## Pupils' Instruction at the Rüshdiyyes in the Region of the Danube Vilayet during the 60s and 70s of Nineteenth Century

On Dokuzuncu Yüzyılın 60'lı 70'li Yıllarında Tuna Vilayeti Bölgesindeki Rüştiyelerdeki Çocukların Eğitimi

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## Abstract

The reform process of 1840s - 1870s, the Tanzimat, was stamped by the close collaboration between the Ottoman Empire and France. So the structure and the actual tasks of many state and educational institutions were modeled on French patterns. Some reform endeavors were initiated on the very eve of the Tanzimat. One of them was the proposal to launch a school referred as *riishdiyye*. At the beginning of 1839 the *riishdiyye* schools were designed to provide the pupils with basic skills necessary for the successful training at the vocational schools. During the period of reforms the educational goals of the *riishdiyyes* gradually matched up these of the French "superior primary schools" including the accomplishment of reading and writing skills, the acquirement of common practical knowledge about the world. The lessons in religion had to inspire the children with deep devotion and high responsibility to their country and the sultan. Seeking to carry out those aims the Ottoman government established a widespread network of *riishdiyyes*.

While highlighting the general features of the *rushdiyye's* curriculum the present paper focuses on the actual knowledge which the boys in the Danube region acquired at these schools. It is based on newspaper notes and Ottoman documents hold at the Oriental Department by the "St. Cyril and Methodius" National Library in Sofia.

The inquiry into the actual instruction at the *riishdiyyes* of the Danube vilayet evinces that the implementation of their educational purposes was impeded by couple of reasons: the irregular supply of textbooks, the short time for the mastering of all subjects, the insufficient schooling of the pupils who had been enrolled at the *riishdiyyes*, the inadequate training or

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the poor self-discipline of several teachers, the promptly settling of the appointment formalities and the unfriendly behavior to the students.

Keywords: Rüshdiyyes, curriculum, Danube vilayet, 1860s-1870s.

## Özet

1840-1870 arasındaki reform sürecine, Tanzimat'a, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Fransa arasındaki yakın işbirliği damgasını vurmuştur. Bu yüzden birçok devlet ve eğitim kurumunun yapı ve asli görevleri Fransız örneklerine göre biçimlendirildi. Bazı reform çabaları Tanzimat'ın hemen öncesinde başlatılmıştıı. Bunlardan birisi rüşdiye olarak adlandırılan bir okul açmak önerisiydi. 1839'un başlarında Rüştiye'ler mesleki okullarda başarılı bir eğitim için gerekli temel becerilere sahip öğrenci ihtiyacını karşılamak üzere tasarlandı. Reformlar süresince rüşdiyelerin eğitim amaçları tedricen dünya hakkında genel pratik bilgiler kazanımı, okuma ve yazma becerilerinin edinimi dahil olmak üzere Fransız "Ortaöğretim Okulları" ile uyumlu hale geldi. Din dersleri çocukların kendi ülkelerine ve padişaha karşı yüksek sorumluluk ve derin bağlılık kazanmalarına ilham kaynağı oluyordu. Bu amaçları gerçekleştirmek isteyen Osmanlı Hükümeti yaygın bir rüşdiye ağı kurdu.

Bu makale, *rüşdiyelerin* müfredatının genel özelliklerine vurgu yaparak Tuna bölgesinde çocukların bu okullarda edindikleri gerçek bilgiye odaklanmaktadır ve Sofya'da St. Cyril ve Methodius Milli Kütüphanesi Şarkiyat Bölümü'nde muhafaza edilen Osmanlı belgeleri ve gazete notlarına dayalı olarak hazırlanmıştır.

Araştırma, Tuna Vilayetindeki *rüşdiyeler*deki asıl öğretimin, eğitim amaçlarının uygulanmasının birkaç nedenden dolayı engellendiğini açığa çıkarmıştır: Ders kitaplarının sağlanmasının düzensiz oluşu, bütün ana parçalar için kısa zamanın oluşu, *rüşdiyeler*deki kayıt yaptıran öğrencilerin eğitim için yetersiz oluşu, Birçok öğretmenin eğitim ve disiplin bakımından yetersizliği, öğrencilere karşı dostça olmayan davranışların ve atama formalitelerinin acilen giderilmesi.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Rüşdiyeler, Müfredat, Tuna Vilayeti, 1860'lar-1870'ler.

The decades between the Sultan Selim III's succession to the throne and the promulgation of the first Ottoman constitution in 1876 were marked by significant efforts to modernize the Ottoman Empire. This long transition from a traditional Islamic empire to a welfare state could be divided into two periods, which were formally delimited by the issuance of the *Hatt-i sherif of Gülhane*. While the close collaboration between the Ottoman Empire and France stamped the reform process of 1840s - 1870s, the Tanzimat, the structure and

the actual tasks of many state and educational institutions were modeled on French patterns.

Several reform endeavors were initiated on the eve of the Tanzimat. One of them was the proposal to launch a school referred as *r\vec{u}shdiyye*. At the beginning of 1839 the *r\vec{u}shdiyye* schools were designed to provide the pupils with basic skills necessary for the successful training at the vocational schools, which already had been opened at the very end of 18th century or in the 20s - 30s of 19th century. So their educational purpose was comparable to the mission of the *dersiyye* which served to prepare students for the specialized instruction at the *medrese*.

During the period of reforms the educational goals of the *riishdiyyes* gradually matched up these of the French "superior primary schools" including the accomplishment of reading and writing skills, the acquirement of common practical knowledge about the world. The lessons in religion had to inspire the children with deep devotion and high responsibility to their country and the sultan. Seeking to carry out those comprehensive aims the Ottoman government established a widespread network of *riishdiyyes*. In 1876 they numbered 365 schools¹.

While highlighting the general features of the *rushdiyye's* curriculum the present paper focuses on the actual knowledge which the boys in the Danube region acquired at these schools.

Some researchers maintain the opinion that the *rüshdiyyes* were "secular", "higher" or "new" schools whereas the lessons in Arabic, Persian and religion occurred to be a significant concession to the *ulema* and imposed traditional religious values on the students. The study of these three subjects implied on the students such old-fashioned knowledge which was inadequate for the challenges of the 19th century when all pupils in Europe learnt to deal with the mystery of the nature, to analyze and to confront creatively the various issues<sup>2</sup>.

The survey of the nineteenth-century European attitude to the education reveals that these evaluations aren't correct. Contrary to the Positivistic premises, the official educational policy in Europe didn't aim to train creative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> M. Cevat, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihce-i Teşkilat ve Icraatı-XIX Asır Osmanlı Maarif Tarihi, haz.: T. Kayaoğlu, Ankara, 2001, s. 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> C. V. Findley, Ottoman Civil Officialdom. A Social History, Princeton, 1989, 132-133; S. Shaw, E. Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1987, p. 106; J. Szyliowicz, "The Ottoman Educational Legacy: Myth or Reality", Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East, ed.: L. C. Brown, New York, 1996, 285-287.

and independent personalities. These requirements were not applied to the public education until the Second World War.

The inquiry into the actual instruction at the *riishdiyyes* of the Danube vilayet evinces that the implementation of their educational purposes was impeded by couple of reasons: the irregular supply of textbooks, the short time for the mastering of all subjects, the insufficient schooling of the pupils who had been enrolled at the *riishdiyyes*, the inadequate training or the poor self-discipline of several teachers, the promptly settling of the appointment formalities and the unfriendly behavior to the students.

