook.”⁴⁷⁸

As for the contents of these books, they followed the same circle, starting with meaning of *shahada*.⁴⁷⁹ It was followed by the explanation of the obligatory duties such as ablution (*abdest*), prayers (*namaz*), fasting (*oruç*), alms-giving (*zekat*) and pilgrimage (*hac*) in the program. These subjects went parallel to the teaching of reading the Quran at the elementary level. The curriculum defined the titles of the subjects, yet it did not go in detail in which perspective the content would be situated. This left the pedagogical limitation of the subjects to the teachers. For example, a notification states that the compulsory (*farz*) duties of ablution or prayers would be taught only as much as the children are able to understand. On the other hand, there was another reminder to teachers that the forms of such acts as worships, prayers, ablution, and fasting should be taught with proper examples from the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Another warning described how the subjects of religion would be adapted to female students, for in Islam the forms of worships required rules different from those of for boys and girls. Thus the program drew a teaching of Islam on the basic practices and beliefs. The five obligatory duties of Islamic practice, which are shahada, prayer, fasting, alms-giving and pilgrimage, and the essentials of Islamic belief, which are the belief in the oneness of God, the belief in the Prophets and holy books, Angels, the Hereafter and Destiny were taught. It is understood that the pillars of Islam and Islamic belief made up the main agenda in primary schooling.

⁴⁷⁸ “*Mekatib-i iptidaiye programlarında mevcut ilmihallerin manasını idadi talebesi bile anlamakta müşkülât çeker.*” Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Müslüman Çocuğun Yeni İlmihali*, (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1326) (*Küçük çocuklara akaidi talim eder. Tertibi güzel, yazılışı sadedir.*)

⁴⁷⁹ Shahada is declaring that one witness there is no other God but Allah; and Muhammed is the subject and prophet of Allah.

The real effect the Constitutional regime created is observed in the discourse of the textbooks. The increase in the number and authorship of religion textbooks indicates the quest for new textbooks compared to the limited variety of books in the previous periods. Actually the books in the previous periods had not been different in the subjects covered, yet the textbooks of the Second Constitutional Period brought up a new methodological and philosophical perspective. The new knowledge was based on methodological reason. The Islamic belief and practices were explained with the help of reasoning instead of memorization. Thus the new knowledge was conveyed in a sequence of logic. The philosophical insight of the textbooks brought up and pushed the worry of “the world” in contrary to the worries of Heaven and Hell in the Hereafter.⁴⁸⁰

What is interesting here is that the curriculum of the religion course does not have any explicit encouragement for teachers for explaining the Islamic belief and practices with reasoning.⁴⁸¹ Instead, teachers were cautioned to find examples from religious texts, such as the practices and life of the Prophet. However, the new trend appeared within the textbooks tackled the question of adapting religion to the material world more than the Hereafter. On the subject of “believing in the Hereafter” even, they were told to repeat warnings of “yes, this world is temporary and not eternal for any human being. Yet every man has to work with his honor as if he is going to live forever. It is a sin committed against God and one’s soul to sit and

⁴⁸⁰ The existence of God, the creation of Adam, the prophets in order, necessities of Islamic belief, the concepts of *farz*, *sünnet*, *mekruh* and *mübah* in worshipping. The subjects are not held with questions or reasoning. n.a., *Zükür Rüşdiye Mekatibine Mahsus Birinci Ilmihal* (n.p., 1318)

⁴⁸¹ *Mekatib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1329)

not work and lead a life of pleasure and joy since the world is not eternal... Our ancestors say a life of eight days require a livelihood of nine days.”⁴⁸²

Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye, written by Hafız Nuri,⁴⁸³ a teacher in a rushdiye school in Beşiktaş, described the religion of this world clearly. Meant for the first grades of primary school in 1916, it revealed the true Islam which regulated life in this world. Hence, religion’s intervention in the world affairs was underlined:

The Quran commands not lying, obeying one’s parents, helping the poor, being patriotic, being educated, and being raised as a true man. There are also all bad actions, such as to betray, to escape from military service, to be ignorant, to disobey the parents, not performing prayers, and not fasting.⁴⁸⁴

The selection and composition of orders indicates the effort to bring the worldly side of religion to the attention. The Quran was presented as a guide responding to the social and economic ills of the society. The precepts of the religion quoted above indicated Islam’s contribution or direct influence with its solutions against disorder. These precepts made up what religion consisted of and what were to be demanded by either family or the state. The relevance of these moral attitudes,

⁴⁸² “İşte bu dünya muvakkattir ve insan hiç bir vakit baki değildir. Fakat her insan ebediyen yaşayacakmış gibi çalışmağa namuskarane yaşamağa mecburdur. Dünya baki değilmiş diye yan gelip oturmak zevk- ü sefa sürmek hem nefesine hem Allah’a karşı günahdır... Atalarımız sekiz günlük ömre dokuz günlük nafaka lazımdır derler.” Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Müslüman Çocuğun Yeni İlmihali* (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1326) (*Küçük çocuklara akaidi talim eder. Tertibi güzel, yazılışı sadedir.*) p. 11.

⁴⁸³ Hafız Nuri, *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye* (Devre-i Ula, Birinci Sene) (Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1332) (*Hissiyat-ı masumane ile pak ve münevver olan evlad-ı muhdimin efkâr-ı İslamiyelerini tenvir ve takviyeye, meleke ve mümareselerini tesrie ve teshile medar olacak vazifelerini dahi tertip olunmuştur.*)

⁴⁸⁴ “Kuran’ı Kerim’de yalan söylememek, babaya anaya hocaya itaat etmek, fakirlere para vermek, vatanını sevmek, okumak yazmak, adam olmak gibi ne kadar iyi şeyler varsa hepsi yazılıdır. Sonra vatana hıyanet etmek, askerden kaçmak, cahil kalmak, ananın babanın sözünü dinlememek, namaz kılmamak, oruç tutmamak gibi ne kadar fena şeyler varsa hepsi yine yazılıdır.” Hafız Nuri, *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye* (Devre-i Ula, Birinci Sene) (Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1332) (*Hissiyat-ı masumane ile pak ve münevver olan evlad-ı muhdimin efkâr-ı İslamiyelerini tenvir ve takviyeye, meleke ve mümareselerini tesrie ve teshile medar olacak vazifelerini dahi tertip olunmuştur.*) p. 20.

such as loving the homeland, obeying one's parents and state to the world affairs was already evident. This effort of indicating religion in cooperation with profane values and realities went beyond some evident cases in the textbooks.

Treating the sacred book as a source of solutions for worldly affairs goes hand in hand with a discourse that relied on science to legitimize the five principal orders of Islam. To convince students of the necessity of these religious duties in the twentieth century, a worldly perspective was developed with scientific truths which showed how these forms of worship served this world. The practice of religion was brought to the attention of children and the links of this world with the religious system were established upon worships (*ibadat*) of ablution, prayers, fasting, alms-giving and pilgrimage, which are the five basic orders of Islam, taught in the elementary school.

This gives the idea that the modern world view especially was produced as a result of the pedagogical reproduction of religious values. The pedagogical method of teaching abstract things with concrete examples led the new discourse in religious instruction. The spirituality in the religious system was made visible with respects to its benefits for the material world. The discourse that converted the religious practices into worldly benefits served to make the religious system understandable and useful in the mind of the child.

Sanitation and Physical Education

Ablution, which requires the cleaning of the hands, mouth, nose, face, arms and feet, is the first step in beginning the practice of worship in Islam. It is a must in the preparation for prayers. Hence this necessity of washing hands and body was

seen as representation of hygiene in Islam, which went prior than the discovery of microscope and microbes. *Comprehensible Religious Knowledge* described ablution as the best weapon against illnesses. Reforming ablutions five times a day yielded powerful and healthy bodies.⁴⁸⁵ Islam gave life since it ensured sanitation: “Luckily, I am Muslim and there is ablution.”⁴⁸⁶

Ablution ensured sanitation, and the prayers following it refreshed the body as it helped the digestive system. Different authors presented the subjects of ablution and prayer within a discourse which was supposedly thought to be convincing due to the scientific explanation. The students in the first decade of the twentieth century were introduced to a new point of view as follow:

Prayers (*namaz*) has lots of benefits for our body as well as its profits in the Hereafter... The first prayer (morning) activates the body which has slept throughout the night. It gives strength and agility to us... The children who perform the first prayer can understand their classes better. Such students always achieve the first rank in the classroom. The second (midday), third (afternoon) and fourth (evening) prayers refresh our bodies; the ablution cleans hands, faces and feet. It gives coolness to our body. The fourth prayer whets our appetite. The last prayer (late evening) helps us digest our meal. Prayers serve the progress of man both spiritually and materially. The prayers make us think God. As someone contemplates God, he remembers his sins and faults.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ Muallim Erşed, *Muvazzah Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul: n.p., 1333) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezaret-i Celilesince tanzim olunan son müfredat programına tevfikân tertip edilmiş ve nezaret meşarileyh tarafından bilcümle mekatib-i iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere kabul buyrulmuştur. Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin birinci sınıf talebesine mahsustur.*) p. 18; The book consists of 32 pages since it is written for the first grades. The language and narration is simple and clear in parallel to the standards put by the Copyright and Translation Office. Some titles from the book are as follows: Being a Muslim, the Quran, ablution, prayers, fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimage, the greatness of Islam. The book uses Tanrı for Allah throughout. For use of “Tanrı” similarly. Küreli Ahmet Ziyaettin, *Malumat-ı Diniye* (Dördüncü Kısım) (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Şems, 1333), p. 8.

⁴⁸⁶ “Neyse ki ben bir müslümanım ve müslümanlıkta abdest var.” Hafız Erşed, *Malumat-ı Diniye* (Devre-i Mutavassıta, İkinci Sene) (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1338), p. 2.

⁴⁸⁷ “Namaz bir emr-i dini olmakla beraber vücud için de bir riyazettir. Sabah namazı geceleyin yataкта uyuyan vücudumuzu harekete getirir. Bize kuvvet ve çeviklik verir... Sabah namazını kıldıktan sonra çalışan çocukların zihnine ders daha iyi girer. Böyle çocuklar sınıfta daima birinci çıkar. Öğle, ikinci ve akşam namazları yorulan vücudumuzu tashih eder. Bu namazlar esnasında alınan abdestler

Another point about prayers focused on the movements of body while praying. As clearly stated by Erşed, “prayers are at the same time physical education.”⁴⁸⁸ In Nuri’s text, the benefits of prayer are illustrated more concretely with the movements of body, step by step:

The benefits of the five prayers for our body and life are too many to appreciate properly. What a good exercise is standing while performing prayers! ...How useful is bending for the waist which holds all our power! While putting your face on the floor, your waist, thighs, knees, feet, hands, arms, elbows, shoulders and fingers open and close widely. The blood circulates better... Our stomach easily refines the food we have consumed... The sports, which are to strengthen human power, are in no way able to give us these benefits of prayers.⁴⁸⁹

el ayak ve yüzlerimizi temizler, bedenimize serinlik verir. Akşam namazı iştahımızı açar, yatsı namazı yediğimiz yemeği hazmettir. Namaz insanın maddi ve manevi tekamülüne hizmet eder, her namazın sonunda dua eder. Bu duada Allah’ı düşünür. Allah’ı düşündükçe kendi hatalarını günahlarını hatırlar.” Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Müslüman Çocuğun Yeni İlmihali* (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1326) (*Küçük çocuklara akaidi talim eder. Tertibi güzel, yazılışı sadedir.*), p. 13-17; Nazım [İçsel], *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1335) (*Zükür ve inas mekatib-i sultaniyenin beşinci ve mekatib-i iptidaiyenin altıncı senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere maarif nezareti tarafından kabul edilmiştir. Devre-i Aliye, İkinci Sene*), p. 7.

⁴⁸⁸ “Namaz aynı zamanda bir terbiye-i bedeniye dir.” Muallim Erşed, *Muvazzah Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul, n.p., 1333) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesince tanzim olunan son müfredat programına tevfikân tertip edilmiş ve nezaret meşarileyh tarafından bircümle mekatib-i iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere kabul buyrulmuştur. Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin birinci sınıf talebesine mahsustur*); Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Müslüman Çocuğun Yeni İlmihali* (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1326) (*Küçük çocuklara akaidi talim eder. Tertibi güzel, yazılışı sadedir.*), p. 13-17; Nazım [İçsel], *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1335) (*Zükür ve inas mekatib-i sultaniyenin beşinci ve mekatib-i iptidaiyenin altıncı senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere Maarif Nezareti tarafından kabul edilmiştir. Devre-i Aliye, İkinci Sene*), p. 21.

⁴⁸⁹ “Namaz kılmanın vücuda yaşayışımıza olan faideleri de layık-ı vechiyle anlaşılamayacak derecede çoktur. Namazda ayakta durmak baştan aşağı vücudu ne iyi bir yoklamadır... Namazda eğilmek insanın bütün kuvvetini saklayan bel için ne güzel bir harekettir! Namazda yüzünü yere koymak: bel, kalça diz ayak, el kol dirsek, omuz parmak kendilerini kamilen açar kapar; onlara yenilik kuvvet verir. Kanımız daha iyi oynamaya başlar. Yediklerimizi midemiz daha kolaylıkla arıtır... Namazın vücudumuza verdiği faideleri hiçbir kuvvet oyunu veremez.” Hafız Nuri, *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye* (Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1332) (*Hissiyat-ı masumane ile pak ve münevver olan evlad-ı muhdimin efkar-ı İslamiyelerini tenvir ve takviyeye, meleke ve mümareselerini tesrie ve teshile medar olacak vazifelerini dahi tertip olunmuştur.*), pp. 25-26.

Prayer, as one form of worship in Islam, was introduced to the readers in a modern context. The revival of physical education in the nineteenth century, which became a crucial part of the modern pedagogy, found its religious counterpart in the worship physically performed.⁴⁹⁰ The connection set up between the performance of prayers and gymnastics indicated a trial of adapting one to the other: Islam and modern science. The point of view which suggested the conformity with modern science was sometimes accompanied by a language of challenge. The statement above that “the sports which are to strengthen human power are in no way able to give us these benefits of prayers,” conveys a conviction of the superiority of Islam over modern science.⁴⁹¹

The general tendency of the textbook authors who explained the merits of Islamic practices to the modern life and its contribution to the individual, society and stated through terms such as hygiene, gymnastic, dieting, fraternity and social policy is not followed in the book of Eğribozi,⁴⁹² published in 1913. He did not need to explain and illustrate religion for psychological, sociological and economic perspectives. The religious context of punishment, reward, different degrees of obligations (*farz, sunnet, vacip*) dominated the narration and without emphasis on

⁴⁹⁰ Yiğit Akın, “*Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar*”: *Erken Cumhuriyet’te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), p. 103.

⁴⁹¹ “*Namazın vücudumuza verdiği faideleri hiçbir kuvvet oyunu veremez.*” Hafız Nuri, *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye* (Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1332) (*Hissiyat-ı masumane ile pak ve münevver olan evlad-ı muhadinin eşkar-ı İslamiyelerini tenvir ve takviyeye, meleke ve mümareselerini tesrie ve teshile medar olacak vazifelerini dahi tertip olunmuştur.*), p. 25-26.

⁴⁹² Although the author put some remarks on the necessity of a new interpretation of religion in the present day, he prefers not to conform to modern discourse of presenting religion. Eğribozi Ali İrfan, *Malumat-ı Diniye, Birinci Kısım* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1329) (*Maarif Nezaretinin en son programına tevfiқан gayet açık ve sade bir lisan ile muharrer olup nuristekan?-ı vatana hayat-ı diniyelerini talim eyler.*) The introductory note states that it is written in a clear and purified language. The contents comprise such titles: The existence of God, His Greatness, His Prophets, His Orders, Orders of Prophet Muhammad, Prayers. There was no note about which grade it was written for. Yet, the number of pages was limited to 40, and it is understood that it was intended for the first grades of elementary school.

illustrating these subjects within reason. Contrary to the science and reason based discourse, he emphasized the contribution of prayer to the human psyche, which was educated through keeping people away from arrogance and pride. He was more wary about using some more practical and secular benefits of worships in his teaching of the religious subjects.

Except for Eğribozi's classical view, the overwhelming tendency of the textbooks in the Second Constitutional Period proposed an Islam approved by what modern science had discovered; however, this relationship was founded upon religion's validity and sufficiency to the modern, not upon an inferior provision. The scientific discourse used in explaining the worship, which was theoretically performed to gain the consent of God in the classical discourse of Islamic teaching show the effort of "justification" of religion relying on its worldly part that appealed to human reason. This is, in a sense, a defense of religion against the discredit of beliefs which was articulated more openly by some intellectuals affiliated with the radical Westernist block in the Second Constitutional period. Although one of the probable results of this scientification of religious knowledge could be the secularization of religion, this seems not exactly to have been the intention of the authors since they admonished the students that worship was only made for God, just after these benefit (faide)-reason (hikmet) considerations.

Dieting

Nazım's textbook *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye*⁴⁹³ 1917 dated drew the same line of scientification regarding fasting. The textbook, written for the upper grades of primary school, adapted the modern point of view on religion, though only partly. Fasting for one month was recounted as a parallel to dieting as a medical application to the body: "there is a benefit of fasting in respect to the protection of health. It is a kind of diet that gives power to the stomach and intestine. It removes many illnesses."⁴⁹⁴ Fasting was mentioned similarly in earlier book by the same author: "Fasting is very meritorious, yet it has also benefits. First of all, it is proper for the health to keep the stomach empty once a year."⁴⁹⁵

Nuri presented fasting directly with its worldly connotation in his choice of title: "Fast for being healthy!" (*Sihhat için oruç tutun!*), which directly related the worship to the worldly result it rendered. He continued to illustrate the issue, elaborating on the human anatomy and fasting as follows:

⁴⁹³ Nazım [İçsel], *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye* (İptidai, Altıncı Sene) ([İstanbul], Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1335). (*Zükür ve inas mekatib-i sultaniyenin beşinci ve mekatib-i iptidaiyenin altıncı senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere maarif nezareti tarafından kabul edilmiştir. Devre-i Aliye, İkinci Sene*)

⁴⁹⁴ "Orucun muhafaza-i sıhhat nokta-i nazarında faidesi vardır: Bir nevi perhizdir ki vücuda, mideye, bağırsaklara kuvvet verir. Birçok emrazı def eder." Nazım [İçsel], *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333) (*En son programa göre tertip edilmiştir. Devre-i Aliye, Birinci Sene. Zükür ve inas mekatib-i sultaniyenin beşinci senesiyle mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i aliye birinci senesinde tedris olunmak üzere Maarif Nezareti tarafından kabul edilmiştir.*)

⁴⁹⁵ "Oruç tutmanın sevabı büyüktür. Bununla beraber faidesi çoktur. Evvela senede bir defa karnı boş tutmak hıfz-ı sıhhaya pek muvafıktır." Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Müslüman Çocuğun Yeni İlmihali* (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1326), p.1 8.

As prayers make our outer body rest, fasting makes the inner body rest and refresh. It cleans our digestive organs. It makes us fit, strong and agile.⁴⁹⁶

The reproduction of religious knowledge with scientific terms reverberated throughout Erşed's textbook in the same approach: "One who fasts carries out what God orders him to do and makes a useful diet. It treats him if he is sick. If not, his body and stomach find strength."⁴⁹⁷

A contradictory point of view was again observed in Eğribozi's book, which viewed fasting in the classical discourse. His presentation indicated the contrast between the old and new perspectives and it showed the novelty of the new tendency. Fasting was approached with its benefits; however, these benefits would take the person closer to the other world rather than this world:

...not eating and drinking are characteristics of angels. For this reason, fasting puts human beings closer to the state of angels. It purifies man, pacifies him, makes him more compassionate; makes him contemplate the Hereafter rather than the world. It calms the worldly ambition and greed; it decreases the interest in worldly affairs. It makes man approach God and keep away from the devil.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ "Namaz vücudumuzun dışını dinlendirip ferahlandırdığı gibi oruç da vücudumuzun içini dinlendiriyor, ferahlandırıyor. Hazım aletlerimizi temizler. Oruç bizi sağlam kuvvetli ve çevik bir hale koyar." Hafız Nuri, *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye* (Dersaadet: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1332) (*Hissiyat-ı masumane ile pak ve münevver olan evlad-ı muhdimin efsar-ı İslamiyelerini tenvir ve takviyeye, meleke ve mümareselerini tesrie ve teshile medar olacak vazifelerini dahi tertip olunmuştur.*), p. 29.

⁴⁹⁷ "Oruç tutan kimse hem Hak Teali Hazretlerinin emr-i şerifini yerine getirmiş olur, hem de güzel bir perhiz yapmış olur, hastalığı varsa şifa bulur, yoksa vücudu midesi kuvvet bulur." Muallim Erşed, *Muvazzah Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul: n.p., 1333) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezaret-i Celilesince tanzim olunan son müfredat programına tevfiikan tertip edilmiş ve nezaret meşarileyh tarafından bilcümle mekatib-i iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere kabul buyrulmuştur. Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin birinci sınıf talebesine mahsustur.*), p. 24; Muallim Erşed, *Muvazzah Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul: n.p., 1334); Hafız Erşed, *Malumat-ı Diniye*, (Devre-i Aliye, Birinci Sene) (Dersaadet: Kanaat, 1338), p. 3.

⁴⁹⁸ "... yememek ve içmemek meleklerin sıfatıdır. Bunun için oruç insanı melek haline yakın bir hale koyar. İnsanı yumuşatır, sakinleştirir, merhametli kılar. Dünyadan ziyade ahireti düşündürür. Tamah ve hırsı teskin eder, dünya hevesini azaltır. Allah'a yakınlaştırır, şeytandan uzaklaştırır." Eğribozi Ali İrfan, *Malumat-ı Diniye, Birinci Kısım* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1329) (*Maarif Nezaretinin en son programına tevfiikan gayet açık ve sade bir lisan ile muharrer olup nuristekân?-i vatana hayat-ı diniyelerini talim eyler.*), p. 21.

The point of view in Eđribozi's text did not envisage a point that could indicate the use or return of religion in the practical life. The old perspective in his teaching Islam was blamed as the "wrong" religion which removed the love of the world and implanted the notion of the other world as one reality, to the opinions of Religious Knowledge teachers in the archive reports. As stated above, most intellectuals and educators of the period, both in periodicals and textbooks pointed out the methods not to calm but to arouse worldly ambition and greed as the goal of the new insight of religion. The fact that Eđribozi's book was approved by the ministry demonstrates that a strict unification policy was absent regarding the construction of the school knowledge through textbooks in this period.

Distribution of Wealth

The alms-giving requisite was interpreted and presented as means of providing the social justice in society.⁴⁹⁹ The concept of equality was treated attentively between the liberal philosophy and religious obligations:

God has given the blessing to His subjects equally. In reality men are equal in their nature, yet in terms of their livelihood they differ. If everyone were equal by property and richness, then working would lose its meaning. For this reason, the rich need the work of the poor and the poor the help of the rich. The poor need to work for a living, as the rich have to think about the hardships of life for the poor and they have to give the alms of their properties both because of a religious obligation and as a humanitarian necessity.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁹ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Müslüman Çocuđun Yeni İlmihali* (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1326) (*Küçük çocuklara akaidi talim eder. Tertibi güzel, yazılışı sadedir.*), p. 19.

⁵⁰⁰ "Hak Teali kullarına nimeti mütesaviyen ihsan etmiştir. Vakıa insanlar fitren müsavidir; fakat maişetce aralarında fark vardır. Eğer herkes mal ve servet cihetiyle aynı seviyede olsa, çalışmak kanununa halel gelir. Bunun içindir ki zenginler fukaranın say ve gayretine fukara da zenginlerin muavenetine muhtaç bulunurlar. Fukaranın geçinmek için çalışmaya mecburiyetleri olduđu gibi

Another author called for becoming rich in order to give alms by attracting the attention to the backwardness and poverty of Muslims. The two were given as two ills of the society. Erşed placed the benefits of the country, the national wealth and the consent of God in the same line:

I like helping the poor. I will try to be rich for this reason. I will gain the consent of God by helping the poor through alms-giving, donating the useful foundations of my nation and the homeland after becoming rich.⁵⁰¹

O! How nice is our religion! It does not ignore the poor. It pities the poor...Thank God, we are Muslim. We will work and become rich. We will help the poor and make the poor kids happy.⁵⁰²

Eğribozi, who restrained explaining and presenting worship on a worldly base, drew a parallel discourse with the above-mentioned modern presentation of alms-giving. For alms-giving, he introduced a more secular discourse, which combined alms-giving with its social results: "...no one dies of hunger, poverty and begging disappears."⁵⁰³

zenginlerin de kendilerine her şeyi hazırlayan fukaranın meşakkatli hayatlarını düşünmeleri ve nail oldukları nimetin şükürünü eda için onlara mallarının zekatını vermeleri dinen ve insaniyeten elzemdir." Nazım [İçsel], *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye, Kitab-ı Hac Zekat* ([İstanbul]: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekası, 1331) (*Son programa göre tertip edilip mekatib-i iptidaiye sınıflarında tedris edilmek üzere Maarif Nezaretince kabul edilen ulum-u diniye külliyatının sultani sekizinci sınıflarına mahsus kısmıdır.*), p. 79.

⁵⁰¹ "Ben fakirlere zavallılara yardım etmeyi severim. Bunun için de zengin olmaya çalışacağım. Zengin olunca da zekat vermek, vatana ve millete faideli olan yerlere iane etmek ile Hak Teali Hazretlerinin rızasını kazanacağım." Muallim Erşed, *Muvazzah Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul: n.p., 1333) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesince tanzim olunan son müfredat programına tevfikân tertip edilmiş ve nezaret meşarileyh tarafından bilcümle mekatib-i iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere kabul buyrulmuştur. Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin birinci sınıf talebesine mahsustur.*), p. 30.

⁵⁰² Küreli Ahmet Ziyaettin, *Malumat-ı Diniye* (Devre-i Ula, Birinci Sınıfa) (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1333), p. 38.

⁵⁰³ "... Kimse açlık çekmez, dilencilik ortadan kalkar, kimse acından ölmez..." Eğribozi Ali İrfan, *Malumat-ı Diniye, Birinci Kısım* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye Matbaası, 1329) (*Maarif Nezaretinin en son programına tevfikân gayet açık ve sade bir lisan ile muharrer olup nuristekân-ı vatana hayat-ı diniyelerini talim eyler.*), p. 24

The Journey to Muslim Unity

Almsgiving and pilgrimage complemented the benefits of worships to the society and state. According to Eğribozi, pilgrimage was to be counted as a rehearsal of the day of the Hereafter since everybody became equal by dressing up in the same way without considering their worldly poverty or wealth. Thus no one could have a cause for superiority or self-esteem: “Everyone comes closer to God, he is forgiven and they are strengthened religiously.”⁵⁰⁴ Pilgrimage is pointed out with its spiritual gains; its worldly side is not focused.

However, Erşed’s and İçsel’s textbooks counted pilgrimage in its political and social aspects. In addition to the concepts of equality and union of Islam, the personal benefit of pilgrimage was enjoying a journey which enabled Muslims to see different lands and people.

Pilgrimage is an important means of Islamic union. It gathers people of far geographies who are unaware of each other’s situation at the same point. It strengthens the love and ties among them and it enabled them to unify their political and social interests. It makes the power of Islam and Ottomans constant. The greatest reason of pilgrimage aims at this goal.⁵⁰⁵

Hafız Erşed’s textbook focused on the equalizing function of pilgrimage. While the equality and fraternity terms were corresponded to religious concepts, nationalism

⁵⁰⁴ “Herkes Allah’a yakınlık peyda eder. Suçları bağışlanır, dini kuvvet bulur.” Ibid., p.23.

⁵⁰⁵ “Hac ittihad-ı İslam’ın mühim bir vasıtasıdır. Birbirinden uzak, birbirinin ahvalinden bihaber ehl-i İslamı bir noktada cem ile beyinlerindeki revabet? muhabbeti teyyide ve onların içtimai ve siyasi menfaatlerini tevhide medar kavi olur. Şu suretle şevket-i İslamiye ve Osmaniyenin payidar olmasını temin eyler. Haccın en büyük hikmeti bu gayeye matûfdur. Nazım [İçsel], *Ameli Malumat-ı Diniye Kitab-ı Hac Zekat* ([İstanbul]: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekası, 1331) (*Son programa göre tertip edilip mekatib-i iptidaiye sınıflarında tedris edilmek üzere maarif nezaretince kabul edilen ulum-u diniye külliyatının sultani sekizinci sınıflarına mahsus kısmıdır.*), p. 13.

was blamed as a modern ill and Islam once again was presented as cure for it. Pilgrimage tells people that gender and ethnicities are of no value and Muslims are brothers to each other.⁵⁰⁶

A High School Textbook

An examination of the textbooks of upper schooling yields more complementary results regarding how religious knowledge was imposed with scientific truths. *Dini Dersler*⁵⁰⁷ was taken as a reference book for it was recommended for all levels of schools and the medrasas by the Ministry of Education. By its difficult language and the number of the pages, the textbook can be considered to have been a high school text. Worshipping and being grateful to God was presented as rational by referring to the reason and conscience of man: “For this reason, we state that worshipping is a duty of ration and conscience. When we ask our wisdom and conscience, we understand worshipping God is a duty of human beings.”⁵⁰⁸ According to him, the fact that worshipping was compatible to human nature and psychology confirmed this case.⁵⁰⁹ The emphasis on human reason and psychology helped to base the divine knowledge in the scientific terms.

The author, though mentioning the relation between the world and religion did create a direct bridge between two. He counted the justification of religion with

⁵⁰⁶ Hafız Erşed, *Malumat-ı Diniye* (Devre-i Aliye, İkinci Sene) (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1338), p. 35.

⁵⁰⁷ Aksekili Ahmed Hamdi, *Dini Dersler* (İstanbul: Amedi Matbaası, 1339-1342).

⁵⁰⁸ “Akıl ve vicdanımıza müracaat edince insanların ilahına karşı ibadet etmesinin bir vazife olduğunu anlarız.” Ibid., p. 17.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 18-21.

science as a threat and opposed it in his emphasis upon the principle that worshipping could only be performed for God's consent, not for a worldly benefit. This is to say that worship was not done for the reason (*hikmet*) or benefit/return (*maslahat*) behind it. They were orders that came with revelation:

Yes, the spirit and sincerity in worshipping is only reached if it is done as God's order rather than regarding its reason. Yet, this does not mean that there is no reason or return in worshipping. One should not be unaware of the reason behind the religious legislation. For this reason, some parts of the religion course program include the orders of Islam and the reason and sociological returns in it.⁵¹⁰

Besides his wariness to the secularly justified religion, he disapproved of ignoring the reasoning in God's orders. The book focused on the relation of the world and religion, especially on its sociological side properly with the political context of the 1920s. Performing worship all together aroused feelings of solidarity and wiped out the social ills and evils which helped order and security to be implemented in society. "Even in ablution, which could be seen as a particular action at the beginning of praying, there are social benefits".⁵¹¹ Ablution was presented as a purifier of materialism before performing prayers. After proposing ablution in such a reason-return perspective, he once again admonished his readers to have restraint against the threats of secularization of the religious knowledge: "...we perform our prayers since it is a religious duty for us; no matter whether there is a reason,

⁵¹⁰ "Evet, ibadette ihlas, ibadette ruh onu bir hikmet ve bir maslahat mülâhazasıyla değil; ancak emir olunduğu için yapmaktır. Fakat, bu ibadette bir hikmet ve maslahat yoktur manasını istilzam etmediğinden yapacağımızı, ibadetin hikmet-i teşriinden gafil olmamak lazımdır. İşte bunun içindir ki dini derslerin bir kısmı İslam için bilinmesi elzem olan ibadeti ve bilhassa onlardaki hikmet-i teşriye ve mesalih-i içtimaiyeyi de ihtiva etmektedir." Ibid., Introduction.

⁵¹¹ "Bu itibarla bidayetten bir ibadet-i mahsusa gibi görülen abdestte bile içtimai menfaatler mevcuttur." Ibid., p. 40.

spiritual or material return, an instant or a long run interest or not ...We do not think about it. And we ought not to.”⁵¹²

In addition to the consolidating power of religion, Islamic beliefs and practices supported the individual lives with their practical benefits in modern times. The author illustrated the relation between microbes and ablution practice directly.

Gentlemen! Ablution, which is essential for bringing men close to God, promises also plenty of earthly and corporeal benefits. It is of vital importance regarding physical cleanliness. Especially after the discovery of the little animals called as microbes, the significance of ablution has begun to be understood more. Before, only Muslims appreciated its importance; now the sensible non-Muslims, too, begin to appreciate it. Yes, we now know and hear that many illnesses are spread with these little creatures...A pious Muslim cleans his hands, which are exposed to microbes the most, through obeying the order of God, five times a day, properly.⁵¹³

As noted above in the examination of the elementary school textbooks, the reconciliation between Islam and modern science was turned into a discourse challenging the secular knowledge. The relation he constructed between alms-giving and social welfare exhibits the claim of superiority of revelation over the knowledge acquired through induction:

We know certainly that there is and cannot be a law as essential as alms-giving, a compulsory donation imposed on the rich, in

⁵¹² “Bu nokta-i nazardan biz de namazı bir vazife-i diniye olmak üzere kılarız; bunda bir hikmet bir maslahat, bir menfaat-ı maneviye ve maddiye, bir faide-i muacele ve mevicle olsun olmasın? orasını hiç düşünmeyiz. Ve düşünmemek iktiza eder.” Aksekili Ahmed Hamdi, *Dini Dersler* (İstanbul: Amedi Matbaası, 1339-1342), p. 89.

⁵¹³ “Efendiler, haddi zatında insanı Allah’ına doğru yaklaştıracı bir ibadet olan abdest aynı zamanda maddi ve cismani pek çok faideleri de mezmundur. Nezafet-i cismaniye noktasından da pek büyük ehemmiyeti vardır. Hele mikrop denilen hayvancıkların keşfinden sonra abdestin ehemmiyeti daha ziyade anlaşılmaya başlamıştır. Evvelce bunun ehemmiyetini yalnız Müslümanlar takdir eder iken bugün akli başında olan Frenkler de takdir etmeye başlamışlardır. Evet, hepimiz biliyoruz, işitiyoruz ki birçok hastalıklar mikrop denilen hayvanlar vasıtasıyla olur, pislikten husule gelir... Halbuki, dinine riayetkar olan bir Müslüman Allah’ın emrini yerine getirmek maksadıyla günde beş defa abdest almakla en ziyade mikroplara maruz bulunan ellerini güzelce temizlemiş olur.” Ibid., p. 40.

wiping out the social discontent, misery and improving the situation in society.⁵¹⁴

According to the author modernity committed a crime against humanity. Another statement making a criticism on modern economy has presented in the following idiomatic expressions: “Who cares about the starvation of others after I have had full” and “You work and take pains; and I rest.”⁵¹⁵ According to him, these thoughts were some of the sentences summarizing the spirit of the modern economy, and they were detrimental to the harmony and order of humanity since they had extinguished the existing system, which had organized the obligations of people to each other.⁵¹⁶

His book resembles to the formation of civics textbooks after explaining the religious subject with such a point of view. He adapted the civics subjects to an Islamic point of view, creating a discourse vis-a-vis the discourse purged in the civics curriculum. The “duty” which was the key point in civics was described within religious morals: “Duty is to do the good ordered to be practiced by the religion and custom.”⁵¹⁷ This definition contradicted the new discourse produced upon the “law” in civics education. The relations between individuals and the state are designed within religious patterns. The religious duties extended into doing military service, training, guarding and ensuring solidarity. The “biggest sin” was taught as escaping

⁵¹⁴ “Biz katiyetle biliriz ki! Heyet-i içtimaiyyedeki hoşnutsuzlukları, bedbahtlığı izale ve cemiyetin şenini? ıslah için İslam’ın mecburi bir muavenet olmak üzere erbabı servete farz kıldığı “zekat” kadar esaslı bir kanun yoktur, olamaz da!” Ibid., p. 162.

⁵¹⁵ “Ben tok olduktan sonra başkalarının açlığından banane!” “Sen çalış, zahmet çek, ben istirahat edeyim”.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., p.162.

⁵¹⁷ “Vazife şariat ve örfün ifasını emreylediği hayırdır.” Ibid., p.224.

from these militaristic duties.⁵¹⁸ This last phase of the book can be regarded as the first reflection of militarism in the religious textbooks.

The emphasis on state duties in the disguise of religion was not a characteristic of the Unionist period. The duty of military service and tax were separately titled. In addition, the issues such as the right of freedom, property and equality principle also were taught in parallel to the state authority. Islam was tailored so as to fit with the “necessities of the present age.” The modernist view was seemingly inherited from the Unionist period, which first confronted the conflict between science and religion. The conflict was aggravated with by secular nationalist policies in the 1920s.

The Peasants’ Book of Religion

The content and language of the Friday sermons delivered to the public constituted one of basic discussions among Muslim intellectuals in journals such as *Sebilürreşad*. The discussion was first of all about the language of the sermon which were given in Arabic to Turkish audiences and served for no political and social use. The use of the vernacular language in preaching seems to have been supported by most of the intellectuals.⁵¹⁹ Another discussion on the sermons was related to their content, which generally included subjects about the Hereafter by trivializing the value of the material world. The discussions in the journals point out the necessity of subjects relevant to the problems of Muslims in political and social terms, such as the

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., p.242.

⁵¹⁹ Recai Doğan, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Öncesinde Yaygın Din Eğitimi Açısından Hutbeler,” *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 39/0 (n.d.): 491-533, p. 512.

reasons for the backwardness of society and the integration to the constitutional regime.⁵²⁰ One of the most common sermons prepared by the Committee for Union and Progress revolved around a basic message raising awareness about worldly matters. Islam was presented as a sufficient religion for progress and happiness. The economic ways of unity were exemplified with the opening of factories through cooperation.⁵²¹ Some other titles indoctrinated some political concepts within religious terms such as equality, fraternity, justice, liberty, and patriotism.

The Peasants' Book of Religion (Köylü İlmihali) described a book explaining the essentials of Islamic belief. The book written for peasants in 1922 (1338,) was authored by Vahit, whom it is not known whether he was affiliated with the CUP or not. Yet, it is important to ascertain to what extent parallel lines can be observed between the textbooks of the modern schooling and a book written for adults in rural areas. Villages were considered areas of uncivilized population necessitating special treatment and approach in terms of education policies in the Unionist period. The enlightenment or modernization of villagers continued to be considered a special issue that culminated in the Republican years as a systematic policy on the villages. The book was a written document of preaching as far as can be understood from the expressions and addresses.

It adapted the *hikmet* (reason) point of view in the textbooks examined above. The peasants' religion book introduced the belief of God grounded in reasonable conclusions. The conflict between the practical result of believing in Islam and

⁵²⁰ Ibid., p. 512.

⁵²¹ *Mevaiz-i Diniye, Birinci Kısım* (İstanbul: [Osmanlı ITC Şehzadebaşı Klubü Heyet-i İlmiyesi Tarafından neşredilmiştir.], 1328), p. 14.

theoretical results were pointed out and it was emphasized that Islam had not initiated underdevelopment. Practicing Islam truly was believed to bring progress:

Now if you are not offended, I will explain the reason for our ignorance living as a Muslim. If we had been deservedly Muslim, we wouldn't have been in such a situation. Thank God, we are Muslim but to be honest, we don't know how to live Islam. If you ask why, because Islam wants cleanliness, yet we are dirty... it wants diligence, we are lazy. It wants health and power, yet we are rotten (sick).⁵²²

We do not like other nations, but I wonder which nation could admire us? If you say science, there is no science, say arts, no arts, say righteousness, no righteousness. No morality, no justice...and we are better than all, ha? We are deceiving ourselves, gentlemen.⁵²³

O subjects of God! Isn't this much absent-mindedness enough? Isn't this much poverty enough? Let's, for God's sake, go to work! Let's not stop, never stop!! We are not in an age of stopping and disregarding. The world is turning. Everybody is struggling for his own interest. Never get back. Do not let yourself insulted and your religion blamed.⁵²⁴

While encouraging success in the world, on the other hand, he warned that religion should not be discarded for the sake of worldly affairs. He said that Europe and America, which were so much developed in the material world, had not given up their religions. He had two points about developed countries. First, they had not

⁵²² “Şimdi siz darılmazsanız ben diyeceğim ki: Bunun sebebi hep bizim müslümanca yaşamağı bilmeyişimizdir. Eğer biz bunu layıkıyla bilmiş olsa idik böyle olmazdık, bu hale gelmezdik. Hamdolsun biz Müslümanız ama ne yalan söyleyelim ki müslümancasına yaşamağı bilmiyoruz. Neden dersiniz? Müslümanlık temizlik istiyor biz pisiz... Müslümanlık hamaratlık istiyor, biz tembeliz, Müslümanlık vücut sağlamlık istiyor biz çürüğüz.” Vahit, *Köylü İlmihali* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1338), p. 40.

⁵²³ “Başka milletleri hiç beğenmeyiz ama acaba bizi kim beğensin? İlim desen ilim yok, sanat desen sanat yok, doğruluk desen doğruluk yok. Ahlak yok, insaf yok. Yok oğlu yok. Sonra da biz herkesten iyi ha! Aldanıyoruz ağalar aldanıyoruz.” Ibid., p. 61.

⁵²⁴ “Ey Allahın kulları! Yetmez mi bu kadar gaflet? Yetmez mi bu kadar sefalet? Haydi Allah aşkına olsun iş başına!... Durmayın ya hu durmayın!! Duracak dudak bükecek zamanda değiliz. Dünya dönüyor. Elalem kendi çıkarı için çırpınıyor. Siz de siz olun geri kalmayın. Kendinize söz getirip dininize toz kondurmayın. Böyle yapın ki iki cihanda aziz olasınız.” Vahit. *Köylü İlmihali* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1338), p. 117.

given up worldly affairs though they were so wealthy, second, besides their hold on the world affairs they do not give up following their religions. He asked: “...O Muslims, why is your belief growing weaker and weaker each day? Why are you becoming so distanced from the mosques and congregation of Muslims while everyone all over the world is hugging his religion without questioning its credibility or incredibility?...Let aside Europe and America, don’t you see the Christians in this country?”⁵²⁵ He regretfully asked, “Why are you so disinterested to the prayers? What harm of religion did you experience in this world? Is it because you did not understand the benefits of belief?”⁵²⁶

The credibility of religion was enabled through the principal orders of Islam regarding the daily life. The discourse in explaining the ablution with hygiene and fasting with health went in parallel with the textbooks. The preacher likened the microbes to “little worms” (*kurtçuklar*) to make what he said concrete. He told people not to get angry when microbes were mentioned, stating that they, too, were the creatures of God.⁵²⁷

The book gives place to fasting under the title of “The Benefits of Fasting in Medical Science,” which gave a utilitarian point of view: “Gentlemen, there are countless benefits and multifold reasons (*hikmet*) in every command of our religion. It is not beyond the power of our wisdom to understand all of them. As the science

⁵²⁵ “Avrupa Amerika bu kadar ilmiyle bu kadar sanatiyla kuvvetle beraber yine dinini bırakmıyor. Bu kadar zenginliği bu kadar inceliğiyle beraber dünyadan vazgeçmiyor da be hey Müslüman sana ne oluyor ki git gide böyle dinin imanın zayıflıyor? Dünyanın her tarafında herkes eğri doğru demiyor kendi dinine dört elle sarılıyor da sen niye böyle gittikçe işi kuşatıyorsun, neye gittikçe camiden cemaatından böyle uzaklaşıp duruyorsun? Avrupa Amerika şöyle dursun. Memleketimizdeki Hristiyanları görmüyor musun?” Ibid., p. 61.

⁵²⁶ “Ne için öyle namazdan bucak bucak kaçıyorsun? Ne var? Ne oldu? Sana bu dinden ne zarar geldi? Müslümanlıktan ne fenalık gördün? Acaba düşünüyorsun taşıyorsun da dinen imanen faidesini mi anlayamıyorsun?” Ibid., p. 62.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., p.108.

and technology have developed, the greatness of our religion has been revealed more. I am going to articulate only some of the benefits of fasting to our health and goodness.”⁵²⁸ He introduced fasting as a protector against illnesses and “all evils.”

The relation between wealth and religion was another point bridging Islam to this world. The old understanding of religion was rejected first to establish a new insight on Islam. This new Islam was presented as a newly discovered or realized form of God’s messages. *Say* (diligence) was encouraged as an addition to the tripod philosophy of *kanaat* (satisfaction), *tevekkul* (fatalism, putting oneself to God’s hands) and *sabır* (patience).

...there is one more constituent of satisfaction, fatalism and patience. It is diligence. Since it does not suit our interests, we don’t mention it ever. Only we live in the hold of the other three.⁵²⁹

He tried to deconstruct the negative perception about becoming rich. The poverty of Muslim geographies was questioned and the social ills that resulted from it were underlined:

Why are we like this? Is it the war or armistice making us so poor? No, no! Neither wars nor others... We were poor before the war; we were this much lazy... Do not attempt to blame the friends or enemies for this sin.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ “Ağalar, bizim dinimizin her emrinde derin derin hikmetler bizler için büyük büyük faydeler vardır. Bunların hepsini birden anlayabilmek aklın haricinde değildir. İlim, fen ilerledikçe dinimizin de büyüklüğü daha ziyade meydana çıkmaktadır. Ben size bugün orucun iyiliğimize, sağlığımıza olan faydelerinden bir kaçını söyleyeceğim.” Ibid., p. 70.

⁵²⁹ “...kanaat, tevekkül ve sabır denilen üç şeyin bir arkadaşı daha vardır ki saydır. İşimize pek gelmediği için onu hiç ağızımıza almıyoruz. Sade dilimize bu üç şeyi dolayıp orada burada söylenerek geziyoruz.” Ibid., p. 110.

⁵³⁰ “Biz niye böyleyiz? Bizi böyle eden bu kadar fakir düşüren muharebe midir, mütareke midir, nedir? Hayır, hayır! Ne muharebe, ne bir şey! Biz muharebeden evvel de böyle fakirdik. Yine böyle miskindik... Bunun için sakın muharebeye felan bahane bulmayın. Kabahati dosta düşmana yüklemeye kalkışmayın.” Ibid., p.123.

The preacher ascribed the guilt to the attitude of Muslims towards life; their being lazy and content with what they had. He encouraged wealth and explained why poverty was objectionable in the sight of religion, too.

...some people despise richness. They admire destitution by neglecting such a blessing of God. I don't know why they approve of poverty, why they pose hostility to wealth. Is it good to be needy and lean on other people? Poorness is not a toy, God forbid, it is an ordeal. There is no way to love it. There is such a degree of poorness, God forbid; it bores man so much that it leads to thousands of sins.⁵³¹

Such statements as “O God, make me closer to the poor” (*Allah'ım beni fakire fukaraya yakın et*) were to be replaced with “May God make me refrain from being - poor” (*Fakirlikten Allaha sığınırım*) under the title of “Wealth”. He exemplified the issue to be strongly convincing: “Imagine how much a ship needs the sea to go! The same way a Muslim does need worldly wealth.”⁵³² As seen in the tendency of the other authors, he did not fail to caution about excessive love of the world. The love of this world was likened to a state of malady if not defined within the limits of religion: “What harms you if you keep your wealth, capital and commodities in your cash desk or cupboards, but not in your heart.”⁵³³ Thus a moralistic and religious wealth and richness was suggested and supported. As a result, Vahit's book for adults in villages described a new view of religion in the axis of this world. The text for adults' preaching confirms the textbooks of children examined in this study. It

⁵³¹ “Bu böyle iken bazı kimseler zenginliği pek hor görürler. Allah'ın böyle bir nimetini yabana atıp fakirliğe özenirler. Bilmem ki fakirliğin nesini beğenirler. Zenginliğe ne için ulu orta düşman kesilirler? Sanki yoksulluk çekip eloğluna muhtaç olmak iyi bir şey midir? Fakirlik oyuncak değil neuzubillah ateşten bir gömlektir. Onun sevilecek hiç bir yeri yoktur. Yoksulluğun öyle bir derecesi vardır ki hafızanallah adamı şöyle daraltır, bunaltır da çileden çıkarıp bin türlü günaha sokar.” Vahit, *Köylü İlmihali* (İstanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1338), p. 120.

⁵³² “Gemiye deniz nasıl lazımsa Müslümana da dünya malı o kadar lazımdır.” Ibid., p.122.

⁵³³ “Paranız pulunuz dolabınızda kasanızda dursa da gönlünüzde durmasa kıyamet mi kopar?” Ibid., p.122.

can be concluded that the general understanding of Islam tended to be concerned more with this world than the eternal life.

The Treatment of Nationalism

The nationalist idea of the period was demarcated into two paths as far as drawn by Ahmet Naim, one of the well known Islamists. His article, *İslam'da Dava-i Kavmiyet* (The Nationalist Cause in Islam,) published in 1916, put nationalists into two groups in respect to their treatment of religion.⁵³⁴ The first group was defined as “pure Turkists.” They regarded religion as acceptable only to the extent it functioned to consolidate the modern national project. In their formula, religion must instrumentally and secondarily be incorporated to the system:

Let's find out a way that provides us happiness of this world. As long as religion served worldly happiness, we follow it... However, there is no possibility of progress with the old beliefs. If there was, we wouldn't be in this situation now. ... This people ought to be Turk first and Muslim secondarily.⁵³⁵

Material progress was the first motive behind the unpopularity of Islam in the sight of the secular nationalists. The credibility of Islam was bound to the success of the political theory of Islamism. The second group was defined as Turkish Islamists, whom Ahmet Naim targeted to convince since the first group's exclusion of Islam left no common point on which to agree. He stated that Islam encompassed both the homeland and Turkishness: “Please do not turn the face of Turks from Kabe to

⁵³⁴ Ahmet Naim, *İslam'da Kavmiyet Davası* (n.p., Darülhilafe, 1332).

