

# The 1869 Ottoman Public Education Act: Proceedings and Participants\*

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*Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâm-nâmesi'nin Müzakere Süreci ve Üyeleri*

Öz ■ 1869 senesinde ilan edilen Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâm-nâmesi, Osmanlı eğitim tarihinde bir dönüm noktasıdır. Bu nizamname, o zamana kadar yapılan eğitim reformlarını sistematik şekilde bir araya getirmiş ve sonraki reformlar esasen bu nizamnameye dayanılarak yapılmıştır. Kansu'nun bu nizamnameyi hazırlayan kişiler hakkında yaptığı araştırmanın üzerinden 80 yıldan fazla bir süre geçmesine rağmen bu nizamnameyi hazırlayanların kimler olduğu üzerindeki yanlışlık halen devam etmektedir. Bundan dolayı makalemde Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâm-nâmesi'ni hazırlayan Şûrâ-yı Devlet Ma'ârif Dâ'iresi'nin mazbatasına dayanarak bu nizamnamenin kimler tarafından hazırlandığını ortaya koymaya çalışacağım. Sonuç olarak, 1. gayr-i müslimlerin her cemaatinden birer mümessilinin de katıldığı, 2. şimdiye kadar katılmadığı söylenen ulemanın da katıldığı, 3. Tuna Vilayeti'nde yapılan eğitim reformunun kazanılan tecrübelerine de dayanılarak yapıldığı, 4. Fransa ve Almanya'nın eğitimini iyi bilenlerin de katıldığı ortaya konmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâm-nâmesi, Şûrâ-yı Devlet, Tanzîmât, Eğitim

## Introduction

The year 1869, exactly thirty years after the proclamation of the Edict of Gülhâne (Gülhâne Hatt-ı Hümayûnu, 1839) and the beginning of the Tanzîmât reforms, saw the Ottomans enact a Regulations of Public Education law (Ma'ârif-i

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Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi). This law, consisting of five chapters and one hundred and ninety-eight articles entailing a range of reforms and functioned as the legal foundation for educational administration for nearly half a century.<sup>1</sup> It was the most systematic and comprehensive education-related law in Ottoman history. It is therefore indispensable in studying the history of education in both the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. It also holds an important position in the regions that, after the law was enacted, broke away from the Ottoman Empire, later establishing new schools and creating new legislation under its influence.

Despite this importance, there are no papers focusing on this law, apart from Akşin Somel's paper and Sibel Hayta's unpublished graduate dissertation.<sup>2</sup> While a large number of books and papers on Ottoman education refer to it, the discussion is limited to summaries of its content and such. More troublingly, discussions of the individuals involved in creating this law contain crucial errors.

This paper aims to correct such errors and note some of the law's distinguishing features. Section One examines the legislative process, from drafting the law to official proclamation. Section Two investigates the individuals involved in drafting the law and discusses how their contributions would have shaped it.

## I. Proceedings: How the RPE act came into existence

Details of who actually initiated the Regulations of Public Education act (abbreviated below as RPE) remain unclear, but possibilities include Abdülazîz (reign: 1861-76); Âlî Paşa (1814-71), the Grand Vizier; and Safvet Paşa (1815-83), the Minister of Public Education. Despite this uncertainty, materials do show that a draft was prepared in the Department of Education under the Council of State (Şûrâ-yı Devlet Ma'ârif Dâ'iresi).<sup>3</sup>

1 *Takvîm-i Vekâyi'* (TV), 1125-1130 (6 Ca. 1286/14 August 1869 - 17 Ca. 1286/25 August 1869); *Düstûr*, first series, vol. II ([İstanbul]: Matba'a-i Âmire, 1289), pp. 184-219.

2 Selçuk Akşin Somel, "1869 Tarihli Maârif-i Umûmiye Nizâmnâmesi, Esbab-ı Mucibe Layihası ve İdeolojik Temelleri," in Kemal Kahraman, İlon Baytar eds., *Sultan Abdülmecid ve Dönemi (1823-1861)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A. Ş. Yayınları, 2015), pp. 136-167; Sibel Hayta, "1869 Maârif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi ve Türk Eğitimine Katkıları" (master thesis), Gazi University, 1995.

3 Text published in the TV before the articles of the RPE. This text was only published in the TV and does not appear in the *Düstûr* and other sources. This is henceforth in this paper referred to as the "Introduction of the RPE". TV, 1125.

The Council of State (abbreviated below as CoS) was preceded by the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye), which was founded by Mahmud II (reign: 1808-39) in 1838. In 1854, the Tanzimat High Council (Meclis-i Âlî-i Tanzîmât) was separated out from the Sublime Council, but then reincorporated in 1861, once again under the name the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances. In 1868, the Sublime Council was divided<sup>4</sup> into the CoS (Şûrâ-yı Devlet), regarded as the “center for the deliberation of general governmental affairs (masâlih-i umûmiyye-i mülkiyyenin merkez-i müzâkeresi),” and the Council of Justice (Dîvân-ı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye), created as the “highest court for trials under the law (kânûnen ve nizâmen rü’yet olunan de’âvî için en büyük mahall-i rü’yet).”<sup>5</sup> Thus, the authority of the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances was divided into two bodies, one being the administrative and legislative powers of the CoS, the other being the juridical powers of the Council of Justice.<sup>6</sup>

The Department of Education (abbreviated below as DoE), which drafted the RPE, was one division of the CoS with the aforementioned history, whereas previous education-related commissions had functioned and deliberated bills under the direction of higher-level organizations. It is quite notable that the DoE was established as an independent division within the “center for the deliberation of general governmental affairs.”

The CoS, established in 1868 and under the control of a president (re’îs), consisted of a Department of Trials (Muhâkemât Dâ’iresi) and a Department of Law (Kavânîn Dâ’iresi),<sup>7</sup> with deliberations on education occurring in the latter.<sup>8</sup> The CoS was organized by the Regulations of the CoS act (Şûrâ-yı Devlet

4 The imperial rescript (irâde-i seniyye) of the establishment of the Council of State was announced on 8 Z. 1284/1 April 1868 and placed into storage. However, it appears it was not returned after being sent to the Council of State in 19 Ra. 1295/13 March 1878 and has not been seen to this day (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Dosya Usûlü İrâdeler (İ.DUİT), 58/50). As far as can be determined, the earliest date on the Council of State minutes is 23 Za. 1284/17 March 1868 (BOA, Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemi Şûrâ-yı Devlet (A.MKT.ŞD), 1/1) which means that the Council of State was, at the very latest, established by this date. The Council of State was, in fact, established before the proclamation of the imperial order.

5 The Regulations of the Council of State, Article 1, TV, 963 (2 M. 1285/25 April 1868); *Düstûr*, vol. I, p. 703. The Regulations of the Council of Justice, Article 1, TV, 963; *Düstûr*, vol I, p. 325.

6 Note, however, the regulations were created so that the Council of State possessed partial judicial power. The Regulations of the Council of State act, Article 2, TV, 963; *Düstûr*, vol. I, pp. 703-704.

7 *Sâlnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye (Sal.Dev.)*, vol. XXIII, ([İstanbul], 1285), p. 37.

8 BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 1/45; BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 1/46.