Proving my suggestion on the basis of primary sources I would like to sketch out the origin of the *riishdiyye* school, the progressively adjustment of its curriculum to the current needs and the actual effectuation of this syllabus in the region of the Danube vilayet.

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Throughout 15th-19th centuries the Muslims received education at *mektebs*, *dersiyyes* and *medreses*<sup>3</sup>. The primary schools were important agents for socializing pupils into Islamic faith and its way of life whereas the lessons in reading and writing weren't compulsory<sup>4</sup>. At the *dersiyye* students were instructed in Arabic grammar and syntax, stylistics, logic and calligraphy. Also, they memorized a pile of religious treatises. These lessons could be defined as the core of the curriculum. At some *dersiyyes* the teachers held classes in Persian, mathematics and occasionally in astronomy. These three subjects could be considered as complementary. The key mission of the *dersiyye* schools was to prepare the students for the religious education at the *medrese*.

Three of the *dersiyye's* core subjects-religion, Arabic and calligraphy, constituted the introductory course of the Military, Medical and Administrative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> M. Dobreva, "Osnovni văzgledi na osmanskiya upravlyavast elit za obuchenieto po religiya v myusyulmanskite nachalni uchilista prez perioda na Tanzimata", Etnicheski i kulturni prostranstva na Balkanite. Shornik v chest na prof. Tzvetana Georgieva, chast 1: Minalo i istoricheski rakursi, săst.: S. Ivanova, Sofia, 2008, 617-618 ["Major Views of the Ottoman Ruling Elite on Education in Religion in the Primary Muslim Schools during the Tanzimat", Ethnic and Cultural Spaces in the Balkans. Contribution in Honour of prof. dsc Tsvetana Georgieva. Part 1: Historical Outlines, ed. S. Ivanova, Sofia, 2008, 617-618].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M. Dobreva "Reformite v uchebnata programa na myusyulmanskite nachalni uchilista (mektebi) ot 50-te–70-te godini na XIX vek spored izvori za Severna Bălgariya", Istoriyata i knigite kato priyatelskvo, săst.: N. Danova, S. Ivanova, H. Temelski, Sofia, 2007, 398 ["Reforms in the Curriculum of the Primary Muslim Schools (Mekatib) in North Bulgaria during the 50s–70s of 19<sup>th</sup> Century", *History, Books and Friendship*, ed. N. Danova, Sv. Ivanova, H. Temelski, Sofia, 2007, p. 398].

schools<sup>5</sup>. Depending on the specific profiles of these vocational schools the military drilling or the clerical practice were supplemented by lessons in geography, history, Persian, mathematics and astronomy. While setting up their curricula the reformers didn't declare firmly the practical necessity of preparatory classes. Somehow it seemed to be implied by the similar lessons. By analogy with the lessons at the dersiyye these preliminary courses had to provide the students with basic reading and writing skills and advanced knowledge about religion.

However on the eve of Tanzimat the Ottoman government noticed that the varied literacy of the students was steadily slowing down their training and the reformers couldn't surmount this obstacle only by the preliminary course. This circumstance was the main motive for eliciting the memorandum of Educational Commission at the Council of Public Works. The document suggested a certain modification in the structure of the educational system. It was submitted for extensive discussion at the beginning of 1839. The memorandum put forward the idea to set up supplementary schools referred as riishdiyye. The boys who had already finished their education at primary schools were admitted to the rüshdiyye. Its curriculum included religion, Arabic, stylistics and calligraphy<sup>6</sup>.

The comparison between the subjects taught at the *dersiyye* to these of the rüshdiyye indicates that the schooling was concentrated on the core dersiyye lessons. The similarity between both curricula evokes the question whether the expansion of dersiyye network wouldn't be more adequate initiative than the foundation of rishdiyye schools in Istanbul and in the provinces.

While deliberating this feature we could embrace two attitudes. On the one hand we have to take into consideration the conviction that the rüshdiyye embodied purely secular mission. The enrollment of dersiyye students at the rüshdiyye could arouse a bitter hostility among the ulema. Therefore the reformers adopted the idea to establish a new school network. On the other hand we have to pay attention to the issue that Sultan Mahmud II endeavored to strengthen the religiosity among the Muslims<sup>7</sup>.

As an integral part of the religious education the schooling at dersiyye had to serve the policy of strict adherence to Islam. Hence it isn't appropriate to

Mahmud II", Studies in Islam History and Civilization, ed.: U. Heyd, Jerusalem, 1961, 93-94.

<sup>7</sup> U. Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> O. Ergin, Istanbul Mektebleri ve Ilim, Terbiye ve Sanat Müesseseleri Dolasıyla Türkiye Maarif Tarihi, cild 1-2, Istanbul, 1977, 336-338, 354-356; I. Sungu, "Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye'nin Tesisi", Tarih Vesikaları, 1941, cild 1, sayı 3, 212-225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M. Cevat, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, s. 8, 18.

involve the *dersiyye* students in the new vocational schools. This approach could induce a significant shortage of *medrese* students or the admittance of inadequately trained contestants to them. Perhaps all these considerations stimulated the Ottoman government to set up supplementary schools.

Seeking to combat the aspiration of Mohamed Ali to take full control over Egypt the reformers didn't embark on further elaboration to establish *rüshdiyyes*. Probably the foundation of a wide network was delayed until the promulgation of complex regulation or because of financial difficulties.

Inaugurating a new reform era, the Tanzimat, the Ottoman government commenced favoring France, its active trade and diplomatic partner during the centuries, as a mentor in the modernization. In the 40s-70s of 19th century the Ottomans weren't conversant either with the Positivism or the doctrines of the left parties yet. Considering all essential challenges they had to face with the reformers upheld the French official policy while the transfer of knowledge and educational models were encouraged by the respective ministries<sup>8</sup>.

During the 1830s-1870s the French education was based on two legislative acts: the Educational law of 1833 which was laid out by F. Guizot and the Educational law of 1850 drawn up by A. P. Fauloux. F. Guizot, an educational minister in 1832-1837, supported the principle that the already established state system could be guaranteed by intensive mass schooling. This instruction had to inspire the pupils with liberal values such as deep religious morality and obedience to the government and the monarch. He defined the acquirement of scientific knowledge as "a minimum sustenance for the intellect" or "training for the everyday life and prompting the citizens to launch various private enterprises". He delimited the faith as "a necessary sustenance of the soul" and favored the abstaining from the pettiness and malevolence. The Educational law of F. Guizot laid out a three-stage educational system: primary, secondary and high schooling. The first stage consisted of elementary schools and superior primary schools.

Whereas a widespread network of elementary schools had been socializing the pupils in France for centuries the superior primary schools had to be established in towns with at least 6000 dwellers. Their curriculum provided lessons in religion, French, mathematics, physics, geography, history, bioscience and music. Pupils were instructed by secular teachers or clerics. A large range of vocational schools (state, private or catholic lycées) offered secondary education. At university boys received high education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Newspaper "Takvim-i Vekayi", no. 361, 11 Muharrem 1264 (19th December 1847).

The Educational law of 1850 didn't alter the structure of French school system. It concerned the training process, the teachers' qualification and the control over both features. The law didn't deal with the superior primary schools. Perhaps this was due to the slow spread of their network<sup>9</sup>.