⁵³⁵ “Biz bu dünyadaki saadetimizi temin etmenin yolunu arayalım. Din mefkuresi bizi mesud ettikçe biz arkasından koşabiliriz... Demek ki eski iman ile kurtulacağımız yok. Kurtaracak bir şey olaydı zaten bu hale gelmezdik. ...bu halk evvela Türk sonra Müslüman olmalıdır.” Ibid., p. 7-8.

Turan. ... There is no need for us to know the law of Cengiz, the land of Ilhan and the Golden Army”.⁵³⁶

What is interesting to note is that nationalist thought which was considered “an enlightening trend” (*münevver bir ceryan*,) by Musa Kazım, the Sheikhul-islam, did not bear a serious challenge to the reproduction of religious knowledge in textbooks.⁵³⁷ It could rightfully be claimed that the widespread “national ideal” was drawn between us/others binary opposition. What was national was what was not foreign. Hence, the “national ideal” in the educational context was based, not on but against something during the 1910s. Foreignness was perceived to be someone or something from Europe or America, or the foreigners were the non-Muslims among “us.” In this sense, “national education” did not necessarily stand against Islam in the discussions of the 1910s; instead, the national and Islamic characters fostered and strengthened each other. To exemplify from the recommendation of an educator, the foreign teachers and foreign education were no longer welcomed; the project of sending students to Europe was disliked. Only those students who were only sent after the high school education could be trustable and expected to be beneficial to the country. Those who were educated in Europe from childhood were believed to lack the Ottoman national identity. The students sent via state finances had to be selected with regards to their success in the courses on religion, the Ottoman history, geography and Turkish language. Those who did not get good marks from these courses must even be stopped with the police force.⁵³⁸ The students who are sent by

⁵³⁶ “Öyleyse Allah rızası için Türklerin yüzünü Kâbe’den Turan’a çevirmekten vazgeçin... Cengiz’in yurasını bilmek, İlhanın yurdunu tanımak, Altunordu’yu anmak bize lazım değil.” Ibid., p. 15-18.

⁵³⁷ Appointed as *Sheikhul-islam* four times following the Constitutional regime.

⁵³⁸ Ahmet Hikmet, “Milli Terbiye,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası* (Mart 1334), p. 53.

the state had to be kept from marrying “dishonored” women; the consulates must be reminded about not marrying such couples since the harm of such women to the Islamic and Turkish family and society was already evident.⁵³⁹

While the conflict with science made up the basis of the debate on religious education, “nation” and “nationalism” seem not to have been taken into consideration in the textbooks on religion. The national character in religious education described in articles which proposed new perspectives on religious education suggested the need for Turkish prayers. A second peculiarity emphasized the use of religion in instilling the subjects related to the enhancement of the state power through the discourse of “duties” to the state besides “God”.

However, what can be seen is that the religion books totally neglect the nationalist theories and do not develop a discourse about the dissolution of *umma* viewpoint. While it is possible to see the traces of Turkish nationalism in the civics and history books, the textbooks on religion used the word “nation” rarely, and when it was used “*millet*”(nation) meant “*din*”(religion,) as seen in Muallim Erşed’s book of 1917 (1333): “Religion means nation, that is Islam. The way of goodness and salvation is only through Islam. A Muslim searches and finds every truth with it (Islam).”⁵⁴⁰

The consciousness of the Islamic identity and fraternity marked the basic message in the textbooks: “I love Islam and I can sacrifice my soul if necessary for

⁵³⁹ Ahmet Hikmet, “Milli Terbiye,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası* (Mart 1334), p. 54.

⁵⁴⁰ “*Din demek millet demek, Müslümanlık demektir. İyilik yolu, selamet yolu ancak Müslümanlık yoludur. Müslüman olan kimse her türlü iyiliği arar, bulur.*” Muallim Erşed, *Muvazzah Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul: n.p., 1333) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesince tanzim olunan son müfredat programına tevfikân tertip edilmiş ve nezaret meşarileyh tarafından bilcümle mekatib-i iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere kabul buyrulmuştur. Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin birinci sınıf talebesine mahsustur.*), p. 3.

the sake of it... Although a Muslim who lives in China, India and Africa is not a fellow citizen, I suppose that he is my brother. If I hear or witness a trouble or need of his, I feel that I must come to his rescue.”⁵⁴¹ The religious identity and Islamic fraternity were encouraged in the textbooks as follows:

All goodness is in the way of Muslims. A pious person overcomes every single work successfully. Muslims are brothers. They help each other as brothers do.⁵⁴²

The morality and belief of Muslims are emphasized in this consciousness. Non-Muslim versus Muslim opposition appears to have been the point of identity:

Muslims worship only one God...Every Muslim knows Mohammed as the true prophet and follows the truthful and good path pointed by him and finds the goodness of all. Thank God I am Muslim. I like to be Muslim and have Muslim brothers. I was born Muslim; I will live and die Muslim. All my existence is for being Muslim.⁵⁴³

A consciousness of being Muslim was aroused in these lines; the model was given as the Prophet Muhammad. The aim of the religious texts certainly was to build a pious man who was molded within a religious belief system. The Prophet Mohammed’s role in this shaping is noteworthy. His life- *siyer*- and words –*hadith*, as two subjects of Islamic teaching, were both emphasized in the reports and the curriculum: “I do by

⁵⁴¹ “Ben din-i mübin-i İslam’ı severim ve ona canımı feda edebilirim eğer gerekirse... Çin’de, Hint’te, Afrika’daki bir Müslüman benim vatandaşım olmasa da ben onu kardeşim bilirim. Onun bir sıkıntısını, ihtiyacını duyar ya da bilirse ona yardımcı bir borç bilirim.” Hafız Erşed, *Malumat-ı Diniye, Birinci Kitap* (Devre-i Ula, Birinci Sene) (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1338), p. 15.

⁵⁴² “Bütün iyilikler Müslümanların yolu üzerindedir. Müslümanca çalışan kimsenin her işi kolaylıkla biter. Müslümanlar biri birinin kardeşidir. Kardeş kardeşe nasıl yardım ederse Müslüman müslümana öylece yardım eder.” Muallim Erşed, *Muvazzah Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul, n.p., 1333) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesince tanzim olunan son müfredat programına tevfiқан tertip edilmiş ve nezaret meşarileyh tarafından bilcümle mekatib-i iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere kabul buyrulmuştur. Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin birinci sınıf talebesine mahsustur.*), p. 4.

⁵⁴³ “Müslüman yalnız bir olan Cenab-ı Allah’a tapar. Her Müslüman Hazret-i Muhammed aleyhisselamı hak peygamber bilir. Ve onun gösterdiği doğru iyi yola gider, gider de bütün iyilikleri bulur. Emhamdullilah Müslümanım. Müslümanlığı ve Müslüman kardeşlerimi severim. Müslüman doğdum Müslüman yaşayacağım, Müslüman olarak öleceğim. Bütün varlığım Müslümanlık içindir.” Ibid., p. 4.

pleasure what the Prophet Mohammed orders. I restrain from what he counts as harmful... I like the Quran and I read it night and day. I do every work of mine according to the Quran. One who loves the Quran is destined for Heaven; one who dislikes it for hell.”⁵⁴⁴ The reason for the backwardness was shown in the loss of religious ties and not being pious enough.⁵⁴⁵

The Prophet’s life story was just used to show solutions for the modern problems of Muslims as shown above. The samples chosen from his life were used pedagogically to transfer the message that the religion was still worth following. The goal was exact revenge on the “foreigners” through the spirit of Islam:

He went to Şam when he was just twelve and twenty-five for trade and a journey. He had wars with enemies so as to enlighten every land with Islam’s truth. We, too, ought to work for trade and travel as much as we work for our religion. We should be strong enough not to give a chance for the enemies of religion and homeland. We should never forget to avenge ourselves on them.⁵⁴⁶

Nazım Nuri’s textbook *Mekteplilere İlmi Malumat-ı Diniye*, published on the brink of the abolition of the Caliphate in 1923 (1339) is observed to give this Muslim consciousness about the Caliphate, which was presented as the representative of the

⁵⁴⁴ “Hz. Muhammed aleyhisselamın bize yapın dediği her iyiliği seve seve yaparım. Yapmayın dediği fena şeylerden sakınırım... Ben Kuran’ı Kerim’i severim. Gece gündüz okurum. Ben bütün işlerimi Kuran’ı Kerim’e göre yaparım. Kuran-ı Kerim-i seven cennetlik sevmeyen cehennemliktir.” Ibid., p.6, p.17.

⁵⁴⁵ Hafız Erşed, *Malumat-ı Diniye* (Birinci Kitap, Devre-i Ula, Birinci Sene) (Dersaadet: Kanaat matbaası, 1338), p. 16.

⁵⁴⁶ “Seyahat ve ticaret için daha on iki ve yirmi beş yaşlarında iken Şam taraflarına bile gitmişti. Müslümanlığın ilerlemesi ve her yerin Müslümanlık nuruyla nurlanması için düşmanlar ile muharebe ederdi. Biz de dinimiz olan Müslümanlığa çalıştığımız gibi seyahat, ticarete de çalışmalıyız. Din düşmanlarına, vatan düşmanlarına göz açtırmamak için kuvvetli olmaya çalışmalıyız. Onlardan intikam almayı da hiç bir zaman unutmamalıyız.” Muallim Erşed, *Muvazzah Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul: n.p., 1333) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesince tanzim olunan son müfredat programına tevfikân tertip edilmiş ve nezaret meşarileyh tarafından bilcümle mekatib-i iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere kabul buyurulmuştur. Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin birinci sınıf talebesine mahsustur. Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin birinci sınıf talebesine mahsustur.*), p. 7.

Prophet. “Thank God every morning and night since He created us as Muslims. The biggest religion is the religion of Islam in the world. ...My homeland is a Muslim land. The representative of the Prophet is the caliph. The caliph is responsible for doing the useful and good works for Muslims.”⁵⁴⁷

The nationalist thought, the institutions of the state and the sultanate were not mentioned in the textbooks. The neglect of nationalist idea instead was filled with the unity and fraternity of Muslims. The Islamist union was prolonged and encouraged in the textbooks. The textbooks of religion problematized the challenge of modern science rather than nationalism. Religion was made compatible with the modern world without touching upon the nationalist insights. What is more interesting in the religion textbooks is the disappearance of this Ottomanist identity. The nation is all Muslims, which is the ummah of the Prophet. Thus the religion textbooks until 1927 did not become means of conveying the strength of the state or the sultanate.

Although the religion textbooks served for the preparation of a compatible religion with profane understandings, they can also be seen as part of the two domains of knowledge that competed to take place in the minds of students and in the curriculums. The religious creation story defines all the historical revelation from such a point of view. This was a contrast, considering the new domain of knowledge that emerged with Darwinian inspirations. History started with the first man, Adam, in the religion textbooks and the mission was given to that man within a relation to the Creator. The agents and heroes of this narration were taken from the Quran and

⁵⁴⁷ “Sabah akşam Allah Teala’ya hamdedelim ve şükür edelim ki, bizi Müslüman olarak yaratmıştır. Dünyada en büyük din, din-i İslam’dır. Din-i İslam kıyamete kadar sürecektir. Ben Müslümanım, ben müminim, çünkü Lailaheillallah Muhammedun Resullullah diyerek Cenab-ı Allah’ın birliğine Hazret-i Muhammed’in peygamberi olduğuna inanırım. Babam anam kardeşlerim, arkadaşlarım hep Müslümandır. Memleketim Müslüman memleketidir. Peygamberimizin vekiline halife denir. Halife Müslümanlar için iyi ve faideli olan işleri düşünmeğe ve yapmağa borçludur.” Nazım Nuri, *Mekteplilere İlmi Malumat-ı Diniye* (İstanbul: Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası, 1339), p. 16.

the sequence of prophets determined the notion of time as the geography in the holy book prepared the notion of place. Muslims were modeled with Islamic characters and the past was built upon such concepts as the Islamic history of the Four Caliphates, and the companions of the Prophet.⁵⁴⁸ The chapters of History and Civics will reveal how much this religious context of knowledge was coherent with the knowledge presented in the textbooks under study.

⁵⁴⁸ One extraordinary sample of a textbook is Hilmi's much earlier text which encompassed the conception of duties so as to include the country, the sultan, the parents, laws and military. İbrahim Hilmi, *Müslüman Çocuğun Yeni İlmihali* (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1326) (*Küçük çocuklara akaidi talim eder. Tertibi güzel, yazılışı sadedir.*), p. 24-28. Published in 1910, this book was not approved by the Office in 1919 for the reason that the book was more like a civics textbook rather than religion. See Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 4

CHILDREN OF ISLAM AND THE HOMELAND

In the Unionist period, pedagogical considerations became the most essential criteria in the evaluation of textbooks. The search for new methods in teaching the social sciences dominated the agenda and purpose of the educational journals. For this reason, the period generally can be regarded as one of pedagogical enlightenment, yet most textbooks failed in the application of the educational theories of instruction. Actually, the badly constructed, incomplete paragraphs, confusing statements and disorder in page layout and the disorganization of the content accompanied the deficiencies in pedagogics, such as the common use of inappropriate examples from the world of adults. The political agenda of civics textbooks hardly let pedagogy to become the first consideration.

While reading the civics books; it sometimes became difficult to feel that they had been written for children, setting aside the use of address such as “my little children.” The civics books began referring to all children without gender separation, but the authors’ inconsistencies demonstrate the domination of male students over the female who were fewer in number. “Little Gentlemen” or only “Gentelemen” was widespread, besides the phrases of “My little children,” “My little friends,” and only “My Children.” Male children were configured as miniatures of adults rather than reserving their specialties of the childhood period as a result of the characteristic of the perception of the child in the 1910s.

Most of the civics textbooks were formed in the form of teachers' lectures in class. In other words, the narratives look like typed lectures, like a father speaking to his son. In this sense, the textbooks presented the subjects more like a sermon rather than a modern ordering and narration. Since it was like a speech, what lacked was generally the normative narration. The integrity of the lines was broken easily by the speaker's emotional fluctuations on certain political or social issues. The words of resentment in cases of misfortune or the bad policies of statesmen or Muslims appeared in the text. Another problem is the badly-composed paragraphs and narration. For example, obeying the parents, the importance of making a family budget and the harms of bachelorhood are ordered as consecutive sentences in one paragraph without well-established cause and effect relationship.⁵⁴⁹ Ali Seydi's textbook (1915,) which gives an impression that of was written in a rush, best epitomizes the disorder and badly constructed paragraphs.

The general thematic disorder observed in almost all textbooks gives the idea that the textbooks were not yet controlled according to strict criteria about their content order, titles or physical peculiarities. The post-Republican civics textbooks display the difference in the structure of the textbook construction and language which developed a more modern and normative language and attitude distancing it from the preaching format. Orhan Fuat's textbook stands as an example in its modern character; yet in a few pages he, too, tends to follow the preaching format by addressing "little gentlemen." Yet, notwithstanding his incongruent design, the modern style of his textbook is discerned easily from the speech-based (preaching) narration among the other narrations.

⁵⁴⁹ Ali Seydi, *Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* (Dersaadet: Artin Asadoryan Matbaası, 1331) (*Mekatib-i rüşdiyye, idadiye, sultaniye ve darülmualiminlerde tedris edilmek üzere tertip edilmiştir.*)

Assessing the technical and methodological novelties in theory and application, this chapter will delineate the inconsistent character of the Second Constitution with respect to perceptions and adaptations of the civics course into Ottoman socio-political and economic context which witnessed several wars as a result of which the change of maps, politics and sociology forcibly violated the fixed time and space notion of the existing curriculum.

This study first of all tried to include as many civics textbooks as possible in order to reach to a sufficient comprehension of the multifarious ruptures in terms of the content between the texts. It is because making an analysis on randomly chosen textbooks from certain years might lead to a misleading impression about the character of the primary school texts in the period. The curriculum defined the course as a lecture based on teaching and arousing moral values and feelings in the first and second grades, while the formation of a government and city life with the technical details of state institutions was focused on in the upper grades.⁵⁵⁰ The curriculum of 1913 fixed the name of the civics course in this title: “Assessments of Morality, Religion, History and Civilization” –(*Muhasabat-ı Ahlakiye, Diniye, Tarihiye, and Medeniyye*) The weekly hours of the course began with three hours in the first grades and went on with two, two, one, one and one in the following grades. As seen, the hours diminished as the grades of the students increased. Ali Seydi, despite appreciating the Constitutional regime’s operation on the curriculum, found the hour of this course insufficient since it was useful to contemplate the taught subjects in the following hour.⁵⁵¹ When classified by year of publication, many textbooks emerged following 1909, when the Unionists got the hold of the power from Sultan

⁵⁵⁰ *Mekاتب-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1329)

⁵⁵¹ Ali Seydi, *Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* (Dersaadet: Artin Asadoryan Matbaası, 1329) (*Mekاتب-i rüşdiyye ve idadilerde tedris edilmek üzere tertip edilmiştir.*) p. (Mukaddime).

Abdulhamit, with the exception of two textbooks published in 1908.⁵⁵² It is possible to observe different manifestations of civics education that were adapted from the European educational models.

The titles of the textbooks give the implication of the unofficial changes due to the busy and kaleidoscopic political agenda of the 1910s. The choice of words used in the titles of the textbooks reflects the author's change of discourse accordingly with the changing circumstances. What is conspicuous in the titles is the change of "civics" into "morals" and into "homeland" in the last phase. The "civics" period, of which was seen in the first tendencies of the authors just after the new regime was announced and no description of the course was made, represented the worry of a "civilization" which was welcomed without national and religious constraints.

The change from "civics" into "morals" occurred with the government policy that resulted from a new curriculum in 1913. The curriculum's description of the course reflected the confusion of subjects with a moral emphasis, as seen in its long title: *Assessments on Morality, Religion, History and Civilization* (Muhasabat-ı Ahlakiye Diniye, Tarihiye, Medeniye.) With this title the course aimed to incorporate social studies in a complete way so as to create a new morality. Following 1913, although the titles still varied, a unification of titles was ensured around the central key word, "morals." Within the supposed moral depression and the disappointment of the Western civilization, the state policy seems to have resorted to moral education besides civil education. The last phase dated to the beginning of 1920s with titles using the word "homeland": *Knowledge of the Homeland* (Malumat-ı

⁵⁵² Mehmed Hazık, *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1908); Selanikli Faik, *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1908)

Vataniye).⁵⁵³ The essential characteristic was manifested in the national citizenship based on a common law, in which a secularizing and science-based discourse took place in contrary to the decreasing religiosity. The ideas of state formation and homeland consciousness became the central imposition in textbooks in addition to a detailed knowledge of the machinery of town, city, county, state and national government.⁵⁵⁴ In this transformation of knowledge, the religious references and content of moral values became indistinct while the formation of state, society and citizenship was grounded on sociological and historical elucidation, namely on a social Darwinist path.

This chapter pursues the discursive views in content of the civics textbooks of primary school children. The authors' contrasting conceptions of the terms morality, duty and civilization will decipher the failure in forming consistent school knowledge. The textual analysis of the textbooks is based on the years between 1913 and 1921, taking into consideration the previous and following years in comparison to the chosen years.

⁵⁵³ Mehmet Emin, *Malumat-ı Vataniye* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1340); Mithat Sadullah, *Malumat-ı Vataniye ve Medeniye* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürrettebiye, 1340); Orhan Fuad, *Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye ve Malumat-ı Vataniye* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1924); Muslihiddin Adil Taylan, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Malumat-ı Vataniye* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1926)

⁵⁵⁴ Üstel noted that while the citizenship was regarded as being members of a family in the textbooks of the Second Constitutional period. However, in the Republican years, especially after the 1926 curriculum change, civics books focused on the state more by affiliating citizens to the state only. Füsün Üstel, Füsün Üstel, "*Makbul Vatandaş'ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*" (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005) p. 134.

Theoretical Discussions on Civilization and Religion

The analysis in this chapter is based on the textbooks between 1908 and 1926. It provides the chance to observe the epistemological change of discourse between texts. The gradual change was manifested in the use of concepts such as civilization, progress, morality and religion within attributed contextual meanings. The attempts at making the content of the religious education compatible with modernity in the previous section reversed the case, so that while there was an attitude of legitimizing religion with secular knowledge in the textbooks on religion, the textbooks on civics exposed quite the opposite by justifying the knowledge via religion until the 1920s. Contingencies and political tension block the settlement of the educational philosophy in the textbooks of the Second Constitutional period. Thus, a study of civics textbooks can reach conclusions only if the variety of textbooks is included at the turning points in 1908, 1913 and 1921.

The Ottoman contextualization of translated civics books led the way to a synthesis. In this sense, the civics textbooks are observed to have resulted in an Islamic adaptation of the Kantian morality, which aimed to raise autonomous individuals who carried out their rationally defined duties. Working for the perfection of one's self and the happiness of others could summarize the end of the Kantian doctrine. In his view, morals were not a medium to reach God or the other world, rather they were the goals in themselves; duty was to be done for it was a duty.⁵⁵⁵ Morals were considered to be the department of Islam by the writers such as Ali Kemal, Ali Seydi and Muslihiddin Adil in the high school textbooks which are

⁵⁵⁵ Emil Butro, *Avrupa Medeniyetinin Ahlak Kökleri*, trans. Rahmi Balaban (İzmir: Cumhuriyet Basımevi, 1940).

originally replicated from the Abdurrahman Şeref's *İlm-i Ahlak*, considered as the basis of the morality books.⁵⁵⁶ In this dominant point of view, religion and morals were existed together so that disbelief paralleled immorality, as seen in Muslihiddin Adil's articulations in his textbook for high schools.⁵⁵⁷

Morals without religious standpoint were expressed and rooted by the radical wing westernist intellectuals such as Baha Tevfik, Abdullah Cevdet and Ahmet Nebil.⁵⁵⁸ Baha Tevfik did not fail to criticize the reproduction of Islamic morality in Kantian disguise, a view that led his criticism on the existing curriculums.⁵⁵⁹ What he meant by the "new morality" exceeded the impact of Kant and reached a more materialist and utilitarian philosophy, rejecting any ecclestial background. Kant, whose insight on duty created a substantial impact on the Ottoman intellectuals formulating religious morals, was counted as an old-fashioned philosopher failing to represent the novelty in Western philosophy in the 1910s.⁵⁶⁰ He drew the roots of the new morals from the physiological and psychological grounds which rendered the formation of human behaviors.⁵⁶¹ Kant's insistence that "God and an immortal soul are necessary postulates of morality"⁵⁶² was challenged by the secular ethics, as

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

⁵⁵⁷ Hüsamettin Erdem, *Son Devir Osmanlı Düşüncesinde Ahlak (Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Kadar)* (İstanbul: Dem, 2006), p. 77.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 305.

⁵⁵⁹ Baha Tevfik, *Yeni Ahlak ve Ahlak Üzerine Yazılar*, ed. Faruk Öztürk (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002), p. 4.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 31.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁶² W. Watts Miller, *Durkheim, Morals and Modernity* (Montreal: Routledge, 1996), p. 207; Alasdair MacIntyre, *A Short History of Ethics, A History of Moral Philosophy from the Homeric Age to the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 196.

MacIntyre writes, according to which “we must understand moral forces in their rational nakedness, that is, in their true nature stripped of all symbols.”⁵⁶³

Ali Seydi, one of the members of the council of Ottoman History, tried to reach a synthesis through the adaptation of the old and new theories of morals with the judgements of Islam. His book, *Religious Morality: Constructed on the Theoretics of Duties* was originally written as a textbook yet not chosen in the competition for the moral textbooks though he was one of the popular textbook writers. He argued that the meaning of “religious morality” (*Ahlak-ı Dini*) was confusing because there cannot be a judgement that the principles and codes of morals fall into conflict with religious morality. Therefore, he commented that “...what the Ministry of Education aimed at while adding this course to the programs last year was not well understood”.⁵⁶⁴ He stated that morality could not take the place of religion since it was secular and did not offer anything for the Hereafter. However, religion both comprised moral provisions and values and provided people with felicity in both worlds. The remarks in the book reveal his aim overtly: “I wrote a piece of work to show that all of the moral codes, that the Europeans brought to the present perfection by amending and purifying..., appropriate completely well with our exalted Islamic provisions and to prove that none of the modern progress and development remain out of the encirclement of Islam.”⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶³ Ibid., p. 142.

⁵⁶⁴ “... ‘ahlak-ı dini’ terkiinden Maarif Nezaretinin ne demek istediği...anlaşılmamış olduğundan...” Ali Seydi, *Vezaif Nazariyesi Üzerine Mürettip Ahlak-ı Dini* (İstanbul: Kanaat, 1329) p. (Mukaddime).

⁵⁶⁵ “Avrupalılarca tertip ve kavaid-i islah edile edile sadeleştirile sadeleştirile bugünkü hal-i kemale getirilmiş olan kavain-i ahlakiyenin tamamen ahkam-ı celile-i şeriyeye muvafık olduğunu ve terkiyat ve tekmilatını, medeniyeden hiç birinin din-i mübin i İslamın daire-i ihatasından hariç kalmadığını göstereceğim bir eser ... tahrir eyledim.” Ibid., p. 2.

He defined morals as the medium of education which taught the worldly and spiritual duties and thus provided happiness in the two worlds.⁵⁶⁶ The synthesis comprised the modern sciences of psychology and pedagogy supported by Islamic moral principles derived from religious sources from which he resorted to 111 hadiths and 76 Quranic verses.⁵⁶⁷ The duties were, as usual in elementary textbooks, divided into three: religious (beliefs, and practices), personal (the body, mind and morality), social (to the family of the Prophet, religion and nation, citizens, all humanity, animals and the environment) with the difference of more Islamic emphasis. The state-sanctioned textbooks did not have a special focus on the family of the Prophet and the caliphates, however. The book rejected the notion of nationalism and sought to create an Islamic entity of consciousness. The rights of the non-Muslims were only understood and interpreted as much as the Islamic regulation about non-Muslims made possible.⁵⁶⁸ Calling the religious obligations a “duty” seems to have been nothing else than putting Islamic precepts into a Kantian mould.

In what follows lay the efforts of the Ottoman textbook writers to solve out the predicament of Western civilization superimposed on an Islamic/Ottoman background. The textbooks affirming a civil life with an Islamic penchant and the textbooks presenting knowledge-based on scientific and rational thinking will be differentiated with respect to their approaches to civilization, Islam, Ottomanness and progress, recognizing the years of their production. The dissertation identifies the turning point from a theological epistemology to the sociological theory in school

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁶⁷ Hatice Kübra Kanal, *Ali Seydi Bey'in Ahlak Düşüncesi* (MA Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010), p. 142.

⁵⁶⁸ Ali Seydi, *Vezaif Nazariyesi Üzerine Mürettip Ahlak-ı Dini* (İstanbul: Kanaat, 1329), p. 76-78.

knowledge as well as noting that the state sanctioned textbooks became, within the pedagogical claims, the terrain of this clash of ideas distilled from the intellectual thought in the chaotic atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Years.

In Seydi's *Vezaif-i Medeniye*, his synthesizing opinions were put into practice for the elementary level. The textbook started with the introduction of a nine-year old child, Sadi, who "is the smartest, the most hardworking, the cleanest, the tidiest and the best-mannered student of all the class."⁵⁶⁹ As soon as he gets up, he performs his praying to God. Finishing the praying, he says: "Oh, my God, what a beautiful thing is prayers to you. My heart filled with light. I feel a great relief."⁵⁷⁰ Thus, carrying out his responsibility of servitude to God, he goes to the garden silently if the weather is good, he breathes fresh air, and does some gymnastic by holding onto the branches of the trees. Sadi has got a table of good deeds and misdeeds in which he notes his actions in a day. He thanks God for the good deeds, and feels regret for the bad things.⁵⁷¹ Thus, the individual first of all was linked to God, before everything. Yet, the physical education is not neglected in the early morning side by side with the religious performance in Sadi's life.

The second point the book stressed was the duties towards his parents. The emphasis on respect for the family just after God seemingly went in parallel with the Quranic order of respect and gratitude.

On the other hand, belonging to the state came only after these two items, God and family. The author set up the vision of the state through a student and his

⁵⁶⁹ "...sınıfının en zeki, en çalışkan, en düzenli, en temiz, en terbiyeli bir şakirdidir." Ali Seydi, *Vezaif-i Medeniye. Mekatib-i İptidaiye Şakirtlerine Mahsus* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1328), p.1.

⁵⁷⁰ "Oh Ya Rabbi! Sana ibadet etmek ne güzel şeydir. Kalbim nurlarla doldu. Büyük bir ferahlık hissettim." Ibid., pp.6-7.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., p. 9.

school. The school was the micro form representing the state in the book. The ideology of Ottomanism was perpetuated by giving space to songs of the country titled “We are the Ottomans.” It refers to the ancestors as Ottomans. “Turks” or “Turkish” as words did not appear in the book. As ethnic signals, the words “Greek” and “Armenian” were used once. It is observed that the society was constituted a binary of Christians and Muslims, but united under Ottomanism.

Although the last pages of the book inform about the government, ministries, and parliament, the stress of the book is on the army as an institution. Sadi said the students should learn military tasks so that they did not get in trouble in the future. It would make them feel ready to be trained as soldiers. The Armenian and Greek children also were added to the conversation as supporters of Sadi’s ideas about the army. It is reported that the Christian children liked the idea of military service very much. Sadi donated his watch to the navy and it was stressed once again that “both our souls and our properties belong to our state and nation.”⁵⁷² The book turned the story of a nine-year old child into that of a little commander when Sadi became Captain of the friends at the end.

Sadi was interested in politics, too. He taught his friends the meaning of equality, freedom, and constitutional parliament. One of the days he loved the best was July 10 and we learn from him that this was a festival where people got together in the Hill of *Abide-i Hürriyet* and where people with flags in green and red colors

⁵⁷² “Canımız da malımız da milletindir, devletindir.” Ali Seydi, *Vezaif-i Medeniye. Mekatib-i İptidaiye Şarkitlerine Mahsus* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1328), p. 25.

greeted the Sultan⁵⁷³ and celebrated the acceptance of Constitutional regime by watching the performances of the army.⁵⁷⁴

As can be seen from Seydi's textbook, which was sanctioned as an elementary school textbook, the government tried to carry out two duties simultaneously at the turn of the nineteenth century: enlightening and moralizing.⁵⁷⁵ Civics lessons comprised the goal of "moralizing the modern man" against the ills of the liberties arising from the Enlightenment. Thus, the philosophy of education tended to preserve a conservative character against emancipation through schooling. The synthesis which the conservative modernists pursued seemingly became a widespread influential policy of the state on the philosophy of the social sciences education in the period between 1913 and 1921.⁵⁷⁶

The consciousness of a "national" bond stood at the core of the crisis which passed through the different phases in the 1910s. The national consciousness was drawn upon much broader entities in the first phase and one such word to articulate this consciousness was "civilization." The notion of time and how it was valued in the textbooks plays a crucial role in this construction of "our civilization." The past was believed to have staged the great civilization of Ottomans; and the present was given as a regretful short transitionary span of time in which the real civilization and

⁵⁷³ The first and only place the sultan was mentioned.

⁵⁷⁴ It is observed that the author utilized some symbols like the Ottoman flag, the national anthem and the festival of July 10 to make the state visible. The festival of July 10 had been accepted in 1908 named "*Id-i Milli*" in the parliament, and was celebrated until 1922. Ziya Gökalp expressed the significance of such symbols for the maintenance of Ottoman nationalism: "The power and solidarity of the Ottomans will get strengthened as long as the number and variety of the festivals or the days of commemoration increased." Mimar Türkkahraman, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Sosyalleşme ve Siyasal Sembolizm* (İstanbul: Birey Yayıncılık, 2000), p. 147.

⁵⁷⁵ Henry A. Giroux, *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life, Critical Pedagogy in the Modern Age*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), p. 53.

⁵⁷⁶ Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, *Taklitle Medeniyet Olmaz* (İstanbul: Bedir, 1962).

resurrection of Ottomans would be achieved through adherence to the original values embedded in religion and customs. In the words of Mehmet Ziya, one of the members of Great Assembly of Education in 1921: “Since we have forgotten our past and the imperial civilization, we are deprived of the truth of education to a degree.”⁵⁷⁷ Another author in *Yeni Nesil* envisioned the past as the only power “making the river flow.”⁵⁷⁸

The eclectic understanding of morality and the matter of “an indigenous civilization” in the Ottoman context led to the manifestation of confusing concepts and terms. Muallim Cevdet called the educators to ask questions to fix an appropriate content for Ottoman children: “What deficiencies do we have as Ottomans? From what occasions, beliefs, and thoughts should our children be kept from?”⁵⁷⁹ He called for an inquiry to find out what kind of upbringing and education the enemies of the Ottomans implemented for their children so that the program of this imported course could be modified. For both political and economic goals, the national and religious consciousness should be instilled in children: “Make them feel that they are Turkish and Muslim.”⁵⁸⁰ The Ottoman state, the meaning of the Caliphate and the guarantee of state over the non-Muslims who lived in peace with the Muslims were

⁵⁷⁷ “Biz mazimizi, oradaki müessir medeniyetimizi unuttuğumuz için irfan hakikatinden bir dereceye kadar mahrum kaldık.” Mehmet Ziya, “Musahabe-i Milliye: Asar-ı Eslafa Hürmet Edelim,” *Yeni Nesil* 1 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1337).

⁵⁷⁸ “Yeni hayat nehrin bugünkü yatağıdır. Ve arkada bıraktığı yollarıyla yani mazisiyle kuvvetle alakadardır. Ve mazi bu nehrin akabilmesini temin eden kudrettir. O kudret ecdadımızın sadık kaldığı dini ananeleri, sağlam seciyesidir.” Ahmet Şükrü, “Yeni Hayat ve Genç Nesil,” *Yeni Nesil* 3 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1337).

⁵⁷⁹ “Bizim, biz Osmanlıların ahlaken ne eksikliklerimiz var?... Onları, ne hallerden, ne itiyadlardan, ne fikirlerden sakınacağız?” M. Cevdet, “Mekatib-i İptidai Ahlak ve Malumat-ı Medeniye Dersleri Programı Etrafında,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 1, no. 2, p. 280.

⁵⁸⁰ “Çocuklarınıza Türk ve Müslüman olduklarını iyi hissettiriniz.” Ibid., p. 285.

some of the subjects that Muallim Cevdet said that should be given importance by the teachers of this course.

Similarly, Satı Bey emphasized the significance of the civics course in its being a kind of moral indoctrination which raises patriot people having knowledge of the institutions, legislations and system of the state.⁵⁸¹ He explained that he meant the values accepted by the family and the state and the religion all together. In order to create citizens, all other courses in the program should be utilized so that the moral messages sanctified by both state and religion were conveyed to the children.⁵⁸² He urged them not to disregard any of “the circumstances which create[d] an opportunity to serve moral education.”⁵⁸³ After exemplifying how the moral education might be incorporated into social science classes like history and geography, he continued with mathematics:

Let’s organize a “moral” Math class. A child went out with his father, the father gave five pennies to a poor but honorable man they came across. Then, they saw a donation box, the father put 10 pennies in it. Then, they entered a store to buy new clothing for the boy. They paid 30 pennies. Since his shoes seemed good, they did not buy new shoes. Yet his sister’s shoes were worn out. They bought a pair of new shoes for her. The father paid 10 pennies. How much did they spend in total? ⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸¹ Satı, “Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Vataniye,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 1, no. 2, p. 67.

⁵⁸² Satı, “Derslerde Tesirat-ı Ahlakiye,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 2, no. 18, p. 210.

⁵⁸³ “Her derste şakirdana ahlaki hisleri ilga edecek vesaiti düşünmeli ve bu maksada hizmet edecek hiç bir fırsat kaçırılmamalıdır.” Satı, “Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Vataniye,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 1, no. 2, p. 69.

⁵⁸⁴ “Ahlaki bir hesap meselesi tertip edelim: ‘Bir çocuk babasıyla sokağa çıkar, rastgeldikleri biçare fakir namuslu bir adama baba 5 kuruş verdi. Sonra donanma ianesi için bir kutu gezdiriliyordu, oraya da 10 kuruş verdi. Sonra bir dükkana girdiler, çocuğun elbisesi eskimiş idi. Bir kat elbise aldı. 30 kuruş verdi. Kunduraları iyi olduğu için ona yeni kundura almadı. Fakat kız kardeşinin kunduraların eskimiş idi. Onun için bir çift kundura alındı, baba bu kunduralar için 10 kuruş verdi.’ Verilen paraların mecmuu ne kadar eder?” Ibid., p. 70.

The use of Math for moral ends was regarded as pedagogically and scientifically appropriate for small children: “Here is a Math class that does not violate Math. However, it provides moral benefits such as real thrift, the love of homeland, and a sense of economy.”⁵⁸⁵ In this way, on the theoretical level, the educators envisaged a moral program which had its roots in the indigenous needs of “Ottoman civilization” project for the civics education.

Blending Islamic Roots with Western Merits

The historical construction of “civilization” marked consequently the aristocratic superiority over the bourgeoisie, the clash between the bourgeoisie and the working classes, and the conflicts at the international level in the later centuries. The transfer of civilization to the East dated back to the Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt in 1798. The genealogy of the term “civilization” in the Ottoman context can be traced in Şemsettin Sami’s *Kamus-ı Turki*, articles and in the books of various intellectuals. For the most part, the concept is defined in two ways: the formation of communities, law and order; and benefitting from the merits of science, technology, industry and trade, in other words, progress.⁵⁸⁶ The Tanzimat reformers regarded civilization as a “renewal of morals,” which referred to the aim of protection from the evils of modernity. The conception of civilization in the Tanzimat era marked the beginning of the constant tension over the word while evaluating the textbooks of civics. The fear of modernity that came with the impact of Romantics such as

⁵⁸⁵ “İşte bir hesap dersi ki hesap dersine bir halel getirmez, lakin çocuğun nazarından hakiki tasadduk, muhabbet-i vataniye, fikr-i iktisadî dur tutmamak gibi bir menfaat-i ahlakiyeyi de temin eder.” Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁸⁶ Ruhi Güler, “Tanzimattan II.Meşrutiyete “Medeniyet” Anlayışının Evrimi” (Ph.D. diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006)

Rousseau made Ottoman intellectuals divert civilization to a more moralistic ground which was suspicious especially about the liberties demanded by the Enlightenment. The impending evils suggested an eclectic and ambivalent attitude to modernity and the compensation of the probable ills with dignified moral values.

The term “Islamic civilization” used in the Hamidian period emerged as result of this ambivalence about civilization and modernity. “Conservative modernization” prolonged the eclecticism of the Tanzimat period and the civics textbooks of the Young Turk Period were by no means meaningful without the recognition of this tension produced over the term. For example, one of the textbooks introduced students to the unjustifiable invasion of Tripoli on the pretext of transferring civilization: “They [the Europeans] were claiming as such: ‘You could not civilize those places, we will expand civilization to Africa. Hence, we will provide for the wealth and felicity of the people there.’ Of course, these were some non-sensical statements.”⁵⁸⁷ The call for Muslim solidarity was based on the invasions in Balkans and Tripoli. The book, calling for Islamic union, clearly violated the curriculum under title of the “Treatment of the Foreigners” in which the students generally were informed about the principle of equality.⁵⁸⁸ The Abolition of the Capitulations in 1914 also took its place in this anti-imperialist framework in the book.⁵⁸⁹ Islamic civilization inevitably was produced against the civilization which was necessarily western and imperialist. The examination of civics books confirms

⁵⁸⁷ “*Bunlar şu iddiada bulunuyorlardı: ‘Siz oraları medenileştiremediniz, biz medeniyeti Afrika’ya da neşr edeceğiz. Bu suretle oranın ahalisinin refah ve saadetini temin edeceğiz.’ Şüphesiz bunlar pek boş sözlerdi.*” H. Natan, Mithat Sadullah, *Yeni Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye, Diniye, Medeniye, Tarihiye* (Devre-i Aliye, Birinci Sınıf) (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1333), p. 159.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., p.160.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., p.162.

Güler's evaluation that "Ottoman intellectuals tried to prevent the spread of destructive psychology among both intellectuals and society, with the thoughts that the East is the cradle of the civilization."⁵⁹⁰ What was taught to the children was a "civilization of their own," part of which was recognized and tolerated to have been influenced by the merits of the Western civilization. What is more, the Islamic civilization was even superior to the West since the virtues determined by the centuries-long Western civilization had already existed in Islam theoretically and in the Ottoman past in practice. Especially, tolerance, equality, freedom and consultation were part of Islamic belief and Ottoman history.⁵⁹¹

The concept of "Islamic civilization" bore manifold problems as well as caused theoretical discussions. İlber Ortaylı interpreted it as a secularizing concept which caused Ottomans to assess themselves not with an interior interest but by an exterior Western look in the course of time.⁵⁹² In other words, Islam and what was Islamic was evaluated only to the extent it contributed to what was modern.⁵⁹³ Thus in the narration and composition of school subjects, differences and conflicts tended to be lost from sight in the school knowledge; instead, the search for the adaptability, compatibility and appropriation of the indigenous led the content, and simultaneously resulted in the reproduction of the Islamic values and morals in the western sense which could be seen as both the secularization and revivalization of the convention.

⁵⁹⁰ Ruhi Güler, "Tanzimattan II.Meşrutiyete "Medeniyet" Anlayışının Evrimi" (Ph.D. diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006) p. 172.

⁵⁹¹ Lothrop Stoddard, *1914-1921 I. Cihan Harbi Sonrasında İslam Alemi: Bir Medeniyet Sorgusu ve Arayışı*, haz., Kamil Yeşil, (İstanbul: Kaknüs, 2002), p. 158.

⁵⁹² Ruhi Güler, "Tanzimattan II.Meşrutiyete "Medeniyet" Anlayışının Evrimi" (Ph.D. diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006) p.185.

⁵⁹³ İsmail Kara, "İslamcı Söylemin Kaynakları ve Gerçeklik Değeri," *Modern Türkiye 'de Siyasi Düşünce, İslamcılık 6* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005), p. 44.

The critical question in the Ottoman curriculum of civics, however diverted from the western models and asked “who are we?” The description of the universe and mankind indispensably produced a new mold of “duties” conducted to centers of belonging. Ali İrfan’s book, *Education of Man and Civilization* posed the fact in which man is configured as a celestial entity which generally found his expression in the discrepancy between the spiritual and material sides of human beings, of which the former was meticulously taken into consideration against the modern materialist imperatives. The question of “Who are we?” was answered within this holistic image of man in religion: “We, human beings, are the most precious and valuable among the live and inanimate creatures of God. We are even more favorable and superior than angels.”⁵⁹⁴ Man, who was interpreted as a work of art in the religious circle of living beings, certainly conflicts with an envisagement of man in the Enlightenment ideology. The sultan and the state denominated the celestial existence in the world view above. The children were taught why they should love the Sultan in these lines:

Why do we love the Sultan?

...

Because he is the caliph of the Prophet, the representative,
The testimony of the three hundred million Muslims on Earth
Because he is the Sultan of thirty million Ottoman,
He carries the throne, honour and glory of the ancestors.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁴ “Biz insanlar Cenab-ı Allah’ın yarattığı canlı, cansız bütün mahlukatın en değerlisi, en kıymetlisiyiz. Hatta meleklerden bile daha muteber daha makbulüz.” Ali İrfan, *Terbiye-i İnsaniye ve Medeniye* (İstanbul: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1329), p. 3. (*Maarif Nezaretinin son programına tevfiikan ve gayet açık ve sade bir lisan ile muharir olup nur seydegan vatana hayat –ı insaniye ve içtimaiyeyi talim eder.*); For similar statements, Selanikli Faik, *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1908), p. 3.

⁵⁹⁵ “Padişahı biz ne için o kadar çok severiz

...

Çünkü odur Peygamberin halifesi, vekili
Yeryüzünde üç yüz milyon müslümanın delili
Çünkü odur otuz milyon Osmanlılık sultanı
Ondadır hep ecdadının tahtı, şerefi, şanı.”

Authored by İbrahim Alaattin in Osman Fahri, *Musahabatül Ahlakiye, Sıhhiye, Tarihiyye, Medeniye* (İstanbul: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1332), p. 15. (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezaretinin teşkil ettiği bir ve iki*

The religiosity in the description of man converged with the reason and rationality of the Enlightenment. Human intellect, constituting one branch of the modern education, was appreciated as a gift of God.⁵⁹⁶ The celestial point of view did not necessarily result in avoidance of the material value and gains of this world. This might be read as part of the synthesis reached as a result of the intellectual quest in the Second Constitutional period. Human reason had gained much importance because civilization and progress sprang of it: “Utilizing all things with our wishes, making the universe obey our pleasures, in short, founding communities, governments, living with perfect felicity (*kemal-i saadet*) and welfare are all thanks to our reason.”⁵⁹⁷

The civics books from 1913 to 1926 unanimously suggested on three categories regarding the term “duty:” personal duties (to the body, spirit, mind, intelligence and honor), social duties (to the family, country, humanity and civilization) and religious duty (to God).⁵⁹⁸ Religious duty, which made up one of the circles of duties, came the last following the material duties such as the importance of wealth, which opened the worldly progress and point of view possibly. To İrfan, man progressed and was civilized by carrying out civic duties:

dershane ve muallimli mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i ula müfredat programına muvafık olarak tertip edilmiştir.)

⁵⁹⁶ Ali İrfan, 1329, p. 4.

⁵⁹⁷ “Bütün eşyayı istediğimiz gibi kullanmamız kainatı kendi istediğimize tabi kılmanızı velhasıl vahşetten kurtulup cemiyetler, hükümetler teşkil etmemiz, kemal-i saadet ve refahetle yaşamamız hep aklımız sayesinde.” Ibid., p. 5.

⁵⁹⁸ The placement of the duties to God varies in the textbooks accordingly with the author’s respect of the secular worldview. For example, as seen above in Ali Seydi’s *Vezaif-i Medeniye*, the child was taught his duties starting with the morning prayers in the day. However, most authors preferred to place the religious duties in the last page since, as justified by some authors, the religious duties were going to be taught in detail in the course of religion.

In brief, man is able to do whatever he imagines. To get what you want and to live in comfort, thus to get rid of the savageness, is only possible by civic duties. So, what is civics? It is all of the things to be accomplished in order to have a prosperous life by civilizing and leaving barbarity.⁵⁹⁹

To Seydi's textbooks of 1913, the aim of the course was: "To teach man his humanity, the glory and merit of being a man, and what his personal and social duties are about."⁶⁰⁰ He stated that western civilization had progressed with morality, which was acquired through a proper education.

The push towards enlightenment, civilization and progress was resisted by the identity crisis, in the narration of Osman Fahri. The reluctance to change was disclosed within dichotomy of the "self" and the "others": "Each nation has customs of its own and they are worthy at its own sight. They are irrevocable because they identify that nation. If a nation spoils its customs, that means, it does not want to resemble itself. It definitely imitates other nations. Imitation should be abstained from, avoided. Losing your own identity means becoming the slaves of others."⁶⁰¹

The authors' approaches to the relation between religion and civilization varied in form and degree with respect to their personal choices. The conception of "duty" was overtly designated as Islamic in a textbook which began with *Besmele*

⁵⁹⁹ "Velhasıl aklına her geleni her istediğini yapabiliyor. İnsanın böyle her istediğini elde etmesi, rahat yaşaması, vahşetten kurtulması ancak vezaif-i medeniyesi ileler. Şu halde, vezaif-i medeniyeye nedir? Vezaif-i medeniyeye insanların vahşetten kurtulup bir yerde toplu olarak rahatça serbestçe yaşayabilmeleri için yapılması lazım gelen şeylerdir." Ali İrfan, 1329, p. 12.

⁶⁰⁰ "İnsana insanlığı, insaniyetin şeref ve meziyetini, vezaif-i şahsiye ve medeniyemizin neden ibaret olduğunu öğreten bu dersin fevaidinden uzun uzadıya bahsetmeye gerek yoktur." Ali Seydi, 1329, p. 3.

⁶⁰¹ "Her milletin adeti kendi kendisine aittir. Ve kendi nazarında o adetleri kıymetlidir, değiştirilemez. Çünkü onu tanıtan o adetlerdir. Adetlerini bozan kendi kendisine benzemek istemiyor demektir. O mutlaka başka milleti taklit eder. Taklitten çekinmelidir, sakınmalıdır: Kendi kendini kaybetmek başkasına esir olmaktır." Osman Fahri, *Musahabatül Ahlakiye, Sıhhiye, Tarihiyye, Medeniyeye* (İstanbul: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1332), p. 106. (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezaretinin teşkil ettiği bir ve iki derslane ve muallimli mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i ula müfredat programına muvafık olarak tertip edilmiştir*)

and had no author name. Duty was introduced directly within the religious framework: “The duties to God are the most blessed and important duties. It is to do what God commands and to avoid what he prohibits. These are the duties which constitute the basis of all other duties.”⁶⁰²

Haydar and Ziya’s *The New Knowledge of Civics* also exemplifies the narrative of civics with a religion-based epistemology. The subject matters in the book were presented with Islamic references either from the Hadiths or the Quran on thirty occasions. The textbook nearly lost its distinctive character as a civics course book due to so many religious references. To give an example, the importance of solidarity between family members was supported first with two hadiths: “A despicable man is one who leaves his family in misery” and “Those rich people whose families are wretched are not our brothers.”⁶⁰³ He underlined the religious authority over the moral values, by saying, “Gentlemen, as you see how family is significant and sacred in the sight of law of Islam.”⁶⁰⁴ He added concluding remarks on the function of family in Shariah. This legitimization process certainly served not only the reproduction but also the strengthening of the religious discourse. The author compromised civilization and religion and used both terms side by side in his texts: “In the old times people sold their kids like slaves, if they wanted they even

⁶⁰² n.a., *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: [Vezir Hanında 48 nolu Matbaa], 1327), p. 7. (*Umum Mekatib-i İptidaiyelerin ikinci ve üçüncü senelerinde tedrise elverişli surette tertip edilmiştir.*)

⁶⁰³ “... insanların alçağı ailesini sefalette bırakanlardır... Vakit ve hali müsait olduğu halde ailesini muzayikte bırakanlar bizden değildir.” Ali Haydar, A.Ziya, *Yeni Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1330), p. 5. (*Mekatib-i rüşdiyenin ikinci senelerinde okutulmak üzere programa muvafık olarak yazılmıştır.*)

⁶⁰⁴ “Efendiler, gördünüz ki Şeriat-ı İslamiye nazarında aile ne kadar mühim ve kutsi bir mevki tutmuştur.” Ali Haydar, A.Ziya, *Yeni Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1330), p. 5. (*Mekatib-i rüşdiyenin ikinci senelerinde okutulmak üzere programa muvafık olarak yazılmıştır.*)

killed them. The law of Islam, the civilization and the humanity abolished all of these evils”⁶⁰⁵

The agency given to civilization and religion in the same line is apparent throughout the book. It is indiscernable to what “civilization” referred, yet it is understood that “civilization” connotated the economic and intellectual progress of Western Europe. This word seems to have served for the “pedagogical” articulation of western values, so that the Ottoman pride and hope were not hurt. Thus, besides pedagogical considerations, this euphemism made the expected tension and predicament between the East and West easier to negotiate in the context of civics.