Nizâmnâmesi) into five departments, (1) the Department of Civil Service, Public Security, and Military (Mülkiyye ve Zabtiyye ve Harbiyye Dâ'iresi), (2) the Department of Finance and Mortmain Estates (Mâliyye ve Evkâf Dâ'irsi), (3) the Department of Justice (Adliyye Dâ'iresi), (4) the Department of Public Works, Commerce, and Agriculture (Nâfi'a ve Ticâret ve Zirâ'at Dâ'iresi), and (5) the DoE (Ma'ârif Dâ'iresi).<sup>9</sup> Each department was legally prescribed to have a minimum of five and a maximum of ten members (a'zâ). Each worked under a vice president (re'îs-i sâni) who functioned as the head of the department.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, membership did in fact generally fall within the five to ten range.

Notably, Article Six of the Regulations of the CoS act stipulates that “current members shall be distributed in accordance with the importance of each department (a'zâ-yı mevcûde devâ'irin ehemmiyyetine göre taksîm olunacaktır).” This suggests that the relative importance of a department was indicated by its membership size. According to the *Sâlnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, the respective number of members for the departments mentioned above was as follows: Civil Service, ten; Finance, seven; Justice, seven; Public Works, six; and Education, five.<sup>11</sup> Whereas Civil Service had the maximum allowable ten members, Education had the minimum allowable five members (at least at the time of the publication of the *Sâlnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye* for 1286 AH).<sup>12</sup> Thus, the DoE held the lowest rank in the CoS, both in ordinal positioning and in number of members.

As far as can be confirmed, the first mention of the DoE in an archival document was 4 May 1868 (11 M. 1285 AH).<sup>13</sup> While we may presume that

9 The Regulations of the Council of State act, Article 3, TV, 963; *Düstûr*, vol. I, p. 704. Strictly speaking, the department names are not recorded in such a concise manner in the Regulations of the Council of State act. Even in Ottoman Turkish sources, they came to be presented in this way to avoid unnecessary complexity. For example in the sources, the “Department of Public Works, Commerce, and Agriculture” was shortened to the “Department of Public Works.” This paper follows these abbreviations.

10 The Regulations of the Council of State act, Article 6, TV, 963; *Düstûr*, vol. I, p. 705.

11 *Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXIV, 1286, pp. 38-39. The *Sâlnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye* (*Sal.Dev.*) was published in Muharrem and labeled with the relevant volume and year, but the content of the *sâlnâme* was based on the situation at the end of the previous year. Accordingly, in order to obtain information concerning the year 1285, the *Sal.Dev.* for 1286 is to be consulted.

12 Refer to Section Two for information regarding individuals actually appointed to the Department of Education.

13 This date was recorded in red ink on the reverse side of the memorandum (tezkire) from Minister of Public Education Safvet to Grand Vizier Âli, which was included in BOA, İrade Şûrâ-yı Devlet (İ.ŞD), 446.

the DoE would have been established before that date, it is unclear when discussions of the RPE began. Nevertheless, as the law came under discussion, an “investigation of the current problems in education administration was deemed the departure point for discussion”.<sup>14</sup> And while limited to the Istanbul area (Old Istanbul, Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyüp), an investigation of primary schools was carried out “district by district (mahalle-be-mahalle)” under the direction of a dedicated government official.<sup>15</sup> As the DoE document requesting that the Ministry of Public Education carry out this investigation was dated 13 August 1868 (23 R. 1285 AH), we can assume that discussions had started, at the very latest, by this date.<sup>16</sup> Note, however, that the results of the survey were conveyed to the DoE on 23 November of the same year (7 Ş. 1285 AH), meaning that actual discussions regarding primary schools and compulsory education would have taken place after that date.<sup>17</sup>

At any rate, within the DoE, “methods of the study of knowledge (ulûm ve ma‘ârif) appropriate to the needs of the times were referred to” and “the issues were

14 BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 5/43 (12 N. 1285/27 December 1868).

15 BOA, Şûrâ-yı Devlet Belgeleri (ŞD), Maarif 205/7. The results of the investigation made clear the following details. There were 456 Muslim primary schools in the Istanbul area, 271 of which were operational, 96 decommissioned, and 89 on vacant land. In the first two categories, 103 were constructed of stone and 246 of wood (no records exist for the remaining 18 schools). Three schools were suitable for re-use as secondary schools. The number of children in regular education totaled 12,405 – 7,609 males and 4,796 females. The majority of decommissioned school buildings were being used as housing (hâne).

16 The Department of Education minutes regarding the regional education councils and school inspector system, which is dated 4 Ca. 1285/23 August 1868, ten days later, contains the text “a comprehensive law... regarding the fundamental reform of public education (ma‘ârif-i umûmiyyenin tensikât-ı esâsiyyesine... dâ‘ir nizâmât-ı umûmiyye)”. As this may be thought to refer to the law that came to be named the RPE, it is likely that the law was on the agenda at this time (BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 2/85).

17 In the previous year, the Regulations of Primary School Reform had already been proclaimed, after deliberation in the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances (BOA, İrade Meclis-i Vâlâ (İ.MVL), 26278). Note, however, that the organization establishing the schools is unclear, and only a portion of the articles was published in the TV. As discussed below, Kemâl, appointed head of the Department of Education, participated in the deliberations of the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances as a member during this time. For the legislative process behind the compulsory education system see Kiyohiko Hasebe, “Legislation for Compulsory Education in the Ottoman Empire,” in Takayuki Yoshimura, Satoshi Katsunuma eds., *International Seminar on Islam and Multiculturalism: Islam in Global Perspective* (Tokyo: Waseda University, 2015), pp. 31-33.

repeatedly debated and carefully considered in fine detail.”<sup>18</sup> The Department’s deliberations on the RPE concluded on 27 December 1868 (12 N. 1285 AH). The details of the RPE at this stage remain unknown, but the minutes (mazbata) show that the final version consisted of 198 articles, as opposed to the original 200.<sup>19</sup>

Incidentally, the DoE carried on as such for about three more months after completing deliberations on the RPE, discussing other education-related concerns. It was thereafter “amalgamated (birleřtirilip)” with the Department of Civil Service and dubbed the Department of Interior and Education (Dâhiliyye ve Ma’arif Dâ’iresi) by the Internal Regulations of the CoS law (Şûrâ-yı Devlet’in Nizâmname-i Dâhilîsi) enacted in April 1869.<sup>20</sup> As far as I can tell, the last source document referring to the DoE is one dated 9 April 1869 (26 Z. 1285 AH).<sup>21</sup> Though all the Civil Service members were retained in the restructuring, only one member was kept from the Education group.<sup>22</sup> So this may have been more of a dissolution of the DoE than an “amalgamation”.

The RPE and related minutes were submitted to the CoS General Assembly (Hey’et-i Umûmiyye), where the issues were debated by all department heads and members under the direction of the president. Note that General Assembly debate was only required for fundamental laws.<sup>23</sup> General Assembly sessions debating the RPE were held “repeatedly (bi’d-defâ’ât),” and the DoE’s plan was passed after “reading and investigation (kırâ’at ve tedkik).” Meeting minutes

18 Minutes of the Council of State General Assembly, TV, 1130; Introduction of the RPE.

19 BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 5/43 (12 N. 1285/27 December 1868). In previous studies, the only known minutes regarding the RPE were those of the General Assembly of the Council of State, which are recorded in the TV and Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü’ş-Şeyh Nâfi’, *Ma’arif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrâ’âtı* ([İstanbul]: Matba’-i Âmire, 1338). This author, however, was internationally the first to confirm the Department of Education minutes. For details on the minutes (mazbata), see Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik)* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve San’at Vakfı, 1994), pp. 324-335.