Though both laws were promulgated in diverse social environment, the July Revolution of 1830 and February Revolution of 1848, they had to secure favorable educational opportunities encouraging the rapid economic headway of France in comparison to industrialized countries like Britain, Prussia and Belgium. However a provision of the A. P. Fauloux's law had placed the schools' overall control in the hand of the Church. Exactly this stipulation provoked an intense public discussion about the role of religion in the society. As well, it broke the balance between the science and faith which F. Guizot had secured for the education. Throughout the Tanzimat the Ottoman reformers used barely to pay attention to this dispute which led to the complete ban of the religious education in France in 1882<sup>10</sup>.

The Ottoman government conceived the actual French educational framework as reasonable or unsuitable for their current mission: to eradicate the ignorance among the youth, to provide the pupils with common knowledge about Islam and the world and to establish a wide network of technical schools. This range of tasks was laid down in Sultan Abdülmecid's *ferman* issued on 13<sup>th</sup> January 1845<sup>11</sup>. In the summer of 1846 the recently-founded Council of Public Education (CPE) stepped on to modernize the Ottoman education, whose basic stage had comprised all the *mektebs*.

Significant feature of the CEP's endeavors was the promulgation of the Regulation for the Primary Schools. In April 1847 this normative act codified the traditional *mekteb's* curriculum as obligatory for all Muslim pupils. Also, it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> J. H. Clapham, Economic Development of France and Germany 1815-1914, Cambridge, 1968; F. Guizot, Memoires pour sevrir a l'histoire de mon temps, tome troisieme, Paris, 1860, p. 61; Briand, J-M. Chapoulie, Les colleges du peuple: l'enseignement primaire supérieur et le développement de la scolarisation prolougée sous la Troisiéme République, Paris, 1992, 21-81; J. Kay, The Education of the Poor England and Europe, London, 1846, 374-379; J-P. Mgr. Parisis, La Vérité sur la loi de l'enseignement, Paris, 1850, 85-103; A. Prost, Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1800-1967, Paris, 1968, p. 156, 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> S. A. Frumov, Franzuzkaya shkola i borba za ee demokratizatziya (1850-1870), Moskva, 1960, 99-100 [French Primary Education and Politics of Public Mass Schooling (1850-1870), Moscow, 1960, 99-100]; A. Prost, Histoire de l'enseignement, p. 173; J. Bowen, A History of Western Education, vol. 3, New York, 1981, 317-320; A. Green, Education and State Formation. The Rise of Educational System in England, France and the USA, New York, 1990, p. 150, 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Newspaper "Takvim-i Vekayi", no. 280, 12 Muharrem 1261 (21st January 1845).

sought to provide all children with literacy whereby the compulsory training in reading and writing had to be launched from their very enrollment at school<sup>12</sup>. At schools referred again as *riishdiyye* the pupils could acquire advanced knowledge about the faith and initial information about the world, the private enterprises or their professional career. Then they could be enrolled at university or at vocational schools (technical, medical, administrative or religious)<sup>13</sup>.

The general survey of the modified Ottoman and French education doesn't figure out to which French school the *riishdiyye* corresponded. While settling this issue we shall pursue two different approaches. We could compare the curricula of the French and Ottoman schools or to examine once again their educational missions stated in the Educational Law of 1833 or in the CEP's resolution of 27th November 1846. The thorough survey of their general educational goals reveals that the French superior primary school and the *riishdiyye* carried out the same tasks. The superior primary school had to perfect the children's spiritual and intellectual maturity while the very definition "*riishdiyye*" alluded directly to the accomplishment of pupils' maturity<sup>14</sup>. These similar educational missions allow us to conclude that the Tanzimat *riishdiyye* was designed on the model of the French superior primary school.

This identity obliges the researcher to clarify the following question: why did the pre-Tanzimat reformers define as "riishdiyye" the educational unity which had to prepare the students for the vocational training. To solve this problem we could survey the careers of the members at the pre-Tanzimat Educational commission. One of them was Talat effendi, an Ottoman ambassador in Paris in 1836-1837<sup>15</sup>. Perhaps as an ambassador in France he had obtained detailed information about F. Guizot's school policy. Back in Istanbul Talat effendi had been involved in the Educational commission, a position that had enabled him to put forward some of the new-acquired ideas. Probably in 1839 Talat effendi had regarded the proposed supplementary school as an institution whose general mission resembled that of the French superior primary school. Still the riishdiyye's curricula differed on several points.

Initially the curriculum of the Tanzimat *rüshdiyye* and the actual enrollment requirements were laid down in the Regulation of April 1847. Only the literate

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Y. Akyüz, "Ilk Öğretiminde Yenileşme Tarihinde bir Adım: Nisan 1847 Talimatı", Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi, 1994, cild 5, 25-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> A. Berker, Türkiye'de Ilk Öğretim, Ankara, 1945, 20-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ibid, s. 21; F. Devellioğlu, Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat, Ankara, 2000, p. 902; J. Kay, The Education of the Poor, 387-388.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> M. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, cild 5, Istanbul, 1996, p. 1622.

boys who had finished the *mektehs* could proceed with their education at *rüshdiyye*. The *rüshdiyye* instruction included lessons in religion, arithmetic, Arabic and calligraphy<sup>16</sup>. The comparison between the *rüshdiyye's* curriculum of 1847 and this of the French superior primary school evinces that in 1846-1847 the CPE didn't favor the classes in geography, physics and bioscience.

However this range of subjects didn't match up completely the educational tasks assigned in the *ferman* of 1845. That inconsistency was eliminated immediately after the establishment of the "pilot" *riishdiyye* in Istanbul. Besides the *dersiyye's* core lessons throughout the school year 1847-1848 the first *riishdiyye* teacher, Ahmed Kemal effendi, instructed the students in geometry, geography and Persian.

However at the launch of the first *riishdiyye* the reformers had stressed the notion that the enriched curriculum could hardly be taught in two years. Actually the *dersiyye* schooling itself lasted about three years. Therefore the complete implementation of the enlarged curriculum required at least 4 years and respectively 4 classes<sup>17</sup>.

In the 50s-60s of 19th century the CPE and the Ministry of Education (ME) founded in 1857<sup>18</sup> had to modify the requirements for the entry to the *rüshdiyye*. That was due to the limited effectuation of the obligatory lessons in writing laid down in the Regulation of April 1847<sup>19</sup>. Now the admission exams started around the middle of *Shaban* and ended at the end of *Shamwal*. Special commissions examined the contestants' reading fluency and their reading comprehension of random texts in Ottoman Turkish<sup>20</sup>. Probably till September 1869, when the first Ottoman Educational law was promulgated, the final exams were conducted in *Radjab* or *Shaban*<sup>21</sup>.

During the 1850s-1860s all the *riishdiyyes* in the area of the Danube vilayet were obliged to comply with the enlarged curriculum of 1847/1848 school year and the above-mentioned school schedule. The gradual development of their network in the region was inaugurated in 1853 by the foundation of a *riishdiyye* 

<sup>20</sup> N. Hayta, Tarih Araştırmalarına Kaynak Olarak Tasvir-i Efkar Gazetesi (1278/1862 – 1286/1869), Ankara, 2002, s. 220, 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Y. Akyüz, "Ilk Öğretiminde Yenileşme", 28-29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> B. Onur, Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Tarihi, İstanbul, 2005, s. 304; O. Ergin, İstanbul Mektebleri ve İlim, cild 1-2, 444-445.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> M. Cevat, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, s. 59.