The duties to family, relatives, inheritance, justness, private property, entrepreneurship and equality were emphasized with religious references in Ali Seydi, too.⁶⁰⁶ Islam and reason were used in the same line: “Religion, reason and conscience lead us to do this.”...“God commands us to be characterized by justice and benevolence. Wisdom (*akıl*), reason (*hikmet*) and rationality (*mantık*) necessitated this, too.”⁶⁰⁷ Some subjects were crystallized in historical terms with the periods of the Four Caliphates. Seydi presented the duty to God as the most encompassing of all duties surrounding man. The man was imagined in relation to God, before all ties and belongings in parallel to his theoretical ideas discussed above:

Wherever we go in the world, we witness that people of these places -even if they are savages (*vahşi*-) we see that they believe in the existence of a Creator. The more the civilization

⁶⁰⁵ “Eski zamanlarda insanlar çocuklarını esir gibi satarlar, isterlerse öldürürlerdi. Şariat-ı İslamiye insanlık ve medeniyet bu gibi fenalıkları kaldırdılar.” Ibid., p. 8.

⁶⁰⁶ Ali Seydi, *Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* (Dersaadet: Artin Asadoryan, 1331), p. 9, p. 79. (*Mekاتب-i rüşdiyye, idadiye, sultaniye ve darülmualiminlerde tedris edilmek üzere tertip edilmiştir.*)

⁶⁰⁷ “Din ve akıl ve vicdan bizi bu feraizin hüsnü ifasına sevk ediyor... Cenab-ı Hak Kuran’ı Kerim’de adil ve ihsan ile muttasıf olmamızı emrediyor. Akıl hikmet mantık da bunu mudildir.” Ibid., p.32, p.70.

progresses, the more the feeling of piousness gets strength, whereas the bigotry (*taassub*) is lessened. The feeling of divinity is so exalted that they perceive disbelief as equal to their death. Here, the duties carried out to the Creator are called religious duties.⁶⁰⁸

Not only the discourse of duties, but also the center to which the sanction was imposed and the responsibility oriented arose from the Islamic belief system. Parents who did not educate their children well were held responsible to God and humanity. The narrative did not intend a citizenship based on state and law power directly.⁶⁰⁹ Instead, “humanity” as a version of “civilization” counterbalanced the religious discourse. Haydar’s quest for congruence between the laws of Islam and the imperatives of the “civilization” were exposed clearly in these lines, historically predating Islam’s merits over “civilization”: “The exalted Islamic law showed the sacredness and inviolability of family to people almost 1300 years ago.”⁶¹⁰

Islam preached the principle of consultation, parliamentary regime, national sovereignty, the greatest of all principles, 1300 years ago. Yet, it is regretful that Muslims have drifted apart these principles in the course of time, and they got so miserable.⁶¹¹

Here, Haydar and Ziya agreed on Ali Seydi’s conception of morality in which he argued that Islam encompassed what “civilization” had just found out.

⁶⁰⁸ “Dünyanın hangi tarafına gitsen orada yaşayan adamların vahşi derecesinde bile olsalar- bir halıkın bir mahlukun vücuduna iman ve itikad ettiklerini görürüz. Medeniyet terakki ettikçe taassub azalmakta ise de dindarlık hissi gittikçe kuvvet bulmaktadır. Diyanet hissi o derece yüksektir ki itikadsızlık adeta onlarca bir cinayet hükmündedir. İşte insanın halıkına karşı yapacağı vazifelere de vazife-i diniye adı verilir.” Ali Seydi, *Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye* (Devre-i Aliye, Birinci Sene) (İstanbul: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1336), p. 9. (*Maarif nezaretini celilesince bilumum mekatibde tedris edilmek üzere kabul edilmiş ve bu kere tashihat ve tadilat icrasıyla yeniden tab olunmuştur.*)

⁶⁰⁹ Ali Haydar, A. Ziya, p. 6.

⁶¹⁰ “Şer-i Şerif bin üç yüz şu kadar sene önce aile ocağının masuniyetini ve kudsiyetini insanlara göstermiştir.” Ibid., p. 5.

⁶¹¹ “Müslümanlık bundan bin üç yüz şu kadar sene evvel bu büyük insanlık düsturunu, kaide-i meşvereti, meşrutiyeti, hakimiyeye-i milliyeyi vaz etmiştir. Fakat maatteessüfdür ki müslümanlar birçok zamanlar bu kaidelerden uzaklaşmışlar, uzaklaşmışlar da böyle perişan düşmüşler.” Ibid., p. 38.

The lines above depicting how religion predated what the “civilization” had formed over centuries articulate the substantial defense of religion against the thesis of the correlation between religion and socio-economic backwardness. Thus, the credibility, righteousness and universality of Islam were claimed upon its ability of correspondence with the contemporary knowledge. It is evident that religion still played a crucial role in the imagination of the Ottoman community in the Second Constitutional Period according to these authors. The resurrection of the Empire, the restoration of morality and the renewal of education all were bound strictly with the revival of religion, which was manifested in the demarcation of “true religion” from the “old superstitious, violated religion” (*hurafat*). The same was observed in the textbooks on religion on the harmony of religion versus science dichotomy.

The “civilizations” of the East and West found some more explicit comparisons in Ali Seydi’s textbooks. One major thesis told students that western civilization owed a great deal to the East while the second one highlights that the present and even future “civilization” would be unavoidably and irreversibly Western. He reflected the implications of an understanding of history which culminated in Western civilization.⁶¹² Seydi discussed the dichotomy of religion and civilization by carrying it onto geographical entities of the East and West.⁶¹³ He articulated his foresight that the superiority of western civilization could be long term. He argued that when the earlier people were destroyed; their civilizations were, too. Yet, western civilization seems to be last at permanent since it was the culmination and compilation of many states. He regretfully stated that the compulsory direction for

⁶¹² H. Asena Demirer Akmaner, “Batıda Medeniyet-İçi Hakimiyet Mücadelesi ve Medeniyet- Dışı Düşman Tasavvuru” (Ph.D, diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007), p. 138.

⁶¹³ Ali Seydi, 1329, p.18.

Ottomans in order to progress was to the Western civilization, although “...we, the nation of Ottomans, taught everyone everything once upon a time.”⁶¹⁴ He explained the reasons of direction to the West as follows:

Yet today, European civilization has become the civilization of science; and consequently, it is released from the threats of losing its power and domination with the stagnation and decline of a few governments or people. Because the contemporary European civilization is not the product of one people, every nation and people surviving today has a claim, share and help over it. Therefore, accepting the components of European civilization has no drawbacks, but maybe benefits, provided that they are religiously and culturally compatible with us.⁶¹⁵

The author tried to overcome the disquiet and uncanny character of following the “others” in the sight of the new generation with the conviction that all civilizations from the East and the West melted into the same pot and made up it. He gave some concrete examples to persuade students the merits of the “civilization” which is overtly put as inevitably “Western” in the present time. He exemplified his positive viewpoint with the humanitarian projects in Europe, such as the compassionate organizations or regulations helping the poor in order to create a favorable existence for all people in the world.⁶¹⁶ By disregarding the inner and foreign political crises which lately had turned out an anti-Westernist attitude as a result of the Balkan wars, he sustained to set up a dialogue with the Europe. He continued to exalt European civilization with reference to the rights of the foreigners in a country:

⁶¹⁴ “Halbuki, biz Osmanlı milleti bir zamanlar herkese herşeyi öğretirdik.” Ali Seydi, 1329, p.16.

⁶¹⁵ “Lakin bugünkü Avrupa medeniyeti (medeniyet-i ulum) şeklini almış ve binaenaleyh öyle bir kavmin birkaç hükümetin sükutuyla inkırazıyla hükmünü kaybetmek tehlikelerinden azade bulunmuştur. Çünkü Avrupa medeniyeti hazırası hiç bir kavmin malı mahsusu olmayıp bugün mevcudiyeti siyasiyesini muhafaza eden her kavmin her milletin bunda bir hakkı, bir şirketi bir himmeti vardır. Binaenaleyh Avrupa medeniyetinin şerait-i diniye ve içtimaiyemize tevafuk eden aksamını kabulde bizim için mahzur değil, belki faideler mevcuttur.” Ibid., p. 19.

⁶¹⁶ Ali Seydi, 1329, p. 25.

No need! History shows us that there are great differences between our time and the time three or four centuries ago. In previous times, a man who travelled to a foreign country had to hide his foreignness. If not, he was harmed and humiliated. Now it is not like this... What is wanted from civilization is to create this situation. However, against those who unjustly attack our nation, country and society, our first duty is to silence them in a plausible way, if they do not give up, cutting off our communication. Our reaction and anger should be restricted to those people's personalities, without extending it to their sect, race, and nation. It is because the principle of pedagogy orders it to us.⁶¹⁷

Ali Seydi presented the life styles of the East and West with concrete examples. In contrast to the above-mentioned authors, he adopted the Orientalist point of view which counted backwardness ingrained in the morality and the character of the East: "We, the Eastern people, are erratic and feeble-minded."⁶¹⁸ He commented:

If a civilized European tells you, "Let's meet at five tomorrow at so and so place," you will find that man at the exact hour and minute there no matter what happens. We, on the other hand, do not take such occasions seriously. However, is this behavior appreciable?⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁷ "Ne hacet! Bundan üç dört asır evvelki zaman ile şimdiki zaman arasında pek çok fark olduğunu tarih bize gösteriyor. Evvelleri bir adam ecnebi bir memlekete gitse ecnebiliği saklamağa mecbur olurdu. Aksi halde zarar hakaret görürdü. Şimdi ise böyle değildir... Medeniyetten matlub olan şey de bu hali vücuda getirmektir. Mahaza; bigayr hak milletimize, vatanımıza, heyet-i içtimaiyemize, taun ve taarruz edenlere karşı birinci derecede vazifemiz onları mantık dairesinde ilzam etmekten, olmadığı halde kendileri ile münasebeti kesmekten ve bu babdaki infialimizi o gibi adamların şahsına hasır edip bunların mensup olduğu mezhep, millet, cins efradının umumuna teşmil etmemekten ibarettir. Çünkü terbiye kanunu bize bunu emrediyor." Ali Seydi, 1329, p. 26.

⁶¹⁸ "Biz şarklılar iradesiz ve sebatsız." Ali Seydi, *Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye* (Devre-i Aliye Birinci Sene) (İstanbul: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1336), p. 19. (*Maarif nezaretini celilesince bilimum mekatibde tedris edilmek üzere kabul edilmiş ve bu kere tashihat ve tadilat icrasıyla yeniden tab olunmuştur.*)

⁶¹⁹ "Medeni bir Avrupalı size (beni yarın saat beşte filan yerde bekleyiniz) derse saat ihtilaflı müstesna olmak üzere behemehal o adamı aynı saat ve dakikada orada bulursunuz. Biz ise bu şeylere pek ehemmiyet vermeyiz. Halbuki bu hal bir marifet midir?" Ali Seydi, 1336, p. 19.

Life styles of Europeans were most frequently referred to in Ali Seydi's books. The etiquettes, manners and customs in eating and dressing were detailed. He appreciated the customs of foreigners (*frenkler*,) which were counted as compatible with national requisites. In detail, he gave information about in what ways a table was prepared for a meal, how to behave if invited somewhere, what to do while eating, and how to shave. To give some examples, biting bread was not appropriate or fish was not eaten with a knife.⁶²⁰ On the other hand, those European customs which were improper to the Ottoman also were touched upon.

The West was turned into an object of desire both in economic and moral terms in Ali Seydi's textbooks. Giving a new character formation and changing the Eastern way of upbringing described one of the distinctive aims of the civics course. Raising hard-working and rich patriots who had self-esteem and pride seems to have been the ultimate end of civics books. Ali Seydi, who made his concluding remarks by praying to God,⁶²¹ motivated children to be productive with questions such as follows:

What device have you invented to be beneficial to the humanity, nation or family so far? What law have you added to the present science? With what capital did you enterprise at a work and double your money?⁶²²

The textbook of Ali Seydi introduced Europe and modernization as less problematically compared to the other writers even though he supported relying on

⁶²⁰ Ali Seydi, 1331. p. 108-111.

⁶²¹ "*Heman Cenab-ı Hak, cümlemizi hüsn-ü itikaddan ve amelden ayırmasın ve iltifat-ı Samedaniyesine mazhar buyursun.*" Ali Seydi, 1336, p. 64.

⁶²² "*Sen şimdiye kadar ilm-i insaniyete veya millette veya ailene faidesi olacak ne gibi bir alet icad eyledin? Mevcut uluma ne gibi bir kaide ilave ettin? Kimin sermayesi ile ortaya atıldın da onu iki ve misline çıkardın?*" Ibid., p. 22.

the Islamic roots, which were already “compatible” with Western thoughts. The criticism of imperialism highlighted in Haydar-Ziya and Cevad’s texts was turned into a language criticizing the East with an Orientalist perspective as Seydi’s. Notwithstanding the minor variations, the authors whose textbooks have been discussed in this section display a common treatment of civic and moral knowledge interpreted with Islamic background. Religion, no matter if it was utilized for the legitimation or the formation of local identity, still played an important role in constructing the minds and identities of children in the 1910s.

The duties were considered in three parts, one of which belonged to God. The textbooks⁶²³ examined in this part demonstrated the adaptation of civics knowledge

⁶²³ Ahmed Cevad, *Muhasabat-ı Ahlakiye, Sıhhiye, Medeniye, Vataniye ve İnsaniye* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Asakir, 1330) (*Mekatib-i İptidaiyenin beşinci ve mekatib-i sultaniye sunuf-ı iptidaiyesinin dördüncü senesine mahsustur*); Ali Haydar, A.Ziya, *Yeni Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1330) (*Mekatib-i rüşdiyenin ikinci senelerinde okutulmak üzere programa muvafık olarak yazılmıştır*); Ali İrfan, *Terbiye-i İnsaniye ve Medeniye* (İstanbul: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1329) (*Maarif Nezaretinin son programına tevfikân ve gayet açık ve sade bir lisan ile muharir olup nur seydegan vatana hayat –ı insaniye ve içtimaiyeyi talim eder*); Ali Seydi, *Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* (Dersaadet: Artin Asadoryan, 1329) (*Mekatib-i rüşdiye ve idadilerde tedris edilmek üzere tertip edilmiştir*); Ali Seydi, *Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* (Dersaadet: Artin Asadoryan Matbaası, 1331) (*Mekatib-i rüşdiye, idadiye, sultaniye ve darülmualiminlerde tedris edilmek üzere tertip edilmiştir*.); Ali Seydi, *Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye* (Devre-i Aliye Birinci Sene) (İstanbul: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1336) (*Maarif nezaretini celilesince bilumum mekatibde tedris edilmek üzere kabul edilmiş ve bu kere tashihat ve tadilat icrasıyla yeniden tab olunmuştur*); Mithat Sadullah, *Sualli Cevaplı Malumat-ı Medeniye Dersleri* (İstanbul: Mürettebin-i Osmaniye Matbaası, 1328) (*Yedi senelik mekatibi idadiyenin ikinci ve üçüncü sınıflarıyla, mekatibi rüşdiyenin ikinci ve üçüncü senelerinde tedris edilmek üzere tertip olunmuştur*); n.a., *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (Dersaadet: [Vezir Hanında 48 nolu Matbaa], 1327); Mehmed Abdülkadir, *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye* (İstanbul: Keteon Bedrosyan, 1326) (*Maarif Nezareti celilesinin tanzim ettiği son programa muvafık olmak üzere tertip edilmiştir*.); Selanikli Faik, *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1324) (*Mekatib-i İptidaiyenin üçüncü senesinde tedris edilmek ve son programa muvafık olmak üzere tertip edilmiştir*.); H. Natan, Mithat Sadullah, *Yeni Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye, Diniye, Medeniye, Tarihiye* (Devre-i Aliye, Birinci Sınıf), (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1333); Ali Seydi, *Vezaif-i Medeniyet: Kısm-ı Evvel* (Dersaadet: İkdâm Matbaası, 1328) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye şakirtlerine mahsustur*.); A.Rıza, *İptidailere Malumat-ı Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* (İstanbul: Nefaset Matbaası, 1331) (*Maarif Nezareti celilesinin mekatip programına tevfikân tertip ve umum mekatib iptidaiye üçüncü senelerinde okunması resmen kabul olunmuştur*.); Osman Fahri, *Musahabatül Ahlakiye, Sıhhiye, Tarihiye, Medeniye* (İstanbul: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1332) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezaretinin teşkil ettiği bir ve iki derslane ve muallimli mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i ula müfredat programına muvafık olarak tertip edilmiştir*.)

into Islamic context was not seen in harmony; yet the celestial system and power were perceived as part of the state power. To end with the most explicit epitome depicting the period, a duty was taught within the various sanctions: "... the tax imposed by the government is obliged both by Sharia, the law, and morality."⁶²⁴

Teaching Identities through Economy: Muslims versus non-Muslims

To what extent the Ottoman textbook writers disclosed the imperialist policies and colonialism of European countries and in what context they situated the negative image of western civilization the political ambience of the Unionist period when the Balkan Wars and the Great War altered the course of ideological agenda is worth examining.

The critical judgements and the tension with "civilization" were disclosed more openly on the matter of economic progress in the textbooks during the 1910s. Yet, textbooks published in the 1920s lacked the comparisons regarding the progress and economic growth of the West. The books of Nazım [İçsel], Orhan Fuat, Muslihiddin Adil Taylan and Mithat Sadullah emphasized issues of accumulating wealth and studying hard; yet, the colonial relation between the East and the West disappeared.

The broad cover of the subjects in civics textbooks gives the impression that they were not only written for students at the elementary level, but the fathers of the students were targeted, too. Textbooks, which provided the means to convey the formally established baggage of knowledge into houses, reached not only a child but

⁶²⁴ "*Ahali de hükümetin tayin eylediği vergiyi vermeye hem şer' en hem kanunen hem de ahlaken mecburdur.*" Ali Seydi, 1329. p. 52.

his family, too. As stated in the guideline (1913), the imposition of “getting ready for life” was the major purpose in education. Envisioning children as adults appeared as the inevitable result of this goal no matter how unpedagogical the imposition of some responsibilities was appropriate for a child. In both ways, textbooks were by no means to be read only as texts of elementary level. Economy manifests in the textbook from the livelihood of a family at the micro level to the economic war between imperialist powers and the Ottoman state. For example, Ahmed Cevad reminded the students about the high possibility of their parents’ passing away before students died, since the parents were much older. He taught them to get ready for any case of misfortune. In order to be prepared for such a possibility, “every child should find a way of a livelihood, work, occupation or property. If a child does not consider this important, he comes to regretfulness by suffering from abject poverty not long before”⁶²⁵ Thus, the scope of knowledge in civics covered all life cycles of a student in elementary school which is mostly the first and last phase of schooling for many. Livelihood was presented as a matter to be stressed about for the students of 1910s. The authors detailed the trouble of livelihood stretching from the family to the state level. The Ottoman child pedagogically was taught to care about the economy and he inevitably found the backwardness of the East and the enchanting riches of the West in his school agenda and childish imagination.

The civic textbooks established a strong relation between being equipped with a lot of knowledge and being a useful man: “Whoever has lots of knowledge is honored, needed, useful and great. Or at least he has the potential to be great.

⁶²⁵ “Bunu her çocuğun düşünmesi ve bir an evvel kendini bir kazanç, bir iş, güç, mülk sahibi etmeğe çalışması lazımdır. Çocuk gençliğinde buna ehemmiyet vermeyecek olursa çok geçmeden fakir ve zarurete mübtela olarak nedamet getirir.” Ahmed Cevad, *Muhasabat-ı Ahlakiye, Sıhhiye, Medeniye, Vatanîye ve İnsaniye* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1330), p. 59. (*Mekاتب-i İptidaiyenin beşinci ve mekاتب-i sultanîye sunuf-ı iptidaiyesinin dördüncü senesine mahsustur*)

Whoever is without knowledge and education is insignificant, dishonored and he is of very little benefits to himself and the homeland.”⁶²⁶ The background of the frequently repeated “knowledge and usefulness” relationship was exposed in the comparisons of the Europeans and Ottomans. The usefulness was linked to the amount of capital which the individuals accumulated. Civics textbooks manifested how liberal economy was normalized and internalized at the elementary school level. Europe owed its success to the construction of a sense of economy given in children’s education: “the sense of economy is given to children in the cradle, in the arms and at school. Families show children some epitomes about economic life everyday... Today, in this great territories of the Ottoman Empire, there are a few men deservedly to be called rich, since we lack the opinion of economics”.⁶²⁷ While the curriculum plans included “showing compassion to needy people,”⁶²⁸ Ali Seydi recommended blaming the poor and the beggars on the streets. On the other hand, the relation between poverty and laziness was questioned on the conflict that “our farmers work hard, but somehow they earn less.”⁶²⁹ However, he did not elaborate on imperialism. The means of enrichment was shown with interesting questions:

How many of those magnificent houses on the shore and chalets you see around belong to officers, how many to tradesmen and business men? If you ask, you will discern that a man must

⁶²⁶ “Her kim çok malumatlı ise o şerefli, lüzumlu, faidelidir, büyüktür. Veya hiç olmazsa büyük olmak istidadındadır. Her kim ilimsiz, irfansız ise o kadirsiz, şerefsizdir, kendine vatanına faidesi pek azdır.” Ahmet Cevad, 1330, p.57.

⁶²⁷ “Mütemeddin milletlerde çocuklara iktisad fikri daha beşikte kucakta, mektepte iken verilir. Her gün aileleri arasında onlara iktisada dair fiili misaller gösterilir... Bugün şu koca Memalik-i Osmaniye’de bakılsa bir kaç kişi müstesna olmak üzere bihakkın zengin denilmeğe layık pek az adamlar vardır. Çünkü bizde fikri iktisad yoktur.” Ali Seydi, 1336, p. 24.

⁶²⁸ *Mekاتب-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1329).

⁶²⁹ Ali Seydi, 1336, p. 25.

definitely be either a farmer or a tradesman or craftsman in order to be rich.⁶³⁰

The economic stagnation and the territorial losses in the past centuries which allegedly had resulted from the accumulation of “lack of knowledge” invoked the “repossession” missions loaded on the youth in the present time. The intensive indoctrination leads one to draw such a position: The children were to learn many things as quickly as possible, if not, they would not only fail, they would destruct themselves, not only themselves but their family and nation too. The link between being learned and being nothing appeared very often, with great emphasis:

The European nations have dominated the others today; they have shared Africa and substantial territories of Asia. As for those who could remain independent, their economic gains and profits have been exploited, too. For example, all the trains, tramways, steamships and mines belong to them, and are run by them. The greatest stores, banks belong to Europeans, too. Although it is our homeland, all its wealth and properties are obtained by them. Europeans got these great forms of exploitation from us, not through war, but with science (*ilim*). We lack the ability and science to construct trains. For this reason, we are doomed to lose the profits of the investments that we have had the Europeans do.⁶³¹

The image of imperial Europe, the colonies in Asia and Africa and the semi-colonial independents such as the Ottoman Empire drew the political and economic map of the world in the child’s mind. The exploitation created in the informal

⁶³⁰ “Sokakta gezerken rastgeldiğiniz büyük muhteşem konaklardan yalı ve köşklere kaçtık memura kaçtık erbabi ticarete ve sanayie aittir. Eğer tahkik ederseniz anlarsınız ki bir adam zengin olmak için mutlaka ya çiftçi, ya tacir, ya da zanaatkar olmalıdır.” Ibid., p. 27.

⁶³¹ “Avrupa milletleri bugün dünyanın diğer milletlerine hakim bulunurlar; Afrika’yı, Asya’nın pek mühim yerlerini aralarında paylaşmışlardır. Müstakil kalabilen devletlerin de bütün kazançlarını yine onlar çekerler. Mesela bizim memleketimizde bütün şimendiferler, tramvaylar, vapurlar, madenler onlarındır ve onlar tarafından işletilmektedir. En büyük mağazalar, bankalar da Avrupalıların. Memleket bizim olduğu halde bütün servetleri varidatı onların eline geçer. Avrupalılar bizden bu cesim menfaatleri muharebe ile değil ilim sayesinde alırlar. Biz şimendiferleri yapmağa muktedir değiliz. Onun için Avrupalılara yaptıрмаğa ve faidelerini onlara kaptırmağa mecburuz.” Ahmet Cevad, 1330, p. 57.

colonial system was underlined rather than shedding light upon the large spaces of colonialism in different regions. Another considerable remark is that the texts generally depict how the Europeans had progressed instead of highlighting the disastrous results for colonized people. At this point, the authors treated the issue pragmatically rather than making ethical judgements. The reason why they focus so much on the steps of European progress was to teach the shortest ways of making fortune to the Ottoman children. In this sense, in some paragraphs, the colonial imperialism of Europe on the Asian and African continents was affirmed. To Haydar and Ziya, becoming a slave was the natural and legitimate result of ignorance and lack of hard work. The exploitation of the poor people in colonies was presented as the inevitable result of the laws of nature. The narration taught with what kind of education Europeans had become successful within the social Darwinist rationality: “Because the English are learned (*malumatlı*) and diligent people. The law of the world is this, my kids: A big fish always swallows the little.”⁶³² Thus “the subordinates of the Ottomans,” such as the often cited Africans took place in cases of admonitions, in which Ottoman students were cautioned against the worst and last phase of the European expansion and capitalism.

Ahmed Cevad’s text differed from others with its remarks on political economy and the proposal of accumulating legitimate capital. The pejorative results of the fortune-making were drawn within the critical frame against capitalism. The idea of becoming wealthy was affirmed only if it was “moral and national.” Wealth which had no national or moral consideration turned into a power that suppressed poor people and produced injustices. The case of the Ottoman Empire is given to the

⁶³² “Çünkü İngilizler malumatlı ve çalışkan bir millettir. Dünyanın kaidesi böyle yavrularım, daima büyük balık küçük balığı yutar.” Ali Haydar, A. Ziya, p. 41.

notice of students in a relation in which the rich were the foreigners (*ecnebiler*) and their power and capital brought “manifold harm” to the Ottomans. Criticizing the imperialist capitalism of Europe earned on the cheap labor of the poor, he expressed no hopes about the change of the existing capitalist system in the future, saving hopes in the Hereafter: “Even the law is unable to do anything against these tyrants. Their giving account of their deeds and being punished are left to the Hereafter.”⁶³³ The moral and national rich should pay the taxes and take care of the share of the homeland and the poor. He argued that Islam led the formation of a bourgeoisie provided that they had social responsibilities.⁶³⁴

The difference between the East and West is summarized in one word, “progress,” which the authors repeatedly wrote about as the enchanting transportation vehicles such as train, steamship, airplanes as well as factories. Since the progress of Europe was held in the context of its results on behalf of the Ottoman Empire, the antinomy of “us” and “foreigners” became indispensable:

They have been constructing companies by gathering, and thanks to this, they set up a new tradehouse and a factory, and a train or a new bank. All industrial and commercial establishments have been acquired by them. We have not yet opened our eyes and dared to compete with them.⁶³⁵

As you see, we buy food, clothes and almost everything we consume from foreigners. Our five pennies that we earn with so many hardship all flow into the pocket of the foreigners. They

⁶³³ “*Bu gaddarlara karşı kanun dahi hiç bir şey yapamamaktadır. Artık amellerinin hesabını vermek ve cezasını görmek ahirete kalmıştır.*” Ahmed Cevad, 1330, p.153-154.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., p.155.

⁶³⁵ “*Birleşerek birer şirket tesis ediyorlar ve o sayede derhal yeni bir ticarethaneyi, yeni bir fabrikayı, yeni bir şimendiferi veya yeni bir bankayı vücuda getiriyorlar. Memleketimizde sınai ve ticari bütün teşebbüsler ecnebilerin elindedir. Biz henüz gözümüzü açıp onlarla rekabete çıkamıyoruz.*” Ibid., p.81.

worked and progressed whereas we sat lazily in a corner like the wretched.⁶³⁶

...a nation, which fails to improve its industrial, agricultural and commercial capabilities and lacks factories, finds itself unable to preserve its being.⁶³⁷

Ali Necati's earlier written book had traces of anti-imperialism side by side the often repeated image of the Ottoman citizenship which embraced Christians and Jews warmly. He described the homeland that consisted of people with common benefit, yet somewhere else the homeland was taught as a territory "molded with the blood of martyrs,"⁶³⁸ which connoted an Islamic discourse. The preface of his book called for the teachers to be responsive to the present economic situation of Muslims: "Teachers, let's think what we were and what we came to be. What do we have in the book we read which was invented by our thought and study, in the room in which we sat or in the clothes we wore? ... You need to know physics, chemistry, calculation and maths in order to produce this paper...some other nations know these, and they produce and market to us. They have become richer and we have been impoverished."⁶³⁹

⁶³⁶ "Görüyorsunuz ki yediğimiz içtiğimiz ve giydiğimiz şeylerin hemen hepsini ecnebilere alıyoruz. Birçok zorluklarla kazandığımız beş on kuruş paramız hep ecnebilere keselerine akıyor. Onlar çalışmışlar ilerlemişler. Biz ise miskinler gibi tembel tembel bir köşede oturuyoruz." Ali Haydar, A.Ziya, p. 23.

⁶³⁷ "...fabrikaları bulunmayan, kabiliyet-i ziraat, sanayi ve ticariyesi inkişaf etmemiş bir millet mevcudiyetini muhafazadan aciz kalır." Nazım [İçsel]. *Yeni Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye, Diniye, Tarihiyye, Sıhhiyye ve Medeniye*. İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1337. (*Maarif Vekaleti Celilesi tarafından zükur ve inas mekatib-i iptidaiye ile sultani iptidaiyelerinde tedris olunmak üzere kabul edilmiştir.*) p.21

⁶³⁸ "vatan şüheda kanyla yoğrulmuş muazzez sevimli meskendir." Ali Necati, *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye* (Trabzon: Mihailidi Mat., 1327), p. 12, 15, 64. (*Mekatibe mahsus olup usul-u idare ve hayat-ı içtimaiyemize dair gayet müfid mebahisi havidir. Yeni programa tevfikeyn umum mekatibde tedrisi tensib edilmiştir.*)

⁶³⁹ "Hoca Efendiler! Düşünelim ne idik ne olduk. Üstümüzde başımızda bulunduğumuz oda içinde okuduğumuz kitap üzerinde bizim çalışmamızla bizim düşüncemizle yapılmış ne var? Giydiklerimiz

Ahmed Cevad's lines below went beyond reifications of trains, planes and ship, which were as attractive as toys in the minds of children. He set forth the Ottoman budget figures in comparison to those European countries. The economic problems were introduced to the comprehension of the students in all of its details. The contradistinction in developed and undeveloped countries was drawn on concrete calculations. The author intended to warn about the economic war exceeding the dimensions of the war on arms. He once again encouraged students to find out the ways of making a fortune against the imperialist Europe:

A gigantic army and productive navy are necessary in order to have a confident and distinguished status in the international arena. Each year great nations spend hundred millions of liras. As for us, we only have a budget of 29 million lira. One-third of this goes for the payments of debts to European countries. We have to get by with 19-20 million liras in our country. Of what is this a result? Because we are backward in crafts, trade and agriculture, in short, in civilization... on one hand, we should get ready for military service ...on the other, it is vital to take a step in the ways of wealth in this civilization with all our power.⁶⁴⁰

Illustrating the economic conditions with the most concrete states, students were expected to be "learned as quicker as possible." Realizing that all of this knowledge would be conveyed to a child's mind, he articulated his hope that only a "conscientious and good-hearted" (*vicdanlı ve iyi kalpli*) child would give an ear to his calls for missions about the state and economy. Students were made realize that

bizim kumaşlarımız değil miydi? ...başka milletlerde fen intişar etti. Sanat ilerledi, zengin, kavi mesud oldular. Biz çok geride kaldık." Ibid., p. 3.

⁶⁴⁰ "Devletlerarasında emin ve mümtaz bir mevki sahibi olmak için cesim bir orduya, mühib bir donanmaya lüzum vardır. Her sene büyük devletler yüzlerle milyon liralara sarf ediyorlar. Biz ise ancak 29 milyon liralık bir bütçeye malikiz. Bunun salisi ise Avrupa'ya borçlarımıza mukabil gidiyor. Ancak 19-20 milyon lira ile memleketimizi idare etmeğe mecburuz. Bu neden ileri gelir? Zanaatta, ticarette, ziraatte hasılı medeniyette geri olduğumuzdan... O halde bir taraftan askerliğe hazırlanmak, vatani uğrunda feda-i can etmekte asla tereddüt etmeyecek derecede sevmek ile beraber medeniyetin kazanç yollarına bütün kuvvetimizle atılmamız da elzemdir." Ahmed Cevad, 1330, p.132.

the economy was the main predicament that created a huge gap of wealth and progress between “us” and “them.”

The idea of “entrepreneurship” constituted one crucial component of the new character education in which willpower, perseverance and diligence shaped the new man. The children of “other countries” were presented to epitomize the imperatives of the new character in the civilization.

There are young people who succeed in completing their education enduring great hardships in the other countries. They get a government job in trade offices, banks, factories, yet they do not restrain from contemplating plans of new businesses in the future to earn money from their own business and capabilities. Such people are called “people having entrepreneurship” (*teşebbüs-i şahsi.*) Here are those who deserve the idioms such as “earning a livelihood from rocks” and “turning soil into gold.”⁶⁴¹

Not only the poor but also the rich needed knowledge on how to increase their fortunes. The duty of being diligent and accumulating money interested the wealthy people more than any other. Having a store opened by the family or finishing a “high school of trade and business” was not that important. He advised to know the business environment, bankers and banks very well and he added: “Fortune is never considered too much. No matter how much the wealth is, one should work to enhance it. It must be spent for the goodness and welfare of the homeland and nation if fortune exceeds the needs of the owner.”⁶⁴²

⁶⁴¹ “Başka memleketlerde öyle gençler görülür ki büyük zahmetlere katlanarak tahsilini ikmale muvaffak olur, ticarethanelerde, bankalarda, fabrikalarda bir memuriyet elde eder, fakat aynı zamanda istikbalde kendi başına bir iş becerebilmek için neler yapabileceğini düşünmekden ve yeni işler keşfetmekten hali kalmaz. Bu gibi insanlara fıkır-i teşebbüs sahibi derler. İşte ‘taştan ekmeğini çıkaranlar’, ‘toprak tutsa altın olur’ sözüne musaddak olanlar onlardır.” Ahmed Cevad, 1330, p.80.

⁶⁴² “Servet hiç bir zaman fazla sayılmaz. Servet ne kadar çok olursa olsun yine tezyidine çalışılmalıdır. Servet sahibinin ihtiyacından fazla olursa onu vatani milleti uğrunda hayrat ve hasenata sarfetsin.” Ibid., p. 60.

The idea of self-enterprise was consolidated with details in comparison of the East and West, with unknown geographies. The knowledge of the material world also was supported with the content of the geography books in order to create awareness about how to increase wealth.⁶⁴³ Modern Europe was presented to students with visual illustrations. The texts urged children to the duty of producing, profiting, accumulating money, at last being beneficial to the country. Children seemed to get their portion of “saving the country” duty through making it progress to the European level. The child learned how men of different lands had become successful, which hardly had a correspondence to the interests of children.

One of the messages conveyed through civics about economy was that the Ottomans were behind the time. However, backwardness was restricted to the economy and science, whereas the indigenous cultural and religious peculiarities were meticulously defended against the foreign. The reasons behind poverty are thus detailed in these books. In Haydar and Ziya, the backwardness had several reasons. He pointed out the detriments of traditional education, which obstructed the production-oriented education to raise “extroverted, self-confident and provident” children: “For example, parents expect their children to be literate in order to become an officer or policeman; and to get ‘that much’ salary instead of telling them to study hard, learn reading and writing and earn money with concern for business on your own enterprise.”⁶⁴⁴ He complained that the families did not raise children with tasks and responsibilities. One of the textbooks posed questions at the end of the

⁶⁴³ “My son, geography teaches the world.” Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Çocuklara İlk Coğrafya* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1325) (*Mekâtib-i İptidaiye Şakirdanına Mahsus olmak üzere tertip edilmiş ve gayet açık bir lisan ile yazılmıştır. 35 şekil ve 1 haritayı havidir.*) p. 24.

⁶⁴⁴ “Mesela evladım sen çalış adam ol, oku, yaz sonra da kendi ekmeğini kendi elinle, teşebbüsünle kazan diyeceği yerde bilakis ‘evladım oku yaz da memur ol zabıt ol şu kadar maaş al’ diyor.” Ali Haydar, A. Ziya, p.24.

presentation of this subject as such: “Would you prefer a government job or trade when you graduate? Why? If you cannot become a state officer, what other jobs do you imagine having?”⁶⁴⁵

In the three textbooks by Ali Seydi, enrichment had a crucial place. He taught the meaning of competition as the basis of wealth accumulation. He tried to discriminate competition from jealousy to ascribe a constructive value to it.⁶⁴⁶ If there was no competition, “we would have bought a fez for a hundred instead of ten pennies.”⁶⁴⁷ He explained how competition worked to lower prices: “If one fez seller gives a high price, we go and buy from the other.”⁶⁴⁸ Criticizing the monopolies, the means and principals of free market economy constituted part of teaching. The state opened schools not to train officers, but to raise educated people. He argued the common point that the idea of being a state officer was not a good idea.⁶⁴⁹ He continued with the historical background that the Turks in the Ottoman state demanded only the state administration; and thus they became poor since they fell far from the means of accumulating capital:

Relying on the government and national treasury are other reasons for poverty. Children, it has been three years since the Constitutional reform was made. Yet, still we haven’t been able to accomplish any considerable changes in industry and agriculture... We see that Christians have outstripped Muslims in respect to wealth and life quality... Muslims and specially Turks relied on the government. They said “we are the governing nation”, they kept the positions in state offices and served for the country. However, they fell poorer than other people since it

⁶⁴⁵ “*Mektebi bitirince size teklif edilen ticari işi mi yoksa memuriyeti mi tercih edersiniz? Neden? Eğer memur olamazsanız hangi işlerde çalışmayı hayal edersiniz.*” Ahmed Cevad, 1330, p. 83.

⁶⁴⁶ Ali Seydi, 1329, p. 66.

⁶⁴⁷ “...bir fesi 10 kurusa değil 100 kuruşa giyerdik” Ibid., p. 67.

⁶⁴⁸ “Bir fesci fazla fiyat verse gider öbüründen alırız.” Ibid., p. 67.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 88.

is not a salary but agriculture, trade and industry that make one rich.⁶⁵⁰

It was often emphasized that expectations from the Ottoman state would continue the economic disaster the Muslims faced since it was deemed that it augmented the disadvantageous situation on behalf of Muslims.

The last of the reasons which was taken into consideration here was the fatalism in religious education. At this point, the content of civics and religion textbooks made common causes on the wrongness of religious indoctrination favoring unbeneficial and afterlife-oriented knowledge conflicting with science: “He sits in idleness and never studies, falls into poverty, gets in trouble and says ‘It is the will of God’ or ‘one never overreaches the destiny’ or ‘Deceitful world! No matter whether you work or not.’⁶⁵¹

The progressed nations were cited as the English, French, American, German and Japanese people.⁶⁵² About the power of England it was said, “governance of three hundred million people despite their [limited] geography which consists of two islands.”⁶⁵³ On the other hand, he reprimanded the Ottomans’ importing wheat

⁶⁵⁰ “Hükümete güvenmek ve milletin hazinesine göz dikmekdir... Çocuklar, Meşrutiyet olalı üç sene oldu. Hala memleketimizde ticaret ziraat ve zanaat namına öyle göze çarpan birşey yapamadık... Görüyoruz ki Hristiyanlar zenginlikçe yaşayışça Müslümanlardan ileri gitmişler. ...Müslümanlar ve alelhusus Türkler hükümete güvenmişler. Millet-i hakimeyiz demişler, memur olmuşlar, resmi hizmetlerde bulunmuşlar ve bulunuyorlar. Fakat diğer kavimlerden fakir düşmüşler. Çünkü insanı zengin eden memurşyet ve maaş değildir. Belki ziraat, ticaret ve zanaattır.” Ali Haydar, A. Ziya, 1329. p. 25.

⁶⁵¹ “Tembel tembel oturur, çalışmaz, çabalamaz, fakir düşer, sıkıntı çeker, sonra da ‘ne yapalım kader-i İlahi böyle imiş veyahut kısmetten ziyade olmaz’ veyahut ‘yalan dünya çalışsan da çalışmasan da hep bir’ der.” Ibid., p.25.

⁶⁵² Ali Haydar, A. Ziya, p. 26.

⁶⁵³ “İngilizlerin vatani iki adadan ibaret olduğu halde bugün 300 milyon insanı idareleri altına almışlar.” Ali Haydar, A. Ziya, p. 26

despite “the agricultural wealth”. The underdevelopment of Ottoman lands was based on English imperialism, which found its discourse over “*ecnebiler*” (foreigners).⁶⁵⁴

Textbooks, opposed to the Ottomanist ideology, taught the means of creating national economy and bourgeoisie with the anti-imperialist propensities in the books.⁶⁵⁵ On one side, the authority of law, the constitution and citizenship were constructed in the pages of the civics books; on the other, the Muslim versus Christian capital constituted the part of the discourse on the issues around civilization, economy and development. The only exception to this inconsistency was Rıza’s textbook in which the writer did not refer to enmities between Muslims and non-Muslims, whereas he emphasized fraternity, homeland, brotherhood and equality. He limited the relations of the two groups in the tolerance shown to non-Muslims and their misuse of this tolerance of the state and said that, as a result, Muslims had become impoverished.⁶⁵⁶ Overall, textbooks produced after the 1913 curriculum unanimously had the inconsistent discourses. It is evident that these books were written for Muslim students in the Empire to teach them how to view the social and economic affairs in the presence of “others.” For Zürcher, what this dissertation calls inconsistency was the consistent behavior of the Young Turks from the very beginning, before the 1908 Constitutional regime: “It was not disillusionment with the reactions of the Christian minorities that made them turn from Ottomanism to nationalism after 1908.”⁶⁵⁷ He wrote, “It was defined in a

⁶⁵⁴ Ali Haydar, A.Ziya, p. 27.

⁶⁵⁵ Zafer Toprak, “*Türkiye’de Milli İktisat*” (1908-1918),” Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982.

⁶⁵⁶ A. Rıza, 1331, p. 42.

⁶⁵⁷ Erik J. Zürcher, “Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists: Identity Politics 1908-1938,” In *Ottoman Past and Today’s Turkey*, ed. Kemal Karpat, (Leiden: Boston: Köln: Brill, 2000) p. 174.

particular and antagonistic relationship between Muslims who had been on the losing side in terms of wealth and power for the best part of a century and Ottoman Christians who had been the winners.”⁶⁵⁸

Forms of Consciousness in the Disguise of Ottoman Citizenship

The constantly changing borders of the Ottoman Empire made it difficult for the authors and publishers to conform to a political agenda. The inconsistencies in the definitions of “homeland” and “nation” display the difficulty in dealing with the theoretical configurations. As discussed above, the economic consciousness aroused in the civics textbooks seems to have been one of the major initiatives leading the tension of the different layers of “we”s in the narrations. Although the formal definition of Ottomanness was apparent, the secret “we” spoke through the lines in the subjects of economy and politics. It was of vital importance to see these various forms of ‘we’s within their tensions and convergences in the texts. The authors addressed to various layers of the consciousness, ranging from imagining a pluralist community to instilling a Muslim identity that sheltered the hopes of a regeneration and progress against the reality of the backwardness caused by the “enemies”.

As a general tendency, Ottomanness was presented as an upper identity over the ethnic entities. Haydar and Ziya taught to prioritize the Ottoman identity over Turkishness, Arabness, Albanianness, Armenianness and Jewishness: “We belong to a common nation, which is Ottoman.”⁶⁵⁹ They tried to consolidate this state of belonging through the comparisons of “Ottomanness” to the imperialist

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., p.173.

⁶⁵⁹ “*Bizim umumi bir milletimiz var ki Osmanlılıktır.*” Ali Haydar and A. Ziya, p. 30.

“civilization.” Ottomanness was mostly constructed with the statements beginning with “in old times.” The Ottoman courage and manfulness challenged the European colonialism in these narrations:

When they shook the world with their swords and lances once upon a time, if they had changed the nationalities, beliefs, customs and everything in the conquered lands, they could have done it. Yet, they did not condescend to it, they did not depart from the provisions of Islam, they did not treat their captives as captives. They never gave up the justice and humane behavior. No such great nations have existed so far in the world. Here are the histories standing there.⁶⁶⁰

Ali İrfan’s definition of ethnicity and nation, which corresponded to the upper identity and sub-identity, paralleled this idea. Ethnicities were epitomized with those being Turk, Circassian, Georgian, Kurd and Arab. Nation was defined as such: “The congregation of one or more ethnicities renders a nation and they are called with one name. We are called Ottoman. The reason for this is that our first leader was called Osman.”⁶⁶¹ The emphasis was put on the conviction that a nation consisted of plural number of people. Dr. Hazık’s text taught in a more precise way: “nation is never ever composed of only one people (*kavim*).”⁶⁶²

This identity was filled with the pride of a glorious past in which it had been Ottomans’ turn leading the world and it was just and humanitarian compared to the present day. The past served to be more functional than the present time in arousing a

⁶⁶⁰ “Kılıçlarıyla, mızraklarıyla dünyaları titrettikleri bir zamanlarda eğer istese idiler zabt ettikleri memleketlerin milletlerini, dinlerini, adetlerini herşeylerini değiştirebilirlerdi. Halbuki, ona tenezzül etmediler, müslümanlık ahkâmından ayrılmadılar, esir ettikleri insanlara milletlere esir muamelesi yapmadılar. Adaletten mertlikten ayrılmadılar ki dünyada bu büyüklüğü hiç bir millet yapmamıştır. İşte tarihler meydanda duruyor.” Ibid., p.32.

⁶⁶¹ “Bir veya birkaç kavmin bütününe heyet-i umumiyesine ise millet denir ve bir isimle anılır. Bize ise Osmanlı denir. Sebebi ise ilk reisimizin il padişahımızın ismi Osman olmasıdır.” Ali İrfan, 1329. p.14.

⁶⁶² “...hiçbir zaman millet yalnız bir kavimden ibaret değildir.” Dr. Hazık, *Malumat-ı Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* (İstanbul: Keteon Bedrosyan Matbaası, 1328) (*Umum Mekatib-i rüşdiyelerin üçüncü senesinde tedris edilmek üzere*) p. 40.

consciousness since the “gorgeous history” was ascribed as a standpoint of self-reliance to extinguish the present backwardness. The numbers and statistical data were mostly added to such narrations. “The Ottomans ruled over 120 million people in the past while they are now failing to protect themselves even.”⁶⁶³

Belonging to the past was emphasized with references to the ancestors and their life styles. The way to progress was seen in the past, which was the terrain of refuge. An account of the past was documented and lessons from the past events were retrieved. The manifestation of the past identity was drawn from the pride of the magnificent years: “Our past is so glorious. The history of the Ottoman nation is full of incidents to be scribed with golden pens in history.”⁶⁶⁴ Yet, the realization of “backwardness” and the psychology of belatedness cannot be separated from the Ottoman nation formation in the first quarter of the twentieth century. It is evident that this political and economic ambience easily led to the consciousness of present time:

At one time, our nation was the strongest of its contemporaries, its morals were nice. For this reason, they progressed a lot. At the time when their morals deteriorated, they became ignorant and so did the homeland. The other nations worked non-stop, but we were frozen and fell into a lull like the winter tar. Because we fail at studying, our country has become devastated and ruined. Those nations that are not educated cannot survive. Gentlemen, my lads! Listen to these statements with a tremendous care never forget them. Time is merciless. Those nations which do not study, cannot keep the pace; they are captured, defeated and at last laid in all ruins. It is not enough to say “our fathers did so, our ancestors progressed, won in the wars so and so.” The time is the time of progress, the age of science and technology. Let’s not stop and strive like the other

⁶⁶³ “...Yüz yüz yirmi milyon insanları idareleri altına almışlar. Fakat bugün kendimizi bile korumakta müşkülat çekiyoruz...” Ali Haydar and A.Ziya, p. 41.