20 BOA, İ.ŞD, 58/48; TV, 1075 (29 Z. 1285/12 April 1869); TV, 1076 (2 M. 1286/14 April 1869); TV, 1078 (7 M. 1286/19 April 1869); *Düstür*, vol. I, pp. 707-718; Mehmet Seyitdanlioğlu, *Tanzimat Devrinde Meclis-i Vâlâ (1838-1868)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994), p. 62; Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili*, p. 330. The Department of Trials was legally re-established.

21 BOA, Şûrâ-yı Devlet Evrâkı Hülâsa Kayıt Defterleri (ŞD Hülâsa Defterleri), 763, p. 41.

22 *Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXV, 1287, pp. 38-39.

23 The Regulations of the Council of State act, Article 5. Only two bills were referred by the Department of Education to the General Assembly – the RPE and one relating to Language School (Lisân Mektebi) (BOA, İ.ŞD, 446).

dated 2 June 1869 (21 S. 1286 AH) record discussion of the Ottoman Empire's education-related difficulties, the reasons for enacting the RPE, summaries of the provisions therein, and other details.<sup>24</sup> After the act was passed, discussion turned to the challenges of implementing it.<sup>25</sup> The Regulations themselves and the minutes of the General Assembly were later submitted to a Cabinet Meeting.<sup>26</sup>

Cabinet Meetings were established by Mahmûd II and were the highest decision-making body for Ottoman Empire policy.<sup>27</sup> When the RPE was presented, the Cabinet Meeting was comprised of thirty-one members, headed by the Grand Vizier Âlî Paşa, who also served as Foreign Minister. It included ministers from all the departments, the president of the CoS, the president of the Council of Justice, the Şeyhü'l-İslâm, and so on.<sup>28</sup> The bill was further debated in a Cabinet Meeting, with "recorded provisions being approved for gradual implementation under the general principle of priority being given to matters demanded by the times and state of affairs and the most important matters being given precedence over important matters."<sup>29</sup>

In response, the Grand Vizier produced a writ (arz tezkiresi) to the throne, which was sent, along with the Regulations bill and the minutes of the General Assembly, to the chief secretary (Ser-kâtib) of the court. The bill was thereby approved by Abdülazîz, who put the Ministry of Public Education in charge of implementation and the Ministry of Finance in charge of financing. The full text of the law and the minutes of the General Assembly were published in the *Takvîm-i Vekâyi'*. The law was also included in the *Düstûr*.

The foregoing delineates the process by which the RPE was formulated and promulgated, through (1) deliberating and drafting the articles and recording the minutes in the CoS DoE, (2) deliberating, revising, and recording the minutes in the CoS General Assembly, (3) deliberating and revisions in a Cabinet Meeting, (4) the Grand Vizier's writ to the throne, (5) approval by the monarch, and (6) publication in the *Takvîm-i Vekâyi'* (see Table 1).

24 Introduction of the RPE.

25 TV, 1130.

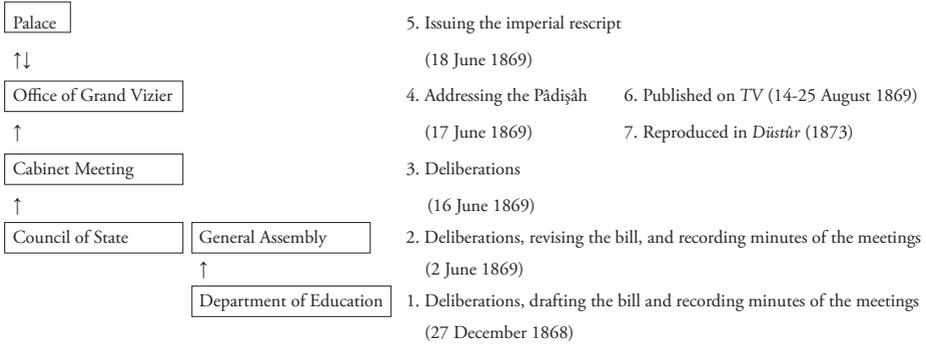
26 Introduction of the RPE.

27 The Meclis-i Mahsûs in the manuscript documents, the Encümen-i Mahsûs-ı Vükelâ-yı Fihâm in the TV, and the Meclis-i Hâss in the *Sal.Dev.* all point to the Cabinet Meeting. See Ali Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilâtında Reform* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1993), p. 180.

28 *Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXIV, 1286, pp. 36-37.

29 Introduction of the RPE.

**Table 1: Proceedings in creating the Regulations of Public Education (RPE) act**



## II. Participants: Who created the RPE Act

This section focuses on the individuals at the CoS DoE who were involved in drafting the RPE. The findings suggest the involvement of ten individuals: Department Head Kemâl; department members (a'zâ) Zîver, Emîn, Aristarhi, İvanço, Artin, and Avram; as well as Mîdhat, the President of the CoS; Safvet, the Minister of Public Education; and Sâlih, the head of the Military Medical College. Three assistants (mu'âvin) were also in office at the time, namely Sa'dullah, Sermed, and Ekrem (see Table 2). These are the participants shown by the seals (mühür) on the DoE minutes and the *Sâlnâme-i Devlet-i Alîyye*.<sup>30</sup>

Previous research, however, has erroneously identified the following seven individuals: Kemâl, Sa'dullah, Artin, Ekrem, Tefvik, Mansûr, and Çankov. The first record with this list was Kansu's *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, published in 1930. Aside from *Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrâ'âtı* by Mahmûd Cevâd ibnü'ş-Şeyh Nâfi', this was the first publication dealing with the history of Ottoman and Turkish education, marking an important point in research history. However, Kansu did not provide a reference or source for his list of seven individuals. Subsequent valuable studies on Ottoman and Turkish education by Koçer, İhsanoğlu, Alkan, and Somel have depended on Kansu's work as their source when discussing the people involved with the RPE, thereby propagating these misconceptions for some eighty years up until the present day.<sup>31</sup> The follow-

30 BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 5/43; *Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXIV, 1286, pp. 38-39.

31 Nafi Atuf [Kansu], *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi Hakkında Bir Deneme*, 2 vols. (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1930, 1932), p. 130; Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiyede Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu*

**Table 2: Participants in the deliberations on the Regulations of Public Education (RPE) act in the Department of Education**

	Name	Age	Post	Rank	Origin or Class	Previously Noted	Source
1	Mıdhat	47	President of the Council of State	vezir	kalemiyye	no	A.MKT.ŞD. 5/43
2	Kemâl	63	Chief of the Department of Education	balâ	kalemiyye	yes	A.MKT.ŞD. 5/43
3	Zâver	59	Member of the Department of Education	İstanbul pâyelü	ilmiyye	no	A.MKT.ŞD. 5/43
4	Emin	?	Member of the Department of Education	Mekke pâyelü	ilmiyye	no	A.MKT.ŞD. 5/43
5	Aristarhi	31	Member of the Department of Education	ülâ sınıf-ı sânisî	Greek	no	A.MKT.ŞD. 5/43
6	İvanço	?	Member of the Department of Education	ülâ sınıf-ı sânisî	Bulgarian	no	A.MKT.ŞD. 5/43
7	Artin	39	Member of the Department of Education	ülâ sınıf-ı sânisî	Armenian	yes	A.MKT.ŞD. 5/43
8	Avram	?	Member of the Department of Education	ülâ sınıf-ı sânisî	Jewish	no	Refer to main text.
9	Safvet	56	Minister of Public Education	vezir	kalemiyye	no	A.MKT.ŞD. 5/43
10	Sâlih	53	Head of the Military Medical College	ülâ sınıf-ı evvelîsî	seyfiyye (surgeon)	no	A.MKT.ŞD. 5/43
11	Sa'dullah	31	Chief Assistant at the Department of Education	mütemâyiz	kalemiyye	yes	<i>Sal.Dev.</i> , 1286
12	Sermed	38	Assistant at the Department of Education	mütemâyiz	kalemiyye	no	<i>Sal.Dev.</i> , 1286
13	Ekremler	22	Assistant at the Department of Education	sâlise	kalemiyye	yes	<i>Sal.Dev.</i> , 1286

- The “age” column uses 1286/1869 to derive the year of birth. The ages of Emin, İvanço, and Avram are unknown. Note, however that İvanço’s year of birth is believed to have been between 1825 and 1830.
- The “Previously Noted” column indicates whether the individual has been mentioned in prior research. As discussed in this paper, previous studies also describe Tevfik, Mansûr, Çankov as having participated. But whether they actually participated in the deliberations on the Regulations of Public Education act is a question that requires further investigation.

ing, therefore, reflects an effort to rectify the list of individuals involved with the RPE, so that we may better understand its origins and nature.