<sup>19</sup> A. Berker, Türkiye'de Ilk, 30-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> O. Ergin, *Istanbul Mektebleri ve Ilim*, cild 1-2, s. 445; Newspaper "*Danube*", III, no. 227, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1867; Oriental Department at the "St. Cyril and Methodius National Library" (*hereafter*: NLCM, Or. Dept.), Oriental Archival Collection (OAC) 60/76, fol. 6a; Widin 6/75.

school in Loveč<sup>22</sup>. In the autumn of 1858 the establishment of *riishdiyyes* went on in the town of Sofya and Widin<sup>23</sup>. By the year of 1869 the local Ottoman government had managed to set up further 10 *riishdiyyes* in Warna, Lom, Medjidiye, Hadjioghlu Pazardjik, Küstendil, Nish, Rusčuk, Samokow, Silistre, Tirnowa, and Tulča<sup>24</sup>. The actual syllabus at 6 of these 14 *rushdiyyes* could be outlined on the basis of several newspaper notes or upon the official reports of the local administration about the final exams (Table 1).

Whereas some traditional lessons, such as religion, weren't consistently registered in these notes or reports we have to bear in mind that the available sources under study shed only tiny light on the main subjects in which the students were examined. The broad survey of the data about these 6 *rüshdiyyes* (in Warna, Widin, Nish, Rusčuk, Sofya and Tirnowa) emphasizes that the teachers instructed the boys mainly in Arabic, Persian, arithmetic and calligraphy.

A near examine indicates that in the 1860s the *riishdiyye* curriculum was enriched with lessons in Ottoman Turkish grammar. Also, the students read poetry and short narratives. The exercises in reading took place at the *riishdiyye's* of Sofya in 1859/1860 school year, and again – in 1866/1867 school year at the *riishdiyye* of Nish. Ottoman Turkish grammar was taught in Sofya and Widin respectively in 1859/1860 or 1866/1867 school year. It appears that till 1866 the course in geography wasn't an integral part of the current classes in these 6 *riishdiyyes*. Initially it was taught in Nish, Sofya and Rusčuk throughout the 1866/1867 school year. The lectures in geometry and history didn't range

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., Widin 122/4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The names of the towns are spelled according to the related articles in the Encyclopedia of Islam, edited by H. Gibb, J. Kramers, E. Levi-Provençal, J. Schacht. <sup>24</sup> The *rüshdiyye* in Sofya was established on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1858, this one in Widin – on 1st December 1858. The rüshdiyye in Küstendil was founded around May 1859, this one in Samokow - in October 1860. The rüshdiyye in Medjidiye was established in March 1865, this one in Tirnowa – before 25th June 1866 and the rushdiyye in Lom - on 1st August 1868. The *riishdiyye* in Nish was mentioned for first time in a document of 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1860. This one in Warna appeared in a source of 16th April 1861 and the school in Silistre - in a document of 29th September 1862. For first time the rüshdiyye in Rusčuk, this one in Tulča and the school in Hadjioghlu Pazarčik were mentioned respectively in Takvim-i Vekayi's issue of 10th August 1863, in a document of 1st August 1865, and in Danube's issue of 3rd November 1865: BOA, I. D. 2733; NLCM, Or. Dept., Widin 122/4; BOA, Cevdet Maarif 7101; newspaper "Dunawski lebed" [Danube swan], I, appendix of number 17, 17th January 1861; BOA I. MVL 23432; NLCM, Or. Dept. Fond (F.) 179, archival unit (a. u.) 2768; NLCM, Or. Dept., Widin 107/16, fol. 77; BOA, A. MKT. UM 46, 82; BOA, I. MVL 21468; Newspaper "Takvim-i Vekayi", no. 708, 24 Safer 1280 (10th August 1863); NLCM, Or. Dept., Tulča 60/8, fol. 33b; Newspaper "Danube", I, no. 36, 3rd January 1865.

among the components of the actual schedule till 1868/1869 school year when they were included in the schedule of the *rüshdiyye* in Widin, Rusčuk or Sofya. History was taught only in Sofya<sup>25</sup>.

Summing up these observations I would like to emphasize that during 1860s the actual *riishdiyye* training at the region of the Danube *vilayet* didn't go far beyond the schedule laid down in the Regulation of April 1847. Therefore it was comparable to the traditional instruction at the *dersiyyes*. Perhaps this was due to the teachers' training. The available information about their qualification is scarce. It is certain that the teacher at the *riishdiyye* of Nish, Abdullah Saridja effendi, had graduated from the High Pedagogic School whose curriculum consisted of the *dersiyye's* core subjects. It encompassed geography, mathematics, history and Persian, as well<sup>26</sup>.

Abdullah Saridja Efendi arrived in Nish at the beginning of October 1863<sup>27</sup>. However no evidence proves that he was still was teaching the students throughout the 1866/1867 school year while they were attending lessons in geography. Even though that missing detail couldn't exclude the suggestion about the teachers' role in the actual instruction.

Another motive for ignoring the lessons in geography, geometry or Ottoman Turkish appeared to be the short time for their mastering. In the very beginning of 1868 a sole remark in the report of ME touched upon that issue. The report of 3rd January 1868 pointed out the necessity for 5-year *riishdiyye* schooling instead of the current 4-year training<sup>28</sup>. Even though the report didn't state its schedule the additional school year had to facilitate the essential instruction at the *riishdiyye*. In 1868 this supplementary grade was implemented at the *riishdiyye* of Sofya. A short note of 29 October 1869 informed the readers of the *vilayet* newspaper "*Danube*" about the final exams there. This newspaper note lets us compare the subjects taught in Nish throughout 1866/1867 school year to the *riishdiyye* syllabus in Sofya during 1868/1869 school year (Table 2)<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Newspaper "*Tzarigradski vestnik*" [Newspaper of Istanbul], X, no. 474, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1860; newspaper "*Danube*", II, no. 130, 30<sup>th</sup> November 1866; "*Danube*", II, no. 136, 21<sup>st</sup> December 1866; "*Danube*", III, no. 233, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1867; "*Danube*", III, no. 238, 24<sup>th</sup> December 1867; "*Danube*", V, no. 419, 19<sup>th</sup> October 1869; "*Danube*", V, no. 422, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1869; "*Danube*", V, no. 428, 19<sup>th</sup> November 1869; NLCM, Or. Dept., OAC 60/76, fol. 6a; OAC 37/3, fol. 15b; OAC 13/59, fol. 22a, 51b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> A. Özcan, "Tanzimat Döneminde Öğretmen Yetiştirme Meselesi', 150 Yılında Tanzimat, haz.: H. D. Yıldız, Ankara, 1992, 467-469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., F. 71, a. u. 560.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> A. Berker, Türkiye'de Ilk, s. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Newspaper "Danube", III, no. 238, 24<sup>th</sup> December 1867; "Danube", V, no. 422, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1869.

The survey of the 4-year and the 5-year schooling in Nish and Sofya outlines some remarkable features. The supplementary course provided the occasion to improve the students' reading skill in Ottoman Turkish and to start lessons in Arabic. This not so busy school schedule was conducive for introducing the students in counting and writing. At present it is impossible to suggest whether the students were trained to write on a slate and to number at least to ten. Perhaps those exercises took place among the everyday classes but they weren't components of the closing exams. This detail doesn't permit us to draw an ultimate conclusion whether the additional year at the *riishdiyye* was utilized rationally or wasted.

The comparison between both schedules stresses also that the instruction in mathematics was gradually moved to the early stage of the schooling, from the third to the first essential year. This "shift" secured a plenty of time for an extended introduction in mathematics including classes in algebra and geometry.