⁶⁶⁴ “Bizim mazimiz pek şanlıdır. Osmanlı milletin tarihi altın kalemlerle yazılmağa layık pekçok vakalarla doludur... fakat sonraları cehalet, ahlak bozukluğu, istibdat ve zulüm bizi ezdi, çiğnedi bugünkü hale getirdi.” Ibid., p. 43.

nations or even more than them. Let's save ourselves or absolutely we will be defeated.⁶⁶⁵

The narration of the glorious history was broken with a notice of mistakes and the reasons for underdevelopment: "Yet afterwards, ignorance, violation of morality, despotism and tyranny oppressed, crushed, and yielded us this situation."⁶⁶⁶ Ali Haydar and A. Ziya added their Islamist view to these reasons with this statement: "Muslims who forget and fail to obey the gorgeous principles of the Shari'a have lagged behind the other nations."⁶⁶⁷ Natan and Sadullah expressed the similar statements in 1917 (1333):

As we see in history, those people who did not obey the commands of God were doomed to many disasters... We obey the laws brought by our Prophet upon him the blessings... A man who does his religious duties with the utmost care does not fail to do his other duties. Yet, it is evident that a man who does not carry out his duty to God cannot do the duties to his own self, government, homeland and humanity.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁵ "Eskiden bizim milletimiz, zamanlarındaki milletlerin en kuvvetlisi imiş, ahlaki güzel imiş, onun için pek ziyade ilerlemiş. Vakta ki ahlakları bozulmuş, cahil kalmışlar, memleketimiz dahi geri kalmış. Diğer milletler ise çalışmışlar, durmamışlar, bizim milletimiz kış katranı gibi donmuş kalmış, uyumuş. Cehaletimizin çalışmamamızın sebebi olarak memleketimiz böyle harab ve perişan bir hale gelmiş. Okumayan çalışmayan milletler yaşayamaz. Efendiler, yavrularım! Bu sözleri büyük bir dikkat ile dinleyiniz, bu sözlerimi hiçbir vakit hatırlınızdan çıkarmayınız. Zaman pek bir emandır. Çalışmayan milletler geri kalır, esir olur, ezilir ve nihayet büsbütün mahv olurlar. Babalarımız şöyle yapmış, dedelerimiz şöyle ilerlemiş, kılıç sallamış demekle iş bitmez. Zaman zamanı terakkidir, insanlık ilim ve marifet devridir. Durmayalım, diğer milletler gibi ve belki onlardan fazla uğraşalım. Kendimizi kurtaralım, yoksa mahv olmak muhakkak gibidir." Ali Haydar and A. Ziya, p. 42.

⁶⁶⁶ "...fakat sonraları cehalet, ahlak bozukluğu, istibdat ve zulum bizi ezdi, çiğnedi bugünkü hale getirdi." Ibid., p. 43.

⁶⁶⁷ "Şeriatın parlak esaslarına riayet etmeyi unutan Müslümanlar diğer milletlerden geri kalmışlar." Ibid., p. 53.

⁶⁶⁸ "Tarihte gördüğümüz vechile Cenab-ı Hakk'ın emirlerine itaat etmeyen milletlerin başlarına pek çok felaketler gelmiştir... Peygamberimizin sallallahü taala aleyhi ve sellem Efendimiz Hazretlerinin tebliğ ettiği ahkam-ı şeriyeye itaat ederiz... Vezaiif-i diniyesini kemali dikkatle ifa eden bir adam, vezaiif-i sairesini de ihmal etmez. Halbuki, Cenab-ı Hakk'a karşı vazifesini ifa etmeyen bir adamın şahsına, hükümetine, vatanına ve hem nevine karşı olan vazifelerini de layıkıyla ifa etmeyeceği bedihidir." H. Natan, Mithat Sadullah, *Yeni Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye, Diniye, Medeniye, Tarihiye* (Devre-i Aliye, Birinci Sene) (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1333), p. 165.

This emphasis on the deterioration of religious ties and the advent of the calamity seems to have had a considerable impact, still in the Second Constitutional period. In this context of divinely punishment, the anti-imperialist tendency turned into Islamism directly in some textbooks. The picture of the oppressed Muslims was given and all Muslims were called to unite in Haydar and Ziya's textbook. Thus the last chapter of the book turned out that the word "Ottoman," which was taught as the identity of all people in the Empire, covered only the Muslims:

There are 350 and maybe 400 million Muslim people. Despite their population, the most suppressed are Muslims. A lot of Muslims are mourning under the yoke of other nations. Let's hold on to each other very tightly. Let's gather our hearts and obey the orders of Islam.⁶⁶⁹

O my glorious Ottoman children who are the hope of the country! Study, be courageous, and always go ahead. The bright future is waiting for you; this wretched nation awaits many things from you.⁶⁷⁰

By "we" Ahmed Cevad clearly meant Muslims in the Ottoman frontiers. The narration made the conflict between Muslim and non-Muslims explicit with the emphasis on Islam. For this reason, the narration turned into the defense of being Muslim. The tolerance of the Ottomans about not forcing the non-Muslims to convert their beliefs was noted as one of the liberties to be appreciated.⁶⁷¹ Just after this, it also was stated that Islam came out ahead from its mild policy towards the non-Muslims because although Christian missionaries worked everywhere, could not

⁶⁶⁹ "Dünyada üç yüz elli ve belki dört yüz milyon Müslüman var, böyle olduğu halde yine en ziyade çiğnenen Müslümanlardır. Birçok Müslümanlar, diğer milletlerin boyunduruğunu altında inliyor. Birbirimizi gayet sıkı turalım. Kalplerimizi birleştirelim. Müslümanlığın emirlerine riayet edelim." Ibid., p. 56.

⁶⁷⁰ "Ey vatanın bütün ümitleri olan şanlı Osmanlı yavrularım! Çalışınız, cesur olunuz, daima ve daima ileriye atınız. Şanlı istikbal sizi bekliyor, bu zavallı millet sizden çok ve pek büyük şeyler ümid ediyor." Ali Haydar, A.Ziya, p. 58.

⁶⁷¹ Ahmed Cevad, 1330, p. 167.

succeed converting Muslims. America cited as a place where Islam was spreading very fast. That every year 40,000 people converted to Islam in America was noted in the lines of textbooks in 1910s.⁶⁷² The interpretation was that Islamic tolerance on the liberty of belief returned various profits to Muslims.

To summarize, there was a perception of nation which consisted of sub-sets, for this reason it is hard to say that the civics books proposed a consistent ideological background for Ottoman nation and citizenship. The textbooks began with the emphasis and praises of pluralism and drew an Ottoman nationalism encompassing all religious groups; yet they ended either with Ottoman-Muslim proto-nationalism or a larger Islamism. For example, the pluralism and the equality of the Constitutional regime were exemplified with the implementation of the compulsory military service for non-Muslims. Yet, the author added the historical note about the military service and once again reminded the case of non-Muslims in the past as such:

In the past, only Muslims joined the army service. The non-Muslims could not. A sum of money was taken from them for military service. This is so malicious... could the honor of military service ever be sold with money? When a war broke out, only Muslims went to fight and hundreds of thousands of them were martyred, thousands and hundreds of thousand children lost their families. On the other hand, non-Muslims continued to engage in trade, agriculture and industry. They earned money and lived securely in this country. The killed and harmed always were the Muslims.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷² Ibid., p. 168.

⁶⁷³ “Eskinden yalnız İslamlar askerlik ederdi. Gayrimüslimler asker olamazdı. Askerlik için onlardan bir parça para alınır ki ne kadar fena bir şey... Hiç askerlik şerefi, vatan muhafızlığı para ile satılır mı? Bir muharebe olsa yalnız İslamlar gider, binlerce yüzbinlerce şehit verirlerdi, çok aileler öksüz kalırlardı. Gayrimüslimler ise ticaret ve ziraat ve sanat ile meşgul olurlar, para kazanırlar, bu vatanda rahat rahat yaşarlardı. Kırılan dökülen hep İslamlardı.” Ali Haydar and A.Ziya, p. 20.

Despite the religious and economic conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims, all the textbooks recommended children love non-Muslims and live with them in fraternity. Yet, this was presented as a religious obligation which required respect and tolerance for non-Muslims, instead of a common ground, which was based on constitutional rights and citizenship. Haydar and Ziya wrote, “In short, we should love all our citizens, and we should be brothers with them. We should respect the rights of all people, be it Muslim or non-Muslim. All is our brothers. They are given under our protection by God. It is forbidden to misappropriate.”⁶⁷⁴

Another point that led to the sense of an inconsistent nation was apparent in the image of the equivocal homeland which the territorial losses at the continuing wars were considered temporary. The imagination of Ottoman geography was contrary to the political realities in the textbook lines in the Hamidian period, too.⁶⁷⁵ The territories and Muslim population in the Balkans created the crisis of definition. The authors brought forth different remarks about whether they were considered part of the homeland or not. One common way said that the Muslims living in the lost lands were brothers; and their lands were included in the homeland. The homeland was a spritual union of Muslims in two ways: The independent homeland and the

⁶⁷⁴ “*Hülâsa-i Kelam: Bütün vatandaşlarımızı sevmeli ve onlarla birleşmeliyiz. Müslim olsun gayri-Müslim olsun hepsinin hukukuna riayet etmeliyiz, hepsi kardeşlerimizdir. Cenab-ı Hakk’ın emanetidir. Emanette hıyanet olmaz yavrularım.*” Ibid., p. 21.

⁶⁷⁵ “Especially, all geography textbooks emphasized the temporary status of this occupation and place of the region within the Ottoman territorial division. Tunis was another example of this feature. Although Tunis was under the French occupation after 1881, it was displayed within Ottoman borders.” Özkan Akpınar, “Geographical Imagination in School Geography during the Late Ottoman Period 1876-1908” (MA Thesis, Bogazici University, 2010), p. 117.

captured homeland.⁶⁷⁶ The captured homeland was presented with the sorrows of the Muslims, thus the Islamist point of view prevailed in the narrations:⁶⁷⁷

This separation that was bitter enough to make both us and our unfortunate brothers who were doomed to the disaster of separation appreciate the homeland. They are, now, being suppressed by the oppression of the cruel Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, French, Italians and Russians who have invaded their lands.⁶⁷⁸

Ahmed Cevad tried to prove that people of the Balkans and North Africa had no links with the invaders while the Ottomans had strong historical foundations. For him, the people of these lands still identified as Ottomans. In addition to the common past, there were common religious ties as well as the common customs and language between the free homeland and the captured land.⁶⁷⁹

The borders of the state were drawn according to the borders before 1878 in one of the 1913 published book. In İrfan's textbook, it was noted that these lands had Muslims in the majority. İrfan even taught the geographical peculiarities of the lost lands in details of the climate and vegetation in these provinces.⁶⁸⁰ In Cevad, the lost lands and "homeland" gained meaning in connection to Islamic unity. The way to save the captured homeland were discussed and people in the "homeland" were kept responsible with the feeling and hope of saving the captive lands; and the anger and hatred towards the enemies thus became part of the teaching in the civics. Despite the

⁶⁷⁶ Ahmed Cevad, 1330, p. 108.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., p.109.

⁶⁷⁸ "Bu ayrılık hem bize hem bizden ayrılmak felaketine düşer olan o bedbaht kardeşlerimize vatanın kıymetini takdir ettirmeğe kafidir. Onlar şimdi memleketlerini istila etmiş olan gaddar düşmanların; Yunanlıların, Bulgarların, Sırpların, Karadağlıların, İtalyanların, Fransızların, Moskofların tazyikat ve ittisafatı altında eziliyorlar." Ahmed Cevad, 1330, p. 108.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁶⁸⁰ Ali İrfan, 1329. p. 46.

demographical changes after the Balkan Wars, the components of the Ottoman nation were listed in 1914 as Turks, Arabs, Albanians, Kurds, Lazs, Circassians, Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians and Jews united, and made it Ottoman the official language.⁶⁸¹ It is clear that the Balkan defeat in 1912 was not taken into consideration in the textbooks written following the Balkan Wars. On the other hand, one of the books showed that students were oriented to scratch out the names like Salonika which no longer an Ottoman territory in 1915. The systematic scratching out of names gives the idea that most probably the paragraphs related to the lost lands had been sorted out by the teacher.⁶⁸² However, the fact that some other textbooks gave information on the latest change in the borders showed the authors' preferences and flexibility in their approach to the limits of homeland and nation.

Turks as a sub-set of the Muslim identity were created with the presentation of their roles in the Ottoman past. Some textbooks increased the tone and emphasis on the Turks:

Those who founded the Ottoman state were Turks. Turks have struggled to protect these lands for almost six hundred years. They are the strongest and the most populated among the Ottomans. Yet, whatever ethnicity they have, all are called Ottoman today and they all have the same laws and legislation.⁶⁸³

The continuation of the narration violated the balance between being Turk and Ottoman. The author detailed as such: "Turks are the most courageous, the most patriotic and the great-hearted among all nations. They are dispersed around the world with names like Turk, Tatar, Kipchak, Mongols, Nuguy, Tonguz, Circassian,

⁶⁸¹ Ali Haydar and A.Ziya, p.16.

⁶⁸² Ali Seydi, 1331, p. 90.

⁶⁸³ "Osmanlı hükümetini teessüs eden Türklerdir. Türkler altı yüz şu kadar seneden beri bu toprakları muhafaza için pek çok uğraşmışlardır. Bugün Osmanlılar içinde nüfusca en çok olan ve en kuvvetli bulunan Türklerdir. Fakat hangi kavim olursa olsun bugün hepsi Osmanlı namı altında bulunur ve hepsi aynı hukuka malik ve aynı kanuna tabidir." Ali Haydar, A.Ziya, p. 16.

Kyrgyz and Hungarian.”⁶⁸⁴ The result of the Balkan Wars was influential in the emergence of Turkist ideology. However, the emphasized Islamist discourse, on the one hand, the Ottomanism on the other, created a confusing case. The pluralist Ottomanism which was supported with references to Islam was connected to Turks in the last instance.⁶⁸⁵

In Ahmed Cevad, the understanding of nation was based on an Islamic discourse, too. After long teaching of what a nation was he summarized that the conception of nation in Islam was better since it was more inclusive: “With one word, the nation and religion are one in Islam.”⁶⁸⁶ The book defined “nation” on the word Ottoman, however this Ottomanness was never given in an ethno-secular ground. Ottomanness was built up upon Islam most of the time. The non-Muslim entity was apparent in the lines only as “others”, at statements on their wealth or liberties in the history and the present situation.⁶⁸⁷

It is evident the textbooks searched for ways to legitimize the plurality of “Ottoman” nation. Ali Seydi taught that the common points of the people in the modern nation states and explained the Ottoman nation with its specialities. He wrote,

...people in other countries belong to one ethnicity, race, morality and customs; in short they resemble each other in many respects. This resemblance strengtens their union... yet not in every country do all people belong to one nation. They all do not speak one language, their morals and customs differ. Despite this, the individuals of that nation love each other; their youth

⁶⁸⁴ “Türkler bütün milletler içinde en cesur en hamiyetli ve en yürekli bir kavimdir. Türk milleti dünyanın birçok yerlerine dağılmıştır. (Türk, Tatar, Kıpçak, Moğol, Nuğuy, Tonguz Çerkez, Kırgız, Macar) gibi birçok kavimler hep Türk sülalesidir.” Ibid., p.31.

⁶⁸⁵ Ali Haydar and A.Ziya, p. 31.

⁶⁸⁶ “Bir kelime ile İslamiyet’te din ile millet birdir.” Ahmed Cevad, 1330, p. 111.

⁶⁸⁷ Ahmed Cevad, 1330, p. 130.

respect the elderly, the elderly help and protect the youth
because their feelings about the homeland are the same...⁶⁸⁸

The civic duty required one to know about significant past incidents, to keep them in mind. For this reason, the prominent characters of history were presented in part of the civics books. Beginning with Osman Gazi the sultans were taught. The following topics are Orhan Gazi, Yıldırım Beyazıt, the invasion of Tamerlane, Çelebi Mehmet and the conquerings with Fatih Sultan Mehmet, the abolition of the Janissaries, the Tanzimat, the First and Second Constitutions, and the reactionary incident of March 31.⁶⁸⁹ The success in restoring the constitution was given as a proof that the Turks would rise again.⁶⁹⁰

It is explicit that the authors had difficulty to adapt to the modern conception of nation into the plurality of the Empire. The case of the Ottoman Empire, the frontiers of which underwent redrawing a few times before an elementary school student graduated, made the textbook writers fail in giving clear definitions or illustrations.

⁶⁸⁸ "...ekser memleketlerde bir milleti teşkil eden insanlar bir ırka, bir cinse mensub olurlar, aynı ahlaka ve adata tabi bulunurlar, elhasıl birbirlerine birçok cihetlerce benzerler. Bu benzeyiş aralarındaki ittihadı kuvvet verir... Halbuki, her yerde bir milleti teşkil eden efradın kaffesi aynı ırka mensub olmaz. Bunların cümlesi bir lisanla konuşmaz, hepsinin ahlakı ve adeti birbirine benzemez. Bununla beraber o millet efradı yine birbirini sever, gençleri ihtiyarlarına hümtet, büyüklere küçüklerine riayet ve herbiri diğerine muavenet eder. Çünkü bunların vatana karşı hisleri düşünceleri birdir... Binaenaleyh: Üzerinde ecdadımızın yaşadığı, hüküm sürdüğü, içinde babamızın kemiklerinin gömülü bulunduğu, şu mübarek vatanımızı hepimiz severiz, hepimiz onun saadet ve selameti için her türlü fedakarlığa katlarız." Ali Seydi, 1336. p. 34.

⁶⁸⁹ Ali Seydi, 1329. p. 85.

⁶⁹⁰ Ali Seydi, 1331. p. 85.

The conception of “duty,” which had been defined on a religion base during the Young Turk regime, began to be remoulded on law in some of the textbooks at the beginning of the 1920s, when a discourse based on a secular filtration leaving out the ambiguous character, which reproduced the Western theoretics with Islamic morals became clear. For example, Ahmed Cevad defined duties as things to be carried out since they were “good” and to be refrained because they were “bad”.⁶⁹¹ He did not elaborate on the basis of the “good” and “bad”, yet he emphasized that “the most unerring guide in determining what is a duty is reason and judgment”.⁶⁹² He explained in detail why only conscience was not enough in defining duties with examples: “If we make a child think over every action from his childhood, he is not mistaken and gets no difficulty in differentiating the good from the bad.”⁶⁹³ However, the lines between the duty concept and religious obligation remained indiscernable and ambivalent in between the political messages and Islamist propensities of the textbook as seen in economy and identity issues.

A book written by Nazım [İçsel] in 1921 marks the beginning of the philosophical change in its treatment of morals and civics in the scope of this study. He did not follow the official sequence of subjects in the curriculum. The introduction of the book presented a reading passage which did not take place in the curriculum. The reading passage, (*Kıraat*,) which was informally placed in the

⁶⁹¹ Ahmet Cevad, 1330. p. 6.

⁶⁹² “*Vazifeyi tayin eden en yanılmaz rehber akıl ve muhakemedir.*” Ibid., p. 7.

⁶⁹³ “*Bir çocuk küçük yaşından beri her hareketi için düşünmüş ve düşündürülmüş olursa iyiyi fenadan tefrik etmekte güçlük çekmez ve hiç yanılmaz.*” Ahmet Cevad, 1330. p. 7.

beginning of the book was noteworthy. It recounted the evolution of humanity from a primitive wilderness to civilized communities. *Kıraat* gave information about the primitive peoples by depending on the positive results extracted from archeological excavations. It had been 100,000 years since people made up communities. The narration describing the first people brought up a contrasting point of view to the knowledge based on the religious education. This book published in 1921, heralds the turning point at which is the change of philosophy occurred towards a secular construction in the late 1920s: “In the past, people used to live in gatherings of three-five in number in miscellaneous climates in wild. The first people lacked even the ability to speak and everything, except their poor intelligence and wild feelings.”⁶⁹⁴

The text which that recounted primitive people communicated with signs, and lived in hunting in caves was accompanied by the illustrations of wild seemingly half-dressed human figures. It was written beneath the figures of the first people that they “... endured many difficulties in order to survive and prolong [their] species against hunger, thirst, the effects of changing climates and the attacks of the powerful animals in the surrounding.”⁶⁹⁵ The narration of the first people continued with new knowledge directly contrasting with the religious knowledge established with God’s creation and then progressing through the prophets. The half-dressed women and

⁶⁹⁴ “Bundan evvel insanlar üçer beşer kişiden mürekkebe olarak muhtelif iklimlerde vahşiyane yaşarlardı. İlk insanların sönük zekaları, kaba hislerinden başka hiçbir şeyleri hatta lisanları bile yoktu.” Nazım [İçsel]. *Yeni Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye, Diniye, Tarihiyye, Sıhhiyye ve Medeniye*. İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1337. (*Maarif Vekaleti Celilesi tarafından zükur ve inas mekatib-i iptidaiye ile sultani iptidaiyelerinde tedris olunmak üzere kabul edilmiştir.*) p. 5.

⁶⁹⁵ “Daima açlığın, susuzluğun, tebeddilat-ı hevaiyenin teessüratına ve etraflarındaki kuvvetli hayvanların hatta yekdiğerlerinin hücumlarına maruz kalarak şahıslarının ve nevlerinin bekasını temin etmekte büyük müşkülata katlanırlardı.” Nazım [İçsel], 1337. p. 6.

men sitting around the fire exemplified their wild lives⁶⁹⁶: “They slaughtered their prey with their teeth or killed them by hitting their heads with sticks.”⁶⁹⁷

The evolution from savageness to civilization had already taken place in the books published between 1908 and 1913. Yet, details about the wild life and mankind, such as the phases of the evolution, had not been elicited.⁶⁹⁸ Hence, for sixth grades students in 1921 there were two different stories from two different sources: One was the religious epistemology and worldview nourished from revelation; the other focused on an evolutionary process rooted in the study of nature, which provided the archeological excavation and empiric findings.

The secular narration focused on the formation of communities from primitiveness to civilization while the religious one was on the disbelief and belief of the peoples, either destroyed by God’s punishment or progressed thanks to their submission to their faith. Community was formed as the result of agricultural activities. People helped each other so as not to suffer hunger in winter. The women sat at home and men looked for food outside homes, which configured the gender roles.⁶⁹⁹ The nomadic period ended and people started to progress in terms of reason

⁶⁹⁶ Nazım [İçsel], 1337. p. 7.

⁶⁹⁷ “Yakaladıkları avları dişleri ile boğazlarlar veya taşla başlarını sersemleştirdikten sonra sopa ile öldürürlerdi.” Nazım [İçsel], 1337. p. 8.

⁶⁹⁸ Some of the textbooks introduced the civics knowlegde within the the phases of *Vahşet*, *Bedeviyet* and *Medeniyet* are as follows: Mehmed Abdülkadir, *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye* (İstanbul: Keteon Bedrosyan, 1326) (Maarif Nezareti celilesinin tanzim ettiği son programa muvafık olmak üzere tertip edilmiştir.); Selanikli Faik, *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1324) (Mekاتب-i İptidaiyenin üçüncü senesinde tedris edilmek ve son programa muvafık olmak üzere tertip edilmiştir.); H. Natan, Mithat Sadullah, *Yeni Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye, Diniye, Medeniye, Tarihiye* (Devre-i Aliye, Birinci Sınıf) (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1333); Mehmed Hazık, *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1324); Mithat Sadullah, *Sualli Cevaplı Malumat-ı Medeniye Dersleri* (İstanbul: Mürettebin-i Osmaniye Matbaası, 1328) (Yedi senelik mekatibi idadiyenin ikinci ve üçüncü sınıflarıyla, mekatibi rüşdiyenin ikinci ve üçüncü senelerinde tedris edilmek üzere tertip olunmuştur.).

⁶⁹⁹ Nazım [İçsel], 1337. p. 8.

and morality. This led to the establishment of towns. Wars were an indispensably part of life; since the struggle for survival left no other chance; the weak were beaten by the powerful as a rule. Since the weaker tribes had little possibility to survive under these conditions and since the law was that the fittest survived, “communities consisting of strong and dominant individuals came into being.”⁷⁰⁰ The greater the progress was, the greater the need for security, laws and justice increased among men. What follows these was the formation of states, governments and officers.⁷⁰¹

Following the reading passage which did not take in the curriculum, students were taught about the importance of community life with striking and comprehensible examples: “Imagine, one morning you go out of your home, you see the streets are emptied, and people are deported! What would you do?”⁷⁰² He drew the attention to the the need for a communal life. The break with religion reflected on İçsel’s explanation of adminisration of states. In the past, the prophets had been political leaders, but now there was no need for them. He implied that state and religion should be separated in modern times since the rule of one person turned into tyranny.⁷⁰³ The content of civic education was directed by the sociological thought.⁷⁰⁴ The state and its configuration as a result of sociological needs dominated the content of the books in the 1920s.

⁷⁰⁰ “Böylece zayıflar yok edilip güçlüler ayakta kaldığı için hakim ve muhkem ferdlerden müteşekkil cemiyetler vücuda gelirdi.” Ibid., p.10.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., p.9.

⁷⁰² “Bir sabah evinizden dışarı çıktığınız vakit sokakları تنها bulsanız, halkın çıkiğ gitmiş olduğunu görerseniz ne yaparsınız?” Ibid. p. 13

⁷⁰³ Nazım [İçsel], 1337. p. 27.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

In the books published after 1921, the relation between child and state grew more important than the celestial ties. Mehmet Emin's textbook for high school students confirmed the remarks about the elementary school curriculum. The family and state was associated in the sight of students and the necessity of the state was emphasized as such:

For example, we are sure that nobody can steal our money. If someone does steal, we immediately call the police and they safeguard us... This means that as our family protects us in childhood, we have some state institutions to prevent any kind of assault and injustice in our adulthood... In addition, it is the same institution that opens schools to educate everyone, and therefore make us get more benefits from life in the further years. It is the state which constructs roads and ensures us more profits. This means that there are some institutions and officers who make us live in comfort and security.⁷⁰⁵

The ideas that people were born in debt to their community and they had to pay for it replaced the indebtedness and thankfulness to God's blessings: "What would you do if you landed on an isolated island?" and the "Benedictions of the Community to the Individual" titles replaced the blessings of God in religious narration.⁷⁰⁶

Individualism was strictly impeded with the indebtedness to the society and state: "The question 'why do I earn money?' should be replied with "I work both for myself and my nation."⁷⁰⁷ It was strongly stressed that individual happiness and welfare were got through the well-being and soundness of the nation. The nation was

⁷⁰⁵ "Mesela eminiz ki paramızı kimse çalamaz. Çalarsa derhal memleketin polisi gelir, bizi himaye eder... Demek ki çocukluk zamanında bizi ailemiz koruduğu gibi büyüdüğümüz zaman da her nevi taarruz ve tecavüze meydan vermeyen bir takım müesseselere malikiz... Diğer taraftan mektepler açarak herkesi okutan ve binaenaleyh ilerideki hayatımızdan daha iyi istifadenizi temin ettiren yine o teşkilattır, yollar yapan, kazanmanızı temin eden de odur." Mehmet Emin, *Malumat-ı Vatanîye* (liseler ve muallim mektepleri için) (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1340), p. 3-4.

⁷⁰⁶ "Sizi vahşi bir ormana bıraksalar ne yapardınız? ... Ferdin cemiyete medyun olduğu nimetler..." Ibid. p. 14

⁷⁰⁷ Mehmet Emin, 1340. p. 7.

also used as a control vehicle of conscience. It took the place of religion as a control center. The book elaborated on it in these lines: “The place of Knowledge of the Homeland (*Malumat-ı Vataniye*) among the other studies: It is morals that examine human behavior. Knowledge of the Homeland was part of morality since it taught us some part of these duties... It acknowledged the legislation of the state.”⁷⁰⁸

Individuals needed a community not to be eaten up as seen in the examples of wild Africa and civilized Europe:

For example, if you compare the tribes in Africa, Australia and America, which still lives in the wild, to the civilized people, you see that these civilized people are superior to these tribes... Even today’s civilized European people came out of the era in which they ate man, used guns made of stone and tools made of bones in the most ancient times.⁷⁰⁹

Emphasizing that even Europeans, like other people, transformed living in the wilderness to civilization through community best expressed the progressive history of achieving civilization. The information given about the evolutionary process, cause and effects in begining agriculture, founding communities and creating civil life in Taylan’s text went parallel to the narration of Nazım [İçsel]. The needs increased as the civilization progressed. The subjects of progress were frequently epitomized by the inventions of trains, ship, factories and airplanes: “Gentlemen,

⁷⁰⁸ “*Malumat-ı vataniyenin diğer malumat arasındaki mevkii: İnsan vazifelerini mevzu bahis eden ilme ahlak denir. Malumat-ı vataniye bu vazifelerin bir kısmını bize öğrettiğinden ahlakın bir faslıdır. Malumat-ı vataniye devletin mevzuatını da tanır.*” Mehmet Emin, 1340. p. 8-9.

⁷⁰⁹ “*Mesela henüz vahşet halinde yaşayan Afrika, Avustralya ve Amerika’nın bazı taraflarındaki kabilelerle medeni alem arasında bir mukayese yaparsanız, medeni aleme mensub insanların, bu kabileler halkından daha yüksek olduğunu görürsünüz... Hatta bugünkü medeni Avrupa halkı en eski zamanlarda insan eti yiyen, taş silahlar ve kemik aletler kullanan bir takım vahşilerin neslinden gelmiştir.*” Muslihiddin Adil Taylan (Darülfünun Mukayeseli Hukuk İdare Müdürü), *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Malumat-ı Vataniye*, (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1926) (*Mühassıs komisyonun raporu üzerine milli talim ve terbiye dairesinin 1926 numbersu ve 24 Ağustos tarihli kararı ile mekteplere kabul edilmiştir. İlk Mektep Dördüncü sınıf*) p. 6.

everyday, you hear that a new machine and a new airplane have been invented.”⁷¹⁰

On the other hand, the primitive people and their needs were restricted with their capabilities. They did not know what rights meant; they understood nothing except eating and drinking. However, today’s people thought about each other more.

Civilization was glorified through these lines: “My lads! Be happy that you live in the present time. To be a contemporary man means to love rights and freedoms.”⁷¹¹

The author told children that life was a battle, hence he warned that the battle of life necessitated working hard and competing against others. The fatalist philosophy was directly criticized as in the 1910s and opposed with a new worldview. An ideal man depicted in the book was of diligent, perseverant and determined with the willpower to manage solidarity and cooperative work. These were in harmony with the frequently mentioned characteristics of the ideal generation in the manuscript of 1915 explained in detail.⁷¹² This depiction of ideal generation overlapped with the manuscript of 1915 except in its focus on religious education.

Taylan’s textbook, the latest published text taken into consideration in the scope of this study, discussed “religious duties,” too. To him, conscience, public opinion, health, law and religion are the guardians of duty. Religion forced man into the worldly responsibilities reminding him of the rewards and punishment mechanisms in the Hereafter. The responsibility felt by the conscience was greater than his responsibility to the laws.⁷¹³ The division of duties which comprised the

⁷¹⁰ “Efendiler, her gün bir makinenin, bir tayyarenin icad edildiğini duyuyorsunuz...” Taylan, 1926. p. 17.

⁷¹¹ “Evladlarım bugünün adamı olduğunuzdan dolayı sevininiz. Çünkü bugünün insanı demek hakkın hürriyetin aşığı demektir.” Taylan, 1926. p. 12.

⁷¹² See Chapter 1.

⁷¹³ Taylan, 1926. p. 28.

duty to God continued to take place in Taylan's textbook of 1926. This reflects the continuity of the previous period in the lines of the textbooks before strict unification policy was implemented by the Republican bureaucrats. On the one hand, the secularized knowledge based on "change" and evolution instead of "eternity" was posed side by side with the religious patterns of thoughts.

Imagining an Ethno- Secular Community: Breaking Away with Religion

It is appropriate to consider the period following 1920 in itself in terms of the identity of "us." In those books, the foundation of the Ankara government was felt very neatly in the narration of the textbooks. Nazım [İçsel] depicted the state as a community with "a strong government and regime, just legislations, a definite territory, independent and sovereignty, and serving for the same goal." The nation was "all people belonging to the same government and sharing the same religion and ethnicity."⁷¹⁴ The formation of a state required not only territories as focused on most textbooks, but also a government, independence and a community. The definition of nation primarily was bound to belonging to the same government while religion and ethnicity were taken as more flexible ties. Citizenship received a special emphasis at the end of a long string of wars, which caused various political and social changes. For this reason, the post-1920s textbooks discussed here display a considerable interest in instilling the idea that the place of birth might not be one's homeland. The

⁷¹⁴ "Muntazam bir hükümeti ve şekil idaresi, adilane kanunları, muayyen ve mahdum arazisi bulunan, istiklal ve hakimiyeti haiz olarak müşterek bir maksada hizmet eden her cemiyete devlet namı verilir... Aynı memlekette aynı hükümete tabi, dinleri ve kavmiyetleri bir veya muhtelif olan insanların umumuna millet denir." Nazım [İçsel], 1337. p. 17.

territories in which the ancestors lived and died might not be the homeland. Orhan Fuat described the place of birth and homeland like this:

For example, I –as a Turk, son of Turk- might have been born in ... Bagdad or Aleppo where my family had been for a short time. But these lands cannot be my homeland, because these lands are governed by other governments today. The majority of the people living there belong to different ethnicities and nationalities from mine. Nobody acknowledges me as a citizen there. They do not let me interfere in any political and administrative affairs of their country.⁷¹⁵

To Orhan Fuad, being from the same town should not be exaggerated. The regionalist tendencies were conspicuously rejected and cautioned against. Orhan Fuat defined citizenship as the share of rights among different religious and ethnic groups under the same law while nationhood encompassed Turks living on the lost territories. Sharing the happiness and sorrows of Turks outside Turkey was the mark of the consciousness of nationhood.⁷¹⁶ If the citizens shared the nationhood at the same time, this was considered as the most beautiful situation, those who shared both nationhood and citizenship should be treated the best. The text, which detailed the articles of the Constitution, presented the huge entity of state to the students. The details included much annoying and non-essential knowledge.

The homeland is not the place of birth in the book by Muslihiddin Adil Taylan. According to him, the defined nation in the homeland was Turkish nation: “All citizens who live in Turkey and have been in Turkish character are called

⁷¹⁵ “*Mesela ben halis Türkoğlu Türk olduğum halde ailemin muvakkat bir münasebetle bulunduğu Bağdad veya Halep ve belki de Marsilya veya Londrada doğmuş olabilirim. Lakin buralar benim sayılmaz, çünkü bu memleketler bugün başka hükümetlerin idaresi altındadır. Oraların ekser halkı benim mensup olduğum ırktan milliyetten başka ırk ve milletlere mensuptur. O halk içinde beni vatandaş tanıyan hiçbir kimse yoktur. Onlar beni o memleketlerin hiçbir siyasi ve idari haklarına, işlerine karıştırmazlar.*” Orhan Fuad, *Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye ve Malumat-ı Vatanîye* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1924), p. 8.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., p.14.

Türk.”⁷¹⁷ Such expressions were intensively used to exalt Turkishness: “The great and acute intelligence of the Turks has given many works to the civilization.”⁷¹⁸ The period between 1926 and 1930 could be shown as the preliminary era of the construction of the Turkishness in the Turkish History Thesis in the 1930s.⁷¹⁹

Mehmet Emin’s textbook for high schools confirmed the ideas made at the elementary level. He gave “we” clearer in that the religious unity was no longer considered as part of the “we.” Nation was the aggregate of people with the same feelings, and common goals and interests. He also commented that the elements constituting nation were controversial. To him, there were some common points, though; for example, “the valuable monuments and the common customs.”⁷²⁰ “Why some groups of people were inclined to have a determined goal and purpose?”⁷²¹ He answered that the effect of territory and climate played a role; however the common point of living in the same territory was not seen enough to become a nation. For this reason homeland was different and did not signify any territorial commonness: “On the contrary, the concept of homeland today expresses a spiritual love and belonging rather than a material one.”⁷²² Homeland in old times was regarded as the place of birth where one’s ancestors were buried. Now its meaning is broadened.” He tries to

⁷¹⁷ “Türkiye’de yaşayan Türk tabiatında bulunan vatandaşların hepsine Türk denir.” Taylan, 1926, p. 53.

⁷¹⁸ “Türklerin büyük ve şiddetli zekası medeniyete bir çok eserler vermiştir.” Taylan, 1926, p. 39.

⁷¹⁹ Ali Seydi, *Yurt Bilgisi* (Dördüncü Sınıf) (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1929); Ali Seydi, *Yurt Bilgisi* (Köy Mekteplerinin ve İlkemekteplerin Üçüncü Sınıfına Mahsustur) (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1929)

⁷²⁰ “...değer verilen abideler veya ortak adetler...” Mehmet Emin, 1340. p. 10.

⁷²¹ “...bir takım insanlar nasıl oluyor da millet halinde böyle muayyen emele muayyen gayeye sahip olabiliyor?”

⁷²² “Bilakis vatan mefhumu yavaş yavaş bu toprak ve arazi muhabbeti halinden çıkmıştır. Bugün vatan milletimize ve onun şeref ve istiklaline karşı duyduğumuz muhabbeti ifade eder. Binaenaleyh maddi bir şey değil, manevi bir hisdir.” Mehmet Emin, 1340. p. 11.

give a new conception adaptable with the new situation which required to love everywhere “accommodated” by Turks.” The outer Turks were thus replaced in the definition of “we” after 1923. Despite having a role in nation making, race was seen as such: “A nation consisted of generations coming from the same race from the beginning rarely exists.”⁷²³ He fixed the problem of ethnicity based on Turkishness with feelings: “If a person esteems himself as coming from the same origin and have the same feeling and goal in his conscience, there is no doubt that he belongs to that nation”.⁷²⁴ The common benefit in the future was the excitement and goal of people who had to hold on to each other in order to survive.⁷²⁵ The effect of religion in making up nations was held as the esteem of old peoples who regarded religion as the only or the most important tie among people. The author, who found a relation between the worldly happiness and nation formation thought that the national feeling had the aim of providing the world happiness:

The national sense and religious sense are confused. Yet, these two senses are totally different from each other. National sense requires wishing our nation to be free and happy in the world. The religious sense sets one’s sight on the happiness of the other world through the practices and beliefs counted as right. Therefore, religious sense impelled man to such activities that the goal is not to be something in the world; it is rather to reach the felicity of the other world. Yet the goal we direct with the national sense is all profane. If we do what the national sense requires, we aim to provide the worldly happiness and welfare to our nation.⁷²⁶

⁷²³ “Saf bir ırk daima aynı menşeden gelen baba ve anadan doğma evlatlardan mürekkep bir millet hemen yok gibidir.” Ibid., p. 13.

⁷²⁴ “Bir kimse kendini milletdaşlarıyla aynı menşeden gelmiş addeder, aynı his ve gayeyi vicdanında duyarsa o milletin ferdi olduğundan şüphe edilmez.” Ibid., p. 13.

⁷²⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷²⁶ “Vaktiyle insanlar arasında en mühim rabıta hissi dini zannolunuyordu. Hiss-i milli ile hiss-i dini yekdiğerine karıştırılıyordu. Halbuki bu iki his birbirinden tamamen ayrıdır. Milli his milletdaşlarımızın bu dünyada müreffeh, hür ve mesud olmasını istemeyi icab eder. Dini his ise ferdin gerek nefsin, gerek diğer insanları doğru addettiği itikadat ve amal sayesinde uhrevi saadete isal istihdaf eyler. Binaenaleyh hiss-i dini insanı öyle hareketlere sevkeder ki onun gayesi dünyada bir şey olmaktan ziyade ahirette saadete ermekliğidir. Halbuki milli his ile istihdaf ettiğimiz gaye saf

The author taught that the religious sense obstructed the nation formation and material well-being. The Renaissance in Europe was described as the process of differentiation between the religious and national senses. Civilization was taken with a point of view affirming it on merits to humanity. To overcome the conflict between the humanistic and national senses, it was underlined that without a national sense it was impossible to develop a humanistic one.

Although textbooks went through an epistemological change from 1908 to 1926, between two curriculums, most themes remained unchanged, such as the significance given to progress in the material world. The teachings, that the ignorant and lazy people did not have any value or honour, that they were useless for their soul and the homeland, were still common teachings in character education.⁷²⁷ One of common points was the importance of state organs. For example, the municipal services occupied a considerable part in some textbooks.⁷²⁸ Some titles were keeping the streets clean, repairing the pavements, constructing neat houses, building hospitals for the poor, lightening the streets at night, controlling the sellers in the bazaars and sellers for the advantage of the people. The bureaucratic foundations of a government and the technical details on its institutions occupied a great amount of pages on textbooks in years from 1908 to 1913, and increased in amount in the 1920s. The question of the necessity for a state brought up the issue of

dünyevidir. Milli hissin icab ettiği harekette bulunduğumuz zaman gayemiz milletdaşlarımızın bu dünyada saadetini ve binaenaleyh refahını temin eylemektir.” Mehmet Emin, 1340. p. 17.

⁷²⁷ Taylan, 1926. p. 37.

⁷²⁸ Hüseyin Hıfzı, *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (Mekatibi rüşdiye ve idadi) (İstanbul: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1326), p. 23-54. The governance of provinces which is considerably boring for children lasts for 31 pages in the book.

community.⁷²⁹ The government was explained upon its most visible institutions such as law, police, gendarme, army and state officers. The establishment of a government was presented as an imperative of the community life where the stronger people tended to dominate the weaker. Hence, the state was called a power which protected the weak against the powers (enemies) both inside and outside.⁷³⁰

The Islamic character in duty conception and the tension in the flow of the prevailing religious discourse and secular knowledge were the main concern in this chapter. The examination of the textbooks published between 1908 and 1913, called the “liberal” period in this study, was restrictive to reflect the religious tone. The textbooks published in the liberal atmosphere of the Constitutional regime differed from those published after the government control issued an authorization on textbooks in 1913. What marked the textbooks published between 1913 and 1921 lay in the religious character in the conception of duties derived from Kantian morals. The textbooks in the years between 1908 and 1913 were produced within this liberal atmosphere and had a more secular penchant than post -1913. The books of Cezmi, Hıfzı, Hazık and Behiç were marked as not comprising a part such as “duties to God”.⁷³¹ The imagination of man out of the universe of God prevailed in the texts while all of the later published books (until 1927) configured “man and his duties” within the context of the “Supreme Being of God” (Cenab-ı Hakka karşı vazifeler)

⁷²⁹ Hakkı Behiç, *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye* (Mekاتب-i İdadi) (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1327)

⁷³⁰ Nazım [İçsel], 1337, p. 16.

⁷³¹ Hüseyin Hıfzı (Necmi Terakki mektebi ve gazetesi müdürü), *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (Birinci Kısım), (Dersaadet: Tefeyyüz kütüphanesi, 1326) (*Yeni program mucibince mekatibi iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere tertip edilmiştir.*); Dr. Hazık, *Malumat-ı Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* (*Umum mekatib-i rüşdiyelerin üçüncü senesinde tedris edilmek üzere*) (İstanbul: Keteon Bedrosyan Matbaası, 1328); İsmail Cezmi, *Malumat-ı Ahlakiye ve Medeniye Dersleri* (İstanbul: Artin Asodaryan, 1328); Hakkı Behiç, *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye* (Mekاتب-i İdadi) (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1327)

according to the curriculum of 1913. Similarly, the use of hadiths and the Quran did not take an explicit degree in the formation of this secular discourse. Duties were revealed as the requirement in the context of the formation of the community, state, government and laws in these texts. At this point, the secular worldview in some of the pre-1913 textbooks bore resemblance to the general peculiarities in the post-1920 period, while years between 1913 and 1921 signified a more religious character accompanied by the Ottoman- Muslim identity. Another result to be noted is that as the level of the books increased from elementary to secondary grades, the religiosity of the narration diminished.⁷³² Yet, this could be marked as an expected result since one of the characteristics of the elementary schooling was its being based on moral education more or less following an Islamic path.

⁷³² The comparison of high school books to the elementary level in the same year renders the result that both the use of the secular language increased and a sharper critique of the old regime was made. For comparison to the elementary level textbooks, Pir Hazarizade Abdüssamed Fahri, *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye* (İdadiye ve sultaniyeler için) (İstanbul: Cihan Matbaası, 1331), p. 95-98.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORIES: GENERAL HISTORY, OTTOMAN HISTORY AND ISLAMIC HISTORY

The curriculum drawn in 1913 (1329) designed the six years of instruction of history. The first year of primary school aimed to teach history not as a separate class, but embedded in the civics subjects with historical stories. History as a separate class began in the second grade. It comprised a blend of stories about Islamic, Ottoman and Turkish heroes, as seen in Ali Reşad and Ihsan Şerif's textbooks serving as models in this category.⁷³³ The third grade covered the subjects about Ottoman History. Ottoman life, customs, culture and the power of the state in the past were underlined. The reasons why the state had progressed and declined were asked and answered by reducing it to the understanding of the students. The Ottoman civilization was described and highlighted.

Twelve Ottoman history textbooks, three of which were from the Hamidian period, were compiled from the miscellaneous libraries in the framework of this study as follows.⁷³⁴ In the fourth grade, students witnessed the incidents of the closer

⁷³³ Ali Reşad, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersler, İslam, Türk ve Osmanlı Meşahiri* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1332); Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir.*)

⁷³⁴ Yusuf Ziya, *En Kolay Tarih-i Osmani* (İzmir: Şems matbaası, 1329); Ibnul Nuzhet Cevad, *Ravza-i Tarih-i Osmani* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1328), (*Maarif nezaretinin en son programına tevfiikan tertip ve mekatib-i rüşdiyede tedris edilmek üzere tahrir edilmiştir*); Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334), (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*); Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i*

times, facing the realities of the present. The scope of the subjects extended from Sultan Osman the Second to the Balkan Wars. The fifth year primary school students were responsible for presenting history in a larger framework based on “civilizations.” The books examined in this study are listed in the footnote.⁷³⁵ In the fifth grades, the history of civilizations was examined until the New Age, starting from the old civilizations such as the Egyptians and going over the Middle Age with a focus on Islamic civilization. The Islamic civilization and history were made part

Osmani (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331), (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müسابaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*); Abdülkadir, *Çocuklarım Resimli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Saadet ve Tefeyyüz Kütüphaneleri, 1329); Selim Kohen, *Resimli Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Artin Asadoryan, 1327), (*Umum mekاتب-i iptidaiye-i Osmaniye de tedrise elverişli olmak üzere gayet açık ve basit bir üslup ile tahrir edilmiştir*); Ibnul Cevad Efdalüddin, *Küçüklere Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Karabet Matbaası, 1329-1327) (*Maarif nezaretinin kabul ettiği resmi programa göre Rüşdi ve idadi mekteplerinin ikinci sınıflarında okutturulmak üzere tertip olunmuştur*); Ahmet Refik, *Muhtasar Resimli Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1332), (*Bütün padişahların resimlerini ve şakirdana mahsus tarihi kıraatleri havi olmak üzere Mekاتب-i Iptidaiyeye mahsus tertip edilmiştir*); Ahmet Refik, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333), (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiye ve sultanienin dördüncü senelerine mahsustur*); Ahmed Reşid, *Haritalı ve Resimli Mükemmel Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1326) (*Umum mekاتب-i idadiyelerde tedris edilmek üzere tertip edilmiştir*); Selanikli Tevfik (Sabah gazetesi ser muharriri), *Muhtasar Tarihi Osmani* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Kütüphane-i Cihan, 1323); Ahmed Rasim, *Küçük Tarihi Osmani*, (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan, 1306) (*Sıbyan Mekteplerine mahsustur*.); Ali Nazıma (Mekاتب-i Mülkiye-i Şahane Müdür muavini), *Tarih-i Nazıma, Küçüklere Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kasbar, 1313).

⁷³⁵ Hasan Sırrı, *Tarih-i Umumi* (Dersaadet: Karabet Matbaası, 1309) (*Vilayet-i Şahanedeki Mekاتب-i İdadiyenin 1310 senesinde Maarif Nezareti celilesince tayin ve tanzim olunan programa tevfikeyen tertip olunmuştur*); Muhyiddin, *Kainata bir Nazar yahut Mücmel Tarihi Umumi* (Dersaadet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1307) A. Rıza, *Tarih-i Umumi*, (İstanbul: Karabet Kütüphanesi, 1327) (*Yeni programa tevfikeyen tertip ve mekاتب-i idadiyede tedris olunmak üzere Maarif Nezareti celilesince kabul edilmiştir*); Ibnul Nüzet Cevad, *Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan, 1328) (*1326, 1325 sene-i tedrisiyesine mahsus olmak üzere erbab-ı ihtisastan müteşekkik komisyon tarafından mekاتب-i idadiye tedrisatı için tanzim ve tahrir olunup meclis-i maarifce bittetkik kabul olunan müfredat programına tevfikeyen tertip edilmiştir*); Sabri Cemil (Üsküp idadisi mülkiye muallimi), *Küçük Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Askeri, 1327); A Memduh, Ahmet Halid, *Umumi Tarih* (Numune Mektepleri için) (İstanbul: Zerafet Matbaası, 1330); Ahmet Mithat, *Darülfünun Dersleri, Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Sırat-ı Müstakim Matbaası, 1328); İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiye’de Devre-i Mutavassıta ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüسابaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*); Mithat Sadullah, Muallim A. Memduh, Muallim Ahmet Halit, *Küçük Mekteplilere Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1334) (*Maarif-i umumiye nezareti celilesi telif ve tercüme heyetince bittetkik bütün iptidai mekteplerde okutulmak üzere kabul edilmiştir*); Ahmet Refik, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1330) (*Mekاتب-i Sultani Beşinci sınıf ve mekاتب-i iptidaiye beşinci ve altıncı sınıflara mahsustur*); Mehmet Masum, *Rüştiyelere Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: İkramiyeli Matbaa, 1326); Ali Haydar, *Tarih-i Umumi- Enbiya ve Beni İsrail Tarihi* (Bursa: Hilal Matbaası, 1330).

of the general history in this regard. Yet, it is interesting to see that the teaching of these subjects was kept separately and books on Islamic history were demanded. The books produced for this special goal are noted below, too.⁷³⁶

The goal in history overall was to teach students on what political conjecture the Empire and other states were juxtaposed in the world. Children were taught in school about the interests and impending jeopardy for the country.⁷³⁷ In the last grades, the history of civilization subject specialized on the New Age, which consisted of subjects like the inventions and discoveries in France, England and Russia. While the developments in Europe were taught, the Ottoman civilization especially in middle ages was accentuated scrupulously vis-à-vis the contemporary European civilization. Some of the titles in this category were the revolutions in Europe, the constitutions in the Ottoman Empire and the colonial policy of Europe.⁷³⁸ Thus, along with the curriculum, three types of history textbooks were produced by the authors. These were General History, Islamic History and Ottoman History.