The first person to note is the man appointed to the post of Head of the DoE, **Es-seyyid Ahmed Kemâl Efendi** (1808-88). Kemâl was involved with the educational reforms that followed the early stages of the Tanzimat reforms. After completing primary school and attending a medrese, Kemâl went to work as a secretary for the Sublime Porte's Financial Secretarial Department (Mektûbî-yi Defteriyye). Sahhaflar Şeyhîzâde Es'ad Efendi (1789-1848) was a member of the Temporary Council of Education (Meclis-i Ma'ârif-i Muvakkat), court chronicler (vak'anüvis), and first head of the *Takvîm-i Vekâyi'*. In 1835, when Es'ad Efendi was dispatched to Tehran to attend the coronation of Mohammad Shah, the third ruler of the Qajar Dynasty, Kemâl accompanied him as principal secretary.

With the establishment of the Council of Public Education (Meclis-i Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye), Kemâl was appointed to the post of second secretary (1846) as an assistant to council member Es'at, who was also the public school inspector. Two years later, Kemâl was promoted to council member and served until 1861. In 1847-48 he was also awarded the title of Director (müdür). And from 1848 through 1854, as a member of the Council of Public Education, he held the position of public school inspector.<sup>32</sup>

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*ve Gelişimi* (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1970), p. 83; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı," in Hakkı Dursun Yıldız ed., *150. Yılında Tanzimat* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992), pp. 371-372; Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Modernization from Empire to Republic and Education in the Process of Nationalism," in Kemal H. Karpat ed. *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), p. 59; Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001), p. 86; idem, "1869 Tarihli Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi," p. 143. Koçer and İhsanoğlu do not cite Kansu's work, but it is clear from their ordering of the individuals and the titles of Efendi and other participants that they relied on Kansu. Furthermore, Somel draws from Koçer's work. In short, all post-Koçer research relies on Kansu. Due to the fact that there are no notes in the applicable passage in Kansu, it is not possible to trace back any further. Additionally, note that while Koçer uses the *Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilât ve İcrâ'âtı* as a source, there is no such entry in that text.

32 Mehmed Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmânî (Sicill)*, vol. IV ([İstanbul]: Matba'a-i Âmire, n.d.), pp. 81-82.

From May 1850 to May 1851, Kemâl visited England, France, Belgium, Prussia, and Habsburg to observe the state of European education.<sup>33</sup> He subsequently served as Ambassador to Berlin from May 1854 to June 1857.<sup>34</sup> In the DoE minutes on the RPE, the Prussian education system is cited as a foundational example for introducing compulsory education – an observation that may be attributable to Kemâl.

After returning home from Berlin, Kemâl served in a number of positions, including member of the Tanzimat High Council (1859), Chief Harem Treasurer (Harem-i Hümayûn Masârifât Nâzırı), Persian language tutor to the princes (1859), Minister of Public Education (1861-62),<sup>35</sup> head of the *Takvîm-i Vekâyi‘*, member of the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances (1862), Minister of Public Education again (1865-67), and member of the Sublime Council again (1867). At this time, Kemâl participated in deliberations on the Regulations of Primary School Reform (Sıbyân Mekteblerinin Islâhâtına dâ’ir Nizâmnâme), which legislated compulsory education.<sup>36</sup> This shows that the continuities between that law and the RPE were not limited to the provisions.

With the storied career described above, Kemâl was appointed as head of the DoE newly established under the CoS. He was likely expected to apply his experiences with educational reforms since the early Tanzimat period to the legal foundations and educational reforms of the RPE. Moreover, through Kemâl and Es’ad, this appointment would have established ties between the CoS DoE and the Council of Public Education, as well as to the 1845 Temporary Council of

33 Aziz Berker, *Türkiyede İlk Öğretim I:1839-1908* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945), pp. 36-37; Akyıldız, *Merkez Teşkilâtında Reform*, p. 240.

34 According to the list of ministers recorded in the *Sâlnâme-i Nezâret-i Ma’arif-i Umûmiyye* (Vol. I, p. 34), Kemâl was appointed Ambassador to Berlin “at his own request (kendi istid’ası üzerine)”. In the *Sicill*, the immediate reason for this is noted as the death of his 14-year-old son (Vol. IV, pp. 81-82), but the question remains as to why he chose Prussia and not another country. At the time, Prussia had, in contrast to England and France, a compulsory education system. Further, in contrast to France, where the Revolution had led to the dissolution of universités leaving only facultés remaining, and England, where only Oxford and Cambridge existed, there were many universities in the German territories. In particular, in the capital Berlin, the prestigious Berlin University was established in 1810. He may have selected the post of Ambassador to Berlin because, of the five European countries he had visited and observed several years earlier, he regarded Prussia as the most valuable in terms of educational reform.

35 BOA, İrade Dâhiliyye (İ.DH), 32400; TV, 626 (8 C. 1278/11 December 1861).

36 BOA, İ.MVL, 26278.

Education. Thus, the RPE was something of a composite of earlier educational reforms.

After the restructuring of the CoS, Kemâl assumed the office of head of the Department of Justice.<sup>37</sup> He was thereafter appointed Minister of Public Education four more times (1871-72, 72-73, 76, and 77-78), for a total of six times throughout his life. Education reform in the Ottoman Empire was clearly a large part of his life's work.

Another individual, like Kemâl, known to have accumulated an impressive amount of field experience was **Mehmed Sâlih Efendi** (1817-95). Sâlih was the head of the Military Medical College (Mekteb-i Tibbiyye) and, despite not being a member of the DoE, was specially invited to participate in the drafting of the RPE. The Military Medical College turned out a number of non-degree graduates. One such student was Fu'ad Paşa (1815-69), who went on to become a military physician and then a civil official, playing a leading role in the Tanzîmât reforms. Sâlih served as an assistant botany instructor before graduating, and in 1843 was the first graduate to earn a degree. His standing was such that in 1849 he was appointed to the dual roles of chief physician (hekimbaşı) and head of the Military Medical College.

He later took on positions including member of the Academy of Science (Encümen-i Dâniş, 1851), Vice-Minister of Public Education (1859), Vice-Minister of Commerce (1859), Mayor of the 6<sup>th</sup> District of Istanbul (1860), and President of the Public Security Council (1861), before being reappointed to the post of head of his alma mater (1865-71). During this period, he founded and chaired the Ottoman Medical Association (Cemi'yet-i Tibbiyye-i Osmâniyye).<sup>38</sup> This wealth of experience managing new kinds of schools and familiarity with educational policy were likely why Sâlih was invited to give his opinions in the deliberations on the RPE, despite not being a member of the DoE. His career and achievements described above show he was also an essential figure in the history of Turkish medicine.