The survey points out that the lectures in geography retained their place in the schedule. The students acquired common knowledge about the world in the last two years of the *rüshdiyye* schooling while the teacher could enlarge the scope of their interests to some general historical features. Finally we have to pay attention to the fact that the instruction in Arabic and Persian lasted throughout the 4-year or 5-year course. That circumstance could provoke certain favor to both subjects. Hence the realization of the *rüshdiyye's* educational mission necessitated a precise elaboration of a balanced school schedule which provided enough school time for mathematics, geography or history.

The available sources don't indicate how in the 1850s and in the 1860s the Ministry of Education managed to settle the balance between the subjects of the *rüshdiyye* curriculum. Actually the documents cast light on the school schedule developed after the promulgation of the Educational law in September 1869. This legislative act provided a 4-year *rüshdiyye* instruction.

The schooling of the girls consisted of 10 essential subjects (religion, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, stylistics, calligraphy, arithmetic, simple accounting, geography and history) and 5 additional courses (literature, housekeeping, sewing, embroidering and music). In contrast to the successful attempt to set up girl schools in the *vilayet* of Crete, Bosnia, Konya and Tarabzun the local government of the Danube *vilayet* didn't carry off to establish *rüshdiyye* schools for girls<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> F. Unat, *Türkiye'nin Eğitim*, 98-100; NLCM, Or. Dept., F. 112A, a. u. 907; M. Cevat, *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*, s. 144.

The instruction of the boys included the same ten essential subjects taught also at the girl *rüshdiyyes* and 2 additional courses – geometry and drawing. The school schedule of the boy *rüshdiyye* was detailed in a chart of 1870 or of 1871<sup>31</sup>. The *rüshdiyye* school year started on 23<sup>rd</sup> August and ended on 30<sup>th</sup> June of the coming year. From 1<sup>st</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> July the students revised the subjects which already had been taught throughout the school year while the final exams were conducted from 15<sup>th</sup> July to 31<sup>st</sup> July. A special commission rated the students on a ten-point scale: poor (1-4), good (5-6), excellent (7-8) and perfect (9-10). Along with the weekly holiday on Friday, during the holidays *Eid'ul-Fitr* and *Eid'ul-Adha* the students had two short vacations that lasted 3 weeks in all. Hence the school year continued 42 weeks, the daily lessons lasted 4 ½ hours and the breaks between - 1 ½ hours (Table 3).

The subjects of the *rüshdiyye* schedule under study could be arranged in two groups whereby I differentiated these courses on the basis of their share in the 4-year schedule<sup>32</sup>. The first group encompasses the classes whose share in the *rüshdiyye* curriculum is over 10%. They could be defined as core lessons: Arabic (22, 22%), the training in Ottoman Turkish (15, 25%), Persian (13, 88%) and mathematics (12, 48%).

The schedule allotted large amount of time to the traditional lessons in Arabic and Persian, the two languages, regarded during the centuries as key for the mastering of the Ottoman Turkish grammar and lexis<sup>33</sup>. Both subjects occupied well a half of the school time next to the instruction in reading, Ottoman Turkish grammar, stylistics and calligraphy.

The second group includes subjects whose share of the school schedule is less than 10%: geography (9, 72%), religion (6, 94%), history (5, 55%) and drawing (5, 55%). Those lessons couldn't be defined as supplementary, because they served to provide the students with knowledge about the world and the God's nature and to accomplish their world view and maturity. Perhaps, except the classes in religion, the subjects' share in the schedule proves to be one of the influential factors determining their permanent teaching at the *rüshdiyye*. To evidence whether this suggestion is valid for the *rüshdiyye* of the Danube *vilayet* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> While dating the chart the Ministry of Education didn't specify whether the input year, 1287, was related to the Hegira or to Ottoman financial calendar. So we have to bear in mind both possibilities. The 1287 of Hegira started on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1870 and ended on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1871. The 1287 financial year started on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1871 and ended on 29<sup>th</sup> February 1872. NLCM, Or. Dept., Newly Purchased Turkish Archives (NPTA) 20/30; F. Unat, *Hicri Tarihleri Miladi Tarihe Çevirme Kılavuzu*. Ankara, 1959, s. 86-87, 120-121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The subjects' share in the school schedule represents the proportion of the lessons held in that subject to the total of all *riishdiyye* lectures held in the 4-year course.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Newspaper "Danube", IV, no. 269, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1868.

I'm going to outline their curriculums in the 1870s. I base my survey on further newspaper notes, official reports of the Ottoman local administration and upon a *riishdiyye* certificate of 15<sup>th</sup> July 1876 testifying the successful graduation of Ali effendi from Othman Pazar (Table 4)<sup>34</sup>.

The summed up data about 6 of the all 44 *riishdiyyes* founded in the Danube vilayet till 1876<sup>35</sup> emphasizes the feature that even after the promulgation of the Educational law the boys at the *riishdiyye* of Tulča, Rusčuk, Widin, Mačin, Belogradčik or Othman Pazar were instructed mainly in Arabic, Persian, arithmetic and calligraphy. Precisely these 4 subjects were defined above as core lessons of the *riishdiyye*.

The broad survey indicates that in July 1871 and in July 1872 the students, respectively in Rusčuk and Widin, were examined in stylistics but not in calligraphy. Considering that circumstance we could suppose that these subjects were conceived as corresponding. My hypothesis is based on the detail that the calligraphic exercises were carried out by copying of various official documents or applications.

The overall examination of the newspaper notes and the official reports points out a growing tendency to settle the lectures in geography as an integral part of the actual *riishdiyye* schedule in Rusčuk and Widin whereas this subject wasn't taught in the *riishdiyye* of Belogradčik and Mačin throughout 1873/1874 school year. As in the 1860s the instruction in Ottoman Turkish, geometry and history rarely ranged among the components of the actual schooling. The lessons in Ottoman Turkish were included once in the 1875/1876 schedule of the *riishdiyye* in Othman Pazar. May be in the 1870s the local teachers still considered this element of the comprehensive linguistic training as a supplementary but not as core lesson. Hence it could be easily substituted by the traditional lectures in Arabic and Persian.

Probably the occasional exams in geometry and in history were due to two main circumstances. On the one hand we have to bear in mind that the *rüshdiyye* schedule under consideration had placed the instruction in geometry in the last, fourth, year. The lessons in history had to be conducted throughout the third and the fourth year of *rüshdiyye*. It is possible that neither the teachers nor the local government succeeded to assemble a second or first class of even 5-6

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Newspaper "*Danube*", VI, no. 498, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1870; Newspaper "*Danube*", VII, no. 592, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1871; Newspaper "*Danube*", VIII, no. 693, 16<sup>th</sup> July 1872; Newspaper "*Danube*", VI, no. 495, 26<sup>th</sup> July 1870; Newspaper "*Danube*", IX, no. 789, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1873; NLCM, Or. Dept., Widin 107/16, fol. 28a, 123; F. 27, a. u. 939; OAC 42/12, fol. 14b; F. 182A, a. u. 267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> M. Cevat, Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, s. 144.

students. On the other hand these occasional exams might result from an exclusive supply of textbooks securing the individual study at home.

The general survey of all these data forces the impression that the teachers at these 6 *rüshdiyyes* in the Danube *vilayet* didn't match up completely the current boys' schooling with the official curriculum of the 1869 Educational law. Except the lessons in religion, the core lessons-Arabic, Persian and mathematics, were accompanied by one of the subjects accomplishing the students' world view, and precisely by geography or by history.