The authors' notes about their written pieces inform us that the simplicity of the language was a common concern in the production of history textbooks for children. The significance of language use was a major consideration in religion and

⁷³⁶ Behçet Kami, *Tarih-i İslam (Çocuklar için)* ([İstanbul]: Arakıl Matbaası, 1330); Ali Seydi, *Tarih-i İslam* ([İstanbul]: Kanaat Matbaası, 1330) (*Mekatib-i İptidaiye'de tedris edilmek üzere resmi programa kabul edilmiştir*); Ali Reşad, Ali Seydi, *Tarih-i İslam- Haritalı ve Resimli* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1330) (*Mekatib-i Rüşdiyyenin birinci senesi için kabul edilmiş son programa tevfiikan tertip edilmiştir*); n.a., *Yeni Küçük Tarih-i İslam* (Dersaadet: [Babıali Caddesinde 18 numaralı matbaada tab olunmuştur], 1327) (*Maarif vekaletinin son programınca mekatibi iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere tab ve tertib edilmiştir.*)

⁷³⁷ Sabri Cemil (*Üsküp idadisi mülkiye muallimlerinden*), *Küçük Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Askeri, 1327). p. 4.

⁷³⁸ *Mekatib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredat: Altı, Beş, Dört ve Üç Dershaneli ve Muallimli Mekteplere Mahsus* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1329).

civics textbooks, too. Yet, the narration in the history textbooks is distinctive. The authors rarely spoke to the students and there were few expressions of addressing such as “my little kids”. The narration flowed more smoothly, without fluctuations of emotions compared to the civics textbooks. Yet, it is common to see examples of detailed narrations of violent incidents such as the murders of the sultans, Janissaries or some enemies. For example, the slaughter of Osman the Second was depicted with the violent details of how he was strangled and his ears were cut off.⁷³⁹ In this sense, the content of history textbooks evidently lacked the pedagogical sensitivity and qualities despite the clarity of the language.

Situating General History in the Curriculum

While it was only restricted to the chronological order of the past events, history was loaded mission to work for the betterment of the present and future. The past began to be regarded as important provided that it served to demonstrate the way of and steps to progress. There was no space in the curriculum of national history for an incident which had no probable contribution to the present politics.⁷⁴⁰ The years of the Independence War brought in the “national” aspect losing its tight hold on the search for “civilization.”⁷⁴¹ Thus, in the first decades of the twentieth century, Ottoman history textbooks were inevitably given to the service of the moralistic

⁷³⁹İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyede Devre-i Mutavassıta ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*) p. 59.

⁷⁴⁰ Nurullah Ata, “Tarih Tedrisatı Hakkında,” *Terbiye* 2, no.8 (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1927-1928), p. 1-2.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., p. 1.

doctrine which “dominated till the end of the nineteenth century in Europe”.⁷⁴² When moral concerns began to lead the historical outlook, facts were exposed to distortion in order to prettify the past.⁷⁴³ The educational journals focused on the content of the history teaching. The debates over the function of the history class among the French historians were followed and some articles were translated. The discussions on what made history distinctive as a narrative were reported in the articles; and the doubts about the correctness of the perspective which presented all history as progress and perfection of justice were brought up.⁷⁴⁴ The perils of building up the national feelings with history were balanced with the benefits of civics education: “It became the new trend to teach the History of Civilizations against the History of Wars.”⁷⁴⁵

The epistemological turn in the subjects of primary schools can be traced through the scrutiny of the Hamidian school knowledge. Through two general history textbooks, the characteristics of the general history teaching were examined for comparison to that of the Second Constitutional Period. Hasan Sırrı’s book presented three pre-historical periods: Creation (*Hilkat*), the Flood (*Tufan*) and the reproduction of human beings (*İnsal-i Beşer*).⁷⁴⁶ He defined the holy books as one of the sources

⁷⁴² “Tarih muallimini bir ahlakçı addeden akide 19.asrın nihayetine kadar hükümrân olmuştur.” Mösyö Mitard, “Tarih ve Milli Terbiye” in Nurullah Ata, “Tarih Tedrisatı Hakkında,” *Terbiye* 2, no.8 (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1927-1928), p. 56.

⁷⁴³ Ibid.,

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 58.

⁷⁴⁵ “Harbler tarihine karşı medeniyet tarihini öne sürmek bugün moda olmuştur.” Ibid.,

⁷⁴⁶ Hasan Sırrı, *Tarih-i Umumi* (Dersaadet: Karabet Matbaası, 1309) (*Vilayet-i Şahanedeki Mekatib-i İdadiyenin 1310 senesinde Maarif Nezaret-i Celilesince tayin ve tanzim olunan programa tevfikeyen tertip olunmuştur*), p.14.

of history besides archeological findings.⁷⁴⁷ For this reason, his teaching of *kavims* (peoples) continued with the scriptural information about the prophets. Throughout the book, the religious point of view dominated the General History subjects.

The author of another textbook, Muhyiddin, displayed a cautious approach which implicitly followed the teaching of a progressive history conception. His text brought forth the contest of civilizations and progress. Yet, he attributed savageness to Europeans and civilization to Egypt in his presentation of the people of Antiquity. The temporariness of having the attribute of “civilized” or “savage” was subject to periods. The idea of “civilization,” which was attributed only to Europeans, was rejected:

Five thousand years ago, Europe was inhabited by men who did not resemble the human beings in Europe today. They lived in caves and holes... In short, they were savage. At that time, people in Egypt knew to construct dams to impede the flood of the rivers. And they constituted the civilized nation of that time.⁷⁴⁸

The book continued with the subject matter of the Israelites and then on to the Prophets, Greeks, Romans, Christians, and the emergence of Islam. As a result, it could be stated that the Hamidian textbooks of general history presented a scriptural point of view. Yet, it is also possible to see the traces of the modern secular theory in some texts, as seen in Muhyiddin. A more detailed examination as to what degree the school knowledge was produced uniform in philosophy in the Hamidian years seems

⁷⁴⁷ Hasan Sırrı, *Tarih-i Umumi* (Dersaadet: Karabet Matbaası, 1309) (*Vilayet-i Şahanedeki Mekatib-i İdadiyenin 1310 senesinde Maarif Nezaret-i Celilesince tayin ve tanzim olunan programa tevfikeyn tertip olunmuştur*), p. 12.

⁷⁴⁸ “Beş bin sene var ki Avrupa kıtası bugün Avrupa’da iskan eden insanlara benzemeyen adamlarla meskun idi. Mağaralarda, kovuklarda ikamet ederler... Hasılı bunlar vahşi idi. Bu zamanda Mısır’da bulunan adamlar nehirlerin istilasına mani olacak sedler yapmağı biliyorlar ve o zamanın millet-i mütemedinesini teşkil ediyorlardı.” Muhyiddin, *Kâinata bir Nazar Yahut Mücmel Tarihi Umumi* (Dersaadet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1307), p. 4.

worthy of study.⁷⁴⁹ To get an overall conclusion, inheriting an already existing epistemological conflict in the produced school textbooks, the problem was augmented in the liberal atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Period, despite the regulations on the uniformity of textbooks.

Hasan Sırrı complained that there had not been any regulation until 1894 (1310) in order to make uniform the textbooks. He described the textbooks until that year as having been mere indiscriminately compilations of some certain subjects. He commented that this disorder had resulted in inconsistencies in the contents of textbooks. Thus, teachers were left to choose whichever of such unconscientiously prepared textbooks they wanted. He considered this situation as one of the reason for the insufficiency of the education system.⁷⁵⁰ To him, the first regulation to organize the school knowledge was a promising step toward terminating the inconsistency in philosophy. Yet, it seems that despite the regulations demanding uniformity that began to be issued in 1890s, the confusion and inconsistencies continued throughout the Second Constitutional period. Yet, uniformity was partly accomplished in more visible ways such as in the titles of the subjects.

What results from the contextual analysis of the textbooks on general history is that while they constituted uniformity in the titles, as shown in the curriculum on the one hand, the philosophical point of view which was expressed through the discourses in the narratives varied in the Constitutional years. For example, from the similarity between the narration of İhsan Şerif and Mithat Sadullah, it seems like the

⁷⁴⁹ For a study on some of the history textbooks in the Hamidian Period see, Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908): İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010).

⁷⁵⁰ Hasan Sırrı, *Tarih-i Umumi* (Dersaadet: Karabet Matbaası, 1309) (*Vilayet-i Şahanedeki Mekatib-i İdadiyenin 1310 senesinde Maarif Nezaret-i Celilesince tayin ve tanzim olunan programa tevfiaken tertip olunmuştur*), p. 8.

authors of the textbooks at the primary level abridged data from larger history books. It is evident that the main source was just copied since their books were written with almost the same sentences. The non-uniformity, on the other hand, can be seen in the more attentive delving into the textbooks in which the versatility of philosophical insight was displayed. For example, two textbooks of general history demonstrated the multi-dimensional philosophical insight in the school curriculum at the high school level. A. Rıza's (1911) and Ibnul Nüzhet Cevad's (1912) textbooks drew conflicting lines of secular and theological knowledge. Since both textbooks were sanctioned to be taught in the state schools, it is hard to explain how the two books were approved by the same committee at the Writing and Translation Office within one code of uniformity. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu expressed the inconsistent character of the Second Constitutional Period such a time when educators were entangled with no specific philosophy of education while a huge interest was directed to instructional methods and educational theories.⁷⁵¹ For this reason, a contextual analysis of the textbooks of the period independent from that of the curriculum guidelines deserves scrutiny. What follows is an analysis of textbooks both for their uniform and non-uniform contents. After examining the textbooks of high schools and the university, the study probes into the elementary level textbooks.

The introduction of A. Rıza's book entailed a statement that knowledge of general history was as important as that of the homeland.⁷⁵² This significance arose from the conception of "a progressive civilization" deemed as the inheritance of the contemporary civilizations. Through historical inquiry, one could understand the

⁷⁵¹ İsmail Hakkı, *Tarih ve Terbiye* (İstanbul: Sühulet Kütüphanesi, 1933), pp. 6-7.

⁷⁵² A. Rıza, *Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Karabet Kütüphanesi, 1327) (*Yeni programa tevfiaken tertip ve mekatib-i idadiyede tedris olunmak üzere Maarif Nezaret-i Celilesince kabul edilmiştir*), p. (mukaddime).

present civilization and progression. The insight into history was formed through this conception of civilization in the textbook. Two characteristics it brought forth were a linear progressive notion of time and history, and the fact that the sacredness of religious knowledge had been replaced by the science of archeology, which produced knowledge through the results of excavations and the understanding of a progressive history. In the secular narratives of textbooks, history was separated into two, as the pre-historic and historic periods, marked by the scientific outlook. The first human beings and the beginning of agriculture, the formation of communities, trade, law, governments and wars were all presented within the evolutionary sequence.

On the other hand, Ibnül Nüzhet Cevad's textbook on general history began with the Arab peninsula, detailing such things as its geography, population, and ethnic varieties of Arabs. Following a short overview of the pre-Islamic Arab world, the book engaged in the history of prophets in Quranic chronology, Islam's expansion and the states.⁷⁵³ On the cover note, as was usual of all textbooks, it was written that the book had been designed in parallel to the curriculum prepared by the Ministry.

As a third way, A. Memduh and Ahmet Halid's textbook drew on an in-between language of secular and religious points of view:

People are descended from Adam and they lived in Asia from where they dispersed to Europe and other continents. The first human beings passed a miserable life in deprivation. They lived in caves and dealt with wild animals. Instead of dressing up, they wore the skins of the animals they had slaughtered. Yet, since the Supreme Truth [*Cenab-ı Hak*] granted mind and

⁷⁵³ Ibnul Nüzhet Cevad, *Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan, 1328), p. 9.

wisdom to people, they progressed in the course of time and searched for the requirements of a life in welfare.⁷⁵⁴

The creation story of Adam was combined with the positivist knowledge drawn from social Darwinism. Though connecting the first formation to Adam's creation, the book recounted the history of primitive man building on his own capabilities as a result of which the contemporary civilization culminated. The narration based on social Darwinism brought together racial segregation based on skin color. Human beings were segmented as white, yellow, red and black, among which the white had contributed the most to civilization. History taught man the old experiences so that the same faults were not repeated. History enabled man to be ready for the future and events which were believed to have occurred in the past that would repeat more or less in the same way.⁷⁵⁵ "The sources of history are on the first plane, the books and scripts and stones...then mosques, tombs and sculptures, and thirdly the holy books."⁷⁵⁶ This narration basically fell into conflict with the celestial knowledge, which considered the prophets as the teachers of society and makers of the civilization in religion.

Ahmet Mithat's lecture in the *Darülfünun* poses an essential standpoint since it drew the theoretical lines of the history teaching. History served to display "the

⁷⁵⁴ "İnsanlar Hz. Adem'den türemişler ve Asya kıtasına yerleşmişlerdir. Avrupa'ya vesair kıtalara insanlar hep Asya'dan geçmişlerdir. İlk insanlar gayet sefil mahrum bir ömür geçirirlerdi: Mağaralarda ağaç kovuklarında yatarlar, yırtıcı hayvanlarla uğraşırlardı. Elbise yerine de öldürebildikleri hayvanların postlarını giyerlerdi. Lakin Cenab-ı Hak insanlara akıl ve zeka ihsan etmiş olduğundan yavaş yavaş kendilerini toplamağa başladılar ve rahat yaşamak için lazım olacak şeyler aradılar." A Memduh, Ahmet Halid, *Umumi Tarih (Numune Mektepleri için)* (İstanbul: Zerafet Matbaası, 1330), p. 3.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., p.5.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., p.7.

continual progress of human civilization” in the view of modern times.⁷⁵⁷ The philosophy of history was that it made man contemplate so as to get a lesson from the past and be ready for the present and future challenges.⁷⁵⁸ The close relevance and correspondence between geography and history was underlined as the former dealt with the present while the latter dealt with the past.⁷⁵⁹ The aim of history was described as illuminating the ways to discover the future. The obscurity and hardships of the future could be overcome with the lessons from the past.⁷⁶⁰

He considered the “coincidental” existence of human beings as a false thought and discussed this question in his article: “...the only thing directing them (those rejecting creation) to this wrong belief and claim is nothing else than the variety of human beings in color, language, shape and faces.”⁷⁶¹ He stated that although existence could be classified in variety of beings, it turned out at the final stage that this variety had appeared only after creation. He claimed that the truth of the unity in the beginning could be traced with modern studies on languages and the philology.⁷⁶² The point he tried to make was that the variety of beings had emerged only from the descendants of Adam. He got used the sciences that supported this creation point of view. He fixed the exodus of Adam and Eve geographically and

⁷⁵⁷ “nev-i beşerin terakkiyat-ı mütemadiye-i medeniyesinin intikadı” Ahmet Mithat, *Darülfünun Dersleri, Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Sırat-ı Müstakim Matbaası, 1328), p. 4.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

⁷⁶¹ “Bunları şu batıl itikada ve iddiaya sevk eden şey sınıf-ı beşerin elvan ve elsinesinde ve şekil ve simalarında görülmüş olan ihtilaftan ibarettir.” Ibid., p. 33.

⁷⁶² Ibid., p. 33.

when it had occurred based on Islamic history. Variety was not rejected, but explained on the basis of different climates and geographies.

He cited from the research results that thirty to forty races existed in the world; and what is more, some other scientists had commented that this number could be reduced to three or four in their origins. The most essential races were thus supposed to have emerged according to this Euro-centric interpretation. What he meant by “human beings’ turning into original unity” came from this induction method.⁷⁶³ He rejected the contribution of Darwin’s thesis that said human beings had evolved from monkeys. He put forward his claim on the basis of the newer scientific proofs which pointed to the impossibility of reproduction between species.⁷⁶⁴ Additionally, to him, the philology rejected these ideas with its fact that hundreds of languages had derived from only three or four languages.⁷⁶⁵ The variety of religions, on the other hand, was overcome with the common points such as the story of the Flood and the common moral values everywhere in the world, which proved that humans were created by the same God.⁷⁶⁶

He wrote that the rise and fall of various civilizations confirmed the truth about the concept of progress in history. Although the scientific research had revealed the beginning of human life in complete savageness, the truth of the holy books made him think that people had fallen into the wilderness by forgetting and then losing the grace of God’s enlightenment in the beginning.⁷⁶⁷ He also added that

⁷⁶³ “*Nevi Beşerin Aşl Vahide İrcu*” Ibid., p. 35.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 35.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 37.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

the progression from savageness to civilization could be seen as possible only after believing in God's favor granted in the beginning. He rejected a unique line of civilization which was necessarily European of origin. To him, European progress had come after their savageness, which implied an expected demise for its civilization as once earlier civilizations had risen and fallen in earlier periods. Once again, in parallel to the Hamidian period, European civilization and progress were emphasized as being ephemeral.

Within this theoretical framework, he started teaching about the old Egyptian civilization. After contesting religion with Darwin in terms of his impact on the theory of history, he reached a synthesizing conclusion that he would make his comment on "reason" although there were some false points in scientific knowledge. The synthesis was that not the monkeys, but that Adam was the father of all human beings; yet, the progressive character of human civilization and humanity could by no means be neglected or denied.

Conflict about the First Man

Textbooks at the elementary level displayed the above-mentioned epistemological dilemma. The school knowledge was reproduced based on the Islamic sources and the scientific facts adapted into that source. The authors developed a conception of the First Man derived from one of these viewpoints, or in some writers, both views took place in confusion. The variety of people was illustrated with the different colors and languages most widespread.⁷⁶⁸ The races were grouped by the colors in the narration of civilization beginning with the

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

Egyptians. This is the general tendency of all textbook writers following the Euro-centered outlook.

Ihsan Şerif's presentation of the First Man depended on the progressive conception of history: "The first human beings did not have homes. They ate the fruits in nature and the meat they hunted and wore the pelts of the animals."⁷⁶⁹ The same narration is seen in Sadullah's textbook with almost identical word and in Refik's history book, too.⁷⁷⁰ The definition of history was given in that it showed how states and nations were devastated and how they rose once again.⁷⁷¹ History was regarded as a way of learning how people progressed, why some states declined and why some others developed further.⁷⁷² Mehmed Masum's textbook for Rushdiye schools constructed the conception of First Man, who was imagined to have been Adam.⁷⁷³ The subject was titled as *İntişar-ı Adem*, that is, "the emergence of Adam." He referred to Adam as the first man, and that he had lived half-dressed in caves and hunted animals, so and so.

⁷⁶⁹ "İlk insanların evi barkı yoktu. Buldukları meyvelerin, avladıkları hayvanların etini yerlerdi, postunu giyerlerdi." Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyede Devre-i Mutavassıta ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 3.

⁷⁷⁰ Mithat Sadullah, et al. *Küçük Mekteplilere Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1334), (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesi telif ve tercüme heyetince bittetik bütün iptidai mekteplerde okutulmak üzere kabul edilmiştir*), p. 2.

⁷⁷¹ Ahmet Refik, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1330) (*Mekatib-i sultani beşinci sınıf ve mekatib-i iptidaiye beşinci ve altıncı sınıflara mahsustur*), p. 3.

⁷⁷² Mithat Sadullah, et al. *Küçük Mekteplilere Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1334) (*Maarif-i umumiye nezareti celilesi telif ve tercüme heyetince bittetik bütün iptidai mekteplerde okutulmak üzere kabul edilmiştir*).

⁷⁷³ Mehmet Masum, *Rüştiyelere Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: İkramiyeli Matbaa, 1326), p. 2.

Ihsan Şerif's textbook of 1918 (1334)⁷⁷⁴ version is very important in that it ranked the first in the report of the commission that approved the textbooks. That means the way the content was presented was favored by the authorities. First of all, the book began with *Besmele*, which means "with the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate." *Besmele* was used in the textbooks mostly in the Hamidian period.⁷⁷⁵ Despite few in number, the early years of the Second Constitutional Period witnessed textbooks beginning with *Besmele*.

Why Şerif chose such a beginning in 1918, in other words, why the commission valued such a beginning is worth considering in the evaluation of this textbook. The book generated an Islamic perspective and terminology which contrasted with the narration of "first human beings" who were not imagined under the domain of God. The book regarded history as a history of the God's art and works on the universe:

There is one God who created the earth and the sky. He is the creator of all creatures not only the earth and sky. Muslim, Christian and Jewish all have the same God. God assigned his most beloved subjects among people with keeping away from the bad deeds and spreading the good. These are called Prophets. The prophet of the Muslims is Muhammad the blessings upon him.⁷⁷⁶

He continued with the great men throughout the history of the Muslims, starting with the Prophet Muhammad and the four caliphates and ending in Turkish commanders

⁷⁷⁴ Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir.*)

⁷⁷⁵ Nuri Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme, 1876-1918* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 1994)

⁷⁷⁶ "Yeri göğü yaradan bir Allah vardır. Allah yalnız yeri göğü değil bütün mevcudatı yaradandır... Allah yeryüzündeki insanları fenalıktan sakınmak, iyilikleri tanıtmak için yine kendi içlerinden en sevgili kullarını memur etmiştir. Bunlara peygamber denilmiştir. İslamların peygamberi Muhammed aleyhisselamdır." Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 2.

and sultans. The author's text in 1915 (1331) displayed a contrast with that of 1918 (1334) and it became hard to interpret the knowledge rendered in different epistemological backgrounds.

Ali Haydar's general history textbook is the second example of the textbooks fostered on religious knowledge. Beginning with the word *Besmele*, it used Islamic terminology and perceived that history started from *hilkat* -creation perspective. The creation of the universe (*hilkat-i alem*) and Adam were elicited with direct references from verses in the Quran. Its time notion and history pursued the Quranic order of the prophets. He overcame the conflict between religious sources and modern history in the synthesizing way. In his book, Adam was created by God and his children were dispersed to the different geographies in the world and constituted the civilizations and peoples beginning with the Egyptians.⁷⁷⁷

Peoples (*Kavims*) in History

All of the textbooks followed the line of the civilizations and peoples in the pre-historic and historic times. The authorial preferences seem not to have distorted the uniformity in the sequence of peoples (*kavims*). The civilization of Egyptians came first without controversy and they generally were followed by the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Persians, Hittites, Turks, Israelites, Greeks and Arabs in Şerif's (1915-1331) list with two exceptions.⁷⁷⁸ What was common in all is the idea of progressive

⁷⁷⁷ Ali Haydar, *Tarihi Umumi- Enbiya ve Beni İsrail Tarihi* (Bursa: Hilal Matbaası, 1330), p. 42.

⁷⁷⁸ İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyede Devre-i Mutavassıta ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*); Egyptians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans, Assyrian, Persians, Hittites, Turks, Beni Israel, Greeks, Macedonians and Romans in Mithat Sadullah and et al., *Küçük Mekteplilere Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1334); Egyptians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans Assyrians, Persians,

civilization, which was not necessarily having European roots. The point underlined was that the contemporary civilization had journeyed from the East to the West over ages.⁷⁷⁹ The textbooks drew attention to the order of civilizations which underlined the truth of “inheritance.” This emphasis was of vital importance since it served best for the making of Ottoman civilization, which was configured as predominantly “Eastern.” For this reason, Islamic civilization and the unity of Muslims encapsulated the Ottoman and Turkish discourse.⁷⁸⁰ After eliciting the well known earlier civilizations, the general history books moved on to the new century. The European states made up the core of the narration of civilization reproduced in the later centuries. However, the Islamic/Ottoman contribution to the humanity emphasized the indigenous entity against the “foreign.”

It is also important to assess the effects of Arab nationalism on the textbooks written at the end of the war. Ihsan Şerif explored the Arabs for ten pages in his book. Mithat Sadullah –in his textbook for the fifth grades- referred to it in that the Islamic civilization had been formed by Arabs:⁷⁸¹

In the middle ages, Europeans not only learned science and arts from Muslims ... but also the humane virtues and feelings such as the respect for justice, freedom, rights and beliefs. It was Islam that created the light of humanity and science in the East...while the

Hittites, Turks, Greeks and Romans in Ahmet Refik, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1330); One exception is Mehmed Masum’s textbook which adds China and India to these people, Mehmet Masum, *Rüşdiyelere Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: İkramiyeli Matbaa, 1326); Another exception starts with China, India and Turkistan in the first title of the book which is followed by the order beginning with the Egyptians in the second part, Hasan Sırrı, *Tarih-i Umumi* (Dersaadet: Karabet Matbaası, 1309), p. 20.

⁷⁷⁹ Ahmet Refik, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1330) (*Mekatib-i sultani beşinci sınıf ve mekatib-i iptidaiye beşinci ve altıncı sınıflara mahsustur.*)

⁷⁸⁰ Mithat Sadullah, et al. *Küçük Mekteplilere Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1334) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesi telif ve tercüme heyetince bittetkik bütün iptidai mekteplerde okutulmak üzere kabul edilmiştir*), p. 75.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., p. 76.

European barbarians were being suffocated in the smog of ignorance. Here, we should love the belief of Islam with our most sincerity and obey its rules with all our spirit.⁷⁸²

The most civilized people were Arabs in the Middles Ages. They were lovers of freedom.⁷⁸³

“The intelligence of Arabs,” “Arab civilization,” “that they founded up the bases of the contemporary European industry” and “that so many discoveries were inherited by Europeans from Arabs” were all used to praise Arabs while Turks did not have no such frequent mention in the context of the narration of “Islamic civilization”⁷⁸⁴: “Arabs knew the compass directing the North before Europeans got hold of it only in the thirteenth century... They also invented paper and it was transferred to Europe.”⁷⁸⁵

Directed by the title “The comparison between the Islamic world and Christianity in the Middle Ages” in the curriculum⁷⁸⁶, the authors gave priority to the savagery, feudality and fanaticism in Europe in contrast to the freedom and respect for different beliefs during the middle ages: “Here, this short comparison

⁷⁸² “Elhasıl kurun-u vustada Avrupalılar, Müslümanlardan yalnız ilim ve sanat değil, ...adalet, hürriyet, hakka, itikada hürmet gibi insani hisleri ve faziletleri de öğrenmişlerdir. İşte Avrupa barbarları cehalet dumanları içinde boğulurken şarkın... ufuklarında ebedi bir marifet ve insaniyet nuru yaratan bu İslamiyet’i en hakiki sevgimizle sevmeli, kanunlarına bütün ruhumuzla itaat etmeliyiz.” Ibid., p. 77.

⁷⁸³ “Kurun-u vustada en medeni kavim Araplardı... Araplar hürriyeti sever bir millettir.” Ahmet Refik, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1330) (*Mekatib-i sultani beşinci sınıf ve mekatib-i iptidaiye beşinci ve altıncı sınıflara mahsustur.*) p. 89.

⁷⁸⁴ “Arapların zekası...”, “Arab medeniyeti...”, “şimdiki Avrupa sanayi-i esasisini vücuda getirdiler.” Ibid., p. 95.

⁷⁸⁵ “Araplar mıknatışlı ibrenin daima şimale döndüğünü biliyorlardı. Fakat Avrupalılar bunu ancak on üçüncü asırda anlayabildiler... Kağıdı da Araplar icad ettiler, Avrupa’ya soktular.” Ibid., p. 105-106; For similar expressions such as, “It was Arabs who formed the basis of the natural sciences” and “It was Arabs teaching Europeans even the methods of teaching,” Hüseyin Hıfzı, *Hülasa-i Tarih-i Umumi* (Kurun-u Vusta), (Dersaadet: Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, 1326), p. 110-112.

⁷⁸⁶ See Appendix C.

demonstrates that there was a sharp contrast between the world of Muslim and Christians in terms of science, art, method, administration and justice in the middle age.”⁷⁸⁷ The scientific thought and studies among Muslim scholars were listed following the phrases such as “while those who say the Earth is round were being thrown into the fires alive...”⁷⁸⁸

The colonization process the Europeans pursued was made one of the topics taught in the general history textbooks. Children were alerted to watch the order and status in the international arena. They gathered enough information to contest England with Germany. Some strategic data was presented in figures about the colonial powers. The English colonization had expanded in two ways: “One is the conquest and then the occupation of empty lands”⁷⁸⁹:

India is the soul and spirit of England. The French colonies in Asia and Africa are twenty fold of France. Germany got infirmity of colonization when the population and trade increased very much. They are one of the biggest states of the world in trade and industry in Africa and Oceania. Yet, despite their hard work, the trade Germany make from its colonies is only fifty – five million lira. It is because they began to colonize late, the unpopulated and bad-acclimatized territories were left to their lot. As a result, Germans compensate for their lesser profits compared to England and France encroaching everywhere in the world.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁷ “İşte şu kısa mukayese, kurun-u vustada alem-i İslam ile alem-i Hristiyanıyet arasında gerek ilim ve sanat gerek usul ve idare ve adalet itibariyle dağlar kadar farklar bulunduğunu gösteriyor.” Mithat Sadullah, et al. *Küçük Mekteplilere Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1334) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Celilesi Telif ve Tercüme Heyetince bittetik bütün iptidai mekteplerde okutulmak üzere kabul edilmiştir*), p. 76.

⁷⁸⁸ “Kurun-u vustada Avrupa’da ‘arz yuvarlaktır’ diyenleri ateşe atarlardı.” Ibid., p.76.

⁷⁸⁹ “Biri fütühat, diğeri boş araziye işgal.” İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyede devre-i mutavassıta ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 120.

⁷⁹⁰ “Hindistan İngiltere’nin ruhu canıdır. Fransızların Asya’da ve Afrika’daki müstemlekatı Fransa’nın yirmi mislidir. Almanya’da nüfus ve ticaretin fevkalade artması üzerine bunlar dahi müstemleke hastalığına tutulmuşlardır. Afrika’da, Okyanusya’da Almanlari ticaret, zanaat ve iktisadiyat nokta-i nazarından dünyanın en ileri giden milletlerinden biridir. Ancak bu kadar

The way the political economy was made part of the history teaching was complementary, considering anti-Western criticism developed in the civics books. National wealth, producing, selling and marketing and their relation to laws, governments and society were dealt with in a comparative manner in both the civics and history books.

The Origin of the Turks

The Hamidian history textbooks extend the origin of the Turkish people to the prophets in the scriptural chronology vis -à- vis the scientific knowledge formed by ethnography and archeology. The Turks and Chinese were presented as the descendants of son of Yafes, one of the sons of Noah. It was also fixed that this information was in contrary to the ethnography classifying Turks as species of Mongol.⁷⁹¹ The traces of the Hamidian period were found in some of the textbooks in the Second Constitutional period, especially in those texts proposing an Islamist perspective. Yusuf Ziya's text stated that the Turks were the sons of Yafes whose brothers were Tatar and Mongol.⁷⁹² Ahmet Refik's textbook informed about the

çalışmağa mukabil Almanya'nın müstemlekâtı ile ettiği ticaret ancak elli beş milyon liradır. Çünkü Almanlar müstemleke alış verişine en son giriştiklerinden havası fena ahalisi az olan yerler hisselerine isabet etmiştir. Mamaqfih Almanlar ticaret ve iktisad ile cihanın her memleketine sokularak İngiltere ve Fransa'dan az olan kazançlarını mesailerıyla tazmin ve telafi etmektedirler." Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyede devre-i mutavassıta ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüsabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 120.

⁷⁹¹ Hasan Sırrı, *Tarih-i Umumi* (Dersaadet: Karabet Matbaası, 1309) (*Vilayet-i Şahanedeki Mekatib-i İdadiye'nin 1310 senesinde Maarif Nezaret-i Celilesince tayin ve tanzim olunan programa tevfikeyen tertip olunmuştur*), p. 20.

⁷⁹² Yusuf Ziya, *En Kolay Tarih-i Osmani* (İzmir: Şems matbaası, 1329), p.5 (The book starts with *Besmele*).

Turks in a manner almost identically to that of Yufus Ziya: “Turks come from the family of Yafes, one of the sons of Noah.”⁷⁹³

On the other hand, to Ibnul Nuzhet Cevad, the Turks had come from India, which was the first land of all peoples.⁷⁹⁴ The words of Gultekin were cited: “I resurrected the perishing nation. It was bare, I clothed it. It became impoverished, I made it rich. I increased the poor population of the nation.”⁷⁹⁵ These textbooks strove to historicize the Turkish people dating back to the pre-historic times. One concern behind this attitude might have been the presentation of Turks as having explicit and old roots in antique history. Yet, in that goal even, it seems that there existed a confusion of knowledge about the basic subject matters.

With the exception of the above-mentioned textbooks, the other textbooks documented the origin of the Turkish people with regards to a legendary story describing the emergence of the Turks. Oğuz Khan, lying in his cradle, got up and named himself and never became pagan throughout his life. He believed in Ibrahim’s religion.⁷⁹⁶ Turks were reported to be the most graceful and populated group among peoples on Earth even in the present day, in the ten pages-long narration of Yusuf

⁷⁹³ “*Türkler Hazret-i Nuh’un evladlarından Yafes’a mensubdur.*” Ahmet Refik, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1330) (*Mekاتب-i Sultani Beşinci sınıf ve mekاتب-i iptidaiye beşinci ve altıncı sınıflara mahsustur*), p. 25.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibnul Nüzhet Cevad, *Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan, 1328) (*1326, 1325 sene-i tedrisiyesine mahsus olmak üzere erbab-ı ihtisastan müteşekkil komisyon tarafından mekاتب-i idadiye tedrisatı için tanzim ve tahrir olunup meclis-i maarifce bittetkik kabul olunan müfredat programına tevfikeyen tertip edilmiştir.*)

⁷⁹⁵ “*Ölmekte olan ulusu dirilttim. Çıplaktı giydirdim. Yoksul oldu, zengin ettim. Sayısı az olan ulusu artırdım.*” Ibid., p.28.

⁷⁹⁶ İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müسابaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 21.

Mithat Sadullah, et al. *Küçük Mekteplilere Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1334) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezaret-i Celilesi Telif ve Tercüme heyetince bittetkik bütün iptidai mekteplerde okutulmak üzere kabul edilmiştir*), p. 24.

Ziya.⁷⁹⁷ They served the civilization in agricultural development, well-constructed towns and in the management of mines: "...after all, Turks were the most powerful, hard-working and brave ethnic group in the Asia."⁷⁹⁸ The intelligence, courage and grace of the Turks were epitomized by scholars as Farabi and Ibni Sina and commanders like Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. Old monuments were given as proof of an old Turkish existence.

Sultan Osman was the leader of a small tribe. He was not a scholar, he was illiterate. It was not his personal capability to found a government which had appropriated its qualities from the imperatives of the civilization. Yet, he had his heart in the sacred and blessed provisions of the Quran. He paid regards to the statements of the ulema such as those Sheikh Edebali and Çandarlı Halil Efendi relevant to the laws of Muhammed.⁷⁹⁹

Presenting Sultan Osman the First as a hero only with the help of Islamic belief and accompanied by educated men around him sound interesting. The narration about the sultans generally focused on the agency of the prominent and successful pashas around the Sultans as a characteristic of the Second Constitutional Period historiography.

The trace of the Turks was sought in Hittite and Chaldean civilizations in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. Chaldean lands (*Keldanistan*) were described as the territory called Mesopotamia by the Europeans so as to mean between two rivers.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁷ Yusuf Ziya, *En Kolay Tarih-i Osmani* (İzmir: Şems matbaası, 1329), p. 5.

⁷⁹⁸ "...velhasıl Asyanın en kuvvetli, en çalışkan, ve en cesur anasını Türkler idi." İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiyede devre-i mutavassıta ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 22.

⁷⁹⁹ "Sultan Osman küçük bir kabile reisi idi. Alim değil, ümmi idi. İhtiyacat-ı medeniyeye göre bir hükümet kurabilecek malumata malik değildi. Ancak Kuran-ı Kerim'in mukaddes ve mübarek ahkâmına dört elle sarıldı. Şeyh Edebali ve Çandarlı Halil Efendi gibi ulemanın şariat-ı Muhammediyeye müstenid sözlerini nazara dikkate aldı." Ibid., p. 66.

⁸⁰⁰ İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p.

The Chaldeans, unidentifiable for the contemporary school books, were considered as having been as a branch of the Turks:

The oldest people of Chaldeans were of *Elams*, *Sumers* and *Akads*. *Sumers* and *Akads* are *Turani* ethnicity. They founded the first civilization here. They developed writing. Then the peoples from Sami race came and made up the Chaldeans and Assyrians.⁸⁰¹

A similar tendency is observed in the relation set up with the Hittites in two authors' texts while the others do not grapple with it.⁸⁰² The textbooks did not have uniformity of knowledge about the origins of the Turks despite the fact that the impact of the studies in Turkology was overt.

Islamic History

In the Ottoman archives, the history of Islam class is reported to have created confusion and disturbance for the Armenian students in high school. According to the report, religious matters were used to create political confusion led by the priests in Eskişehir.⁸⁰³ In another document, a textbook named *History of Islam* written by

11; For similar sentences in Mithat Sadullah, et al. *Küçük Mekteplilere Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1334) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezaret-i Celilesi Telif ve Tercüme heyetince bittetik bütün iptidai mekteplerde okutulmak üzere kabul edilmiştir*), p. 16-17.

⁸⁰¹ “*Keldanilerin en eski kavmi Elamlar, Sümer-Akadlar. Sümer- Akad Turani yani Türk cinsindendir. Burada ilk medeniyeti onlar kurmuşlardır. Yazıyı onlar icad etmişlerdir. Daha sonra akvam-ı Samiyeden kavimler gelmişler, Keldanileri ve Asurileri teşkil eylemişlerdir.*” Ahmet Refik, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1330) (*Mekatib-i sultani beşinci sınıf ve mekatib-i iptidaiye beşinci ve altıncı sınıflara mahsustur*), p. 13.

⁸⁰² İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüsabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir.*), p. 20; “...these are deemed as Turks” in Mithat Sadullah, et al. *Küçük Mekteplilere Umumi Tarih* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiye, 1334) (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezaret-i Celilesi Telif ve Tercüme heyetince bittetik bütün iptidai mekteplerde okutulmak üzere kabul edilmiştir*), p. 21.

⁸⁰³ BOA, MF.VRK 32/39/1-2 (1326).

the history teacher, Emin Ali Bey was by no means found proper for school teaching due to the fact that the book comprised words and statements offending the Islamic practices and beliefs.⁸⁰⁴ The document also informed about the dismissal of the teacher. Another textbook on the history of Islam criticized and rejected by the committee was Abdullah Cevdet's well-known translation of Islamic history produced with counter arguments against the Ottoman historiography.⁸⁰⁵ The commission stated its disapproval since it exceeded the curriculum by tackling Islamic philosophy.⁸⁰⁶ Protecting the Islamic values from any direct and indirect assault was observed to be one of the sensitivities of the textbook approving commissions.

The writers of Islamic history, Behçet Kami, Ali Reşad and Ali Seydi, based their historical data on the Quran starting from the creation of the universe. Thus it was not limited to the period of Prophet Muhammed, as seen in the textbooks produced later in the Republic. Islam expressed the completeness of all prophets and it started with the creation of Adam. It was seen that here an Islamic epistemological and ontological background was built more than just a history of a specific time and geography. As could be anticipated, the conflict among the writers of General History was augmented by that of the Islamic History subject in the sight and minds of the students.

The introduction of Reşad and Seydi's history textbook reflected the concerns about language: "We wanted to write this piece of work with a simple language. Yet,

⁸⁰⁴ BOA, MF.MKB 207/62/1 (1331).

⁸⁰⁵ Reinhardt [Pieter Anne] Dozy. *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme*. It was translated by Abdullah Cevdet and titled *İslam Tarihi*. It caused the most widespread reaction and was banned with the decision of the Cabinet of İbrahim Hakkı Pasha in 1910. Şükrü M. Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve dönemi* (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981)

⁸⁰⁶ BOA, MF.MKB 207/87/1 (1331).

we couldn't achieve it to the extent we aspired.”⁸⁰⁷ To them, the part of failure in language use was relevant to the inconveniency of transforming the language of science into people's language (*lisan-ı avam*). Behçet Kami criticized the “short” (*muhtasar*) titled books of History. He stated that in such books the authors had failed to write within the pedagogical limits since they tried “to zip a lot of knowledge to a little space”. “Instead of reading and learning, these books urge for memorizing. This, without doubt, tires children... They are written as if for grown men. Some ambivalent words, definitions, chain of events.”⁸⁰⁸ For this reason, his book aimed to teach students history “willingly”: “Although the importance given to the history of Arabs and Islam enlarged the book physically, its language is easy.”⁸⁰⁹

The First Man

Children! You have parents, right? And you have grandparents... Have you ever thought... who was your earliest ancestor? Now I will teach you this. Follow me carefully. Many years ago, there was no man on the Earth. God wanted people to live in the world. God is great, isn't he? He can do everything. He made a heart of man from a handful soil. Then he spirited it. Here children! We call this first man Adam. God the Greatest put him in the Heaven.⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁷ “Şu eseri gayet sade bir lisan ile tertip eylemek istedik. Lakin belki de arzumuz derecesinde muvaffakiyet gösteremedik.” Ali Reşad, Ali Seydi, *Tarih-i İslam- Haritalı ve Resimli* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1330) (*Mekatib-i rüşdiyyenin birinci senesi için kabul edilmiş son programa tevfikân tertip edilmiştir*), p. 4.

⁸⁰⁸ “Öteden beri küçük muhtasar namı altında yazılan tarih ve coğrafya kitapları gözden geçirilirse görülür ki muharrir daima az hacme çok malumat sıkıştırmak halet-i ruhiyesine mağlub olmuştur. Okunup öğrenilmekten ziyade ezberlenmeğe muhtaçtır. Bu da şüphesiz çocukları yorar, biktırır... Sanki büyük adamlar için yazılmış. Muğlâk birtakım kelimeler, birçok tabirat, silsile-i vakai. Bazen daha zaman hakkında bir fikir sahibi olmayan masumlar milad-ı İsa'dan iki bin beş yüz bu kadar sene evvel diye bir şey yazılıyor. Çocuk ne bilsin milad-ı İsa'yı, nasıl tayin etsin ondan evvel geçen zamanı o zamana tabi olan vukuattı!” Behçet Kami, *Tarih-i İslam (Çocuklar için)* ([İstanbul]: Arakil Matbaası, 1330), p. 4.

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid., p.5; Ali Seydi, *Tarih-i İslam* ([İstanbul]: Kanaat Matbaası, 1330) (*Mekatib-i İptidaiye'de tedris edilmek üzere resmi programa kabul edilmiştir*), p. 5.

⁸¹⁰ “İlk İnsan

Çocuklar sizlerin anneniz babanız var değil mi? Sonra büyükanneniz, büyük babanız var...hiç düşündünüz mü...? İşte size şimdi bunu anlatacağım. İyi dinleyiniz. Bundan çok çok sene evvel yer

This narration of First Man went on with the story of Eve, created from a “big bone of Adam,”⁸¹¹ their fault, the punishment, descending to the Earth, the first murder, and the line of prophets in order of Noah, Ibrahim, Ismail, Moussa, Jesus and culminating in Arab world. The history of the contemporary Arabs was taught with the turning points of the Prophet Mohammed’s life, and those of the four Caliphates, Emevi, Abbasi and Seljuk states.

History as usual was regarded as a screen displaying both edges of the seesaw signifying the rise and fall of old peoples. The points about the demarcation of general and specific history revealed the Islamist point of view to the conception of nation. Ali Reşad and Ali Seydi considered *Tarih-i İslam* a specific history. To them, the history of Islam concerned one nation, which was the nation of Muslims, which meant that all Muslims were brothers: “Since there is no national consideration in Islam, all Muslims can be counted as one nation.”⁸¹² As put clearly by the authors, let aside the Turkish nationalism, this presentation of “nation” did not promise any hope even for the official Ottomanism and the authors obviously violated the state ideology.

Accordingly with the level of the book the narration of the “First Man” was upgraded and presented in more religious details. It was stated that nobody but God

yüzünde insan felan yoktu. Cenab-ı Hak dünyada insanların yaşamasını arzu etti. Allah büyüktür değilmi? Her şeyi yapar. Bir avuç topraktan bir insan kalbi yaptı. Sonra canlandırdı. İşte çocuklar! Bu ilk insana biz Adem aleyhisselam deriz. Allah Azimüşşan onu cennete koydu.” Behçet Kami, *Tarih-i İslam (Çocuklar için)* ([İstanbul]: Arakil Matbaası, 1330), p.6

⁸¹¹ “Hz. Allah Adem’in büyük bir kemiğinden bir kadın yarattı.” Ibid., p.7.

⁸¹² “Fakat bütün Müslümanlar kardeş olduğu yani İslamiyet’te milliyet olmadığı cihetiyle Müslümanların cümlesi bir millet gibi sayılır. Bunun için tarih-i İslam bir tarihi hususidir.” Ali Reşad, Ali Seydi, *Tarih-i İslam- Haritalı ve Resimli* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Matbaası, 1330) (*Mekاتب-i rüşdiyyenin birinci senesi için kabul edilmiş son programa tevfikân tertip edilmiştir*), p. 5.

could know or estimate when and in what way, the universe and first man had been created:

...according to the knowledge got from holy books and specifically the Quran the Greatest, the Truthful God created the universe in six days and on the sixth day He created Adam. On the other hand, science states that the Earth got its shape and existence only after turning around in empty space in a state of gas for centuries and after being departed from the Sun.⁸¹³

Although making a note on the counter argument coming from the scientists, the hierarchy of creatures and the Islamic worldview were constructed within the creation story in the book: “Adam, who was created from the soil, was animated by God. The angels were ordered to conform to him.”⁸¹⁴

Due to the level of the book, “the civilization of Islam” constituted one important part in the History of Islam textbooks. It reinforced, justified and glorified the belief in Islam and its rotation in the formation of the Muslim identity: “Quran guides all Muslims in both their deeds in this world and the Hereafter. This great book was so perfect that it was beyond human power to constitute it. Those who conformed to its exalted legislation were happy in both worlds.”⁸¹⁵ The success and progress of Arabs was considered as a result of the Islamic merits. Learning the ways of agriculture, trade and the scientific illumination were all obliged by the Islamic teaching.⁸¹⁶ Thus the Arabic scientists such as Ebubekir Rıza, Farabi, İbni Sina, İbni

⁸¹³ “...kütüb-ü mukaddesenin bahusus Kuran-ı Azimüşşanın verdiği malumata göre Hak Teala bütün alemi altı günde yaratıp altıncı günde dahi Hazret-i Adem'i halk buyurmuştur. Erbab-ı fen ise küre-i arzın güneşten ayrıldığı ve asırlarca gaz halinde boşlukta donup dolaştıktan sonra şimdiki hal ve şekli aldığını beyan eder.” Ibid., p. 7.

⁸¹⁴ “Cenab-ı Hak Adem'in topraktan yarattığı cesedine ruh ile ihya etti. Bütün meleklerle ona secde etmelerini emr eyledi.” Ibid., p. 8.

⁸¹⁵ “Bütün Müslümanların dünyaya ve ahirete ait işlerde nasıl hareket edeceklerini tayin eden gösteren Kuran-ı Azimüşşandır. Bu Kitab-ı Celili misillü insanlar tarafından vücuda getirilemeyecek surette mükemmel olup onun ahkam-ı şerifiyesine göre hareket edenler iki cihanda saadete nail olurlar...” Ibid., p. 97.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid., p. 98.

Rüşd, İbni Haldun, İbni Batuta and Ebulfeda were considered as the fruits of Islam more than as a national merit: “It was the Muslims who gave legislative rights and liberty of belief to their non- Muslim subjects and it was them who opened the first parliament in the name “*Divan*.”⁸¹⁷ The narration in the book differentiated between the civilizations of Islam and that of the Arabs; yet the authors spent no specific sensitivity not to glorify Arabs and called it Arabic in most places in the book.

The decline of the Muslims was seen as relevant to the dissention, moral degeneration and the destructive assaults of Genghis Khan, Hulagu Khan and Tamerlane, who all had been Turks “interestingly.”⁸¹⁸ The treatment of Turks in the book verified the reservations against Turkish nationalism, which was considerably significant as a rising political ideology in 1914. The nation, which was counted the Islamic ummath on the first plane, was on the secondary level seen as Ottoman nation. The book introduced the Ottomans as the savior of Muslims just at the fall and destruction of Islamic civilization, which had been controlled by the Arabs until then: “Thank God, the Ottomans emerged in the seventh century and they continued to preserve that civilization for some more time. If the Ottomans had not, there would have remained no works of the old Muslims as nobody would have respected them.”⁸¹⁹ What is interesting in this context of this narration was that Islamic civilization, no matter how it had been preserved and glorified was seen as an ending or fading out project. The statement the book used above could be seen as the

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., p. 100.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid., p. 102.