Another figure, like Sâlih, invited by the DoE to state his opinions despite not being a formal DoE member was Minister of Public Education **Mehmed**

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<sup>37</sup> *Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXV, 1287, p. 39.

<sup>38</sup> *Sicill*, vol. III, p. 219.

**Es'ad Safvet Paşa** (1815-83).<sup>39</sup> In 1833, Safvet went to work for the Office of Translations (Tercüme Odası), later known as a gateway to success for young bureaucrat-turned-politicians.<sup>40</sup> His time there coincided with Mehmed Emîn Âlî Paşa's (1814-71) who, with Fu'ad Paşa, was a driving force in the later Tanzîmât reforms. In the Translations office, Safvet, who had studied French, was responsible for the French language version of the *Takvîm-i Vekâyi'* and also taught French to the monarch and the princes. In his subsequent career, Safvet was appointed as a member of the Tanzimat High Council (1855, 1858-61), Minister of Commerce (1861, 63, 67), President of the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances (1863), and Ambassador to Paris (1865).

While Safvet was serving as the Ambassador to Paris, he and Kemâl met with Victor Duruy (r. 1863-68), the quite influential Minister of Public Education under Napoleon III (1852-70), and discussed educational reform in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>41</sup> Upon returning home from Paris, Safvet served as a member of the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances (1866). Upon his 1868 appointment to the post of Minister of Public Education, he founded the Galatasaray Lycée (Mekteb-i Sultânî, 1868), based in part on his discussions with Duruy. The provisions in the RPE regarding higher secondary school (mekâtib-i sultâniyye) are very similar to the laws publicly announced in the *Takvîm-i Vekâyi'* on the occasion of the opening of the Galatasaray Lycée. This implies that Safvet and Kemâl's talks with Duruy were not only related to the establishment of the Galatasaray Lycée, but also influenced the RPE, which became law the following year. It should be noted that after serving as the Minister of Public Education, Safvet was appointed to a variety of important roles, including six stints as Minister of Foreign Affairs, ultimately becoming Grand Vizier in 1878.

**Dadian Artin Efendi** (1830-1901), a representative of the Armenian Church, attended international conferences as Safvet's attendant and was involved in the

39 For details regarding Safvet, see İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1940-53 (rep. 1982)), pp. 809-894; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Safvet Paşa* (İstanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1943); Pelin İskender, "Mehmed Esad Safvet Paşa" (doctoral dissertation), Ondokuz Mayıs University, 1999.

40 For details regarding the Office of Translations, see Sezai Balcı, *Babîâlî Tercüme Odası* (İstanbul: Libra Yayıncılık ve Kitapçılık, 2013).

41 For discussion of the tripartite talks in Paris, see Kiyohiko Hasebe, "Kindai Osuman Teikoku ni okeru Kyouikukaikaku: Kyouiku Gyousei to Gakkou Kyouiku (Educational Reform in the Recent Ottoman Empire: School Systems and Administration)" (Ph.D dissertation, The University of Tokyo, 2011), pp. 59-61 (in Japanese).

formulation of the RPE as a member of the DoE. Successive generations of the Dadian family had held the post of Director of the government powder mills (barutçubası). Artin first worked for the CoS as an assistant (mu'âvin),<sup>42</sup> and was soon promoted to member (a'zâ).<sup>43</sup> He participated in deliberations held by the DoE from 4 July 1868 (13 Ra. 1285 AH).<sup>44</sup>

Artin was born into a high-ranking family in the Armenian Church, was home-schooled for his elementary education, and toured Europe with his father and older brother, eventually earning a Baccalauréat Scientifique in 1846 after studying at Sainte Barbe College and Louis Le Grand (1842-44). Upon graduation, he briefly returned home, but soon moved back to Paris and studied again at Sainte Barbe (1847-48). When he returned home again in January 1848, he worked at the Office of Translations (in 1849, 55, and 59), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1854), the Investigation Committee under the Public Security Council (Meclis-i Zabtiyye Teftiş Hey'eti, 1856 and 58), the French Embassy (1860), the Spanish Embassy (1863), and the Ministry of Finance (1866), before being appointed to the position of assistant in the CoS. In 1857, Artin participated as Safvet's Secretary General (kâtib-i umûmî) in the Bucharest Conference concerning the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.<sup>45</sup>

The fact that Artin, who had experienced French education firsthand and whose previous employer was also fluent in French, participated in the drafting of the RPE strongly suggests that the French education system influenced the law.<sup>46</sup>

42 BOA, İ.DUİT, 58/49; TV, 967 (11 M. 1285/4 May 1868).

43 BOA, İ.DH, 40165 (24 S. 1285/16 June 1868). The person who was promoted to member at the same time was Yanko, the brother-in-law of Logofet Aristarhi İstavraki Bey (described later) (İ.DUİT, 58/49).

44 BOA, İ.ŞD, 352. He was supposed to have participated from before this point in time but was absent. BOA, İ.ŞD, 304; BOA, İ.DUİT, 136/43; BOA, İ.DUİT, 115/66.

45 Pars Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Dadian Family in Ottoman Social, Economic and Political Life* (İstanbul: Pars Yayın ve Tic. Ltd.Şti., 1993); Anahide Ter Minassian, "Une famille d'amiras arméniens: les Dadian," in Daniel Panzac ed., *Histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman et de la Turquie (1326-1960)* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), pp. 505-519. The Bucharest Conference was held between 30 May and 4 July 1857. Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. III (Paris: Librairie Cotillon, F. Pichon, Successeur, 1902 (rep. 1978)), p. 101.

46 Empirical clarification requires comprehensive examination of France's educational administrative laws until the year in which the RPE was proclaimed, as well as an article-by-article text comparison against the RPE. The manuscripts should be examined at another time, but for the purposes of this paper, note that the compulsory establishment of schools by local government

The above discussion of Kemâl's career noted that, in the DoE minutes, the Prussian education system was cited as a fundamental example for the introduction of compulsory education. While this may have been nothing more than rhetoric used to justify the introduction of Ottoman compulsory education, the fact that it was considered alongside the French and German examples is of major significance in distinguishing the features of the RPE.

In contrast to the figures discussed above, who were well-versed in the state of education in Europe, two ulamas were also appointed as members of the DoE. One of them was **Es-Seyyid Mehmed Sa'îd Zîver Bey** (?-1873), who, as his name suggests, came from a family that held special status as descendants of the prophet Muhammad. In his career as an ulama, he held the honorary ranks (pâye) of instructor at a madrasa in Istanbul and qadi of Aleppo and Syria, before being awarded the honorary rank of qadi of Mecca. Just before he was appointed member of the DoE, he was also awarded the honorary rank of qadi of Istanbul, one of the highest ranks in the İlmiyye system.<sup>47</sup>

The other ulama was **Hacı Mehmed Emîn Efendi** (?-1879). At the time, there were three individuals in the CoS with the name Emîn.<sup>48</sup> The Emîn at the

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authorities can be related to the Loi Guizot (1833), and entrance qualifications for institutes of higher education (mülâzemet rü'usu) may have referred to the French baccalauréat and the German Abitur. Note, however, that the word "mülâzemet" itself had been used since ancient times with the meaning of "apprentice" or "candidate".