While discussing the causes for these inconsistencies we have to take into account several features. First I would stress the possibility that notwithstanding their qualification the teachers still favored the traditional concept of knowledge allotting superior place to the religion, linguistic and law. Then they would regard the instruction in geography, geometry and history as accessible only to the advanced students. Perhaps in 1876 one of them was Ali effendi from Othman Pazar.

In addition we have to take note of the lacking widespread modernization in the primary education even in the 1870s. All over the Ottoman Empire the *mektep* teachers used to adhere to the traditional curriculum which had served to socialize the children but hadn't provided them with skills in reading and writing<sup>36</sup>. Hence the 4-year *rüshdiyye* course occured to emerge once again as too short for the mastering of all subjects.

Also, I would bring to mind the already stated suggestion concerning the teachers' qualification and the actual policy upheld by the ME on this issue. The rules laid down by the ME prescribed the appointment of two teachers as long as there were 50-60 students at the *riishdiyye*: a teacher-in-chief and an assistant teacher. The teacher-in-chief had to be graduated from the High Pedagogic School while the assistant teacher could be nominated among the most experienced local member of the *ulema*<sup>37</sup>.

Even not exhaustive, the data about the teachers' qualification in the Danube *riishdiyyes* of the 1870s is sufficient to outline the impact of their training on the learning process. Now, on the basis of this information I'm going to examine whether the teachers' experience was a decisive factor in the effectuation of the official schedule at the *riishdiyye* of Belogradčik and Mačin.

The assistant teacher in Belogradčik, Mehmed effendi, had graduated from the *medrese* founded by Othman Paswan Oghlu in Widin. In March 1874 he

<sup>37</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., Rusčuk 62/4, fol. 91b; F. 118, a. u. 367; F. 112, a. u. 3069, fol. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> M. Dobreva "Reformite v uchebnata programa", 406-407.

taught the students in Arabic, Persian and arithmetic, but not in geography, history or geometry. However three years after the establishment of that *rüshdiyye* the appointment of teacher-in-chief, alumnus of the High Pedagogic School, was considered unsuitable. In 1873/1874 school year only 28 boys were attending the *rüshdiyye* of Belogradčik<sup>38</sup>. So, all these pupils were denied the opportunity of acquiring the full range of knowledge constituting the *rüshdiyye* curriculum.

The second example focuses on the training of three *riishdiyye* teachers in Mačin. Before outlining it I would like to state that the case under study reveals a pile of features adding to the good or poor schooling. It includes the promptly settling of the appointment formalities, the self-discipline, the teachers' ethic and the friendly attitude to the students. In 1871-1876 all these circumstances forced the local Ottoman administration and the Ministry of Education to deal with a relatively complicated issue.

While establishing the *rüshdiyye* of Mačin at the end of January 1871 the local Ottoman government nominated as an assistant teacher Ismail Hakki effendi from Tarabzun. The Educational ministry turned down the proposal and appointed Mehmed effendi, a former assistant teacher in Tulča. The refusal of Mehmed effendi to take up his new duties urged the Council of the *kaza* Mačin to ask once again Ismail Hakki effendi to assume the teaching position on 1st May 1871. Although the administration of Mačin had reported to the Ministry of Education on the replacement of Mehmed effendi the teacher in charge, Ismail Hakki effendi, didn't received an official appointment letter till the spring of 1873.

Perhaps this was the main reason which had provoked him to quit teaching and in opposite to any discipline to leave for Istanbul without permission. To secure the further instruction of the pupils the Council of the *kaza* Mačin encouraged Ibrahim Shefki effendi to step in as an assistant teacher on 1st June 1874. Soon after his assignment, in May 1874, the *kaza* governor informed the *sancak* administration in Tulča about the misbehavior of the Ibrahim Shefki effendi and his mistreatment of the children. Because of the accusation the Council of Mačin discharged him and on 1st January 1875 assigned as teacher Selim effendi.

Identically to the administrative confusion over the appointment of Ismail Hakki effendi neither Ibrahim Shefki effendi nor Selim effendi managed to get an official assignment letter. The special examination of the appointment registers at the Educational Ministry evinced that Mehmed effendi, the assistant

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., F. 27, a. u. 939.

teacher favored by the ministry at the beginning of 1871, wasn't struck from its lists. In the spring of 1876 this circumstance caused the resignation of Selim effendi.

From May 1871 till the spring of 1876 these three *riishdiyye* teachers in Mačin instructed the students only in Arabic, Persian and religion. This rested on the fact that Ismail Hakki effendi and Ibrahim Shefki effendi were *medrese* alumni. As reported by the Council of Mačin Selim effendi wasn't experienced in geography or in any other subject beyond the traditional schooling at *dersiyye* or *medrese*. Meanwhile for 6 years the *riishdiyye* pupils in Mačin didn't reach the 50-student minimum<sup>39</sup> for appointing a teacher-in-chief graduated from the High Pedagogic School. So, the Council of Mačin was compelled to elect a teacher among the most experienced local members of the *ulema*.

We could only theorize why the Council of Mačin didn't abandon its attempt to engage an experienced teacher and to secure the effectuation of the *rüshdiyye* curriculum despite of all the administrative inconsistencies, the insufficient teachers' discipline, the relinquishment of the duties and their inadequate training. Probably its determination was impelled by the point that the town of Mačin lied near two important trade centers such as Braila and Galatz and several Muslim craftsmen or traders conducted a large range of business partnership in both towns. So the practical necessity to keep a regular accounting and the daily correspondence obliged them to contract a good teacher.

Even not comparable, both highlighted cases, this of Mačin and that one of Belogradčik, managed to prove my suggestion that the approach of the Educational Ministry to employ a local member of the *ulema* as a sole teacher could bear at best some inconsistencies in the implementation of the curriculum or this attitude would cause to relinquish the actual educational mission of *riishdiyye* at all.

Several delays in the regular teaching were determined by the unavailability of the textbooks or the booklets. A register about the school books sent out to the *rishdiyye* of Lom from its establishment in August 1868 till the end of 1876<sup>40</sup> allows us to figure out whether a certain volume had been ever dispatched and after that distributed to the students or it was stored in the school library. I would like to outline the availability of the booklets in religion and Persian, or especially in Persian literature. Both booklets memorized during the lessons in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., Rusčuk 60/5, fol. 5; F. 112, a. u. 3352, fol. 61; F. 169, a. u. 2955, fol. 10; F. 169, a. u. 3026; F. 172, a. u. 87, fol. 21a; Tulča 55/20, fol. 1a, 55b; OAC 42/12, fol. 14b.

<sup>40</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., F. 26, a. u. 8850.

religion were the "Dürr-i Yekta" and the "Vazaif-i Etfal", in Persian – the booklet "Nasihat'ül-Hükema", the first and the third part of Sadi's masterpiece "Gülistan".

My particular attention to both subjects is induced by the fact that throughout the Tanzimat the reformers sought to take advantage of these classes as a legal vehicle for inspiring the pupils with traditional ethic and modern civil values. The views implied in the texts served to encourage a moderate image of God. Now He had to be conceived as an essential assistant in the individual enterprises and not as a crucial institution empowered to determine the humans' fate and their everyday activities. The religious imperatives and the sincere obedience hadn't to impose fear or feeling of helplessness upon the students. On the contrary they aided the Muslims to cultivate positive virtues<sup>41</sup>.