⁸¹⁹ “*Bereket versin yedinci asr-ı hicride Osmanlılar zuhur ettiler de bir müddet daha o medeniyeti muhafazaya himmet eylediler. Eğer Osmanlılar çıkmasa idi, şimdiye kadar ne eski İslamların asarından bize bir şey kalırdı ne de Müslümanlara kimse itibar ederdi.*” Ibid., p. 102.

revelation of the unconscious: “Thank God, the Ottomans emerged in the seventh century and they continued to preserve that civilization for some more time.”⁸²⁰

Ali Seydi also had his own book on the history of Islam published in the same year, 1914.⁸²¹ And Ali Reşad published a book titled Prominent Great Men who are Muslim Ottoman and Turk.⁸²² Some Islamic names were those of the four caliphs, Emevi and Abbasi governors, scholars such as Imam-ı Azam. For Turkish Great Men, Celalettin, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, Hulagu, Ertugrul Ghazi. The Ottomans were Sultan Osman, Barbaros, Şehzade Süleyman Paşa, Alemdar Mustafa paşa, Turgut Reis, Seydi Reis, Zenbilli Ali Efendi, Yavuz Sultan Selim (he was introduced as the greatest of the Ottoman sultans) , Sokullu Mehmet Paşa, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, Köprülü Mehmet Paşa, Kuyucu Murat Paşa, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa, Fazıl Mustafa Paşa, Cezzar Ahmet Paşa, Yıldırım Beyazıt, Mustafa Reşit Paşa, Mithat Paşa, Gazi Osman Paşa, III. Selim, and Tiryaki Hasan Paşa. The names of the Turkish leaders showed the tendency of separating Ottomanness from Turkishness. Turkishness was confined to the era before the Ottoman Empire. Thus Ottomanness was seen as an updated and latest version of Turkishness in a sense.

Imagining the Ottomans

The textbooks of history generally advertised history as “useful” since it displayed the line between progression and decline for peoples. The lessons to be

⁸²⁰ “Bereket versin yedinci asrı hicride Osmanlılar zuhur ettikler de bir müddet daha o medeniyeti muhafazaya himmet eylediler.” Ibid., p.102.

⁸²¹ Ali Seydi, *Tarih-i İslam* ([İstanbul]: Kanaat Matbaası, 1330) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyede tedris edilmek üzere resmi programa kabul edilmiştir.*)

⁸²² “İslam, Türk ve Osmanlı Meşahiri” Ali Reşad, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersler, İslam, Türk ve Osmanlı Meşahiri* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1332)

drawn in both cases constituted the crucial point in the perception of history as “useful”⁸²³: “For this reason, knowing history gets an important place in the science of politics.”⁸²⁴ If history dealt with the circumstances of all people since the Prophet Adam, it was called general history (*tarih-i umumi*); if it only focused on the affairs of one nation or people, it was called specific history (*tarih-i hususi*).⁸²⁵ The specific history of the Ottomans played a crucial role in the formation of the national education, according to Ihsan Şerif who wrote, “Yet there has existed no such history books written for this goal for our sons so far.”⁸²⁶ Another author introduced the children about the importance of the history class by giving clues about methods to learn:

My kids! This small book of Ottoman history is going to inform you about how the glorious Ottomans came into being and how your heroic ancestors strove and shed blood to conquer this beautiful homeland. If you listen carefully and read to comprehend, you are going to get benefit from it by seeing what kind of events had passed in the world. Never try to memorize the book like a parrot. Otherwise, you tire your brains in vain without learning anything.

⁸²³ Ibnul Cevad Efdalüddin, *Küçüklerle Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Karabet Matbaası, 1329-1327) (*Maarif Nezaretinin kabul ettiği resmi programa göre rüşdi ve idadi mekteplerinin ikinci sınıflarında okutturulmak üzere tertip olunmuştur*), pp. 2-3; Abdülkadir, *Çocuklarıma Resimli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Saadet ve Tefeyyüz Kütüphaneleri, 1329); pp. 2-3.

⁸²⁴ “Bu sebepten tarih ilmi ve fûnun u siyasiye arasında gayet mühim bir mevki tutmuştur.” Ibnul Cevad Efdalüddin, *Küçüklerle Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Karabet Matbaası, 1329-1327) (*Maarif Nezaretinin kabul ettiği resmi programa göre rüşdi ve idadi mekteplerinin ikinci sınıflarında okutturulmak üzere tertip olunmuştur*), p. 2-3.

⁸²⁵ Abdülkadir, *Çocuklarıma Resimli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Saadet ve Tefeyyüz Kütüphaneleri, 1329), p. 2-3.

⁸²⁶ “Ancak şimdiye kadar evladımız için bu maksad düşünülerek yazılmış tarih kitaplarımız yoktur.” Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müsabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*) p. (Mukaddime).

Abdülkadir, The director of the Mekteb-i Saadet⁸²⁷

Those who do not know about their history are like people who do not know their family or father. Especially, since we – Ottomans- have a six-hundred year-long glorious past, failing to appreciate its value is equal to rejecting the inheritance of our fathers.⁸²⁸

Not only learning about the bright days in the past but also from the mistakes and the reasons for the decline were the subjects expected to arouse the “national” consciousness.⁸²⁹ The search for an Ottoman consciousness resulted in the rejection of what was Western in some books. Ihsan Şerif’s history, written in 1918, had the traces of the increasing anti-European discourse in the post-war period. His note in the introduction declared that the book had ranked the first in the competition of textbooks projects. The book began with the “*besmele*”, like his other book on general history. The national consciousness, which was esteemed as inseparable from Islamic character, was apparent throughout the book. His note with the title of “To Teachers, Educators and Everyone” indicated his intention:

Every nation has its own education, and a goal in that education (*tarbiyah*)... We have strayed far away from that indigenous *tarbiyah* willingly or unconsciously since the period we began to communicate with the West. We have gradually started to examine the European civilization (!), yet their rotten morality and customs rather than the abundant enlightenment (*feyz-i irfan*) of that civilization. The result is as follows: Let aside

⁸²⁷ “Yavrularım şu küçük Osmanlı tarihi size şanlı Osmanlıların suret-i zuhuriyetini ve kahraman dedelerinizin şu güzel vatani almak için nasıl çalıştıklarını ne kadar kan dökdüklerini anlatacak. Eğer dikkatlice dinler ve okuyup anlar iseniz çok istifade edersiniz ve dünyada neler olup neler geçtiğini öğrenirsiniz... Sakın kitabı papağan kuşu gibi ezberlemeğe çalışmayın. Sonra bir şey öğrenemeyerek yalnız zihinlerinizi yormuş olursunuz çocuklarım. Mektebi saadet müdürü.” Abdülkadir, *Çocuklarıma Resimli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Saadet ve Tefeyyüz Kütüphaneleri, 1329), pp. 2-3.

⁸²⁸ “Tarihini bilmeyen bir millet familyasını, babasını bilmeyen insanlar gibidir. Bahusus bizim Osmanlıların altı yüz senelik şanlı ve şerefli bir mazimiz olduğu halde bunu bilmemek babalarımızın varisi olmağa istihkak kesb etmemektir.” Ibnul Cevad Efdalüddin, *Küçüklere Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Karabet Matbaası, 1329-1327) (*Maarif nezaretinin kabul ettiği resmi programa göre Rüşdi ve idadi mekteplerinin ikinci sınıflarında okutturulmak üzere tertip olunmuştur*), p. 2-3.

⁸²⁹ Ibid., p. 2-3.

becoming a perfect Westerner (!), we have missed the purity and chastity of being an Easterner. The continuation of this ambivalent character and course of situation was terribly dangerous for the future of this nation who says “I am Muslim, Turk and Ottoman... At last, we have understood the importance of instilling the national education and goals to the sons of the country.”⁸³⁰

The critical statements to the westernization and modernization reflect the Ottoman hatred of the West during the First World War. The Ottoman consciousness found its expression in the rising anti-westernization at the end of the 1910s. At the turn of the century, how the Ottomans viewed Ottomanness and how they esteemed their origins were imbued with indecisive past explorations ranging from Ottoman Islamism to Turkish nationalism in the 1920s.

The Genesis of the Ottoman State

The discussion about the name of the state seems deserving of attention since the textbooks exhibit contradictions in introducing the Ottoman Empire, calling it Turkiya in the 1910s.⁸³¹ Definitely the discussion about the name of the state

⁸³⁰ “Her milletin kendine mahsus bir terbiyesi vardır, o terbiyenin de bir gayesi vardır... Bizler garb ile temasa başladığımız bir zamandan beri bilerek bilmeyerek tedricen o terbiyeden uzaklaştık. Yavaş yavaş Avrupa medeniyeti ! fakat o medeniyetin feyzi irfanından ziyade kokmuş olan ahlaki ve adatını tedkike başladık. Akıbet mükemmel bir garblı olamadığımız gibi ! saf pak olan ‘şarklı’ lüğümüzü de elden kaçırdık. Bu ne idiği belirsiz gidişten bu bilir bilmez makallidlik edişin devamı, yaşamak isteyen ben bir Müslümanım, bir Türküm, bir Osmanlıyım diyen bir millet için o milletin istikbali için pek müthiş bir tehlike idi... Nihayet müstakbel vatan evladına milli bir terbiye bir gaye verilmek lüzumunu anladık.” İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müسابaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir.*)

⁸³¹ n.a., *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (Dersaadet: (Vezir Hanında 48 nolu Matbaa), 1327) (*Yeni program mucibince Umum Mekatib-i Rüşdiyyenin ikinci senesinde tedris edilmek üzere tertip edilmiştir.*) Ottomans were called as Turks and Turkey was also used to refer to the territory by the Europeans since the eleventh century. Turkiya was used first in the text of the nineteenth century. Bernard Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) p. 1; The language was called the Ottoman language increasingly after the Tanzimat. Yet calling the language Turkish was also common in the official documents in the nineteenth century. Orhan Koloğlu, “Arap Harfleri

extended into deeper conflicts and debates going on and becoming more visible in the political books, journals and newspapers. Having scrutinized the journals of the period having written the matter of education, it is seen that the major debate turned around the conception of “nation.” The controversy over the concept detailed the extent to which the country would be called, *Turkiya* or the Ottoman Empire. Calling it *Turkiya* was debated in the journal, *Hak Yolu*, and a few speculations were produced to state about the probable problems arising from this choice of use. Asking the question “Is it correct to call our country “*Turkiya*” instead of “*Memalik-i Osmaniye*?” The article identified the matter of national identities in the Empire. It commented on the probable conflicts if one called it *Turkiya*: “When a Turk wants to ask an Arab whether he is Ottoman or not, will he ask in this way: ‘Are you from Turkiya?’ What if the Arab answers: ‘No, I am from Bagdad.’”⁸³² The text goes on speculating on other points of the controversy: “If a Greek happens to say ‘Indeed, I am not Turkish, why is this (Young Turk) government interfering in our schools?’”⁸³³ The article referred to the policy prohibiting the use of geographical words such as Armenia: “How could the Turks, who display enviousness by prohibiting the use of Armenia by the Armenian parliamentarians in the assembly, justify calling it ‘*Turkiya*’ instead of ‘*Memalik-i Osmaniye*’?”⁸³⁴ Stating that

Kullanmayan ‘Millet’lerdeki Dil Sorunlarının Osmanlı’nın Son Yüzyılındaki İç Gerginliklere Katkısı,” in *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), p.77.

⁸³² “*Memalik-i Osmaniye yerine Türkiye tabirini sözünde, yazısında kullanan bir Türk bir Araba Osmanlı olup olmadığını sormak için acaba sen ‘Türkiyeli misin?’ mi diyecek? Ya o Arap cevaben ‘hayır Bağdadlıyım’ derse?*” Mehmet Abidillah, “Adab-ı Matbuat,” *Hak Yolu* 1: no.1 (Şubat, 1326).

⁸³³ “*Bir gün bir Rum çıkıp da ‘Canım ben Türk değilim. Bu (Genc Türk Hükümeti) niçin bizim mekteplerimize karışıyor?’*” Ibid.,

⁸³⁴ “*Meclis-i Mebusan’da Ermenilere Ermenistan demeyi men edecek kadar Osmanlılıkta kıskançlık gösteren Türkler nasıl oluyor da Memalik-i Osmaniye’ye Türkiye demeyi tecviz ediyorlar.*” Ibid.,

Ottomanness was not the asset of the Turks alone, the Ottomanness and Ottoman character or civilization were underlined in contrast to the pervasion of the use of Turkiya in the publications.⁸³⁵

Faik Sabri's one geography book introduced the Ottoman Empire with the titles of "The Map of Turkiya" and "Journey to Turkiya"⁸³⁶ in 1916 while he used "*Memalik-i Osmaniye*" in his other book⁸³⁷ in 1921. His book published in 1918 used "Turkiya's Big Rivers" or "Great Turkiya" to introduce the Ottoman Empire.⁸³⁸ His other geography book, which taught the continents and states in detail, presented the title as "Avrupa-i Osmani" and these statements followed by the title: "The Empire of Turkiya lost its great territories in Europe in the Balkan War in 1329."⁸³⁹ A similar confusion of naming is seen in Ibrahim Hilmi's book *Basic Geography for Children*⁸⁴⁰ in 1909 and his use of "Today's Turkey" in another title and some various lines in the same book. The shift of Ottoman State with Turkiya was observed in all stages of the period in 1908- 1913, 1913-1916 and 1916-1918. Thus,

⁸³⁵ Ibid.,

⁸³⁶ Faik Sabri, *Çocuklara Coğrafya Kıraatleri* (Bir ve İki Muallimli Mekteplere Mahsus- Devre-i Mutavassıta) (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1332), p. 84.

⁸³⁷ Faik Sabri, *Çocuklara Coğrafya Dersleri* (Müşahade, Mülahazat, Muhakeme Esaslarına Müstenid, Devre-i Mutavassıta İkinci Sınıf) (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1337) p. 19.

⁸³⁸ Faik Sabri, *Çocuklara Coğrafya Dersleri* (Müşahade, Mülahazat, Muhakeme Esaslarına Müstenid, Devre-i Mutavassıta Birinci Sınıf) (Dersaadet: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1334), p. 20, p. 30. The book presents two maps of the Empire. One is titled as "Old Great Turkiya" and the other "Today's Turkiya". p. 30 See Appendix K.

⁸³⁹ "Turkiya İmparatorluğunun Avrupa'daki arazisi 1329 Balkan muharebesinden sonra pek azalmıştı." Faik Sabri, *Küçük Mekteplilere Coğrafya Dersleri* (Üçüncü ve Dördüncü Kısım, Mekatib-i İptidaiye, Devre-i Aliye İkinci Sınıf) (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334), p. 23.

⁸⁴⁰ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Çocuklara İlk Coğrafya* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1325) (Mekatib-i İptidaiye şakirdanına mahsus olmak üzere tertip edilmiş ve gayet açık bir lisan ile yazılmıştır. 35 şekil ve 1 haritayı havidir) For example, İbrahim Hilmi summarizes the subject related to the Ottoman State under the title "Lessons to Learn" as such: "The official language of Turkiya is Turkish." p. 31.

it is hard to find a coherent explanation according to the years of publishing and the political atmosphere.

Although it had been discussed in the Unionist period, Ottomans were shifted to “Turks” in some textbooks of the Hamidian period, too. The Hamidian period textbooks, as well adopting the Turks instead Ottomans, presented knowledge about Turks in the context of the Ottoman state genesis. The emergence of Ottomans had commenced with prominent Turkish leaders such as Suleyman Shah and Ertuğrul Ghazi in all the books. Beginning with Sultan Osman, history was periodized with the enthronement of the sultans in order. The glorification of Turks was observed to vary in authorships. Tefik’s, Rasim’s and Nazima’s textbooks exalted the role of Turks and their features.⁸⁴¹ However, Necip did not refer to Turks in his narration; and similarly, Kolağası Ali Cevad preferred to call them “Ottomans” instead of “Turk”.⁸⁴²

Although most of the textbooks in the Unionist period were less scrupulous about the use of the term “Ottoman”, they seemed to remain loyal to the wording such as *Devlet-i Aliye*, *Osmanlı Devleti*. The Turks became part of the subject in large amount yet still as much as the genesis of the Ottoman Empire was required to document about them. What is significant is that the textbooks did not develop a Turkish nationalism thesis until the 1920s.

⁸⁴¹ Selanikli Tefik (Sabah gazetesi ser muharriri), *Muhtasar Tarihi Osmani* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Kütüphane-i Cihan, 1323); Ahmed Rasim, *Küçük Tarihi Osmani*, (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan, 1306) Sibyan Mekteplerine mahsustur. Ali Nazima (Mekâtib-i Mülkiye-i Şahane Müdür muavini), *Tarih-i Nazima, Küçüklere Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kasbar, 1313).

⁸⁴² Kolağası Ali Cevad, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kasbar matbaası, 1314) (*Umum mekatib-i rüşdiyenin ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere Maarif Nezareti Celilesi tarafından kabul buyrulmuştur.*)

The national consciousness seemed to be formed upon Ottomanness, yet the ethnic origins were disclosed as a Turkish tribe originated from *Kayı Khan*.

Expressions such as “Glorious Ottomans” were continuously used: “The ancestors of the Ottomans were a Turkish tribe called the *Kayı Khan*. Their leader was Suleyman Şah bin Kaya Alp. The tribe of *Kayı Khan* was located in Khorasan.”⁸⁴³ Throughout Kohen’s book the recurrence of the word “Turk” did not exceed a few times. The book preferred the word “Ottoman”, instead of “Turkish” or “Turk” in most of cases. In this sense, the narration of the book strictly conformed to the Ottomanist educational agenda in the curriculum.

Compared to Kohen’s textbook, Ihsan Şerif’s textbooks exhibited a less strict language in the use of the word “Ottoman.” Though still calling the state and nation Ottoman, he often substituted Turkish as an adjective for Ottoman, such as in his use of the title “Old Turks.”

The political atmosphere between 1911 and 1915 explained the strict and loose ways Ottomanism was produced. Ihsan Şerif stated that he had joined the competition with three textbooks: “writing textbooks for children does not mean to reduce the size of the books of adults. Maybe it is writing a book by becoming a child, taking into the level of comprehension.”⁸⁴⁴ He announced that he had a pedagogical point of view in his books titled “*Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri*”(Historical Lessons for Children) “*Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani*”(Ottoman History for Children)

⁸⁴³ Selim Kohen, *Resimli Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani*, (Dersaadet: Artin Asadoryan, 1327) (*Umum mekatib-i iptidaiye-i Osmaniyyede tedrise elverişli olmak üzere gayet açık ve basit bir üslup ile tahrir edilmiştir*) p. 3, p. 6; Abdülkadir, *Çocuklarıma Resimli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Saadet ve Tefeyyüz Kütüphaneleri, 1329), p. 5.

⁸⁴⁴ “*Küçüklere kitap yazmak demek büyüklerin hacmini küçültmek demek değildir. Belki kabiliyet idrak nazar-ı dikkate alınarak çocuklaşmak çocuklaşarak yazmak demektir.*” Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir.*)

and “Çocuklara Tarih-i Umumi” (General History for Children), which ranked the first for five years of time in the competition of textbook writing. The date in his introduction stated that the book had been written in 1915 yet could have been published in 1918 (1334): “Every nation, every *umma* has books which tell about the past events for thousands years. These books are that nation’s history. We have a history, too. It is Ottoman history.”⁸⁴⁵ In parallel of the program, a short range of information about the old Turks was presented in the book so that the names of Oğuz Khan as “the greatest sultan of the Turks” and Ertuğrul Ghazi were appreciated.⁸⁴⁶ The narration about old Turks failed to establish the link between Asia and Anatolia and the Seljuk Turks were only visited for this goal. On the other hand, Central Asia was given in such a depiction: “The desolate and wide deserts of Asia are the oldest lands of the Turks. It did not attract any ambition of people. Nobody attempted to invade it. Turks lived free and grew freely.”⁸⁴⁷

Textbooks unanimously exposed a Turkishness characterized with Islam in parallel to the characteristics of the widespread Turkish nationalism in the Second Constitutional period. The Islamic past was esteemed as the resource that would perpetuate the existence of the Turkish nation in the future.⁸⁴⁸ The sacred belongings (*Mukaddesat*) and the love of Islam were the only guide of Turks. The examples of Turks who had lost their national character under Christianity were juxtaposed with

⁸⁴⁵ “Her milletin her ümmetin binlerce seneden beri başlarından geçen olan biten vakalarını yazan kitapları vardır. Bu kitaplar o ümmetin tarihidir. Bizim de tarihimiz vardır. Osmanlı tarihidir.” İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih Dersleri* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1334) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiye devre-i ula ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müsabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir.*)

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

⁸⁴⁷ “Asya’nın geniş ve ıssız çölleri Türklerin en eski yurduudur. Kimsenin tamahını celb etmedi. Aman gideyim de buralarını zabt edeyim demedi. Türkler böylece hür yaşadı hür büyüdü.” Ibid.,

⁸⁴⁸ Ahmet Şükrü, “Yeni Hayat ve Genç Nesil,” *Yeni Nesil* 3 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1337).

the case of Turks who “will forever remain devoted to Islam protecting their language and nationality for so many years.”⁸⁴⁹

In terms of the literature on the Islamic Turkish synthesis, Islam was reclaimed. Ethem Nejat criticized the Albanians for having adapted the Latin letters, which meant breaking ties with Islam. The question of the Turkish identity was determined within the experience of the latest wars:

It was not the Hungarians and Mongols who participated in the calamity of the Turks in the Balkan and Tripoli Wars. On the contrary, the Muslim peoples of China, India and Sudan, whose names we do not know, shared our sorrows... For this reason, Turks, despite being from the branch of the Ural-Altay ethnically, esteem themselves as belonging to Islamic peoples.⁸⁵⁰

The book of Ethem Nejat proposed a revival of Islam and unity of Muslims as one of the goals of the national cause. Similarly, Ömer Seyfettin’s expectation was that the resurrection of Turks was going to be the means of Muslim resurrection which implied the independence of the colonial suppression of European countries.⁸⁵¹ At this point, the interpretation of modernization pertained only to the “science and technology of Europe,” which had been a motto since Tanzimat, reserving hopes about medrasas for the intellectual and cultural illumination: “Today, Turkish political thought cannot tolerate being a vulgar imitator of the West.”⁸⁵²

⁸⁴⁹ “...bu kadar senedir lisanlarını, miliyetlerini muhafaza eden İslamiyet’e, Türkler ilelebed merbud kalacaklardır.” Ethem Nejat, *Türklük Nedir ve Terbiye Yolları* (İstanbul: Çiftci Kütüphanesi, n.d.), p. 4-5.

⁸⁵⁰ “Trablusgarp, Balkan muharebeleri esnasında Türklerin felaketine iştirak edenler, Macarlar, Moğollar olmadı. Bilakis Çin’in, Hint’in, Sudan’ın ismini bilmediğimiz Müslim kavimleri matemimize ortak oldular. Manevi yardımlarını esirgemediler. Bundan dolayıdır ki Türkler ırkça Ural Altay şubesine mensub olmakla beraber kendilerini İslam kavimlerinden addederler.” Ibid., p. 6.

⁸⁵¹ Ömer Seyfettin, *Mektep Çocuklarında Türklük Mefkuresi* (İstanbul: Şems Matbaası, [1914]), p. 8, p. 23.

⁸⁵² “Görülüyor ki bugünkü Türklük cereyanı garbın kuru bir taklidsi olmaya tahammül etmiyor.” Ethem Nejat, *Türklük Nedir ve Terbiye Yolları* (İstanbul: Çiftci Kütüphanesi, n.d.), p. 12.

Regret about the failures and defeats dominated the ending remarks in the textbooks where Islamism and Turkism resurged collaborating.

This great disaster awakened the idea of nation profoundly. It aroused the opinion that only love of nation and respect of Islam can save the nation. It is understood as vital to connect all Ottomans to each other with Islam and strive to spread of the idea of Turkishness.⁸⁵³

The last sentence above indicated the inseparableness of the three identities, Islam, Ottomanness and Turkishness, if one happened to mention nationalism in the 1910s: "... to connect all Ottomans to each other with Islam and strive for the spreading of the idea of Turkishness."⁸⁵⁴ As seen, textbook lines overtly reflected the confusion of these ideologies.

A reassessment of Western civilization accompanied the new search of the indigenous culture. Exclamation marks often followed expressions like "Civilized (!) Europe." The repentance felt because of the flawed positive convictions about this "civilization" was evident in the narrations:

They slaughtered man, woman, children whoever they found.
There remained neither life nor honor in Rumeli! Crosses were
hung in our mosques, our dead were taken out. The great
Ottomanness did not last even a month. It was thrown like

⁸⁵³ "Bu büyük felaket bizde derin bir millet fikri uyandırdı. Milleti ancak millete muhabbet ve Müslümanlığa hümet sayesinde kurtarmak kabil olduğu anlaşıldı. Bütün Osmanlıları Müslümanlıkla birbirine bağlamak ve Türklük fikrinin ilerlemesine çalışmak lüzumuna kanaat hasıl oldu." Ahmet Refik, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333) (*Mekâtib-i İptidaiye ve sultanîyenin dördüncü senelerine mahsustur*), p. 55.

⁸⁵⁴ "Bütün Osmanlıları Müslümanlıkla birbirine bağlamak ve Türklük fikrinin ilerlemesine çalışmak lüzumuna kanaat hasıl oldu." Ibid.; Similar statements in Ömer Seyfettin, "Biz Türk milletinin, İslam ümmetinin, Osmanlı Devletinin ferdleriyiz. Milletimiz, ümmetimiz, devletimiz için ayrı ayrı vazifelerimiz vardır." Ömer Seyfettin, *Mektep Çocuklarında Türklük Mefkuresi* (İstanbul: Şems Matbaası, [1914]), p.10.

cotton. The Civilized Europe! They only watched these atrocities.⁸⁵⁵

Turkish nationalism gained meaning only within the Ottoman past and Islam and let no space for a pre-Islamic interpretation of Turkishness. Fuat Köprülü's textbook, which was rejected by the committee due to its pre-Islamic reading passage "*Ergenekon*"⁸⁵⁶ epitomized the restrained state policy on Turkish nationalism. The sensitivity about the grace of the Ottomans supported the conviction that Turkishness was only left to be imagined inside the Ottoman and Islamic borders and state.

The national history started with the establishment of the Ottoman state according to Abdurrahman Şeref, as the head of the Council of the Ottoman History; and Ahmet Refik, as the second head of the council. Yet there was the Turkist tendency in the council, too. Members such as Necip Asım proposed that national history focus on the life, geography and history of the old Turks: "This indicated the two factions of history in the council."⁸⁵⁷ When the program of the Ottoman History (1913) mentioned the old Turks and Seljuk sultanate just in the context of their relation to Ottomans very shortly, Yusuf Akçura criticized it in Turkish Homeland.⁸⁵⁸ A second criticism came from Fuat Köprülü, who put forward that the council of Ottoman History had no scientific base in the program that it drew.⁸⁵⁹ He attacked

⁸⁵⁵ "Erkek kadın çocuk ne buldularsa kesdiler. Rumeli'de ne can kaldı, ne namus! Camilerimize haçlar asıldı, mezarlarımız açıldı. Koca Osmanlılık bir ay bile sürmedi. Pamuk gibi atıldı. Medeni Avrupa!.. Bu vahşiliklere seyirci kaldı." İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Umumi* (Darülhilafe: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyede devre-i mutavassıta ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 114.

⁸⁵⁶ Köprülü's letter was discussed in Chapter 2. For the original document Appendix I.

⁸⁵⁷ Hasan Akbayrak, *Milletin Tarihinden Ulusun Tarihine* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2009), p. 193.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 194.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid.,

the program since it did not use the word “Turk.”⁸⁶⁰ The meaning of “national history” which revolved from the Ottomanist tradition of the Tanzimat, was connected to the Oghuz tribe and was integrated more into the Islamic history.⁸⁶¹

Although Köprülü called his book a national history, the subjects it covered more than the Turkish past. It started with the general history subjects. In which respects Köprülü’s textbook differed from the Ottoman-Muslim nationalism proposed during the Unionist period lay in its clarity on the Turkish nationalist agenda. What is more evident is that his book was closer to the Second Constitutional period than it was to the Turkish History Thesis of the 1930s. He proposed a wider and more inclusive conception of Turkish nationalism which was still based on the Islamic heritage rather than claiming a pre-Islamic convention.

The Egyptians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans, Assyrian, Persians, Hittites, Turks, Israelites, Greeks, Macedonians and Romans constituted the line of civilization. The pre-Islamic Turkish entity was given in more detail and Islamic history was divided into periods such as the Period of the Republic and the Period of Monarchy in Islamic history. Coming from the family of Ural-Alтай, Turks were presented with the peculiarities of their language. The dialects of Turkish were taught with details of the number of Turkish people in the world. Mongols were not considered real Turks; they were mentioned in context of the harm they gave to Turks.⁸⁶² Yet,

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 195.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., p.207.

⁸⁶² Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, *Milli Tarih* (Dördüncü Sınıf) (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1340), p. 65: The similar ideas about Genghis could be seen in Köprülü’s earlier Works, too. Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, *Meşrutiyette Terbiye-i Etfal* (Dersaadet: Necm-i İstiklal Matbaası, 1327) (*İstanbul Maarif Müdiriyetinde ahiren teşkil eden komisyon kararıyla mekatib-i rüşdiyenin birinci senesinde tedris olunmak üzere kabul edilmiştir.*); The rejection of ethnic and cultural mixing with Mongolian people became later part of the Turkish History Thesis, Büşra Ersanlı, “History Textbooks as Reflections of the Political Self: Turkey (1930s and 1990s) and Uzbekistan (1990s),”

the Hungarians and Finlandians were from the family of Turks. Anatolia was introduced as a Turkish land thanks to the Kıpçaks before the Ottomans settled there.⁸⁶³

“Some Turkish tribes settled in Anatolia one thousand years ago. They had a powerful state and established great cities... Today Turks are the most crowded and the most powerful of the nations living in Anatolia. A foreign nation has no right in those lands.”⁸⁶⁴

Somewhere else once again the Turkishness of Adana-Tarsus was dated back to the Seljuk state.⁸⁶⁵ Seljuk Empire constituted an equally substantial space as the Ottomans in the narrations in the 1920s.⁸⁶⁶

The General History instilled the national consciousness within the graduation of old tribes and states. The Turks and their contribution to civilization ranked them in the classification.⁸⁶⁷ Compared to the textbooks in the 1910s, the Arab emphasis in the examination of Islamic civilization was lessened; instead the synthesis of Turk-Islam was appropriated into the context.⁸⁶⁸ Islam was incorporated to Turkishness with these lines: “The regulations of Islamic belief

International Journal of Middle East Studies 34, no.2 Special Issue: Nationalism and the Colonial Legacy in the Middle East and Central Asia (May, 2002), p. 337-349.

⁸⁶³ Ibid., p. 25.

⁸⁶⁴ “Türklerden bazı kabileler daha üç bin sene evvel Anadolu’ya gelerek yerleşmişlerdi. Onların kuvvetli bir devletleri vardı. Kendileri için büyük şehirler kurmuşlar... Bugün Anadolu’da yaşayan milletlerin en kalabalığı en kuvvetlisi ve en eskisi Türklerdir. Bir yabancı milletin o topraklarda hakkı yoktur.” Ibid., p. 62.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid.,

⁸⁶⁶ Ahmet Refik, *Türkiye Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1923-1342).

⁸⁶⁷ Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, *Milli Tarih* (Dördüncü Sınıf) (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi ve Matbaası, 1340), p. 18.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 48.

corresponded with the disposition of Turks well.”⁸⁶⁹ It was underlined that the Turks had converted to Islam with their own consent without any force. Their contribution to Islam was epitomized with their help during the Crusades. The components of Islamic civilization were Arabs, Turks, Kurds, Indians and etc and it is highlighted that it is not only Arabs making up it.⁸⁷⁰

The point that Europeans had been ignorant and like “savages” in the beginning was completed with the idea that they had learned all of their science from Muslims. The author’s approach to the European civilization reflected similar reservations with the Unionist period. The progress of contemporary Europe was based on its Islamic roots in both education and science.⁸⁷¹ Thus, the European civilization or progress was not accepted as it was constructed by the Euro-centric historical point of views.⁸⁷² It seems that an ambivalent attitude was developed against the idea of progressed Europe. Thus the author, on one hand, constructs the Islamic civilization against the European progress; on the other, he gave this civilization a Turkish identity. Following the curriculum change in 1926, Islamic civilization was embedded into the new title “Turkish civilization.” Similarly, the European and Turkish civilizations were compared and contrasted in the middle

⁸⁶⁹ “*İslam dininin ahkâmı Türklerin mizacına pek uygun değildi.*” Ibid., p. 60. “Turks used to play with Arab Caliphates like toys.” Ahmet Refik. *Türkiye Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1923-1342 p.32

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 85.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., p. 81.

⁸⁷² Ibid., p. 88.

ages. The superiority of the Turks was emphasized in this contrast in Ahmet Refik's text.⁸⁷³

The comparison of the history books in the Unionist period to textbooks in the 1920s result in that the Unionist policy of education refute the claims of Turkification to a degree at least in the scope of the curriculums of primary schooling. The Turkist policies or Turkification policy was very commonly attributed to the Unionist education policy.⁸⁷⁴ While the Hamidian period was counted with Islamism, his successors were loaded necessarily with the Turkish nationalism as the inevitable "official ideology of the Second Constitutional period."⁸⁷⁵ This taken for granted conviction defined the Unionist period as one where Turkishness was ahead of the Ottoman and Muslim character.⁸⁷⁶

Yet the examination of the history textbooks in this study questions and discusses all these fixations and granted convictions in the education policy of the period. The results gathered in this chapter shed light on the difference between the theory of Turkist ideology, becoming widespread within the writings of Ziya Gökalp and Turanists in literature, and the practice of the Union and Progress Party between 1913 and 1918.

⁸⁷³ Ahmet Refik, *Umumi Tarih- Kurunu Ula, Kurunu Vusta* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Hilmi, 1926) (*Mütehassis komisyon raporu ve Maarif Vekaleti Talim ve Terbiye Dairesinin 1100/3 numaralı kararıyla mekteplere kabul edilmiştir. İlk mektep, Dördüncü Sınıf*), p. 143.

⁸⁷⁴ Ahmet Yıldız, "Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene". *Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-seküler Sınırları (1919-1938)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010) p. 47-86; Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), pp. 19-38.

⁸⁷⁵ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Modernization From Empire to Republic and Education in the Process of Nationalism," In *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey* ed. Kemal Karpat, (Leiden: Boston: Köln: Brill, 2000) pp. 47-132.

⁸⁷⁶ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "II. Meşrutiyet'te Eğitim, İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti, Milliyetçilik, Militarizm veya 'Militer Türk-İslam Sentezi'," *II. Meşrutiyet'i Yeniden Düşünmek*, ed. Ferdan Ergut (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), p. 74.

“Others”

The economic perspective behind the decline of the Ottoman state was not much mentioned enough in the Ottoman history textbooks compared as they were the civics books. Wars, conquests and losses filled the books instead. The most widespread reason for the decline of the state was given as “others,” which were mostly Serbians, Greeks and Russians in the textbooks while the Ottoman conquests in the past had been indispensable for the wealth and the safety of Ottoman society. The language of the authors reflected the anger and hatred in the narration of the conquered lands which had been lost recently. The victory of the past was mixed with the defeats and losses in the present: “Yıldırım captured Salonika, which our treacherous commander surrendered to the Greeks just yesterday; the New City, which we gave to Greeks due to the European force thirty- five years ago; and Athens, which is the capital of Greece today.”⁸⁷⁷

The anger towards “others” in the present day was exposed in such expressions as “trickster (*kahbe*) Serbians” or “*Moskof*” which was used in place of Russia.⁸⁷⁸ The Greeks also were depicted in malicious terms as follows: “The Greek nation is that which esteems itself great in delusion. The state which encourages them against the Ottoman state is Russia...”⁸⁷⁹ On the other hand, in the textbooks of

⁸⁷⁷ “Daha dün hain bir kumandanın Selanik’i, otuz beş sene evvel Avrupalıların elimizden alıp Yunanistan’a verdiği Yenişehir’i, bugün Yunanistan’ın payitahtı olan Atina’yı, Yıldırım Osmanlı toprağına kattı.” İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p.21.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 109; Ahmet Refik, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiye ve sultaniyenin dördüncü senelerine mahsustur*, p. 47.

⁸⁷⁹ “Yunanlılar hayal içinde yüzen, kendilerini her zaman pek büyük gören bir millettir. Bu milleti Devlet-i Osmaniye aleyhine isyana teşvik eden isyan ve ihtilalde onlara silahla, gemi ve askerle yardım eden Ruslardır.” İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi,

General History, the Greek people in the old times were respected as examples of patriotism which had found its expression in praise such as “the Greeks were united by national ties though not by governments; only because they had the same language and benefits. A Greek knew other Greeks as his brothers no matter where they lived.”⁸⁸⁰ The hesitant attitude towards Greek people arose from the modern politics related to Greek nationalism.

Ihsan Şerif explained the sympathy engendered by the Greek nation in Europe with these statements: “Europeans have not forgotten the Greeks of 3000 years, their philosophers, contribution to fine arts and their perfect aesthetic. They love the new Greeks, who are deprived of all these merits for the sake of the old things.”⁸⁸¹

Ottoman students were also informed that some literary figures such as Victor Hugo and Lord Byron had called on the people to help Greece; and that the French bankers had distributed a “handful gold” to villagers who were willing to move to Greece. The economic and political standpoint behind the Greek nationalism and uprisings in the previous century were noted besides the positive qualities of the antique Greeks.

Other Balkan states constituted a substantial part in the making of Ottoman History since they had been emancipated in a geography near to Istanbul, and the

1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 94.

⁸⁸⁰ “Yunanlıların hükümeti toplu değildi ama milleti tophuydu. Çünkü lisanları, adetleri, menfaatleri birdi... Her Yunan vatanına candan bir muhabbet duyardı. Bir Yunanlı nerede olursa olsun kendisini diğer Yunanlılarla kardeş bilirdi.” Ahmet Refik. *Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1330) (*Mekatib-i sultani beşinci sınıf ve mekatib-i iptidaiye beşinci ve altıncı sınıflara mahsustur*), p.37.

⁸⁸¹ “Avrupalılar bundan iki, üç bin sene evvelki Yunanlıları, onların hükemasını, sanayi nefiseye hizmetlerini, zevk-i selimlerini bir türlü unutamıyorlardı. Binaenaleyh bu meziyetlerden külliye mahrum olan yeni Rumları, bu eskilerin hatırı için seviyorlar, irfan namına bunlara her türlü muavenette bulunuyorlardı.” Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 100.

emigration of Turks and Muslims and the lost territories left some more bitter reminiscences:

Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece are the Balkan states... These states which we see in a formation of state today were some of the contemptible provinces for us for more than three and four centuries. Yet these lands were not as unfamiliar to European civilization as Anatolia. Some countries, with which they have ethnic and religious ties, such as Russia, Austria, France and England, instilled the idea of nationality to save them from Ottoman regulation and constantly led them to rebellions and revolutions.⁸⁸²

The defeats in wars were given to some external or extra-ordinary misfortunes as follows: "The Russians begrudged the reforms in our country."⁸⁸³ In such statements the external reasons were kept responsible for the disastrous fall despite all the reforms. Russia's modernization was admired and appreciated, though: "Peter saved Russians from savageness. He adapted European civilization in the country."⁸⁸⁴

Inside we became miserable and vulnerable thanks to quarrelling with each other; outside we were high and dry against the foreigners. A tremendous misfortune surrounded us. It was as if God had taken away wisdom and thought. No one gathered for goodness, but we were even ready to sacrifice our souls, which we deprive from our homeland and honor, for evils.⁸⁸⁵

⁸⁸² "Balkan hükümetleri demek bugünkü Romanya, Bulgaristan, Sırbistan, Karadağ ve Yunan devletleri demektir. ...Şimdi birer devlet şeklinde gördüğümüz bu memleketler üç yüz, dört yüz seneden ziyade bizim adi birer vilayetimiz idi. Lakin bu yerler mesela Anadolu gibi Avrupa'ya Avrupa medeniyetine yabancı değil idi... Cinsleri ve mezhepleri bir olan sair milletler mesela başta Moskof olduğu halde Avusturyalılar, Fransızlar, İngiltere bunlara milliyet fikri telkin ve Osmanlıların idaresinden kurtulmak için onları daima isyan ve ihtilale tahril ve teşvik ederlerdi." Ibid., p. 109.

⁸⁸³ "Ruslar memleketimizde ıslahat yapıldığını çekemediler." Ahmet Refik, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye ve sultaniyenin dördüncü senelerine mahsustur*), p. 47.

⁸⁸⁴ "Petro Rusları vahşilikten kurtardı. Memlekette Avrupa medeniyetini tatbik etti." Ibid., p. 20.

⁸⁸⁵ "Biz harice karşı kolu kanadı kırık, iktidarsız, dahilde birbirimizi yiyerek isyanlar, ihtilallerle perişan ve mecalsiz kalmış idik. Büyük bir talisizlik etrafımızı sarmıştı. Allah aklımızı, fikrimizi almıştı. İyilik için bir kişi birleşmiyor; fenalığa gelince vatan için namus için esirgediğimiz canımızı bile veriyor idik." İhsan Şerif, 1331, p.81.

The military and political pressure of Russia on the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century was felt evidently in the assessment of the international relations. The Russians, “who were once the unimportant people,”⁸⁸⁶ were in steady progress within the period of Great Peter: “In this depressing time, a madman (*deli*) was giving us lessons in the North. Yet we were blind. This madman was the most intelligent of the world, the Russian Emperor Peter the First.”⁸⁸⁷

The Agency: Sultans versus Pashas

The authors did not periodize Ottoman history with respect to the sultans in the general history textbooks. The rise and fall of the Ottomans were simultaneously discussed with regards to the European monarchies. Thus, the general history subjects seemed to bring up some new vision of history for assessing Ottoman History. The criticisms about the personalities or lifestyles of the sultans were openly made and shown as a reason for the backwardness. To Şerif, for example, the decadence had begun with Sultan Murat the Third, who had been fond of women and had misled the country.⁸⁸⁸ Kohen’s textbook marked Sultan Süleyman’s period as the beginning of the deterioration in the state. His power had been interpreted just “in appearance” and counted as consuming the heritage of the previous periods. This peak point was the beginning of decadence in the forms of the spendthrift and

⁸⁸⁶ “Eskiden Ruslar pek ehemmiyetsiz bir kavim idi.” Ibid.,

⁸⁸⁷ “Bu buhranlı zamanımızda yukarıımızdan bir deli! bize “ibret” dersleri veriyor idi. Lakin biz kör olmuştuk görmüyor idik. Bu deli dünyanın en büyük akıllısı olan Rusya imparatoru I. Petro idi.” Ibid.,

⁸⁸⁸ İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müsabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 78.

debauchery. Instead of Sultan Suleyman, Sokullu Mehmet Pasha's role was more given to notice.⁸⁸⁹ To Ibnul Cevad, the golden age had ended with Murat Hüdavendigâr, whose successors were described to have been host to self-gratification most of the time.⁸⁹⁰ The change was interpreted as having arisen from the consumption culture in society, which had shifted from the villages to the towns.⁸⁹¹ In this respect, compared to the Ottoman History textbooks, the general history presented the course of events more critically.

The critical point of view towards the sultans was part of the Ottoman History textbooks, though more limited. The criticism was developed with the treatment of the agency in the narration of the events. One of the distinctive characters of the textbooks in this period in comparison to the Hamidian years was that the negative account of the past was documented and the agents were questioned in the school knowledge. The Hamidian textbooks on Ottoman History generally had terminated with the period of Mahmut the Second. It was justified that events in fifty years time could not be perceived as history. For these reservations about the historiography of the previous fifty years, most of the Hamidian books did not include information even about the Tanzimat.⁸⁹²

⁸⁸⁹ Ibnul Cevad Efdalüddin, *Küçüklerle Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Karabet Matbaası, 1329-1327) (*Maarif Nezaretinin kabul ettiği resmi programa göre rüşdi ve idadi mekteplerinin ikinci sınıflarında okutturulmak üzere tertip olunmuştur*), p.128.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 129.

⁸⁹¹ Ibid., p. 30.

⁸⁹² The textbook of Selanikli Tefvîk includes the period of Abdülmecit, yet still it does not give details on the Tanzimat in a separate section. Selanikli Tefvîk (Sabah gazetesi ser muharriri), *Muhtasar Tarihi Osmani* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Kütüphane-i Cihan, 1323); A study on the Republican textbooks marks the devoid of the Second Constitutional Regime in the curriculum as well as the flawed historical ideas, Ahmet Kuyaş, "II. Meşrutiyet, Türk Devrim Tarihi ve Bugünkü Türkiye," *Doğu Batı* 11, no.45 (Mayıs, Haziran, Temmuz, 2008) p.48-54.

Although the textbooks on Ottoman history in the Second Constitutional Period periodized history with the life and times of the sultans, the agency in the policies, reforms or whatsoever were diverted to the pashas or given to the Ottoman state implicitly. The contest of agency between the bureaucracy and the palace was clearly seen in the narrations especially after the Tanzimat period. For example, Alemdar Mustafa Pasha was given out as the savior of the sons of Ottoman and the state.⁸⁹³ In contrary to the hypothesis of dignifying the Ottoman dynasty with classical statements such “Long live the sultan!” the texts made one dignify the pashas in such expressions as “the most intelligent, the greatest, and the shrewdest.”⁸⁹⁴ Only the present sultan, Mehmed Reşad was an exception to this treatment. After introducing him as the powerful sultan of the Constitutional regime, such statements followed in Ihsan Şerif’s book: “His great heart is as pure as light. He loves his fabulous subjects more than his own sons. We all love this blessed (*Mubarak*) sultan and always pray for him with good wishes. May God make him successful throughout his life time! Amen.”⁸⁹⁵ Şerif’s book ended with a photograph of Mehmed Reşad.

In what follows, the textbooks are examined in terms of their narratives on the nineteenth century power groups in contest in the Ottoman Empire. The periods of the Sultans who could not rule the country well were either neglected or treated

⁸⁹³ Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p.89.

⁸⁹⁴ “Reşit Paşa gelmiş geçmiş ‘en akıllı, en büyük, en iş bilir’ sadrazamdır.” Ibid., p. 98.

⁸⁹⁵ “*Kalb-i humayınları nur kadar safdır. Teba-i şahanelerine öz evladından ziyade muhabbeti vardır. Biz cümlemiz bu mübarek padişahımızı babamız gibi severiz. Ve her zaman kendisine hayırlı dualar ederiz. Heman Cenab-ı Hak zat-ı şahanelerini kaffe-i ömürde muvafık bilhayr buyursun, amin.*” Ibid., p. 116; For similar statements, Abdülkadir, *Çocuklarıma Resimli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Saadet ve Tefeyyüz Kütüphaneleri, 1329), p. 71.

with considerable politeness, respect or silence in the Hamidian textbooks. The power relations and the battles between different groups were not detailed as a result of this. Kolağası Ali Cevad described Selim the Third's murder as an ordinary death and he presented Mustafa the Fourth's dethroning as "retiring."⁸⁹⁶ He referred implicitly to some power battles as the plots organized by mischievous people in the palace. Mehmet Necip's book introduced the sultans in order within the graphics of the data as follows: the accession date, period of sultanate, life time and demise.⁸⁹⁷ He recounted the conquests of all sultans. For those who reigned for a very limited time or had not achieved any new conquest, he summarized that the period had passed in "peace" or nothing was noted. The book was seventeen pages long it gave information about two or three sultans in each page, which showed the shallowness of the content in this period.

Ali Nazıma's textbook followed a similar method in the treatment of the sultans. He did not display the dramatic murders of Osman the Second, Selim the Third and Mustafa the Fourth and made mention of Sultan Ibrahim without any disparagement to his character.⁸⁹⁸ Avoiding getting involved in the problems in the palace, the book qualified the problems, saying just "...some confusion

⁸⁹⁶ Kolağası Ali Cevad, *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kasbar matbaası, 1314) (*Umum mekatib-i rüşdiyenin ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere Maarif Nezareti Celilesi tarafından kabul buyrulmuştur*), p. 88.

⁸⁹⁷ Mehmet Necip, (Mekاتب-i İptidaiye Müfettişi), *Çocuklara Mahsus Muhtasar Tarihi, Selatin-i Osmani* (Bursa, n.p., 1321).

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 37-41; This goes in paralel with the results of Somel's research on history textbooks in the Hamidian period. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908): İslamlaşma, Otokrasi ve Disiplin* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), pp.244-254.

occurred...⁸⁹⁹ Ahmet Rasim's book touched on the sultans like Sultan Ibrahim and Mehmed the Fourth with a polite choice of wording.⁹⁰⁰

On the other hand, although the members of the Ottoman family were treated respectfully in cases of the unsuccessful sultans in the Unionist period, the reasons why they had not continued ruling the country were also stated openly, such as having been fond of women and entertainment, debauchery, and insanity. Sultan Ibrahim and Sultan Murat the Fourth were presented as having been lost to debauchery,⁹⁰¹ insanity to Mustafa the Second and Mehmed the Fourth.⁹⁰² Yet, Abdulhamit the Second and Sultan Abdülaziz, who had been dethroned due to the political power contest are laid in harsher expostulation.

The general outlook rendered Selim the Third victimized while Mahmut the Second was interpreted as having been a successful reformist although his policy towards Tepedelenli Ali Pasha was criticized. Sultan Mahmut was also treated with criticism for Alemdar's murder. The Sultan's role in the abolition of the Janissaries was underestimated. In short, instead of discussing the power of Sultan Mahmut, his

⁸⁹⁹ "karışıklıklar çıktı..." Ali Nazıma (Mekاتب-i Mülkiye-i Şahane Müdür muavini), *Tarih-i Nazıma, Küçüklerle Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kasbar, 1313), p. 49

⁹⁰⁰ Ahmed Rasim, *Küçük Tarihi Osmani* (İstanbul: Artin Asadoryan, 1306) (*Sıbyan Mekteplerine mahsustur*), p. 28-29.