47 Sicilli, vol. II, p. 438; *Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXIV, 1286, p. 66.

48 The three Emîn are as follows: (1) Emîn Muhlis Paşa, former governor of Erzurum and head of the Department of Justice, (2) Emîn Efendi, mufti of Baghdad and member of the Department of Civil Service, and (3) Hacı Emîn Efendi, mufti of Syria and member of the Department of Education. Due to the fact that (2) and (3) were mufti (BOA, İ.DH, 40936) who also held the honorary rank of qadi of Mecca (*Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXIV, 1286, pp. 38-39), the two are easily confused, but they can be distinguished by the periods during which they participated in the Council of State and by the design of their seals; (2) from its establishment (BOA, İ.DUİT, 58/49) and (3) from 29 Ra. 1285/20 July 1868 (BOA, İ.ŞD, 430), (2)'s seal was 1.1 cm high and 1.25 cm wide, with no lengthening of the space between the second "m" and the "d" of "Mehmed", and (3)'s seal was 1.3 cm high and 1.5 cm wide, with a lengthening of the space between the "m" and the "d". Furthermore, note that (2) was involved in compiling the *Mecelle-i Ahkâm-ı Adliyye*. For details regarding (2), see Ali Birinci, *Tarihin Gölgesinde Meşâhir-i Meçhûleden Birkaç Zât* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2001), pp. 13-16. After the restructuring, (1) was appointed as head of the Department of Justice, (2) as a member of the Department of Interior and Education, and (3) as a member of the Department of Finance.

DoE was referred to by the alias Cündîzâde and held the rank of mufti of Syria before being awarded the rank of qadi of Mecca.<sup>49</sup>

The presence of these ulamas as department members has been completely overlooked in previous research publications, from the work of Kansu until the present day. Moreover, the absence of ulamas in the DoE has been argued as evidence that Ottoman educational policy was beyond the ulamas' sphere of influence.<sup>50</sup> To the contrary, ulamas with highly respected positions in traditional Islamic society did indeed participate, even in the systematic legal revisions for new forms of education.

The President of the CoS occasionally participated in deliberations. In CoS DoE deliberations, there were four such occasions, for bills concerning: increasing the number of secondary schools (mekâtib-i rüşdiyye) in Istanbul, increasing the number of Muslim students at the Galatasaray Lycée, a change to a five-day system for the *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, and finally the RPE deliberations.<sup>51</sup> It appears that the president's participation was limited to matters of relative importance.

The CoS president who participated in the RPE deliberations was none other than **Ahmed Midhat Paşa** (1822-84), who in later years lent his name to the Ottoman Constitution. While working for the Sublime Porte's Office of Imperial Conference (Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Kalemî), Midhat served in central and provincial secretarial roles. He spent half of 1858 in Paris, London, Brussels, and Vienna, and upon returning in 1859 was appointed Principal Secretary of the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances. After a personal inspection throughout Rumelia in 1860 by Grand Vizier Kıbrıslı Mehmed Emîn Paşa (1813-71), Midhat was appointed Governor of the Niş Vilayet, an area that had experienced major revolts (in 1833, 35, and 41), where he made a great success of governing the region (1861-64). His success led to him being recalled to Istanbul by Âlî Paşa and Fu'ad Paşa to consult on examples of regional administrative reform and participate in the drafting of legislation for the newly established Danube Vilayet, which he went on to govern (1864-68).<sup>52</sup>

49 *Sicill*, vol. I, p. 437.

50 Alkan, "Modernization from Empire," p. 59.

51 BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 3/92; BOA, İ.DUIT, 115/66; BOA, İ.DUIT, 136/43; BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 5/43.

52 Gökhan Çetinsaya, Şit Tufan Buzpınar, "Midhat Paşa," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXX, 2005, pp. 7-11.

A large number of non-Muslims, especially Bulgarian Orthodox, lived in the vilayets of Niş, Vidin, and Silistre, which comprised the core of the Danube Vilayet. The establishment of the Danube Vilayet was a groundbreaking experimental attempt at both developing military defenses against Russia and unifying the religiously and linguistically divided Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman government applied insights from Danube Vilayet innovations to legislative changes across the Empire. Examples of this are the Regulations of Vilayets act, based on the Regulations of the Danube Vilayet act (1867), and the RPE (1869), based on vilayet educational reforms.

The educational reforms of the Danube Vilayet proceeded, in general terms, as follows. First, a council for education reform was established, and Muslims and non-Muslims from the vilayet were appointed as members (1865). The council resolved to divide schooling in the vilayet into three stages, namely primary school (mekâtib-i sibâyîyye), secondary school (mekâtib-i rüşdiyye), and preparatory school (mekâtib-i i'dâdiyye), with the Vilayet Ministry of Education to provide overall supervision. Although not actually implemented, Muslim/non-Muslim co-education was planned for secondary and preparatory schools, and Muslim students were to be required to study the Bulgarian language in secondary school.<sup>53</sup>

Of utmost importance to the present study is **Hacı İvanço Efendi** (1825?-78), a non-Muslim who was invited join to the Council of Education in the Danube Vilayet and was also a member of the CoS DoE. İvanço was a çorbacı (a noble from the Bulgarian region) from Rusçuk, the capital of the Danube Vilayet. In addition to being a councilor on the Court of Commercial Law at the time and participating in the Council of Education in the vilayet, he also published an article supporting reform in *La Turquie* (a French paper that was published in Istanbul) when the plan for co-educating Muslims and non-Muslims was suffering criticism.<sup>54</sup> He was a member of the Department of Civil Service when the CoS

53 For the details of the Danube Vilayet educational reforms, see Tetsuya Sahara, “Donau Shuudeno Kyuouiku Kaikakuno Kokoromi (1865-68) to Sono Hannou: Tanzimatki Bulgaria Shakaino Ichidanmen (An Attempt to Reform Education in the Danube Vilayet (1865-68) and the Reaction: Bulgarian Society in the Tanzimat Period),” in Haruki Wada and others eds., *Surabun no Rekishi (A History of Slav)* (Tokyo: Koubundou, 1995), pp. 126-158 (in Japanese). See also *Kindai Balkan Toshi Shakaishi: Tagenshugi Kuukan niokeru Shuukyoku to Ethnicity (A Social History of Modern Balkan Cities: Religion and Ethnicity in Pluralistic Space)* (Tokyo: Tousui Shobou, 2003), pp. 261-267 (in Japanese).

54 Sahara, *Kindai Balkan*, pp. 262-265.

was founded,<sup>55</sup> but had moved to the DoE by 19 June 1868 (27 S. 1285 AH).<sup>56</sup> This move could be attributed to his consistent support for Midhat's education reforms in both his career and public remarks. After the restructuring of the CoS, he was also the only former member of the DoE to be assigned to the Department of Interior and Education.<sup>57</sup>

Midhat, on the other hand, was made Governor of the Bagdad Vilayet in February 1869 and Yûsuf Kâmil Paşa was appointed president of the CoS. As noted above, Kemâl was a participating member in the Sublime Council of Judicial Ordinances' deliberations on the Regulations of Primary School Reform. Yûsuf Kâmil Paşa was president of the Sublime Council at that time.