While memorizing the booklet "Dürr-i Yekta" the pupils reaffirmed the rules of the Islamic faith and commenced observing the daily prayers. The booklet and the selected two parts of "Gülistan" stressed the necessity for heightening the Muslims' responsibility toward the securing of the Ottoman sovereignty, the obeying of the Sultan's decrees and toward the recognizing of the monarch as a strict but fair ruler<sup>42</sup>.

The booklet "Vazaif-i Etfal" highlighted the conviction that God had empowered the humans with a strong will to overcome their negative personal traits. Also, it pointed out that throughout the Tanzimat the sole regular observing of the religious duties wasn't enough to merit the Paradise, to achieve worldly happiness and high regard. Hence the Muslims were obliged to foster the ceaseless social headway and the common wealth of the Ottoman Empire. A path to deserve the worldly prosperity and the heavenly felicity was the accomplishment of their education and the equipping themselves with modern world view and spiritual maturity<sup>43</sup>.

The sketched out pile of convictions had to constitute the attitude of the *rüshdiyye* students in Lom to the changing Ottoman everyday life. At the establishment of this *rüshdiyye* the Ministry of Education delivered a total amount of 600 school books in twelve different subjects. Among them were 50 copies of the booklet "*Durr-i Yekta*". Further twenty copies of the booklet were dispatched once again in the summer of 1875. Perhaps instead of this booklet, on 29th May 1871 the *rüshdiyye* of Lom was supplied with 25 volumes of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> M. Dobreva, "Osnovni văzgledi".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> M. E. Imamzade, Dürr-i Yekta, Istanbul, 1293 (1876), 61-85; Muslih Ad-din Sadi. Der Rosengarten, 27-72, 117-149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> M. Hami Pasa, *Vazaif-i Etfal*, Istanbul, 1287 (1870), 3-17, 39.

Arabic treatise "Minayat'ül-misallî" taught at the earliest rüshdiyyes in Istanbul. However this treatise wasn't included in their curriculum of the 1870s. Copies of the booklet "Vazaif-i Etfal" weren't sent out to Lom until the middle of February 1872. Besides the first 15 volumes delivered in December 1872 and in February 1874 there were further two shipments of totally 30 booklets while the fourth parcel of 25 issues arrived in September 1876.

The booklet "Nasihat'ül-Hükema" wasn't dispatched after the foundation of the rüshdiyye in Lom. Probably its later supply, at the end of May 1871, was due to the simple circumstance that the students had to study the Persian grammar at first and then to commence reading poetry and narratives. Next to the first parcel of 30 copies the second and the third consignments of total 50 volumes reached the teacher on 15th February 1872 and 25th July 1875. At the end of January 1877 all the issues of the booklet "Dürr-i Yekta", "Minayat'ül-misalli" or "Nasihat'ül-Hükema" were distributed to the students while they obtained only 58 copies of the booklet "Vazaif-i Etfal". The other twelve volumes of "Vazaif-i Etfal" were kept in the school library.

An amount of 55 booklets with selected texts of the "Gülistan", referred as "Müntahabat-i Gülistan", and 25 issues of the original Sadi's masterpiece were delivered respectively in 1872 and in February 1874. However not a single issue of the "Gülistan" selection was obtained by the students. Probably this owed to its content. The booklet "Müntahabat-i Gülistan" comprised narratives and verses from all part of "Gülistan" but not the comprehensive text of the first and the third part which had to be taught. When the volumes with the whole text reached Lom in February 1874, the rüshdiyye teacher-in chief, Mehmed effendi, distributed 24 of them to the students and deposited one of the copies at the school library.

The surveyed data emphasizes some essential hypothesis about the opportunity to effectuate the modernized religious conception at the *riishdiyye*. Let's assume that following the ministerial report of 15th January 1868 most of the *riishdiyye* students in Lom had been initially enrolled in the additional class. Hence their essential instruction would begin in 1869/1870 school year while the actual schedule patterned on the 1868/1869 curriculum of the *riishdiyye* in Sofya. In this case, the delivered booklet "*Dürr-i Yekta*" proves to be a sufficient reading for the advanced pupils' socialization.

In 1870/1871 school year the students who had enrolled at the *rüshdiyye* in August 1868 should study the booklet "*Nasihat'ül-Hükema*" but it wasn't shipped to Lom till the summer of 1871. Throughout the next two school years, 1871/1872 and 1872/1873, while attending the lessons of the second or the first *rüshdiyye* class, all these boys were denied the opportunity of reading

even the selected texts of "Gülistan". As I have already mentioned above all copies of the booklet "Müntahabat-i Gülistan" stayed stored in the rüshdiyye library.

The promulgation of the Educational law in September 1869 reestablished the 4-year *riishdiyye* course. There are no evidences that the provisions of the law were carried out during the school year 1869/1870. However we could presume that in 1870/1871 school year the new students were enrolled in fourth class of the *riishdiyye*. Now, the 3-year interval in the school book supply occurs to be a serious obstacle for the availability of the booklet "Dürr-i Yekta" because it hindered the advanced socialization of the boys. The only way to obtain enough booklets was to buy up or to borrow the already distributed copies. During the 1871/1872 school year the students of the third enrollment studied the booklet "Nasihat'ül-Hükema" but in 1872/1873 school year they missed the reading of "Gülistan". Probably the pupils embarked upon memorizing the first part of Sadi's work in March 1874 after the volumes with the whole text had arrived.

Perhaps till the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877/1878 the instruction in religion at the *riishdiyye* of Lom suffered further inconsistencies in the school book supply. It is possible that the insufficiency of the obligatory school books was met by sending out traditional booklets in religion. However those texts, often in Arabic, didn't serve to inspire the boys with the modernized attitude to religion at all. Together with the further features which hindered the learning process at the *riishdiyye* the occasional lack of school books appears to be a serious obstacle for the effectuation of the actual curriculum and the modernized world view.

Summing up all the examples and speculations about the teaching process at the *rüshdiyyes* in the region of the Danube vilayet I would like to emphasize once again my personal motives for reconsidering the prevailing approach to it as a secular school or a higher, new school where the lessons in Arabic, Persian and religion occurred to be a concession to the *ulema*.

The idea to set up a network of supplementary schools referred as *riishdiyye* was launched on the eve of the Tanzimat. The *riishdiyye* had to prepare the students for their specialized training at the newly-founded vocational schools. Initially the *riishdiyye* curriculum followed the core lessons of the *dersiyye*, religion, Arabic, stylistics and calligraphy.

During the Tanzimat era the network of *rüshdiyyes* spread to all Ottoman provinces, including the region of the Danube vilayet. Now all these *rüshdiyyes* based on the French superior primary school had to enlarge the pupils'

world view and to accomplish their maturity through the lessons in religion, linguistics and positive sciences.

The narrow survey of the annual closing exams in the *riishdiyyes* of the Danube vilayet highlights that throughout the 1860s and 1870s the actual schooling didn't matched up completely their official curriculum laid down by the Council of Public Education or by the Ministry of Education. Often the boys' instruction didn't go far beyond the traditional training at the *dersiyyes*, mainly offering them classes in Arabic, Persian, arithmetic, calligraphy and stylistics. Nevertheless the sources of the 1870s point out a certain tendency to settle the lecture in geography or in history as an integral part of the actual *riishdiyye* schedule while the lessons in Ottoman Turkish and geometry were still a remarkable exception.

Multiple reasons induced this situation. On the one hand they had to face with the insufficient schooling of the pupils enrolled at the *riishdiiyes* and to manage the regular supply of school books. On the other hand the Ottoman local and central government had to settle promptly the appointment formalities and to contract teachers with adequate training, excellent self-discipline and friendly approach to the students.