⁹⁰¹ Yusuf Ziya, *En Kolay Tarih-i Osmani* (İzmir: Şems matbaası, 1329), (*İptidai sınıflarında bulunan evladı vatana Tarih-i Osmaniye öğretmek için cem ve tertip olunmuş... "darülrifan" Ödemiş ve Alaşehir şubeleri iptidai seneleri şakirdanına tedris olunmak üzere mekatib-i mezkur merkez tedrisat komisyonunca kabul buyurulmuş bir Osmanlı tarihidir ki tarih dersine bu kitap ile başlanılacak olursa ... evlad-ı vatanın pek istifade ettikleri biltecrübe anlaşılmışla muhterem meslekdaşlarıma En Kolay Tarih-i Osmani 'yi arz ve tavsiye ederim*), p. 50; Ibnul Nuzhet Cevad, *Ravza-i Tarih-i Osmani* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1328) (*Maarif Nezaretinin en son programına tevfikana tertip ve mekatib-i rüşdiyede tedris edilmek üzere tahrir edilmiştir*), p. 44.

⁹⁰² Ibnul Nuzhet Cevad, *Ravza-i Tarih-i Osmani* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1328) (*Maarif Nezaretinin en son programına tevfikana tertip ve mekatib-i rüşdiyede tedris edilmek üzere tahrir edilmiştir*), p. 42.

disobedient pashas were emphasized.⁹⁰³ Alemdar Mustafa Pasha had had the essential role in the survival of the Ottoman state and family. His collaboration with the palace against the Janissaries was affirmed without considering his challenge of power against Sultan Mahmud. His death was pitied and the people in the palace were blamed since they had given no help while he was being killed.⁹⁰⁴ “The poor Sadrazam dealt with those bastards on his own. The gun shots were heard in the palace, and this much fire was seen, yet they did not come to help the pasha.”⁹⁰⁵

Headed by the sultan, all of the ulema and viziers cooperated. They agreed to destroy all these devilish bodies on earth. The old, the young, the hadgi-hodgas, the rich and the poor, in short everyone who had had enough of the evils of the (Janissaries) gathered under this sacred flag... Wherever they found a Janissary, without compassion or pity, they strangled and cut off their heads. There remained no hearth and no cauldron in a few hours. This was called *Vaka-i Hayriye* (The Auspicious Event).⁹⁰⁶

Some other pashas came into prominence and sought to take roles for the maintenance of the state to compensate sultans’ bad management. Names such as Köprülü, Alemdar and Mehmet Ali were seen as wonders of nature who had accomplished great things in their lives although they were even illiterate.⁹⁰⁷ Mehmet

⁹⁰³ Ibid., p.93.

⁹⁰⁴ İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mütevassıta ikinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bilmüşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 87.

⁹⁰⁵ “Zavallı Sadrazam tek başına bu alçaklarla on saat uğraştı. Saraydan silah sesleri dıyarlar, bu kadar yangını görürler de yine paşanın imdadına gelmiyorlardı.” Ibid., p.90.

⁹⁰⁶ “Bunun üzerine başta padişah olduğu halde ulema ve vüzerâ hepsi birleşti. Bu melunların büsbütün dünya yüzünden vücutlarını kaldırmak için sözleşti. Sancak-ı şerif çıktı. Büyük, küçük hacı hoca zengin fakirler bunların şerrinden aman Allah diyen yaka silken herkes bu mukaddes sancağa sığındı. Kışılarını topa tuttular. Ateşe soktular. Yaktılar, yıktılar. Ellerine nerede bir yeniçeri geçtiyse artık ne merhamet ettiler ne aman dilediler. Boğdular, keddiler. Bir kaç saat içinde ne ocak kaldı, ne kazan... Buna Vaka-i Hayriye derler.” Ibid., p.91.

⁹⁰⁷ İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekاتب-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 92.

Ali Pasha's successful story from an ordinary soldier in the army to the commander and leader of Egypt was presented within tension between an inevitable praise and condemnation: "Mehmet Ali did not know how to read or write. He was ignorant, yet had a unique intelligence...He deceived so many people with his wisdom and courage. He became their leader."⁹⁰⁸ Some textbooks developed the hatred against Mehmet Ali Pasha, the governor of Egypt, though his modernization reforms like sending students to Europe was praised. On the other hand, Ihsan Şerif presented him with positive remarks in contrast to the other authors:

When we hear someone as Egyptian, whoever he is, we think that he is rich without knowing or seeing him. Egypt is truly the country of the rich and wealthy. Yet, we couldn't get use of this wealth though it had been the province of Ottoman state for five centuries. It is Mehmet Ali's effort (*himmet-i gayret*) that granted this fortune.⁹⁰⁹

Mehmet Ali was a courageous, intelligent and prudent person. He was extra-ordinarily created.⁹¹⁰

The textbook authors agreed on the importance of the Decree of the Tanzimat. Reşit, Ali and Fuat Pashas were taught as the heroes of this reformation:⁹¹¹

"After that (*Tanzimat*), we got a bit more powerful and became one of the eminent

⁹⁰⁸ "Mehmet Ali okumak yazmak bilmezdi. Cahil, lakin nadir yaratılan bir akla sahipti... Şecaatiyle dirayetiyle birçok kimseleri kandırdı. Cümlesine baş oldu." Ihsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müسابaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p.102.

⁹⁰⁹ "Biz kim olursa olsun, mesela birisini Mısırlı diye işittik mi görmeden görüşmeden ilk evvel mutlaka o kimsenin zengin olduğu hatırıma gelir. Hakikaten Mısır da zenginler ve zenginlik memleketidir. Ancak burası beş yüz sene kadar Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin yani bizim bir vilayetimiz hükmünde bulunduğu halde biz o servet menbaından hiç bir istifade edemedik. Ona bu kabiliyeti bahş eden Mehmet Ali'nin himmeti gayretidir." Ibid., p. 96.

⁹¹⁰ "Mehmet Ali cesur akıllı ve müdebbir idi... Alelade değil, fevkalade idi. Tam manasıyla nadir yaratılanlardan idi." Ibid., p. 97.

⁹¹¹ Abdülkadir, *Çocuklarıma Resimli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Saadet ve Tefeyyüz Kütüphaneleri, 1329), p. 59; İbnul Cevad Efdalüddin, *Küçüklere Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Karabet Matbaası, 1329-1327) (*Maarif Nezaretinin kabul ettiği resmi programa göre rüşdi ve idadi mekteplerinin ikinci sınıflarında okutturulmak üzere tertip olunmuştur*), p. 215.

states.”⁹¹² While the textbooks did not give much space to Sultan Abdülmecit, it seemed that the contest between the bureaucrats and Sultan Abdulaziz urged authors for more elicitation about his operations and deeds. Cevad and Abdülkadir tried to compensate the negative image of Abdülaziz with his contribution to modernization before 1876.⁹¹³ The new schools and the construction of the navy were given examples the sultan had served the country:

First of all, it should be fixed that the blemishes and malice imputed to the Sainted (*cennet mekan*) are surely groundless and untrue. Sultan Abdülaziz was a great sultan who completely had the conscience and dignity of exalted Ottomanness and the valor and bravery of pure Turkishness.⁹¹⁴

The coup d'état organized for him was considered as unjust⁹¹⁵ since the Sultan had “accepted to do whatever he was told provided that it rendered benefits for the country. Yet it should be worded proper to his position and glory.”⁹¹⁶ Abdülaziz’s spendthrift nature and fondness of luxury appeared with the pretext that he was under the influence of the “bad” pashas taking place of the “patriotic ones who wrote poems and books to open the minds of the people”.⁹¹⁷

⁹¹² “Bundan sonra biraz kuvvet bulduk. İtibarlı devletlerden biri olduk.” İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müşabaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p.100.

⁹¹³ Ibid., p.102.

⁹¹⁴ “Evvela şurası malum olsun ki Cennetmekana istinad olan lekeler, mehniyata tezvirattır katiyen asılsızdır, yalandır. Sultan Abdülaziz halis Türklük şehamet ve celadetine, Osmanlılığın ulu vicdan ve izzetine tamamiyle malik ve sahip büyük bir padişahdır.” Ibid., p.102.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid., p.106.

⁹¹⁶ “Kendisine milletin memleketin menafîine muvafık olacak surette ne söylemeler kabul ederdi. Fakat söylenecek söz kendisinin hal ve şanına vakarına muvafık surette anlatılmalı idi.” İbnul Cevad Efdalüddin, *Küçüklere Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Karabet Matbaası, 1329-1327) (*Maarif Nezaretinin kabul ettiği resmi programa göre rüşdi ve idadi mekteplerinin ikinci sınıflarında okutturulmak üzere tertip olunmuştur*), p. 216.

⁹¹⁷ “Milletin fikrini açmak için birçok kitaplar şiirler yazdılar.” Ahmet Refik, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye ve sultanîyenin dördüncü senelerine mahsustur*), p. 62.

...those open-minded young people who couldn't stand this situation ran away to Europe. They helped to awaken people through newspapers and books. These patriots were the poet Kemal Bey, Şinasi and his friends. They served the nation with their articles and books. They are called the (Young Turks),⁹¹⁸ the New Ottomans. The ideas of equality and freedom were only understood thanks to them.⁹¹⁹

One of the common treatments of the textbooks was in regard to Abdulhamid the Second in different degrees of disparagement due to his policy towards the Young Ottomans and the Committee for Union and Progress. His period was commonly called the period of despotism and he was called as tyrant “*zalim*”⁹²⁰ since he had not conformed to the constitution, *Kanun-ı Esasi*, which was “the savior of the country.”⁹²¹ Ibnul Cevad's textbook recounted his period in the mildest way in that his weak personality was shown as the main reason behind his being anti-reformist.

The plot organized by the Unionists against the Sultan occupied much space in great detail in most of the textbooks of the Unionist regime. The details touched upon the process Young Turks had gone through while becoming organized and forcing Sultan Abdulhamit to accept the Constitutional regime: “These were communicating with the patriots throughout the country secretly. That time Salonika

⁹¹⁸ The parantheses are from the original text.

⁹¹⁹ “...parlak fikirli gençler bu hale dayanamadılar, Avrupa'ya kaçtılar. Kitaplar yazarak, gazeteler çıkararak şikayet ettiler, milletin fikrini açmaya çalıştılar. O zaman bu vatanperverliği yapanlar şair Kemal Bey, Şinasi ve arkadaşları idi. Bu zatlar kitaplarıyla yazılarıyla millete hizmet ettiler bunlara (Jön Türkler) yeni Osmanlılar denildi. Vatanımızda hürriyet ve müsavat fikri onların sayesinde anlaşıldı.” Ahmet Refik, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye ve sultanienin dördüncü senelerine mahsustur*), p. 45.

⁹²⁰ Ahmet Refik, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye ve sultanienin dördüncü senelerine mahsustur*), p. 50; Abdülkadir, *Çocuklarıma Resimli Küçük Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Saadet ve Tefeyyüz Kütüphaneleri, 1329), p. 68.

⁹²¹ “*Kanun-u Esasi ise bizi kurtaracaktı.*” Ahmet Refik, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye ve sultanienin dördüncü senelerine mahsustur*), p. 52.

was much more liberal than the other provinces... They opened the minds of the people and awakened them. At last, they got the control of the military, bureaucracy, gendarmes.”⁹²² Similarly Refik wrote,

Our young people who escaped to Europe wanted to end the misfortunes of the nation. They constituted a committee in Europe, and they called it the “Union and Progress.” They enrolled the young people who shared the new ideas and thus, they got considerable power. At last the police in Macedonia joined the committee, too.⁹²³

After reminding the students of the matters of Rumeli and the plans of the Europeans over there, he continued to explain the conflict between the young people and the sultan: “... the young people who loved their country couldn’t stand this misfortune and they were gone to the mountains. They telegraphed Abdülhamit. They wanted freedom for the nation, and proposed the constitution to be promulgated.”⁹²⁴ Ibnul Cevad’s presentation of the Committee underlined the effect of the publications in Anatolia used to illuminate the ideas of Constitutional regime and propaganda held in Europe.⁹²⁵

⁹²² “*Bunlar memleketin her tarafındaki erbabı hamiyetle gizlice mektuplaşıyorlardı. O zaman Selanik diğer şehirlerden daha çok serbest idi. ...Ahalinin zihnini, fikrini açtılar. Nihayet askeri, memuru, jandarmayı ahaliyi ellerine aldılar.*” İhsan Şerif, *Çocuklara Tarih-i Osmani* (Dersaadet: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1331) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiyenin devre-i mutavassıta birinci senelerinde tedris olunmak üzere bil-müسابaka birinci derecede kabul edilmiştir*), p. 111.

⁹²³ “*Avrupa’ya kaçan gençlerimiz milletin bu felaketine nihayet vermek istediler. Avrupa’da bir cemiyet teşkil ettiler, adına İttihat ve Terakki dediler. Bu cemiyete yeni fikirli gençleri yazdılar, bu suretle iyi kuvvet peyda ettiler. Nihayet Makedonya’daki zabıtlarımız da bu cemiyete dahil oldular, taraftarlarını günden güne artırdılar.*” Ahmet Refik, *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1333) (*Mekatib-i iptidaiye ve sultaniyenin dördüncü senelerine mahsustur*, p. 50.

⁹²⁴ “*...bu felakete vatanını seven gençler dayanamadılar, taraftarlarıyla beraber dağa çıktılar. Abdülhamid’e telgraf çekdiler, millete hürriyet verilmesini istediler, Kanun-u Esasinin ilanını teklif eylediler.*” Ibid., p. 52.

⁹²⁵ Ibnul Cevad Efdalüddin, *Küçüklere Osmanlı Tarihi* ([İstanbul]: Karabet Matbaası, 1329-1327) (*Maarif Nezaretinin kabul ettiği resmi programa göre rüşdi ve idadi mekteplerinin ikinci sınıflarında okutturulmak üzere tertip olunmuştur*), p. 222.

Although the treatment of Abdülhamit the Second had bitter criticisms in the textbooks, the narratives in the state-sanctioned textbooks still ensured a certain degree of respect towards him. The way he was insulted in the other publications demonstrated the sensitivity and limitations of the textbook authors. What follows gives an example of a sample history lesson published in the journals of *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye* (Journal of Primary School Instruction) and *Tedrisat* (Instruction). This sample class and some other writings on Abdulhamit showed that the state-sanctioned textbooks displayed a more even-tempered criticism while there dominated a hypercriticism of the ex-sultan in the literature of the period. The text of a dialogue depicts how harshly the sultan of just two years earlier -who was even alive - was criticized and blamed in the sight of the students:⁹²⁶

...

Teacher: Do you know the name of our Sultan the Master?

Student: Yes, sir. Sultan Mehmet V.

Teacher: Well, my son, who was our Sultan before him?

Students: Sir, it was Sultan Abdulhamit.

Teacher: I have told you many times about him. How was he?

Student: He was a bad sultan, sir. He was cruel.

Teacher: Why was he cruel?

Student: Sir, he did not like his country, he did not look after the soldiers well; he did not dress them well. He did not buy many arms and guns for the war.

Teacher: What happened to us when Abdülhamid did not do these things?

Student: We became weaker and the enemies invaded our lands.

Teacher: Well, then Abdülhamit was giving our country to the enemies. Did he do well?

Student: No sir, he did something very harmful. We inherited those lands from our ancestors. Our ancestors worked hard and by shedding so much blood they bequeathed them to us.

Abdülhamit gave them away to the enemies.

(Another student interrupting): Our ancestors will damn him. If they were alive, they would say ‘what a useless man! He gave away all those territories we conquered with so much bloodshed to the enemies.’

⁹²⁶ İhsan, “İd-i Milli Üzerine Ders, On Temmuz,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye* 1, no. 6 (Ders Numuneleri Kısım), p. 224.

Teacher: This means Abdülhamit was a traitor, wasn't he. With the money he collected from us ...

Student: ...he gave them to his pashas and spent them for his own catering instead of providing the soldiers with guns and arms.

Teacher: Yes, my son. He gasped whatever money the poor villagers had by beating and whipping them and then gave handful money to some wicked guys instead of doing nice things. Whatever he did, nobody could raise an objection.

...

Student: If I was there, I would hit his head as soon as I got the sword.

Teacher: Well-done, my son. Yet, Abdülhamit's beloved pasha did not do it so.⁹²⁷

...

Teacher: Abdülhamit understood that it was too late. It was in vain, whatever he did. For this reason, he helplessly admitted what the people wanted. He said 'I can do whatever you want if you do not dethrone me'

Student: Bend the knee! Very good.

Teacher: Here my sons, it was again the tenth day of July two years ago this time when the people gathered and stopped Abdülhamit's tyranny. That means every July the tenth reminds us of that day.⁹²⁸

In short, Abdulhamit as introduced without any reverence in the dialogue was turned into a legendary monster who had harmed people.⁹²⁹ Compared to the lines above, the textbooks treated his period and personality more sensitively and more calmly although there was nothing else than the negative image of the Sultan.

⁹²⁷ Ibid., p. 228.

⁹²⁸ For the whole Turkish text, see Appendix E.

⁹²⁹ See the poem where the sultan was drawn as a monster. Some other examples of July 10 could also be reached in the sample lessons published in the journal *Tedrisat* and *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye*.

*"Ne ramazan geçti ne de
Kurbanlar kesdik baba,
Bugün neden şenlik bayram
Yapıyoruz anlat bana
Öğren yavrum ki on temmuz
Bayramların en büyüğü
Esir millet bir gün
Canlar yakar, kan dökerdi."*

*Zincirini kırdı, söktü.
Bilesin yavrum ondan evvel
Geçen günler ne siyahtır?
Milletin her iyiliğini
Düşünecek padişah'tır
Halbuki evvel zaman sultan
İnsan değil canavardı*

"On Temmuz," *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye* 1, no.6 (Ders Numuneleri Kısmı), p. 230.

The period following the Constitutional revolution witnessed a wide variety of ideas and streams of thought competing in the publications of era. For this reason, this study strived to identify the state policy of education in the politically and ideologically vibrant atmosphere of the late Ottoman education. While examining the decennium between 1908 and 1918, it was not taken for granted as a transition period. Cautioned against the retrospective point of view, which saw the period under examination as a back stage of the identities produced in the Republican years, the Ottoman and Muslim identity were clarified. The traces of nationalism and its multi-faceted variants were pursued in the contextual analysis of textbooks. The characteristics of the nationalism in the 1910s, which would be called Ottoman-Muslim nationalism, were distinguished from the multiple forms of nationalism among which Turkish nationalism was the most referred to as the state ideology in the relevant literature. Yet, the history textbooks, similarly with the civics, displayed no ethno-secular traces of nationalism until 1920s. Instead, Ottoman nationalism ingrained in religious notions of history and past was apparent in the state approved textbooks. This chapter on history also argued that the positivist epistemology challenged religious notion of time. Textbooks presented a confusion of histories to the students under three realms: general history, history of Islam and the Ottoman history, the first two required two different epistemologies.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis elaborated on the epistemological conflict in the production of the school books. It documented the inconsistent narratives and tensions arising from the two motives: the Islamic thought ingrained in the Ottoman nationalistic thought, on one hand, and the positivist standpoint which penetrated in the philosophy of education on the other. The religious knowledge in the primary schools was confronted with the challenge of the secular standpoint and scientific outlook in the social science studies more evidently following the Constitution of 1908. It argued that the advent of the scientific pedagogy –which obliged religion to relinquish its hold on education - reproduced the religious conception of education (tarbiyah). This confrontation is hypothetically regarded as the defeat of the new on the old value and systems. That is to say, the Unionists were thought to have left the religious ties and undermined Islam with their secularist agenda.

Yet, the study revealed the increasing significance of moral education and how it was bound up within the Islamic morals as well as noting the confusion of knowledge due to inconsistent narratives. It also showed that following the 1913 curriculum, which defined the piousness as one of the character types targeted in training students, the history and civics texts mostly were prepared on an Islamic epistemological ground, as well as it indicated the way Islam was re-formulated in

the religion textbooks with respect to the modern theories. To more or lesser degrees, textbooks developed school knowledge on an Islamic language while teaching their subjects.

The period also was examined for the indoctrination of the Turkish nationalist ideology or “Turkification” in the Unionist policies. The intellectual debates directing the educational journals, the contents of the children magazines and journals were dominated by the Turkish nationalist ideas. In the kaleidoscopic political atmosphere of the period, the dissertation aimed to fix the position of the Party of Union and Progress through its policies on education. One hypothesis undertook education in instilling Turkish nationalist thought in the contents of the school books in parallel to the substantial debates. Another hypothesis regarded the official Ottomanism and proposed its values on constitutional citizenship, which sought the integration of the non-Muslims with Muslims.

The dissertation, after theoretically exploring the term "*tarbiyah*" and the new pedagogy of the period, presented the way the epistemological conflict was represented in three subjects from the primary school curriculum: religion, civics and history. It revealed various authorships transgressing the official Ottomanist ideology, fixed the distance of the Ottoman Muslim nationalism to the popular variations of Turkish nationalism and shed light onto the Islamic connections and underpinnings within the scientific pedagogy.

In the guidelines of the ministry (1915), raising a pious child was determined one of the goals of primary schools. The religious hold on education continued in the “moral education” agenda in the new educational theories and it always collaborated with the Ottoman past. While religion set the moral grounds of education

theoretically, the Ottoman sultans were used as practitioners and vivid examples of the “glorious” past. Moral education re-placed and held as the central mission of the educational revival so that the feeling of daring to conquer vast lands was aroused just as the ancestors had achieved it in the past. The national history communicated with what was Islamic in that the modern concepts regarding the present politics like liberty, fraternity and equality, were legitimized within the religious codes.

The ideas of the politically constructed Ottomanism after the 1908 Constitution seems to be secured within the new limits of “true religion.” The rational religion idealized in this resurrection protects the secular and liberal lines. The doctrine of religion was redrawn so as to preserve its “purity” from the historical forms of bigotry (*hurafat*). In this framework, although it is debated whether the defense of Islamic civilization which diffused into the Unionist education policy was in intrinsic or instrumental value, the fact was that an Islamic identity somehow constituted part of the policy during the Constitutional regime at least for the early years of childhood .

The defense of religion in school knowledge was reverberated in the conviction that Islam was superior and more comprehensive than the knowledge acquired through the induction method of new science. The present progress of Europe was realized owing to the contributions of Islamic civilization and values which were allegedly neglected by Muslims and caused backwardness. The failure is seen in the lost universal values of Islam. Thus, the intrinsic motive that searched for a reconciliation/ negotiation with modernity in the essential sources of Islam was an effort to strengthen the faith, which was thought by the educators to be losing its

credibility, especially among the youth. The revival of religion was by all means the effort to save the fading religion and to make it more believable for the youth.

The idea of importation, which referred to vulgar modernization, was treated meticulously in the making of the new education and curriculum. A search for an eclectic educational philosophy which had arisen from the classical sensitivity that Europe was only to be followed in its technology and science was proceeded. Although the Unionist policy of Islam was doubted, or the role of religion was underestimated, it is clear from the details of the guideline that there was a tendency to make Islam and progressivist idea co-operate in the formation of an Ottoman nationalism.

Yet, it is too assertive to bring forth an argument nullifying the process of the secularization throughout. It also was documented that Islam was turned into a school subject taught within pedagogical directions by leaving its agency behind educational philosophy and curriculum making. This way, the pedagogy in the Unionist period was distinct from the preceding Islamic pedagogy in the Hamidian period while it became detached in its incorporation of a revived Islam from the successive Republicanist secular pedagogical insights. It was interesting that as the level of the books increased from elementary to secondary grades, the religiosity of the narrations diminished. The confined comparison of high school books to the elementary level rendered the result that both the use of the secular language increased and a sharper criticism of the old regime were being made. Yet, this could be marked as an expected result since one of the characteristics of the elementary schooling is its being based on moral education chiming with Islamic teachings.

Religious instruction in the modern schools was problematized for two reasons: one was the “need” to categorize, classify and qualify the Islamic knowledge with respect to scientific pedagogy; the second, the supposed “moral depression” (*ahlaki bunalım*) among the youth who were noted as having lost their faith under the influence of materialism. The underpinnings of the moral sensitivity in the educational theories of the European pedagogues were outlined with respect to the philosophical and historical evolution of education. Here, the two reasons complemented each other in that the pedagogical methods and approaches applied in the religious knowledge aimed to resurrect Islam so as to combat with the evils of materialism.

The subject matter, method, and purpose of religious instruction were debated in the years following the 1908 revolution. The educational journals brought the issue of religious education into question and developed a new point of view that categorized religious instruction in pedagogical terms. The aim of the instruction, the methods and subject matters, which were to be leveled accordingly with the biological and mental development of children, was reformulated in the period.

In search of this new pedagogical Islamic teaching, the textbooks broke away from the classical texts of Hamidian period, which had explained religious obligations through the rewards and punishment of religious system; textbooks, following the Constitutional reform, developed a modern discourse which reinterpreted and formulated the religious duties so that a scientific verification of religious knowledge was reached. Except for Eğribozi’s classical view, the overwhelming tendency of the textbooks in the Second Constitutional Period proposed an Islam approved by what the modern science discovered; however, this

relationship was founded upon religion's validity and sufficiency against the modern, not upon an inferior provision.

The scientific discourse used in explaining the prayers which theoretically were performed for gaining the consent of God in the classical discourse of Islamic teaching showed the effort of the "justification" of religion relying on its worldly part that appealed to human reason. This is, in a sense, a defense of religion against the discrediting of beliefs which was articulated more openly by some intellectuals affiliated with the radical Westernist block in the Second Constitutional period. Although one of the probable results of this scientification of religious knowledge, the accounts of benefit (*faide*) and reason (*hikmet*), could be counted as the secularization of religious content, this seems not to have been the intention of authors exactly since they often admonished students that worshiping was made only for God. This new understanding produced a defensive language against the victory of the Western secular values and knowledge.

The content of the civics books was one of the most apparent terrains of the battle between the secular and Islamic discourses. The years between 1908 and 1913 created a lack of authority in the production of civics books. In this sense, the books produced in these years generally were blamed for being direct translations of foreign texts directly by the educators. The Ottoman contextualization of the translated civics books, which was demanded by the state, incorporated an Islamic discourse in the textbooks in various degrees of authors' affiliation.

Thus, the textbooks differentiated with respects to the years they were produced. The ones which were produced in alignment with the program of 1913 resulted in an Islamic adaptation of the Kantian morality, which aimed to raise

autonomous individuals who carried out their rationally defined duties. The dissertation stressed the turning point from a theological epistemology to the progressive sociological theory in school knowledge as well as noting that the state-sanctioned textbooks became, within the pedagogical claims, the terrain of this clash of ideas abridged from the substantial political thoughts in the chaotic atmosphere of the Second Constitutional Years.

Although there were philosophical contradictions running through each textbook between 1908 and 1926, most themes remained unchanged, such as the significance given to progress in the material world. The facts, that the “ignorant” and “lazy” people did not have value and honor, that they were useless for their soul and the homeland, were common teachings in character education.

A self-reliant, entrepreneur, courageous and determined man was designed and placed in opposition to what “old” understanding of education produced. Children were propelled to develop an economic interest in world affairs. The ways of capital accumulation, the political conditions of the liberal economy were presented vivid examples generally drawn on the contrast between the economic progress in Europe and the Ottoman state. The basis of a bourgeoisie of Muslim Ottoman identity was taught in this context. The image of imperial Europe, the colonies in Asia and Africa and the semi-colonial independents such as Ottoman Empire drew the political and economic map of the world in the child’s mind.

Another considerable remark is that the texts generally depicted how Europeans had progressed and had become wealthy and happy instead of highlighting the disastrous results for the colonized people. That is to say that although the texts generated anti-European imperialism, they did not develop an anti-

colonialist idea at all. The anti-European narrative called Muslims to be aware and organized against foreigners. Such narratives evidently violated the principles of Ottomanist ideology; instead the Muslim identity was urged as an inner circle within the constitutional citizenship identity which was theoretically meant to integrate non-Muslims and Muslims in the modern schools.

One of common points was the Constitutional regime and the importance of state organs. In years between 1913 from 1920, the authors focused on how the state was to be saved while the emphasis was how the state was constituted in the 1920s. The foundation of state and technical details on its institutions occupied a substantial number of pages in textbooks in years 1908-1913 and in the 1920s. The question of the necessity for a state brought up the issue of making up a community. The most visible institutions of the government such as law, police and gendarme, army and state officers were explained. The establishment of a government was presented as an imperative of community life, where the stronger people tended to dominate the weaker. Hence, the state was called a power that protected the weak against the powers both inside and outside.

Though the subject matters were almost the same in civics, it was the philosophical turn drawn in this study. The textbooks published in the liberal atmosphere of the Constitutional regime (1908- 1913) seemed to differ from those published after the government control issued an authorization on textbooks in 1913. What marks the textbooks published between 1913 and 1921 lies in the religious character in the conception of duties derived from Kantian morals which intended to raise an autonomous man who did his duties framed within the laws. The years between 1908 and 1913 created a liberal atmosphere and secular penchant. The

books of İsmail Cezmi, Hüseyin Hıfzı, Mehmed Hazık and Hakkı Behiç were marked as not comprising a part such as “duties to God.” The imagination of man out of the universe of God prevailed in the texts while all the later-published books (until 1927) configured “man and his duties” in the circle of the Supreme Being of God according to the curriculum of 1913. Similarly, the use of hadiths and the Quran seemed not to take an explicit degree in the formation of this secular discourse. The duties were revealed as born within the requirements of the community, state, government and laws in these texts.

At this point, the secular worldview in some of the pre-1913 textbooks bore resemblance to the general peculiarities in the post-1920 period, while the years between 1913 and 1920 signify a more religious character accompanied by an anti-European tendency. The curriculum of 1913 reflected the inculcation of two duties simultaneously at the turn of the nineteenth century: enlightening and moralizing mankind. The Unionist education policy proposed “moralizing the modern man” against the ills of liberties arising from the enlightenment. Thus, the philosophy of education tended to preserve a conservative character against the emancipation spirit through schooling. For this reason, the civics teaching was imbued with Islamic morality teaching, which was also evident in the emphasis on morals in the original title of the civics books, called with *Musahabat’ül Ahlakiye, Diniye, Tarihiye, Medeniye* (Assessments on Morality, Religion, History, Civilization).

The widespread use of terms such as the Turks, Turkish history and Turkish nationalism in the educational journals did not take place in the history books. The use of Turkish nationalism in children’s journals was apparent while the state guidelines did not pronounce the word Turk. The content of the children’s journals

where the epics of *Ergenekon* and *Bozkurt* were recounted and being a Turk was overtly instilled described the creation of a “nationalistic generation” with. Ottoman nationalism with a religious tone, instead, is incorporated to the educational objectives. The emphasis on the Muslim-Ottoman identity was manifested in the analysis of the civics and history textbooks. The Unionist education noted for its anti-foreign peculiarity made the Islamic and Ottoman lines align closely. As a result, a revival of its own was envisaged upon the parochial values besides increasing reservation towards Western civilization.

The propaganda of the Turkish identity was confined to the origins of the Ottoman state, in contrary to the contents of the readers for the primary schools. History textbooks, as the substantial carriers of the nationalist discourses drew the locus of the imagined past. Drawing a common past for the multi-ethnic and religiosity of the Empire was already imbued with manifold subtleties. The foundation of the Ottoman state was marked as the beginning of Ottomans; and Turks were only mentioned with their origins from Oğuz Khan within a very limited amount of space generally.

Although Turks were mentioned as the founders in the beginning, it is also emphasized in the texts that the national identity was no longer the Turks but the Ottomans who had become a mixed nationality throughout centuries. In this respect, the history textbooks do not structure the background of the Turks in the Central Asia; even the Seljuk Empire was not given a considerable role in the historical journey of Turks to Anatolia and as a preceding Turkish state. The standpoint of Ottoman History textbooks by no means proposed the Turkish nationalist idea to the students. Instead, Ottomanism was protected strictly while the power of the Sultanate

was rivaled with the enlightened young generation and their agency in leading the state to betterment and progression. The sultans made up the periodization in the teaching of Ottoman history. Yet, different from the previous period, the sultans were highlighted with both their successes and failures. The depiction of the corruption and confusion in the palace take its place as well as the narratives revealing the personal drawbacks of the sultans. The narratives developed critical point of view in the flawed policies and even regarding the personal lives of the sultans in the past. The Unionist curriculum of history differed from the Hamidian history books in that the sacredness of the Ottoman sultanate was opened to criticism. Historical failures were held in more realistic reasons although no economic and social background was promoted to discuss the historical events. The pashas were presented as saviors of the Ottoman family and state at times of the failures and bad governance. The Tanzimat marked the beginning of the narratives presenting pashas as agents in the governments. The focus of the authors in the pashas was articulated over the opposition of the Young Ottomans and Young Turks successively.

Textbooks fell in two different notions of time with the confrontation of the religious epistemological standpoint with the positivist history line. The positivist history conception, which nullified the established “creation,” and the time notion triggered the confusion on where to start history. In a considerable number of textbooks, both views were embraced simultaneously. The religious lines were observed to be interwoven with the secular production. The first man was imagined still to have been Adam, yet his qualities referred to him as having been a savage rather than a prophet. There were also authors who consistently adapted a secular knowledge only or religious narration. Yet, it was the history program of 1913 which

had yielded this conflict an inevitable one. The program proposed Islamic History and General History, which produced two histories within two different time notions. In other words, Islamic History, which was a history of the prophets, was the religious interpretation of the General History or vice versa. Thus the whole history program was in conflict in itself, as well as the differences created by the authorships. The standpoints of authors reflected how they handled the two discourses at the same time.

The comparison of the primary school texts to those of the upper grades showed the religiosity attributed as part of the pedagogical program. Hence, the pious character of the primary education policy aggravated the contradiction and made the secular and religious lines more visible in the sample of primary school social science context. In comparison to this study, the textbooks of the upper grades promise to yield some more consistent secularized contents. Yet, as far as the documents indicated with the references to “moral depression,” which was defined as the spirit of the youth in- between the materialist philosophies and religious values, the search for contradictory knowledge could be led on the secondary education textbooks inter-courses.

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APPENDICES

A. A mini-survey conducted by İsmail Hakkı in Balıkesir

| Student Name | Father | Profession of fathers | Age | Religion | Nationality | Sultan | Capital |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| İrfan | Ahmed | - | 8 | Islam | | | |
| Mithat | Mustafa | Tailor (abacı) | 7 | Islam | From here | | |
| Halil | Halil İbrahim | Owner of coffeehouse (kahveci) | 10 | From here(this place) | Turk | I saw his picture but I don't know his name | |
| İsmail | Mehmet Emin | - | 8 | - | - | - | - |
| Mustafa | Hacı İbrahim | Owner of coffeehouse (kahveci) | | Oruçgarı district | - | - | - |
| Mehmet | Halit | Harvester (orakçı) | 8 | Balıkesir | From this nation, Turk | - | - |
| Hüsni | Hacı refet | Small dealer (bakkal) | 9 | Islam | Islam | - | - |
| Rıfki | Şakir | Harness maker (Saraç) | 11 | Muslim | Turk | Sultan Mehmet | |
| Mehmet | Ahmet | Blacksmith (demirci) | 10 | Islam | Turk | - | - |
| Ahmet | Hidayet | Maker of felt (Keçeci) | 8 | From Bigadiç | - | - | - |
| Kadri | Mustafa | Winegrower (Bağcı) | 9 | Islam | - | - | He is sitting in the Heaven |
| Dilaver | Süleyman | Lieutenant (yüzbaşı) | 5 | Muslim | Muslim | - | - |

İsmail Hakkı, “Müesseselerden İsmail Hakkı Tarafından Verilen İzahat,” *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti Mecmuası* 1, no.1 (Eylül, 1332), p.14.

B. Bizi Yaradan

Muallim- (Talebeden 29 numaralı efendiye) Oğlum şu önündeki masayı görüyor musun? Bunu kim yaptı acaba?

Şakird- Efendim marangoz yaptı.

Muallim- Yani oğlum birisi size gelse de dese ki “Bu masa kendi kendine yapıldı? Sonra kendi kendine bu sınıfa geldi.” İnanır mısınız?

Şakird- Hayır efendim, inanmam.

Muallim- Niçin inanmazsınız? 25?

Şakird- Efendim nasıl olur? Masa kendi kendine yapılır mı?

Muallim- Ya nasıl yapılır?

Şakird- Efendim bir marangoz yapar.

Muallim- Yani oğlum, ya masa kendi kendine buraya gelebilir mi?

Şakird- Hayır efendim.

Muallim- Ya nasıl gelir?

Şakird- Efendim birisi getirmiştir. Buraya koymuştur.

Muallim- Yani oğlum bu masayı nasıl bir yapan var ise şu kapıyı da yapan var mı yok mu? 30?

Şakird- Var efendim.

Muallim- Kim acaba?

Şakird- Yine marangoz efendim.

Muallim- Ya gördüğünüz şu resimler kendi kendilerinden mi olmuştur?

Şakird- Hayır efendim, bunları da bir yapan var.

Muallim- Demek etrafımızda ne görürsek onların hiç biri ortaya kendiliğinden çıkmamıştır, hepsini bir yapan var. Değil mi oğlum? Ya bizi insanları da bir yapan bir yaradan yok mu? 40?

Şakird- Var efendim.

Muallim- Peki kim oğlum?

Şakird- Allah.

Muallim- Aferin oğlum. Allah, Cenab-ı Hak yalnız bizi mi yarattı oğlum?
Hayvanları da yaradan kim?

Muallim- Ya bu üzerinde yaşadığımız toprağı, taşları, ağaçları, denizleri, ırmakları
gökleri, yerleri hasılı her şeyi yaradan kim?

Şakird- Yine Allah Teali.

Muallim- Peki oğlum “yaratmak” ne demek?

Şakird- Yapmak?

Muallim- Evet oğlum “yapmak”.. fakat nasıl yapmak biliyor musunuz? Hiç yoktan
yapmak. Bu saydığım şeylerden hiç biri evvelden yoktu. Cenab-ı Hak bunları hiç
yoktan yaptı. Yarattı... Birisi çıksa da size mesela “insanlar bu dünyada kendi
kendilerine geldiler” dese inanır mısın? (41)?

Şakird- Hayır efendim.

Muallim- Ya ne dersiniz?

Şakird- Allah yarattı derim.

Muallim- Cenab-ı Allah’ın bize büyük büyük iyilikleri var mı? 34?

Şakird- Şüphesiz efendim.

Muallim- Eğer yağmur yağmaya idi ekinler biter miydi, oğlum?

Şakird- Hayır efendim, ekin olmazdı.

Muallim- Ekinler bitmese biz yemek bulabilir miyiz?

Şakird- Hayır efendim, bulamazdık.

Muallim- Peki yağmurları yağdıran ekinleri çıkaran, bize yemek yaratan kim oğlum?

Şakird- Allah Teali efendim.

Muallim- Peki siz söyleyiniz (37) biz yemeklerde ne eti yeriz?

Şakird- Koyun eti, efendim.

Muallim- Daha?

Şakird- Kuzu eti.

Muallim- Daha? 43?

Şakird- Tavuk eti?

Muallim- Daha?

Şakird- Hindi eti.

Muallim- Peki oğlum bunların hepsini yaradan kim?

Şakird- Yine Cenab-ı Allah.

(Muallim bu mevzuyu biraz daha tevzi ettikten sonra)

Muallim- Demek yediğimiz, içtiğimiz, giydiğimiz bütün şeyleri kim yarattı?

Şakird- Allah yarattı efendim.

Muallim- Biz ne sayede yaşarız.

Şakird- Bunlar sayesinde yaşarız.

Muallim- O halde Cenab-ı Hakk'ın bize yaptığı bu kadar iyiliklerine karşı teşekkür borçlu muyuz?

Şakird- Evet, efendim.

Muallim- Acaba teşekkür etmesek ne olur, 28?

Şakird- Efendim, sonra biz nankör olmuş oluruz.

Muallim- Peki oğlum yalnız teşekkür kafi mi? Allah ne emrediyorsa onu yapmalı mıyız?

Şakird- Yapmalıyız efendim.

Muallim- Ya “şu işi yapmayınız” derse....

Şakird- Onu da yapmamalıyız.

Muallim- Peki oğlum biz ne bilelim Cenab-ı Hak neyi yapmamızı istiyor, neyi yapmamamızı istiyor? Cenab-ı Hak tarafından birisi gelip bize: “ Bilir misiniz? Allah şu işi sever, onu yapınız! Şu işi sevmez onu sakın yapmayınız” demeli değil mi?

Şakird- Evet efendim demeli.

Muallim- Allah tarafından birisi gelip de bize söylemese, haber vermese biz Allah neyi ister neyi istemez bilir miyiz?

Şakird- Hayır efendim, bilemeyiz.

Muallim- İşte Cenab-ı Hak tarafından gelip bize onun isteyip istemediği şeyleri haber verene ne derler bilir misiniz?

(Şakird sükut eder)

Muallim- İşte ona peygamber derler oğlum.

Şakird- Hocaefendi peygamber nasıldır?

Muallim- Oğlum peygamber de bizim gibi bir insandır. O da yer içer. Oturur, gezer. Onun da ağzı, burnu, kulakları, gözleri, saç sakalı var. Yalnız Allah'ın pek sevgili bir kulu olduğu için Cenab-ı Hak ona: "Haydi git yarattığım insanlara, benim kullarıma benim isteyip istemediğim şeyleri haber ver" buyurmuş. Peygamber de gelmiş " İşte sizi yoktan var eden sizin için bu kadar güzel şeyler yaratan Allah şu şeyleri emrediyor; bunları yapınız. Şu şeyleri istemiyor; onları sakın yapmayınız" demiş. Anladınız mı? Şimdi oğlum 49 bizim peygamberimiz efendimiz kimdir bilir misiniz?

Şakird- Hazreti Muhammed.

Muallim- Aferin oğlum, bizim Peygamberimiz efendimiz de bizim gibi insan mıdır değil midir oğlum?

Şakird- Değildir efendim, peygamberdir.

Muallim- Evet oğlum peygamberdir; fakat o da bizim gibi insandır. Onu da kim yarattı, 50?

Şakird- Allah Teali yarattı.

Muallim- O da kimin kulu idi?

Şakird- Allah Teali'nin kulu idi.

Muallim- Aferin oğlum. Peygamberimiz efendimiz Cenab-ı Allah'ın en sevgili kuludur değil mi oğlum?

Şakird- Evet efendim.

Muallim- Ne kadar güzel huylar varsa hepsi peygamberimiz efendimizde vardı. Ömründe hiç kimseyi incitmedi. Kim kendisinden yardım isterse heman onun yardımına koştu. Peygamberimizden büyük insan var mı oğlum?

Şakird- Hayır efendim.

Talebeden biri (muallime hitaben)- Efendim peygamberimiz padişaktan da büyük mü?

Muallim- Evet oğlum peygamber padişaktan da büyüktür. Padişah da Allah'ın kulu değil mi?

Şakird- Evet efendim.

Muallim- Padişah da Allah'ın Peygamber'in emirlerini yapmaya mecbur mu değil mi (53)?

Şakird- O da mecburdur.

Muallim- Değil mi ya? Padişah da bizim gibi insan. Yalnız o bizden daha büyük, bizim başımız. Peki oğlum, şimdi Peygamberimiz efendimiz sağ mıdır?

Şakird- Hayır efendim. Sağ değildir.

Muallim- Evet, demince ne demiştin? O da bizim gibi insandır dememiş miydim? Bütün insanlar yaşar yaşar nihayet ...

Şakird- Efendim, ölür.

Muallim- Peygamberimiz efendimiz de dünyaya geldi. Allah Teali'nin ne emirleri varsa bize haber verdi. Sonra...

Şakird- Vefat etti.

Muallim- Acaba Peygamberimiz efendimiz vefat edeli çok oldu mu?

Talebe- (sükut eder)

Muallim- Evet oğlum, vefat edeli çok, pek çok oldu. Acaba Peygamberimiz efendimizden sonra başka peygamber geldi mi?

Şakird-Hayır efendim, işitmedim.

Muallim- Acaba başka peygamber gelmeyecek mi 33?

Şakird- (Sükut eder)

Muallim- Hayır oğlum! Artık başka peygamber gelmeyecek. Bizim Peygamberimiz Hazreti Muhammed'den evvel çok peygamberler gelmiş. Fakat Peygamberimiz efendimizden sonra artık peygamber yok. Onun için Peygamberimiz efendimize ne derler bilir misiniz? Hiç işittiniz mi? "ahir zaman peygamberi" demezler mi?

Talebe- Evet efendim, evet.

Muallim- İşte biz ahir zaman Peygamberi Hazreti Muhammed efendimize inandığımız için bize ne derler oğlum?

Şakird- İslam derler efendim.

Muallim- Bizim dinimiz ne dinidir?

Şakird- İslam dini.

Muallim- Peki oğlum 54! Size bir şey soracağım. Demincek dedim ki Peygamberimiz efendimiz Allah'ın emrettiği şeyler ile istemediği şeyleri bize bildirmek için gelmiş idi. Ya şimdi Allah'ın emrettiği şeyleri bize kim bildirecek. Biz şimdi nereden bilelim Cenab-ı Allah neyi emrediyor yani “Yapınız” diyor, neyi “yapmayınız” diyor?

Şakird- Efendim, Peygamberimiz yine gelecek.

Muallim- Oğlum Peygamberimiz efendimiz tekrar dünyaya gelmeyecek. Yalnız sağlığında Cenab-ı Hakk'ın bütün emirlerini bir kitaba yazdırmıştır. Şimdi biz o kitabı okuruz Cenab-ı Allah ne emretmiş ise ondan öğreniriz. O kitabın ismi nedir bilir misiniz? Hani ya hepimizin evlerinde vardır. Yüksek yerlere asarız. Her zaman hürmetle çıkarır, okuruz. Sonra öper başımıza koruz. Biraz sonra siz de onu okumaya başlayacaksınız. Şimdi hatırladınız mı?

-Evet efendim, evet. Ben biliyorum: Kur'an

Muallim- Aferin oğlum işte Cenab-ı Hakk'ın bütün “yapınız” diye emrettiği “yapmayınız” diye istemediği şeyleri hep Kur'an-ı Kerim'de mevcuttur. Mesela, yalan söylememek, babaya anaya hocaya itaat etmek, bir fakire para vermek, vatanını sevmek, okumak yazmak, adam olmak gibi ne kadar iyi şeyler varsa hepsi Kur'an'ı Kerim'de yazılıdır. Sonra vatanına hıyanet etmek, askerden kaçmak, okumayıp yazmayıp cahil kalmak, ananın babanın sözünü dinlememek, namaz kılmamak, oruç tutmamak gibi ne kadar fena şeyler varsa hepsi yine yazılıdır. Şimdi siz Cenab-ı Hak bize ne emretmiş bilmek istersiniz değil mi?

Şakird- Elbette efendim isteriz.

Muallim- İşte onları ileride hep birer birer söyleyeceğim oğlum. Gelecek derste size İslam'ın şartlarını söyleyeceğim. Yani İslam önceden neye inanmalıdırlar onu anlatacağım.

Talebe- Teşekkür ederiz efendim.

Ihsan, “Bizi Yaradan,” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Mecmuası* 1, no.1 p. 5-8

C. Mekatib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı (1913)

Tarih

Devre-i Ula Birinci Sene

Bu sınıfta müstakil bir tarih dersi gösterilmeyecek, fakat musahabatül ahlakiye ve medeniyenin bir kısmı, usul-u tedris talimatında gösterildiği vechiyle tarihi vaka ve fıkralara istinad ettirilecektir.

İkinci sene (haftada iki ders)

Bu sınıfta müselsil bir tarih dersi verilmeyecek, İslam, Türk ve Osmanlı tarihinin en büyük simalarından olup bazıları bir meşahir hakkında menkıbeler anlatılacaktır. Bundan başka mektebin bulunduğu mahallin vaktiyle İslam veya Osmanlılar tarafından esna-i fethinde yararlığı görülmüş veya şehid olmuş zevat ile o memlekette türbesi, cami, çeşme, medrese veya münasebeti olan meşahir-i İslamiye ve Osmaniyenin menkıbeleri anlatılacaktır. Hz. Ebubekir, Ömer, Ali, Hüseyin, Hasan, Hamza, Halit bin Velid, Ebu Eyyüp El Ensari, Sad bin ebi Vakkas, Ömer bin Abdülaziz, Tarık bin Ziyad, Harun Reşid, Memun, Selahattin Eyyubi, İmam-ı Azam, Ertuğrul Gazi, Sultan Osman, Süleyman Paşa, Hacı İlbeyi, Sultan Murat Hüdavendigar, Fatih Sultan Mehmed, İbni Kemal, Zenbilli Ali Efendi, Yavuz Sultan Selim, Barbaros Hayrettin, Turgut Reis, Sokullu Mehmet Paşa, Köprülü Mehmet Paşa, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa, Fazıl Mustafa Paşa, Kuyucu Murat Paşa, Alemdar Mustafa Paşa, Gazi Osman Paşa, Tiryaki Hasan Paşa, Kırım Muharebesi, Son Osmanlı Rus Seferi, 10 Temmuz, Trablus ve Balkan Muharabeleri.