In contrast to other non-Muslim members, such as İvanço, who supported the RPE, **Logofet Aristarhi İstavrakı Bey** (1830-1920), the Greek Orthodox representative, was opposed to it. The term *Logofet* denotes a government official not from the priesthood, who, under the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul, was responsible for liaising with the Ottoman government. The term was previously used to indicate the public secretary of Wallachia and Moldavia.<sup>58</sup> Aristarhi's real role, however, was as courtroom aide (da'vâ mu'âvini) to the Patriarch. He had also attained the honorary rank of Logofet the previous year.<sup>59</sup> Along with Kemâl and Zîver, he was a member of the DoE from its inception, and transferred to the Department of Trials after the restructuring. In the first and second Constitutional Periods, he was made a member of the Senate (Meclis-i A'yân).<sup>60</sup>

The General Assembly minutes make clear that Aristarhi opposed the RPE. This might explain why in the DoE minutes the place where his seal should have appeared was altered to make it look as if he were not a member of the department.<sup>61</sup> In accordance with his rank, the Aristarhi's seal would normally have appeared between those of Emîn and İvanço. But the DoE minutes for the RPE

55 BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 1/75.

56 BOA, İ.ŞD 287.

57 *Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXV, 1287, p. 39.

58 [Şemseddîn] Sâmî, *Kâmûs-ı Türki* (Der-sa'âdet: İkdâm Matba'ası, 1317), p. 1242; James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople: The Publication Committee of the Mission of the American Board, 1890), p. 1635; T.X. Bianchi, J.D. Kieffer, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*, vol. II, seconde ed. (Paris: Typographie de M<sup>me</sup> V<sup>e</sup> Dondey-Dupré, 1850), p. 710.

59 BOA, İrade Hâriciyye (İ.HR), 13332 (9 C. 1284/8 October 1867).

60 H. Aliyar Demirci, *İkinci Meşrutiyet'te Âyan Meclisi 1908-1912* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p. 69.

61 BOA, İrade Meclis-i Mahsûs (İ.MMS), 1541 (8 Ra. 1286/18 June 1869).

deliberations show a blank space where the seal should be and a trace of black ink as if a seal had been lightly pressed there. This trace is exactly the size of the Aristarhi's seal, and moreover, it appears that something was written in red ink underneath this but was scratched away with a knife or similar implement. It was not uncommon to see notes in red ink under a space where a seal should be stamped – for example, when a member was absent, their name would be written in black ink and a description of the absence would be noted in red ink. For example, absent (bulunamadı), absent due to illness (nâ-mizâc), absent during the time to affix seals (hîn-i temhîrde bulunamadı). The type of alteration here, however, is out of the ordinary.

The reasons for his opposition are not given in detail, but this was precisely when the Bulgarian Orthodox church's movement to gain independence from the Patriarch was at its peak.<sup>62</sup> As the Ottoman government supported the Bulgarian position, these circumstances may have influenced the deliberations.

In addition to the other non-Muslim participants, a Jewish representative, **Avram Mordehay Efendi** (n.a.), a Jew from Selânik, was also partially involved.<sup>63</sup> However, before the content of the RPE was agreed upon Avram was dismissed from his post due to his lack of ability.<sup>64</sup> As mentioned above, however, the deliberations began, at the very latest, on 13 August 1868 (23 R. 1285 AH). As he was still a member of the DoE at that time, he is believed to have participated before his dismissal.<sup>65</sup> His post-dismissal activities are not known in detail.

The ten individuals discussed above were those that deliberated on the RPE in the CoS DoE. Note, however, that Sa'dullah, Sermed, and Ekrem also held positions in the department as assistants (mu'âvin). Their seals do not appear on the DoE minutes because they were neither department head nor department members. Nevertheless, they were employed at the department

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62 Sahara, *Kindai Balkan*, p. 317. Also "Touhou Seikyou to Minzokuno Tanjou: Bulgaria Kyoukai Dokuritsu Undou to Chiiki Shakai (The Eastern Orthodox and the Birth of Ethnicity: Independent Movements of the Bulgarian Church and Regional Society)," in Yoshihiro Shiba, Tetsuya Sahara eds., *Balkangakuno Frontier (A Frontier of Balkan Studies)* (Tokyo: Sairyuusha, 2006), pp. 201-242 (in Japanese).

63 Member list contained in BOA, İ.ŞD, 58/49.

64 BOA, İ.DH, 40477 (21 C. 1285/9 October 1868).

65 BOA, Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemi Mühimme Kalemi (A.MKT.MHM), 417/11; BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 2/37; BOA, A.MKT.ŞD, 2/85; BOA, İ.ŞD 488.

while the RPE was being debated.<sup>66</sup> Thus, they presumably participated in the deliberations in some capacity, so I will provide the following overviews of their careers.

**Sa'dullah Bey** (1838-91) studied at the House of Knowledge (Dârü'l-ma'arif) founded by the Empress Dowager of Abdülmecid I, served in the Office of Translations, assumed the position of head of the Department of Religious Sects (Mezâhib Odası).<sup>67</sup> He was thereafter appointed to the position of assistant.<sup>68</sup> After the restructuring, he became a member of the CoS Department of Justice and was appointed as the principal secretary of the Council the following year, while retaining his position as a Department of Justice member. He subsequently served in other important offices, such as Minister of Commerce and Ambassador to Berlin. He earned the title of Paşa before committing suicide while serving as the Ambassador to Vienna.

**Sermed Efendi** (1832-88) worked in the Office of Translations. He served as secretary to the Berlin embassy and as first secretary to the London embassy before being appointed an assistant in the CoS. After the restructuring, he was made an assistant in the Department of Justice, and later served as a minister to Madrid.<sup>69</sup>

**Ekrem Bey** (1847-1914) was the son of Recâ'i (1803-74), who participated in the Temporary Council of Education as secretary general.<sup>70</sup> As noted above, the personal connection between Es'ad and Kemâl ensured continuity between

66 The list of individuals that donated to the School for Orphans (Dârü's-şafaka) is included in the TV published while the RPE was being debated in the DoE and the names of Sa'dullah, Sermed, and Ekrem appear as assistants. TV, 1014 (5 B. 1285/22 October 1868).

67 İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1930-42 (rep. 1988)), pp. 1566-1573; Ali Akyıldız, *Sürgün Sefir Sadullah Paşa* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010).

68 BOA, İ.DH, 40208; TV, 970 (1 S. 1285/24 May 1868). Previous studies have noted that Sa'dullah wrote the General Assembly minutes for the RPE but no references were provided. As the chief secretary of the Council of State was Mahmûd Bey (*Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXIV, 1286, p. 38), it is possible that he penned the General Assembly minutes. It may be that what Sa'dullah wrote was, in fact, the Department of Education minutes.

69 *Sicill*, vol. III, p. 11; *Sâlnâme-i Nezâret-i Hâriciyye*, vol. I (Kostantiniye, 1302), p. 193.

70 İnal, *Şairleri*, pp. 274-285; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Çağlayan Basımevi, n.d. (rep. 2001)), pp. 475-478; İsmail Parlatır, *Recâi-zade Mahmut Ekrem: Hayat-Eserleri-Sanatı* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1985 (rep. 1995)).

the Temporary Council of Education and the CoS DoE. That continuity was also realized through this father-son connection.

After graduating from secondary school (rüşdiyye) and the School for Training Government Officials (Mekteb-i Ma'ârif-i Adliyye), Ekrem began a preparatory course (i'dâdî) at the Military School (Mekteb-i Harbiyye), but had to withdraw due to poor health. He later joined the Secretarial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hâriciyye Mektûbî Kalemi), serving in a variety of positions before being appointed assistant in the CoS. After the restructuring, he was transferred to the Department of Public Works, where he served as an assistant.<sup>71</sup> Ekrem authored a large number of poems, plays, and novels, and was a close friend of Nâmîk Kemâl (1840-88), one of the most famous Young Ottomans (Yeni Osmanlılar).