To solve all these issues as quickly as possible was the only chance for the reformers to effectuate the *riishdiyye* curriculum and its actual educational missions. No concession to any social group, secular or religious, no delay of the urgent saving measures could secure the successful future of their great educational endeavor, the *riishdiyye*.

Tal	ble 1: Su	bjects ta	Table 1: Subjects taught in the 1860s at 6 riishdiyyes in the region of the Danube vilayet	1860s at 0	6 rüsbdı	iyyes in th	ie region of	f the Danuk	oe vilayet	
Town	Arabic	Persian	Arabic Persian Calligraphy Reading	Reading	Ethics	Ottoman Turkish	Arithmetic	Arithmetic Geography Geometry	Geometry	History
February 1860 <sup>44</sup>	₩0981									
Sofya	+	+	+	+		+	+			
186445										
Widin	+	+	+				+			
186546										
Widin	+	+	+				+			
186647										
Warna	+	+					+			
Widin	+	+	+				+			
186748										
Tirnowa	+	+	+				+			
Widin	+	+	+			+	+			
Nish	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
October -	October - November 186949	r 1869								
Widin	+	+	+				+		+	
Sofya	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
Rusčnk	+	+	+				+	+	+	

<sup>44</sup> Newspaper "Tzarigradski vestnik" [Newspaper of Istanbul], X, no. 474, 12<sup>nd</sup> March

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., OAC 60/76, fol. 6a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., OAC 37/3, fol. 15b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Newspaper "Danube", II, no. 130, 30th November 1866; "Danube", II, no. 136, 21st December 1866.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Newspaper "Danube", III, no. 233, 6th December 1867; NLCM, Or. Dept., OAC

<sup>13/59,</sup> fol. 22, 51; "Danube", III, no. 238, 24th December 1867.

49 Newspaper "Danube", V, no. 419, 19th October 1869; "Danube", V, no. 422, 29th October 1869; "Danube", V, no. 428, 19th November 1869.

Table 2:Subject taught at the *rüshdiyye* of Nish and at the *rüshdiyye* of Sofya respectively during the school year 1866/1867 and 1868/1869

Class/ Year	Subjects	Nish, 1866/1867	Sofya, 1868/1869
		school year	school year
Supplementary	Reading	•	fables
class	Arabic		the booklet "Emsile"
Fourth class/	Religion	+	
First essential	Reading	+	
year	Arabic	the treatise "Bina"	the treatise "Maksud"
	Persian	the booklet "Nasihat'ül- hüküma"	the textbook "Talim-i Farsi"
	Arithmetic		+
	Calligraphy		the script "sülüs" and "nesih"
Third class/	Arabic	the treatise "Avamil"	the treatise "Izhar"
Second essential	Persian	selected from Sadi's "Gülistan"	the booklet "Nasihat'ül-Hüküma"
year	Arithmetic		4 arithmetic operations
	Calligraphy		the script "sülüs" and "rika"
Second class/	Arabic	the treatise "Izhar"	the treatise "Izhar"
Third essential	Persain	the Sadi's "Gülistan"	selected from Sadi's "Gülistan"
year	Arithmetic	+	
	Geography	+	+
	Algebra		the fractions
	History		+
	Calligraphy		the script "rika"
First class/	Arabic	the treatise "Mantik"	+
Fourth essential	Persian	+	+
year	Arithmetic	+	
	Geography	+	+
	Algebra		the fractions and the square root extraction
	History		+
	Geometry		+
	Calligraphy		the script "rika"

Table 3: *Rüshdiyye* curriculum of 1287 (3<sup>rd</sup> April 1870 – 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1871 or 1<sup>st</sup> March 1871 – 29 February 1872)

		– 29 Februar	y 1872)		
Subject	Class	Issue	Hours per week	Hours per year	Subjects' share in the schedule
Religion and Ethic	IV	the booklet "Dürr-i Yekta", "Vazaif-i Etfal"	7 1/2	315	6, 94%
Arabic	IV	the booklet "Emsile", the treatise "Bina"	6	252	
	III	the treatise "Maksud", "Avamil"	6	252	
	II	The treatise "Izhar"	7 1/2	315	22,22%
	I	The treatise "Feraid", "Isaguel", "Vaziŋye", the booklet "Selected reading in Arabii"	4 1/2	189	
Persian	IV	the textbook "Talim-i Fars?"	4 1/2	189	
	III	the booklet "Nasihat-i Hükema", the treatise "Kavaid-i Farsî"	3	126	
	II	The first part of Sadi's "Gülistan"	3	126	13, 88%
	I	The third part of Sadi's "Gülistan"	4 1/2	189	
Reading	IV	the booklet "Malümat-i muhtesar"	4 1/2	189	
Ottoman Turkish	IV	the textbook "Medhal-i kavaid"	4 1/2	189	
Stylistics	III	the booklet "Müntahabat-i Türki"	4 1/2	189	
Calligraphy	IV	script "sülüs"	1 1/2	63	15, 21%
	III	script "sülüs", "rika"	1 1/2	63	
	II	script "rika"	1 1/2	63	
	I	script "rika", "divani"	1 1/2	63	

## Table 3 - extension

Arithmetic	III	the textbook "Risale-i Hesab"	4 1/2	189	
		4 arithmetic operations			
	II	fractions	4 1/2	189	
	I	simple accaunting	1 1/2	63	
Geometry	I	the textbook "Talim-i Hendese"	3	126	12, 49%
Geograph	III	the textbook "Mebadi Coğrafya"	3	126	
У	II	the continent of Asia and Europe	3	126	
	I	the continent of Africa, America and Australia	4 1/2	189	9, 72%
Drawing	III	+	1 1/2	63	5, 55%
	II	+	1 1/2	63	
	I	+	1 1/2	63	
History	II	+	3	126	5, 55%
	I	+	3	126	
Revision	III-IV	+	3	378	8, 33%
Total		•	•	4536	

		Fable 4:	Subjects	Table 4: Subjects taught in the 1870s at 6 riishdiyyes in the Danube vilayet	he 1870s	at 6 rüsb	diyyes in 1	the Danul	be vilayet		
Town	Arabic	Persian	Ottoma	Arabic Persian Ottoma Calligraphy Stylistics Religion Arithmetic Geometry Geography History Drawing	Stylistics	Religion	Arithmetic	Geometry	Geography	History	Drawing
			n Turkish								
187050											
Widin	+	+		+			+		+		
Rusčuk	+	+		+		+	+		+		
Tulča	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+
187151											
Rusčuk	+	+			+		+				
Widin	+	+		+			+		+		
187252											
Rusčuk	+	+		+			+		+		
Widin	+	+			+			+		+	
187453											
Mačin	+	+				+					
Belogradčik	+	+		+			+				
187654											
Othman	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
Pazar											

 $^{50}$  Newspaper "Danube", VI, no. 495, 26th July 1870; "Danube", VI, no. 497, 2nd August 1870; "Danube", 498, no. 498, 17th August 1870.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Newspaper "*Danube*", VII, no. 592, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1871; NLCM, Or. Dept., Widin 107/16, fol. 28a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Newspaper "*Danube*", VIII, no. 693, 16th July 1872; "*Danube*", VIII, no. 696, 26th July 1872

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., OAC 42/12, fol. 14b; F. 27, a. u. 939.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> NLCM, Or. Dept., F. 182A, a. u. 267.