Devre-i mutavassıta – 1. Sınıf- haftada iki saat

Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani

Kuruluştan Ertuğrul Gazi– Zıtvatoruk muahedenamesine kadar

İhtar: Muallim münasebet düştükçe yeniçeri hayatından , eski Osmanlı donanmasının muvaffakiyetlerinden, Eski Osmanlı hayatından mefahirinden, ananelerinden menkıbeler anlatacak, bilhassa devletin itila ve tedennisine tesir etmiş olan sebeplerden çocukların anlayacağı derecede bahs ederek onların nazar-ı dikkatini itila, tevakkıf, inhitat ve tedenni devirleri ve devirlerin ahvali üzerine celb eyleyecektir. Muallim talebesini mektepte bulunduğu şehir dahilindeki cami, medrese, çeşme, kervansaray gibi Osmanlı asar-ı memureyesini ziyarete götürerek gösterecek ve Dersaadet, Bursa, Edirne gibi şehirlerdeki Osmanlı asar-ı nefsiye-i memuresinin resimlerini göstererek sanatlarına, güzelliklerine, nazar-ı dikkatleri celb edecektir. Bundan başka eski Osmanlı silahları, kıyafetleri, çinileri, yazıları, ciltleri, kumaşları, kakma ve oyma işleri hasılı bilumum Osmanlı asar-ı nefsiye-i sanaiye, Osmanlı medeniyeti hakkında bir fikir vermeğe çalışacaktır. (Osmanlı asar-ı

nefisiyesinin mümkün ise asılları, olmadığı surette resimleri gösterilecek, bu vesaik çocukların defterlerine muhtasaren istinsah ettirilecek, yahut kağıt, mukavva, çamur gibi vasıtalarla taklitleri yaptırılacak, ve gazetelerde kitaplarda, tesadüf edilecek bu gibi resimler mümkünse kesilip bir hatıra gibi defterlerinde muhafaza ettirilecektir.) (p.29)

İkinci Sınıf

Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani (haftada iki saat)

(Sultan Osman Saniden başlayıp, 10 Temmuz, Trablusgarb ve Balkan Muharebesi ile bitiyor.)

Devre-i Aliye

Birinci Sınıf- Muhtasar Tarih-i Medeniyet (Haftada iki ders)

(Mısırlılar ve devamındaki kavimler ele alınıyor.)

Arabistan altında İslamların medeniyete hizmetleri, asar-ı mimariye, sanayi, ulum ve fûnun, usul u idare, uhuvvet-i İslamiye, Kurunu Vusta'da alem-i İslam ile alem-i Hıristiyanîyet arasında mukayese, medeniyet-i İslamiyenin ehemmiyeti ve Avrupa medeniyetine olan tesiri. (32)

İkinci sınıf- Muhtasar Kurun-u Cedide Tarihi (Haftada iki ders)

(Keşfiyat-ı cedide: Barutun icadı ile ve coğrafi keşiflerle başlıyor. Eş zamanlı olarak Medeniyet-i Osmaniye başlığı altında ortaçağda Osmanlıları anlatıyor. Rusya İngiltere ve Fransa'daki diğer siyasi ve fenni gelişmeler ele alındıktan sonra Avrupa'daki ihtilaller konusunu “Bizde Meşrutîyet İlanı” başlığı takip ediyor. On dokuzuncu asır keşifleri hakkında bilgi verdikten sonra, son olarak da “Avrupalıların Müstemlekat Siyaseti” başlığı ile bitiyor.) p. 35

Kuran-ı Kerim ve Malumat-ı Diniye

Devre-i Ula

Birinci Sınıf (Haftada dört ders)

Kuran-ı Kerim- Bu sınıfta Türkçe elifba bitirildikten sonra “amme” cüz-ü şerifine başlatılarak “...” sure-i celilesine kadar okutulacaktır.

Malumat-ı Diniye- Kelime-i Tevhid ve kelime-i Şehadet- Halık Teali- Beni Zışan- Kuran'ı Kerim- Abdest ve namaz- Oruç (Ramazan-ı şerif münasebetiyle) – Hac (Kurban bayramı münasebetiyle), Zekat.

İkinci Sınıf (Haftada dört ders)

Kuran-ı Kerim- Bu sınıfta “amme” cüzü şerifinin mabedine devam olunarak “tebareke” cüzü şerifinin nihayetine kadar okutulacaktır.

Malumat-ı Diniye- Abdest nasıl alınır? Namaz nasıl kılınır? Salavat hamse hakkında izahat- Namaz sureleri (Fatiha-i şerife, sure-i İhlas ve sure-i Kevser ezberletilecektir.) – Hac ve zekat- Nebiyy-i Muhterem (sallallahu aleyhivesellem) efendimizin basit seniyyeleri- Hicret-i Nebeviye- Gazve-i Bedir- Gazve-i Uhud- Hüccetül Veda- İrtihal-i Peygamberi- Hulefa-i Raşidinin menakıb-ı bergüzideleri.

Ihtar- Münasebet düşürülerek menakıb-ı seniyye-i ... olunacaktır.

Devre-i Mutavassıta

Birinci Sınıf (Haftada dört ders)

Kuran-ı Kerim- Bu sınıfta “kadsema” cüzü şerifine bida olunarak devam olunacaktır.

Malumat-ı Diniye: Abdestin farz ve sünnetleri (Muallim, şakirdana bilfiil abdest aldırarak talim edecektir.)- Namazın farz ve sünnetleri (Muallim talebeye bilfiil namaz kılmayı talim edecektir). Namaz ve abdesti bozan şeyler (çocuğun anlayacağı kadarı söylenecektir.) Namaz surelerinin ezberletilmesine devam olunacak, namaz duaları da ezberletilecektir.

İslam’ın şartları- Amentü billahın izahı- Namaz ve orucu kaza- İmam ve mukattinin ahkamı- Cuma ve bayram namazları- Gazavat-ı nebeviye- Ehl-i beyt-i nebeviye ve menakıb-ı seniyye-i nebeviye.

İkinci Sınıf (Haftada dört saat ders)

Kuran’ı Kerim- Bu sınıfta Kuran’ı Kerim’in tecvid ile kıraatine devam olunacak ve esna-i kıraatte ameli olarak bazı tecvid kavaidi öğretilenecektir.

Malumat-ı diniye: Abdest ve taharet hakkında izahat- Teyennüm- Mesh- Evkat-ı salat- Evkat-ı mekruha- Ezan ve ikamet- Şerait ve erkan-ı salat- Namazın farzları, vacibleri, sünnetleri, Namazı ifsad eden şeyler- Namazda mekruh olan efal- Cemaatla namazın ahkamı- İmam ve mükattinin ahkam- Cuma ve bayram namazları- Hutbe- Teravih Namazı- Salat-ı ...- Namaz-ı kaza- Secde-i sehvi icab eden ahval- Secde-i Tilavet- Cenaze namazı- Menakıb ve şemail seniyye-i nebeviye- Namaz surelerinin ezberletilmesine devam.

Devre-i Aliye

Birinci Sınıf (Haftada üç ders)

Kuran-ı Kerim- Bu sınıfta Kuran-ı Kerim’in tecvid ile kıraatine ve ameli olarak tecvid kavaidinin talimine devam edilecektir.

Malumat-ı Diniye: Oruç- Orucun farziyet ve ehemmiyeti- Oruç nasıl tutulur? Orucu bozan şeyler(Çocukların anlayacakları kadarı söylenecektir.) Keffaret siyam- Sadaka-i fitr- Oruç nasıl kaza olunur?

Zekat- Farziyet ve ehemmiyeti- Zekatın şıar-ı Zekat nukut- Koyun deve gibi hayvanat için verilecek zekat.

Hac- Haccın farziyeti ve ehemmiyeti- Ihram- Tavaif Kabe-i Muazzama

Say- Vukuf ve ahvali hac- Ziyaret-i Ravza-i Nebeviye

Enbiya-i Azam Hazeratından bazılarının siyer-i Nebeviyeleri (Kuran'ı Kerim'de hikaye buyrulduğu vecihle gösterilecektir.) Hazret-i Adem, Hazret-i İdris, Hazret-i Nuh, Hazret-i İbrahim, Hazret-i İsmail, Hazret-i İshak, Hazret-i Yakup, Hazret-i Yusuf, Hazret-i Musa, Hazret-i İsa (aleyhisselam ve ali beynelselati vesselam.)

İkinci Sınıf (Haftada Üç ders)

Kuran'ı Kerim- Bu sınıfta Kuran'ı Kerim'in tecvid ile kıraatine ameli olarak tecvid kavaidinin talim ve takviyesine itina olunacaktır.

Malumat-ı Diniye: Abdest, taharet, namaz, oruç, hac, zekat hakkında şimdiye kadar verilmiş olan malumatın hülaseten tekrarı- vechimesnun üzere taharet-i kübranın sureti icrası izah edilecektir. İman ve İslam- Erkan-ı iman- Cenab-ı Hakk'a iman- Cenab-ı Hakkın sıfat-ı sübutiyesi- sıfat-ı fiiliyesi- sıfat-ı selbiyesi (Çocukların anlayacağı bir tarzda izah olunacaktır.)- meleklere iman- kitaplara iman- enbiyaya iman- ahrete iman- kadere iman- İslam'ın binası- Ulviyet-i din-i İslam- Siyer-i Nebevi. Hulefa-i raşidin- Aşere-i mübeşşere- Ehl-i beyt-i rıdvan- muhacirin ve ensar- ehli beyt-i Nebevi- Eimme-i esni aşer- eimme-i erba- tabein- tebe-i tabiin.

Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye (Diniye, Tarihiye, Medeniye)

Devre-i ula

Birinci Sınıf (Haftada üç ders)

Anamızı babamızı sevmeliyiz. Kardeş ve hemşerilerimizi sevmeliyiz. Padişahımıza ve büyüklerimize itaat etmeliyiz- İhtiyar ve akrabalarımıza hürmet etmeliyiz- Arkadaşlarımızla kavga etmemeliyiz-Başkasına iftira atmamalıyız- Arsız çocuklarla oynamaktan ihtiraz etmeliyiz- Tehlikeli oyunlardan sakınmalıyız.

Vazifeye dikkat- Çalışkanlık- Tembel çocukları kimse sevmez- Çalışmak bir definedir- Çalışan kazanır- Arkadaşların defter ve kalemlerine dokunmamalı- Gayretli çocuk – Tembellik- Bugünün işini yarına bırakma- Muhtaçlara yardım etmeli- Obur olmamalı-Terli iken su içmemeli- Doğru olmalı- Başkasının malına dokunmamalı- İnsanlar birbirine lazımdır- Yolda bulunan şeyi sahibine iade etmeli.

Fukaraya yardım etmeli- Mağrur olmamalı- Müsrif olmamalı- Başkasının aleyhinde söz söylememeli- Kin, gazez bağlamamalı- İntikam- Çiçeklere, ağaçlara dokunmamalı- Hayvanlara kuşlara dokunmamalı- Birbirimize yardım etmeliyiz- Hayvanları, kuşları sevmeliyiz- Çiçekleri ağaçları sevmeliyiz- İyi hava almaya çalışmalıyız- Memleketimizi sevmeliyiz- Hemşehrilerimizi sevmeliyiz- Sancağımıza ecdadımıza riayet etmeliyiz- Az tamah çok ziyan verir- Emanete hıyanet – Doğruluk- Yalancılık- İktisad- Ticaret- Haset- Sarhoşluğun akıbeti- Sigara içmemeli- Temizlik- Haya- Geç olsun güç olmasın değil, güç olsun geç olmasın.

Bazı ahlaki manzume ve efsaneler: demir- Demircinin öğüdü- Karınca ile ağustos böceği- İki yolcu- Örümcek ile ipek böceği- Tavşan ile serçe- Teke ile tilki- Kuzu ile kurt- Tilki ile

leylek- Kurbağa ile ateş böceği- Karga ile tilki- İki keçi- Balıkçı- Tavşanla kaplumbağa. Bazı tarihi fıkralar- Memleketi için pek büyük fedakarlıklar etmiş adamların ve bilhassa çocukların sergüzeşleri.

İkinci sınıf (Haftada iki ders)

Ailenin nimetleri- Öksüzlüğün elim mahrumiyetleri- Bu nimetlere karşı borçlar, büyüklere hürmet, küçüklere hüsnü muamele ve şefkat- Cümleye muhabbet- Lalaların, dadı ve hizmetçilerin iyilik ve fenalıkları; Onlara karşı vazifeler.

Padişahımıza ve büyüklerimize itaat ve hürmet- Sıhhatin ehemmiyeti- Faaliyet- İlmin kadir ve kıymeti- Mektep- Derslere çalışmak- Vazifeye itina- Muallimlere hürmet ve itaat- Arkadaşlarla hüsnü muaşeret, icabında onlara muavenet.

Vatan toprağı ve ecnebi memleketleri- Vatanın nimetleri- Sancağa hürmet- Ecdadın yadigarları: camiler- Medreseler, Çeşmeler, Türbeler, Köprüler, İmaretler, Kervansaraylar, Mektepler, Yollar, Evimize, Tarlamıza, Çiftimize hürmet.

Vatana muhabbet- Vatana karşı fedakarlık- Askerlik: askerliğin şerefi, Vergi, Kanuna itaat.

Nezafet- Nezaket- İsrar ve tasarruf- Yalancılık- Doğruluk- Başkasının haysiyetine tecavüz etmemeli- Kusurlarını tashihe çalışmalı- Cesaret- Hiddet- Hayvanların insanlara hizmeti- onlara karşı zulumden tevki- İyilik ve fenalık- Vicdan istirahatı- Vicdan azabı

Devre-i Mutavassıta

Birinci Sınıf (Haftada iki ders)

Vazife-i diniye: Cenab-ı Hakk'a karşı vazife-i ubudiyet

Nefse karşı vazifeler: Muhafaza-i sıhhat- Temizlik- Giyinişte, yiyecek ve içecekte itidal- sadelik- İdman ve faaliyet- Tasarruf- Borçtan tevakkı- Haset- Tamahkarlık- Say ve gayret- Samimiyet- Doğruluk- Haysiyet-i şahsiye- Kusurlarını görüp tashihe çalışmak- Gurur- Tehlike ve felaket anlarında şecaat ve cesaret- Hiddet- Sabır- Fikr-i teşebbüs: Yerin üstü ve altı Cenab-ı Hakk'ın nimetleri ile doludur; Cenab-ı Hakkın en iyi kulları ve vatanın en faideli evladı, bu nimetlerden en çok istifade edenler- İtimad-ı nefis- Muntazam yaşamak- Vezâifde intizamperverlik- Hıfz-ı nefis- İstiklal-i şahsi.

Aileye karşı vazifeler: aile saadeti- Büyüklerin küçüklere karşı muhabbeti- Küçüklerin büyüklere karşı vazifeleri- Aile efradının menfaat ve haysiyette iştirakleri- Hizmetçilerle ev sahiplerinin vezaif-i mütekebelesi.

Vatana karşı vazifeler: Vatani sevmek, Vatana fedakarane hizmet etmek, Vatan uğrunda gayret etmek- Vergi vermek- Askerliğin şerefi- Çiftçi, Demirci, Gemici, Marangoz gibi sanat erbabına hürmet ve muhabbet- Ebnay-ı nevine karşı vazifeler- İnsanların yekdiğerine karşı olan ihtiyaçları, vazifeleri- teavün ve tenasür- ebnay-ı nevinin hayatına, hürriyetine, haysiyetine, ırzına, malına, itikadına hürmet- tahkir, zam, istihfaf, istihza, iktira ve serged gibi hareketlerin fenalığı- Mukavelelere ve verilen sözlere riayet- Ebnay-ı nevine şefkat ve muavenet- Fakirlere muhtaçlara, alillere, felaketzedelere merhamet- Fedakarlık- Adab-ı medeniyeye riayet. Hayvanlara karşı vazifeler: Hayvanlara hilm ve mülayemet- onlara

lüzumsuz eza vermekten tevakki- Çift ve binek ve çiftlik hayvanatına muhabbet ve onları sıyanet.

İkinci Sınıf (Haftada bir ders)

Malumat-ı medeniye ve vazife- Hükümetin hizmetleri: mahkemeler, jandarmalar, askerler, mektepler, yollar, belediyeler- Hükümetin masrafları- Vergiler- Vergiler borçtur. Vergisini vermeyen, yahut az yazdıran bir insan borcunu vermeyen yahut eksik gösteren bir insan gibidir. Yollar, herkesin malıdır- Yollara tecavüz edenlerin hırsızlardan hiç farkı yoktur. Ormanlara tecavüz etmemelidir- yolları çay yataklarını, çeşmeleri bozmamalıdır- umurun malı olan müessesata riayet etmelidir.

Hükümetin selahiyetleri: Kanunlar- Kanunları yapanlar- Mebusan, Ayan, intihabat: İntihabata iştirak borçtur. Hükümetlerin envai (muhtasaran), Hükümet-i müstebidenin mehaziri- Meşrutiyetin nimetleri- kanun: kanuna itaat- polis, jandarma, köy bekçilerinin ve bilumum memurini devletin evamirine itaat- Şahit olarak davet olunduğu yere gitmek bir borçtur. Hırsızlara, katil ve canilere yataklık etmemelidir.

Hükümet nasıl ihkak-ı hak eder? Hükümete nasıl şikayet olunur? Sulh mahkemeleri, hukuk ve ceza mahkemeleri- bidayet, istinaf ve temyiz (muhtasaran)

Belediyeler- Belediyelerin tenbihatına itaat- nezafet ve intizam belediyeye elbirliği ile hizmet- umumi mahallerden ve bahçelerden suret-i istifade. Askerlik, müddetleri, şerefleri.

Osmanlı vatani- Vatana hizmet, Sancağa hürmet- Vatana karşı fedakarlık.

Devre-i Aliye

Birinci Sınıf (Haftada bir ders)

Vicdan- Vicdan istirahati-Vicdan azabı

Vazife- vazifenin tarifi- vazifensin taksimi: vezaif-i nefsiye, vezaif-i beytiye, vezaif-i medeniye medeniye, vezaif-i insaniye, vezaif-i diniye.

Vezaif-i nefsiye: Hıfzısihha- Terbiye-i iradeye itaat- Tahsil-i ilim- Sebat ve metanet- Şecaat- riayet-i nefis- Tevazü ve vakar- Kibir ve gurur- say- İntizam- Tasarruf, iktisad- Sehavet- Borçtan tevakki- Fikr-i teşebbüs- Herkes mensub olduğu cemiyete ve hükümete bar olmamağa, Ziraat, Ticaret ve zanaat ile kendini geçindirmeye mecburdur.

Vezaif-i beytiye: Evladın ebeveynine karşı vezaifi- Ebeveynin evladına karşı vezaifi - Efrad- ı ailenin birbirine karşı vezaifi- İzdivaç: mahiyet ve ehemmiyeti.

Vazife-i medeniye: kanuna itaat- askerlik, İnzibat, Sancağa hürmet- Vatana fedakarlık- İntihab hakkını hüsnü istimal.

Vezaif-i insaniye: Hayat beşeriye taarruzdan masundur- Namus ve haysiyet-i beşeriye taarruzda masundur- Tahkir, İstihza, Zem- Başkasının din ve itikadına hürmet- Aherin mal ve mülküne tecavüz etmemek- Uhud ve ukuda riayet- İnsanlara karşı şefkat- Hayırhevahlık- Nezaket- Gureba-i müslümine ve ecanibe karşı muamele.

Vezaif-i diniye: Vezaif-i diniyenin ehemmiyeti. Münasebet düştükçe muallim geçen senelerin mebahisini tekrar ve teyid edecektir.)

İkinci sınıf (Haftada bir ders)

Hükümet, Hükümete olan ihtiyaç, Hükümetin vezaifi: asayiş ve adaletin temini, Harice karşı muhafaza-, Memleket- Muhtelif eşkali hükümet: hükümet-i mutlaka, Hükümet-i meşruta, Hükümet-i cumhuriye- Idare-i mutlakanın mehzazı- Meşrutiyetin mehzazı, Meşrutiyetin fevaidi- Meşrutiyetin mücahedeleri hakkında bir fıkı-i icmal.

Vatandaşlık hukuku: hürriyet-i şahsiye, Hürriyet-i kelim, Hürriyet-i içtima, Hürriyet-i iştirak.

Vatandaşlık vezaifi: Teavün ve tenasür- Vatanperverlik- Sancağa hürmet- Müessesat-ı diniye ve milliyeye hürmet- Ecdada, Milletin büyüklerine ve asar-ı ecdada hürmet- Kışla, mektep gibi müessesatı milliyeye hürmet- Askerlik- Vergi.

Kanun-i Esasi- Kuvve-i icraiye, Kuvve-i kanuniye, Kuvve-i adliye- Her birinin vezaifi hakkında malumat-ı mücmele.

Hakimiyet-i milliye: intihab- mebusan intihabı- Meclis-i mebusan ve ayan- Kanunlar nasıl yapılır?

Hükümet teşkilatı: karye, nahiye, liva, vilayet teşkilatı- devair-i merkeziye- her bir dairenin vezaifi hakkında bir fıkı-i icmal. Belediye teşkilatı- belediyelerin vezaifi- ahalinin belediyelere karşı vezaifi- belediye intihabatı.

Mahkemeler: sulh mahkemeleri- Şikayet- İstindak- Bidayet, İstinaf, Temyiz- Hukuk mahkemeleri- Mahkemeden davet vukuunda icabet mecburiyeti.

Polisler, jandarmalar, köy bekçileri, muhtarlar, imamlar, muallimler: vezaifi, ehemmiyeti.

D. A List of Translated Pedagogy Books Prepared by Ismail Hakkı Bey.

| مؤلف و یا مترجمی | ترجمه اسمی | فایلری |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| صالح ذکی بك | مبادی فلسفه علمیه و فلسفه اخلاقیه | ۵ |
| سليم سري و ضيا بكر | تربوي ژئناستیکلر و ژئناستیکلر | ۶ |
| علي علوي بك | اوپولری | ۴ |
| سامی بك | کوجوکلره چامور ایشلری نصل | ۷ |
| احمد شکری بك | یادریملی | ۱۰ |
| بهیره حق خام | فروبل و پستالوسی اصوللرئده تعلیم | ۱ |
| صالح ذکی بك | وتربیه درسلی | ۶ |
| سليم سري بك | ترکمه العبا | ۶ |
| علي رشاد بك | یچکی نظریات و قواء ی | ۶ |
| کمال بك | مبحث مقناطیسیت | ۶ |
| وحید بك | تربوي ژئناستیکلر اصولی | ۶ |
| نجم الدین صادق بك | تاریخ عمومی | ۱۸ |
| صالح ذکی بك | آنا مکتبلری حفظ الصحه سی | ۱۲ |
| | آبوللو: تاریخ عمومی صناعات | |
| | علم تربیه اطفال | |
| | چیر | |
| | علمک قیمتی | |
| | علم تربیه اطفال نقطه نظرندن آل | |
| | ایشلری | |
| | فیرق (سلطانی) | |
| نجم الدین صادق بك | چوچولرده ذکالک مقیاسی | ۳۰ |
| جودت بك | وساملره: وجود بشر و نسللری | ۴ |
| علاء الدین بك | عنائلی ارباب کمال و معارف | ۲۰ |
| کمال بك | چوچوق پنجه سی رهبری | ۲ |
| طاهر بك | قوزموغرافیا | ۱۲ |
| | حفظ الصحه | جلدی طبع اولندی |
| فائق بك | علم نباتات تطبیقات خرد پنجه سی | ۶ |
| صالح ذکی بك | وکیمیای تجربی نباتی | ۶ |
| دوقنور فخری پاشا | | ۴ |
| محمد نیازی بك | | ۳۰ |
| | | جلدی طبع اولندی |

| | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|
| ۷ | سراج الدین بك | نباتات |
| ۶ | مصلح الدین عادل بك | معلومات حقوقیه |
| ۱۰ | محمد علی بك | روحیات |
| ۶ | نقی الدین بك | كیمیا |
| | | عملی صنایع زراعیه درس لردن: |
| ۳ | احسان اونیک بك | پنبه و تره یاغچیلق |
| ۲۰ | " " | طاو و غیلق |
| ۲۰ | " " | ایکچیلک |
| ۲ | " " | آریغچیلق |
| ۲۰ | " " | اکمک و نساسته جیلق |
| ۲ | " " | کل یاغچیلق |
| ۸ | نجم الدین صادق بك | کوجو کله مخصوص رسم |
| ۱۰ | جودت بك | فیزیک (دارالمعلمین) |
| ۲۰ | حسین دانش بك | تعلیم لسان فارسی |
| | صالح ذکی بك | علم و اصول |
| ۲۰ | فائق صبری بك | جغرافیه ایلك آدم |
| ۱۰ | احسان شریف بك | تاریخچه ایلك آدم |
| ۶ | استیان عربیان افندی | اصول دفتری |
| | دوقنور فخری پاشا | اشیا درس لری امور بیتیه و طباحت |
| ۱۰ | نعیم بك | مبادی فلسفه دن : علم النفس |
| | اسحق افندی | حساب |
| | کمال بك | تشریح و فیزیولوژی حیوانی |
| ۵ | احسان اونیک افندی | زراعت درس لری : کوی مکتب لریه مخصوص |
| ۲ | نظیف بك | بطاریه ایله آتش |
| | سراج الدین بك | علم حیات نباتی |
| | فائق صبری بك | جغرافیا |
| | محمد علی بك | فن تربیه درس لری |
| | " " | معلومات دینیّه درس لری |
| ۷ | احسان اونیک افندی | زراعت درس لری : دارالمعلمین ابتدا ئیلرینه مخصوص |
| | کمال بك | علم حیات حیوانی |
| | مظهر حسنی بك | علم ارض |
| ۴ | حسنی حامد و شوکت بکدر | هندسه درس لری |
| | بخور اسرائیل افندی | تاریخ فلسفه |

E. İd-i Milli Üzerine Ders: 10 Temmuz

Muallim: Mektebe gelirken dikkat ettiniz mi bakayım? Herkes evinin önünü donatıyor mu?

Şakirt: Evet efendim, herkes donatıyor, biz de donattık efendim.

Muallim: Nasıl donattınız bakiyim?

Şakirt: Efendim iki büyük bayrak astık. Fenerleri de hazırladık. Bey babam mum aldı. Cumartesi akşamı yakacağız. Sonra ağabeyim de bana allı yeşilli kibrit alacak. Kardaşım ile beraber o gece yakacak, eğleneceğiz.

Muallim: Komşularınız da sizin gibi donatıyor mu oğlum?

Şakirt: Evet, efendim herkes evini donatıyor, bayrak asıyor.

Muallim: Daha başka yerler de donanmıyor mu oğlum?

Şakirt: Çarşıdan geçerken gördüm bayraklar asılmış. Çok güzel donatmışlar.

Muallim: Siz nereyi gördünüz bakiyim?

Şakirt: Efendim serasker kapısının önünü de donatmışlar. Şöyle yüksek direkler dikmişler, üzerine çiviler çakmışlar. Oralara hep fener asacaklar. Sy. 223.

....

Muallim: Şimdi acaba niçin böyle Temmuz ayı oldu mu herkes seviniyor. Bayram ediyor. Donatma yapıyor. Bakınız geçen sene de öyle oldu bu sene de öyle olacak. Gelecek sene de 10 Temmuz geldi mi yine öyle olacak. Acaba niçin biliyor musunuz? Bakınız size anlatacağım. Şimdiki padişahımız efendimizin adını biliyor musunuz bakiyim?

Şakirt: Evet efendim, Beşinci Sultan Mehmet.

Muallim: Peki oğlum bu padişaktan evvel bizim padişahımız kimdi?

Şakirt: Efendim, şimdiki padişahımızdan evvel Abdülhamit'ti.

Muallim: Size birçok defalar söyledim, Abdülhamit nasıl bir padişah idi?

Şakirt: Fena bir padişah idi efendim. Zalim bir padişahı.

Muallim: Abdülhamit niçin fena idi bakiyim?

Şakirt: Efendim vatanını sevmezdi. Askerlere bakmazdı. Onlara iyi elbise giydirmezdi. Muharebe için çok top tüfenk almazdı.

Muallim: Abdülhamit top tüfenk almayınca, askere iyi bakmayınca biz de ne olurduk?

Şakirt: Zayıf olurduk, düşmanlarımız da bizden memleketlerimizi alırdı.

Muallim: Demek Abdülhamit memleketlerimizi düşmana veriyordu. İyi mi yapıyordu?

Şakirt: Hayır efendim, pek fena yapıyordu. O memleketler bize babalarımızdan, dedelerimizden yadigar kalmış. Dedelerimiz çalışmışlar, uğraşmışlar, o kadar kan dökmüşler bu yerleri bize bırakmışlar. Abdülhamit bu yerleri kolay kolay düşmanlara verdi. (224)

(Diğer bir şakirt atılarak): Dedelerimiz ona lanet okuyacaklar. “Ne hayırsız adammış, bizim o kadar kan dökerek aldığımız yerleri hep düşmanlara verdi” diyeceklerdir.

Muallim: Demek Abdülhamit vatan hainiydi değil mi? Sonra bizden, milletten aldığı paralarla...

Şakirt: Top tüfenk alacağına askere bakacağına gider o paraları kendi paşalarına verir, kendi boğazına sarf ederdi.

Muallim: Evet oğlum milletin zavallı köylülerin elinde ne kadar para varsa hep kamçı ile dayak ile onların elinden alır sonra dediğiniz gibi o paralarla iyi şeyler alacağına bir takım murdar heriflere avuç dolusu paralar verirdi. Ne yapsa hiçkimse sesini çıkaramazdı. Çünkü Abdülhamit birçok heriflere para verir “gidiniz kahvelerde, evlerde, çarşılarda herkes konuşurken kulak veriniz. Benim yaptığım işleri beğenmeyen olursa heman yazınız, bana haber veriniz” derdi. O herifler de giderler kim Abdülhamit için “ne fena padişah” derse yahut “bak düşmanlar nasıl bizim memleketlerimizi alıyor” derse heman yakalarlar, Abdülhamide haber verirlerdi. Abdülhamit de o biçareleri ya öldürür, ya anasından babasından ayırır, uzak yerlere sürgün eder, gönderirdi. İşte herkes böyle gizlice gidip Abdülhamite haber veren, o biçarelerin evini yıkan heriflere ne derler bilir misiniz?

Şakirt: Evet, evet efendim onlara “hafiye” derler. Hafiyeler pek fena adamlardır efendim. Mesela sizinle gelirler düşman gibi konuşurlar. Sonra ağzınızı ararlar. Abdülhamit için sizi böyle faka düşürdükten sonra giderler sizi haber verirler. Ben olsam bana “git benim için söylüyorlarsa bana haber getir” dese bunun için para da verse parasını yüzüne çarpardım. Yazık değil mi o adamlara... Abdülhamit “fenadır” diyorlarsa pekala söylüyorlar.. yalan mıydı ya? Pek fena bir adamdı.

...

Muallim- Bilmez olur mu oğlum? Fakat onun milleti düşündüğü var mı? O yalnız “ben iyi yaşayayım, ben rahat edeyim, beni tahttan indirmesinler de ne yaparlarsa

yapsınlar. İsterse bütün milletin elindekileri alsınlar” derdi. Böyle şeyler umrunda değildi. Yalnız kendi nefsinı düşünürdü.

Şakird: Demek karınca gibi hodgamdı...

Muallim: Evet oğlum hodgamdı. Yalnız kendi nefsinı düşünürdü. Abdülhamid millet şöyle dursun, akrabasını, kardaşlarını bile düşünmez onlara bile eziyet eder incitirdi. İşte şimdiki padişahımız efendimiz onun kardaşı değil mi? Halbuki Abdülhamit ona bile eziyet ederdi. Padişahımız, “kardaşımdır, benim büyüğümdür” diye ona hürmet ettiği halde Abdülhamit kendisini otuz sene evinde hapsetti. Dışarı çıkarmaz, kimse ile görüşdürmezdi. Ayda bir dışarı çıksa bile arkasına yirmi otuz hafiye gönderir nereye gidiyor, kime selam veriyor bilmek öğrenmek isterdi. O vakit padişahımız bir yere çıktığı zaman ona selam vermek hatta yüzüne bakmak en büyük kabahat idi.

Şakird: Niçin Efendim?

Muallim: Abdülhamit ahali benim kardaşıma selam veriyorsa, onu benden çok severlerse beni tahttan indirirler, onu oturturlarsa diye korkar, kimsenin ona selam vermesine razı olmazdı. Allah esirgesin birisi bilmeden şimdiki padişahımız o vakit selam verdi mi hafiyeler onu yakaladıkları gibi Abdülhamit’in yanına götürürlerdi. O da hemen biçareyi sürgüne gönderirdi. Hasılı böyle çocuklarım, Abdülhamit’in zamanında rahat yoktu. ...

Muallim- Köylerdeki şehirlerdeki ahali dağa çıkan zabitlerle arkadaşlarının gönderdikleir mektupları okudular. Maksatlarını anladılar, kendi kendilerine “şu adamların dedikleri pek doğru. Bunlar pek güzel şeyler istiyorlar. Dedikleri olursa hem biz artık Abdülhamit’in fenalıklarından kurtuluruz hem de vatanımız ileri gider” dediler bunun için o kahramanlarla bir oldular. Derken Abdülhamit bunları haber aldı.

Talebe (Telaş ile): Şimdi bakalım ne yapacak?

Muallim(Devam ile) Abdülhamit bunları haber aldı dehşetli surette kızdı. “ Vay, benim işime karışıyorlar ha! Ben onlara gösteririm!” dedi ve hemen o anda birçok hafiyeleri çağırttı. Rumeli’ye gönderdi ve onlara “gidiniz benim işime karışan zabitleri ahaliyi hep tutunuz getiriniz de onları birer birer asayım!” diye tenbih etti. Hafiyeler gittiler Rumeli’ye dağıldılar. Sonra Abdülhamit’in Rumeli’de pek sevgili bir paşası vardı. Abdülhamid ona da bir telgraf gönderdi “ bir takım herifler dağa çıkmışlar ahaliyi kışkırtıyorlarmış. Benim işime karışmak istiyorlarmış. Göreyim seni bunları birer birer tut istediğin gibi kurşuna diz öldür. Sana istediğin kadar para...”

(Talebeden biri): O paşa şimdi Abdülhamit’in parasını yüzüne çarpmalı kabul etmemeliydi. Abdülhamit’e “fenalık etme! Zulüm etme! Vatanımızı düşmana verme!” demek bir kabahat mi ki onları kurşuna dizsinler öldürsünler.. Ben olsam

Abdülhamit’e: “ bir kılıç ver de gideyim onları öldüreyim” derdim sonra kılıcı aldığım gibi Abdülhamit’in kafasına indirirdim.

Muallim: Aferin oğlum. Fakat Abdülhamit’in sevgili paşası öyle yapmadı. Telgrafhaneye gitti. Abdülhamit’e “ Padişahım madem ki bana izin verdin şimdi gider senin işine karışan herifleri birer birer öldürürüm” diye bir telgraf gönderdi. Sonra telgrafhaneden çıktı. Fakat bilir misiniz? Kapının önünde Abdülhamit’in fenalıklarını ortadan kaldırmak isteyen kahramanlardan biri bekliyordu. O zalim paşayı görünce hemen cebinden lovlorunu çıkardı paşanın kafasına sıktı.

Talebe (sevinçle): Yaşasın arslan! ...Abdülhamit gelsin de adamlarının ne olduğunu görsün.

Muallim: Böyle cezasını gören yalnız o paşa değildi. Abdülhamit’in Rumeliye gönderdiği hafiyeleri de birer birer tuttular öldürmeye başladılar. Böyle başkasına eziyet edenler hep birer birer cezalarını buldular.

Talebe: Oh olsun!

Muallim: O vakit Abdülhamit işinin fenalaşacağını anlamaya başladı. Ahali artık hep bir olmuş dediklerini zorla Abdülhamit’e yaptırmak istiyorlardı. “ ya dediğimiz olur, şu fenalıklar ortadan kalkar, vatanımız kurtulur, yüzümüz güler; yahut hepimiz ölürüz” diyorlardı. Nihayet bütün ahali bir oldu. Abdülhamit’e bir telgraf gönderdiler. “Etrafındaki herifler fena adamlardır. Seni kandırıyorlar. Millete fenalık yaptırıyorlar. Vatanımız zayıflıyor. Elden gidiyor. Bu herifleri yanınızdan uzaklaştır. Meclis-i Mebusanı aç, adaletle padişahlık et”, dediler. Abdülhamit telgrafi aldı dehşetli surette kızdı. Fakat ne yapacağını bilmiyordu. Ahali hep bir olmuşlar dediklerini zorla yaptırmak istiyorlardı. Kendi hafiyelerini, Rumeli’ye gönderdiği paşalarını da böyle öldürüyorlardı. Fakat yanındaki herifleri kovmak, Meclis-i Mebusanı açmak, adaletle padişahlık etmek de Abdülhamit’in işine gelmiyordu. Vakit geçiyor, Abdülhamit bir cevap veremiyordu. Nihayet ahali bir telgraf daha gönderdi. “dediklerimiz olsun yoksa hep birlikte bu kadar bin kişi İstanbul’a doğru geliyoruz” dediler. Ve artık Abdülhamit’in karşı davranamayacağını bildiklerinden toplar atarak şenlikler yapmaya başladılar. Abdülhamit artık iş işten geçtiğini anladı. Ne yapsa faidesi olamazdı. Onun için çaresiz ahali ne dediyse yapmaya mecbur oldu. “Aman beni tahttan indirmeyin de ne isterseniz yaparım” dedi.

Talebe: Ha şöyle!!....

Muallim: İşte yavrularım, ahalinin böyle hep bir olarak zorla Abdülhamit’i fenalıklardan vaz geçirdikleri gün iki sene evvel yine temmuz ayının onuncu günü idi. Demek her sene temmuzun onu oldu mu hep o gün hatırıma gelir....artık bizden alınan para bir takım hırsız heriflerin eline geçmiyor. Onunla mükemmel toplar tüfenkler zırhlılar alınıyor. Artık düşmanlar kolay kolay memleketimizi alamaz.

...

Muallim: İşte yavrularım böylece Abdülhamit de ona uyan herifler de cezalarını buldu. Bugün hamdolsun, başımızda adaletli, sevgili bir padişahımız var. Bizi evladı gibi sever. Çalışmamızı ilerlememizi ister. Artık korkulu günler geçti. Sevinç günleri, çalışma, kazanma, ilerleme günleri geldi. (230)

İhsan. “İd-i Milli Üzerine Ders, On Temmuz.” *Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye (Ders Numuneleri Kısmı)*, 1 (6): 223-230.

F. A Document of the Censorship on Textbooks

| Name of the book | Author | Grade | Publisher | Comments |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Türkçe Kıraat | Ahmet Cevad bey | Devre-i mutavassıta ikinci sene | Kütüphane-i İslam ve askeri | The lines about the English, French and Italians under the title of “Our Old and New Enemies” in page 45. The inappropriate lines in pages 117 and 122 The poem titled “Ah Rumeli” in page 60 |
| “ | “ | Birinci sene | Kütüphane-i İslam ve Askeri | The inappropriate lines in page 123 |
| Anadili | Nüzhet Sabit bey | Devre-i aliye birinci sene | Kanaat kütüphanesi | The passage about Italians in page 106 |
| “ | “ | İkinci sene | “ | The letter in page 6 |
| Turanın kitabı | Köprülüzade Fuat Efendi | Devre-i mutavassıta birinci sene | Kanaat kütüphanesi | The lines containing the expression “Against the enemies in the Entente” |
| Türk dilinin sarf ve nahvi | “ | İkinci kısım | Tefeyyüz | The incitement in page |
| “ | “ | 4. kısım | “ | The exercises in page 94 and 103 |

G. Approved Textbooks for the *Rushdiye* Schools in 1917 (1333)

| Esame-i Kütüp ve Resail | Esami-i Müellif | Merkez ... | Forması | Fiyatı | Okunduğu seneler | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|---------|--------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| Kuran-ı Kerim | | | | | | |
| Birinci ilmihal | | Matbaa-i Amire | 1 | 10 | 1,2,3 | |
| Muhtasar Osmanlı sarfı | Necip Asım Bey | Karabet Kütüphanesi | 10 | 10,1 | 1 | |
| Kıraat Kısım 1 | Reşad ve İbrahim beyler | Karabet Kütüphanesi | 5,6 | 1 | 1 | |
| Edip Kısım 1 | Ahmed Hilmi Bey | Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi | 13 | 3 | 1 | Bu iki kitaptan biri okutulacak |
| Edip Kısım 2 | “” | “” | 13 | 3 | 1 | |
| Emsile-i Cedide | | Darüşşafaka | 2 | 20 | 2 | |
| İlaveli bina | Mehmet Ata efendi | Karabet kütüphanesi | | 10 | 1 | |
| Edip Kısım 3 | Hamit Hilmi | Tefeyyüz K. | 8,5 | 2 | 1 | |
| Dürus-u Eşya | Satı Bey | Kütüphane-i İslam Askeri | 11,25 | 4 | 1,2,3 | |
| Hesap Ameli Kısım 1 | Celal Bey | “” | 8, 25 | 10,1 | 1 | |
| “” ikinci kitap | “” | “” | 9.25 | 20.1 | 3 | |
| “” üçüncü kitap | “” | “” | 5 | 1 | 3 | |
| Tarih-i İslam | Ali Reşad ve Ali Seydi beyler | Kanaat kütüphanesi | 9 | 2 | 1 | |
| Tarih-i Osmani | “” | “” | 9 | 2 | 2 | |
| Tarih-i Umumi | “” | “” | 13 | 20.3 | 3 | |
| Kıraat sene 3 | Reşad ve İbrahim beyler | Karabet k. | 10, 5 | 20.1 | 3 | |

H. The List of the Books Withdrawn from Circulation upon the Certificates of the Inspectors of the Education Ministry- 1908 (1324)

| Kuruş | Aded | Esami-i eser | Fiyat | Tarih | |
|-------|------|-------------------------------|-------|------------------------|--|
| 9000 | 750 | Tarih-i Umumi Birinci Cild | 12 | 2 Mayıs 1316 | Müfettiş Ahmed Efendi ilmühaberi ile |
| 21348 | 1779 | “” | 12 | 19 Kanun-i Evvel 1316 | “” |
| 4320 | 360 | “” | 12 | 15 Şubat 1311 | Encümen-i Maarif haberi ile |
| 320 | 64 | Akıldan Bila | 5 | 2 Mart 1314 | Müfettiş Rıza Beyin ilmü haberi |
| 1944 | 162 | Tarih-i umumi 2.cild | 12 | 2 Mart 1314 | “” |
| 1440 | 120 | Muhtasar tarih-i umumi | 12 | 2 Mart 1314 | “” |
| 10 | 1 | ??? | 10 | 21 Teşrini sani | Müfettiş Feyzi efendinin ilmühaberi |
| 20 | 1 | Karanip kızı | 20 | 21 Teşrini sani..... | “” |
| 20 | 4 | Le Former | 5 | 24 Kanunu evvek 1310 | Müfettiş Mikail Efendinin ilmü haberi. |
| 24020 | 2830 | Tarih-i umumi | 12 | 1 Teşrin-i sani 1310 | Müfettiş Raşid efendinin ilmü haberi |
| 192 | 14 | Ölü | 2 | 8 Teşrin-i sani 1310 | Müfettiş Mahmud Fethi efendinin ilmühaberi |
| 72 | 18 | Bir sefilenin hasbihali | 4 | “” | “” |
| 56 | 14 | Sahara | 4 | “” | “” |
| 32 | 8 | Bir sefilenin hasbihali | 4 | 10 Teşrin-i evvel 1310 | Müfettiş Raşid Efendinin ilmühaberi |
| 288 | 24 | Muhtasar Tarih-i Umumi | 12 | 2 mart 1314 | Rıza Efendi |
| 100 | 10 | Meclis-i Nisvan | 10 | “” | “” |
| 795 | 52 | Memalik-i Osmaniye Coğrafyası | 15 | “” | “” |
| 660 | 122 | Akıldan bila | 5 | Kanun-u Sani 1312 | Osman Efendi |
| 7340 | 367 | Musahabat-ı Cedide | 20 | 20 Ağustos 1316 | “” |
| 765 | 153 | Fezleke-i Tarih-i Osmani | 5 | “” | “” |
| 220 | 11 | Haber-i Sahih | 20 | “” | “” |

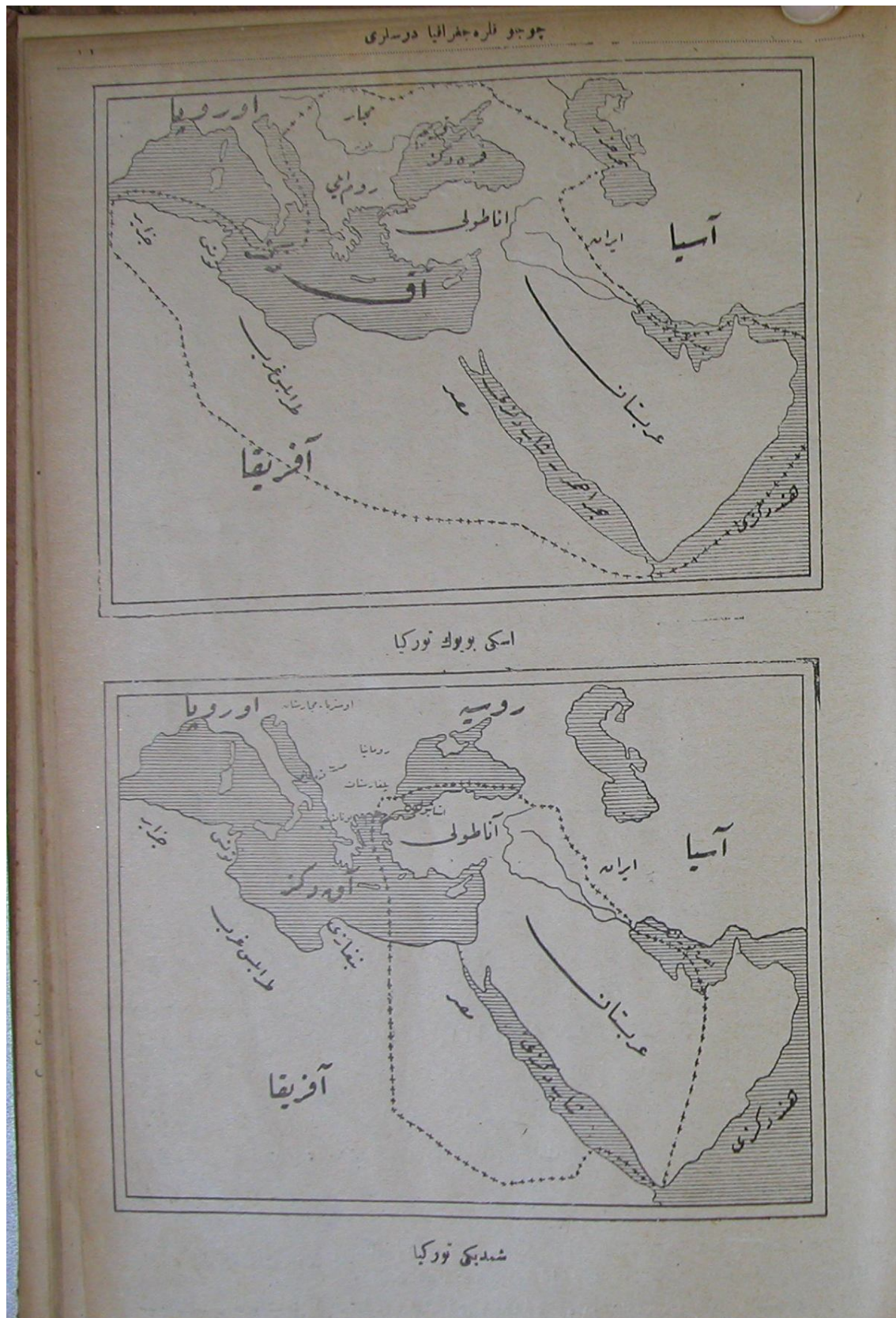
| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---------------------|----|----|--------------|
| 75 | 15 | Berlin Muahedesi | 5 | “” | Ahmed Efendi |
| 100 | 5 | Macera-i Osman | 20 | “” | “” |
| 375 | 125 | Bunlar Odur | 2 | “” | “” |
| 100 | 10 | Fezleke-i Ahlak | 10 | “” | “” |
| 875 | 175 | ...Refet Paşa | 5 | “” | “” |
| | | | | | 84492 toplam |

J. Darülmuaalliminlere Mahsus Evkatname

| | |
|--------|---|
| 08: 00 | Birinci Ders |
| 09: 00 | Ders Fasılası |
| 09: 15 | İkinci Ders |
| 10: 10 | Ders Fasılası |
| 10: 20 | Üçüncü Ders |
| 11: 20 | Yemek, Öğle Namazı, Teneffüs |
| 12: 50 | Dördüncü Ders |
| 1: 50 | Terbiye-i bedeniye, Spor oyunları, Resim, El işleri, Gına ve Musiki, Ziraat ameliyatı, Dördüncü senenin beşinci dersi, namaz |
| 06: 00 | Mütalaa |
| 07: 00 | Yemek ve namaz |
| 08: 00 | Mütalaa |
| 10: 10 | Teneffüs ve namaz |
| 10: 30 | Yatmak |
| 06: 30 | Uyanmak, namaz, kahvaltı |
| 07: 00 | Mütalaa ve yoklama |
| 08: 00 | Birinci Ders |

Darülmuaallimin İptidailere Mahsus Müfredat Programı. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire.
1330, p.141

K. Geography of Old Bigger Turkiya and Today's Turkiya



- L. An illustration of the conflict between the Church and modern schools in the 20th century in İbrahim Alaaddin, *Bedii Terbiye* (İstanbul: Resimli Gazete, 1341).