A common thread among these three individuals is experience in either the Office of Translations or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also, while Sermed's educational history is unclear, the other two were educated in new-model schools. The experiences and skills that these young officials gained, through practical education in new-model schools and working jobs in constant contact with foreign languages, was likely put to use in the drafting of the RPE.

Previous research has contended that, along with Kemâl, Artin, Sa'dullah, and Ekrem, other DoE staff, namely Tevfik, Mansûr, and Çankov were also involved in the drafting of the RPE. But did these individuals actually hold office in the DoE at that time?

Article Eight of the Regulations of the CoS act requires "the presence of five assistants (mu'âvin) and five apprentices (mülâzim) in each department of the CoS," which leaves open the possibility that they were employed as apprentices at the department. In fact, recent research indicates that they were, at the very least, employees of the CoS. The names of apprentices, however, are not recorded in the *Sâlnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, and since they are rarely mentioned in manuscript documents, it remains unclear whether they participated in the deliberations on the RPE. For the sake of completeness, the careers of these individuals is outlined below, but no determination on their participation can be made at this stage.<sup>72</sup>

71 *Sal.Dev.*, vol. XXV, 1287, p. 38.

72 Even archival documents which record the names of the Council of State members and assistants do not mention the apprentices (BOA, İ.DUÎT, 58/49). Note, however, that the Grand Vizier's

After primary school, **Ebüzziyâ Tevfik Bey** (1848-1913), one of the great masters in the history of Turkish literature, went to work at the age of eight, in place of his deceased father, at the Pay Office of the Ministry of Finance (Mâliyye Nezâreti Sergi Kalemi), and later worked in a variety of offices within the ministry. During this period, he learned Arabic and Persian under the tutelage of his colleagues. He was subsequently appointed “second class apprentice (ikinci sınıf mülâzim)” at the CoS, and is said to have studied French under Çankov (discussed below). While serving at the CoS, he began publishing articles in various newspapers as one of the Young Ottomans, and continued publishing until the final years of his life.<sup>73</sup>

**Mehmed Mansûr Efendi** (?-1897) was born in Manastır and moved to Istanbul after completing primary school. In the imperial capital, he was recognized for his abilities in modern and ancient Greek and went to work at the Office of Translations. He studied French and English under James W. Redhouse (1811-92), who was known for his *Turkish-English and English-Turkish* dictionaries. *Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri* states that he was subsequently appointed assistant to the CoS.<sup>74</sup> However, his name is not found in the *Sâlnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye*, so he may have been appointed as an apprentice rather than an assistant.

**Dragan Çankov Efendi** (1828-1911) was born in 1828 in Sviştov. After studying in Odessa and Kiev, he worked as a teacher in Bucharest. He then learned about printing technologies and published the periodical *Bulgaria* (България, 1854-63) in Istanbul. From 1864 to 1873 he worked as a government official for the Ottoman Empire in Sviştov, Ruse, and Niş, while also teaching French.<sup>75</sup> This focus on politics shows his desire for reform within the Ottoman Empire, and stands in contrast to the radical groups that sought independence. Çankov also participated in the Council of Education of Vilayets at the time of the Danube

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report to the throne concerning Artin and Yanko's promotion to member status mentions the promotion of Hakkı Bey from apprentice to assistant (BOA, İ.DH, 40165).

73 Âlim Gür, *Ebüzziya Tevfik Hayatı: Dil, Edebiyat, Basım, Yayın ve Matbaacılığa Katkıları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi), 1998, pp. 23-36.

74 Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri*, vol. III (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Âmire, 1342), pp. 147-148.

75 *Кратка Българска Енциклопедия*, Том V (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките), 1969, стр. 407; *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe* (New York, London: Garland Publishing), 2000, p. 811.

Vilayet educational reforms.<sup>76</sup> If he was an apprentice in the DoE, his experience with the reforms in the Danube Vilayet may have been put to use in the RPE deliberations. After the Principality of Bulgaria was established in 1878, he founded the principality's Liberal Party, and while party leader served as Prime Minister (1880, 83-84).

### **Conclusion**

The above discussion examined the careers of the individuals involved in the Department of Education's deliberations on the Regulations of Public Education act. The backgrounds of these individuals tell us a number of things about the nature of the law that resulted from the deliberations.

First, participants included a balance of representatives of non-Muslim communities. Yet, their support for the law was not uniform. Representatives of the Bulgarian Orthodox and Armenian Church were in favor of the law, while the Greek Orthodox representative was against it. Moreover, we find that the minutes from the deliberations have been altered. And while a representative from the Jewish community may have participated in the deliberations, it appears that he was dismissed partway through the process.

Second, Muslim participants were selected from the three groups that comprised the Ottoman government, namely *ulamas* (*ilmiyye*), secretaries (*kalemiyye*), and the military (*seyfiyye*). A similar structure had already been used in the Temporary Council of Education, but the Council of State's Department of Education deliberations on the Regulations of Public Education act also brought in military personnel from outside the Department. It is also quite notable that two *ulamas* did in fact participate, which refutes previous research findings. It is also notable, in relation to the Temporary Council of Education, that Es'ad and Kemâl, as well as the Recâ'i father-son pair provided threads of continuity between the Council of State's Department of Education and the more recent Council of Public Education, as well as with the Temporary Council of Education.

Third, individuals who could make use of their own personal experiences in educational reform were employed. Kemâl, the head of the Department of Education, had long been a driving force for educational reform in the Ottoman Empire. Safvet, the Minister of Public Education, who along with Kemâl

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76 Sahara, "Donau Shuudeno," p. 144.

founded the Galatasaray Lycée, and Sâlih, the head of the Military Medical College, who was familiar with both new-model schools and educational policy, were specially invited to participate despite not being official department members. And President Midhat and the Bulgarian Orthodox representative İvanço were able to apply their experiences with educational reforms in the Danube Vilayet. These facts show that the Regulations of Public Education act may be regarded as a composite of previous educational reforms.

And lastly, we note a correlation between the work experiences of the deliberators involved and the foreign countries referenced in the reforms. Many of the participants were fluent in French. Artin, in particular, had actually been educated in France. At the same time, the minutes show that the Prussian education system was raised as an example of compulsory education. We can conclude that educational reform in the Ottoman Empire used several countries as models, as did educational reform in Meiji Era Japan.

This study examined the proceedings in drafting the Ottoman Empire's Regulations of Public Education act and investigated the careers of the Council of State's Department of Education employees that drafted it. In summation, the vital organs (a'zâ) of the Ottoman Empire were represented in the members (also a'zâ) of the department that created the Regulations of Public Education act.

*The 1869 Ottoman Public Education Act: Proceedings and Participants*

Abstract ■ The enactment of the Regulations of Public Education law in 1869 ushered in a new era in Ottoman educational history. It was a composite of ideas borrowed from several previous educational reforms, and served as a basis for subsequent reforms. But the participants that drafted this legislation have been misreported for nearly ninety years, dating back to a study by Kansu. This paper will correct that misreporting based on the meeting minutes from the Council of State's Department of Education, which drafted the law. The findings reveal some interesting participants, including representatives from non-Muslim communities, two ulamas who were previously said to not have participated, members who supported and implemented educational reforms in the Danube Vilayet, and persons familiar with the educational systems of France and Prussia.

Keywords: Ma'ârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnamesi (Regulations of Public Education), Şûrâ-yı Devlet (Council of State), Tanzîmât, Education

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