GEOGRAPHICAL IMAGINATION IN SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY DURING THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD, 1876-1908

ÖZKAN AKPINAR

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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by

ÖZKAN AKPINAR

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"Geographical Imagination in School Geography during the Late Otoman Period, 1876-1908" a thesis prepared by Özkan Akpınar in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree from the Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University.

This thesis has been approved and accepted on 26 February 2010 by:

Assoc. Prof. Nadir Özbek _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Prof. Zafer Toprak _____

Assoc. Prof. Asım Karaömerlioğlu _____

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The aim of this study is to place the Ottoman geography education during the Hamidian period within the context of territoriality; that is, Abdulhamid II's attempts to integrate all provinces of the empire into his own authority and to legitimize his power over these territories and people. During this period, geography education became an integral and inseparable part of public education. Geography courses were in the curricula of *ibtidaiye*, *rüşdiye* and *idadiye* schools. The content of these courses was determined and controlled by the Ministry of Public Education. The main sources of these courses were geography textbooks, maps and atlases, strictly inspected and monitored by inspection commissions within the ministry. These sources and materials not only reflected the official geographical imagination of the Hamidian state but also contributed to its formation and formulation as a result of the process of inspection and control by the state, in connection with conjunctural realities and conditions of the Ottoman Empire in the course of time. In this sense, the materials in question were not simple reflections or copies of geographical and cartographic studies produced in Europe; instead, they were adapted into Ottoman realities. In conclusion, these materials and geography courses were used in order to create a sense of imperial unity in the minds of students and to legitimize the sultan's power.

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Başlık: Son Dönem Osmanlı Coğrafya Eğitiminde Coğrafi Tahayyül, 1876-1908

Bu çalışmanın amacı, II. Abdülhamid dönemi Osmanlı coğrafya eğitimini toprak algısı (*territoriality*) kavramı bağlamında, yani II. Abdülhamid'in imparatorluğun tüm vilayetlerini kendi otoritesiyle bütünleştirme ve bu vilayetleri oluşturan topraklar ve halklar üzerinde iktidarını meşrulaştırma çabaları bağlamında ele almaktır. Bu dönemde coğrafya eğitimi Osmanlı kamusal eğitiminin ayrılmaz ve bütünsel bir parçası haline gelmiş ve coğrafya dersleri *ibtidaiye*, *rüşdiye* ve *idadiye* mekteplerinin müfredatında yer almıştı. Bu derslerin içeriği Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti tarafından belirlenmekte ve denetlenmekteydi. Derslerde kullanılan başlıca kaynaklar, bu nezaret içerisindeki teftiş heyetleri tarafından sıkıca teftiş edilen ve izlenen coğrafya ders kitapları, haritalar ve atlaslardı. Bu kaynak ve malzemeler, II. Abdülhamid döneminde Osmanlı devletinin resmi coğrafi tahayyülünü yansıtmakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun konjonktürel gerçeklikleri ve koşullarına paralel olarak, devlet tarafından uygulanan teftiş ve denetim süreci dolayısıyla bu tahayyülün oluşumuna ve ortaya konmasına da katkıda bulunuyordu. Bu bağlamda, söz konusu malzemeler, Avrupa'da üretilen coğrafya ve kartografya çalışmalarının basit birer yansıması veya kopyası değillerdi; bunlar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun gerçekliklerine ve koşullarına adapte edilmişlerdi. Sonuç olarak, bu malzemeler ve coğrafya dersleri, öğrencilerin zihninde imparatorluğun bütünlüğü hissini yaratmak ve sultanın iktidarını meşrulaştırmak üzere kullanıldı.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to place the Ottoman geography education within the context of territoriality and the Hamidian state's attempts to integrate all of the recognized and distant territories of the empire into the central authority of the sultan. Territoriality can be defined as a modern state strategy based on "establishing control over natural resources and the people who use them."[1] During the nineteenth century, most modern states throughout the world tried to unite all of their recognized territories in a geographical sense and to establish direct authority over these territories against local power centers which emphasized provincialism versus unity. The central elite of nation-states made use of modern strategies such as the expansion of public education or introduction of police and gendarmerie forces in order to pacify their provinces and to establish central control over regional powers.

During the Hamidian era the Ottoman Empire had to deal with local threats in order to extend its central authority to its distant provinces and people, especially those provinces which were partly under its rule and to legitimize the sultan's power against the local ruling elites and separatist movements. The Ottoman state faced the threat of totally losing its authority over eastern Anatolia, the Arabian provinces and the Balkans. In this period, the Hamidian regime had weak authority over tribes in eastern Anatolia and the Arabian provinces. The Armenian question became an international issue and threatened some regions of the empire such as Van and Erzurum. While Tunis in the African territories of the empire was occupied by

[1] Vandergeest and Peluso, "Territorialization and State Power in Thailand," *Theory and Society,* vol. 24, no. 3 (January, 1995), p. 385.

France, Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Balkans was under the occupation of Austria-Hungary. In addition, the province of Eastern Rumelia was declared to unite with the new Bulgaria in 1885 and Macedonia was under the threat of Bulgarian activists. All of these questions led to the danger of violating the Ottoman central authority over these peripheral regions.

The Hamidian regime aimed at dominating these territories and at legitimizing the sultan's authority over them. To accomplish this aim, the Hamidian regime, like all contemporary modern states, employed various strategies such as opening branches of administrative apparatus in the provinces, expanding public education, establishing local police and gendarmerie units. Geography education was also one of the tools the Hamidian state used in order to fight rival power blocks challenging the sultan's authority and to legitimize his power by creating a sense of unity in the minds of the students. This study argues that geography education during the Hamidian era can only be understood within the context of the government's attempt to integrate the territories of the empire and establish its full sovereignty over these territories.

The aim of geography education was to create a sense of attachment among the students to the territories of the empire. Such a sense of attachment enabled students to identify themselves with this united territory of the empire in a spatial ground by differentiating their "own" country from others within a general framework of the world. In this sense, this territory constituted an integral part of the Ottoman identity. It is expected to create a sense of loyalty to the country where they reified in maps in a territorial sense and to the sultan as the personification of the political body. As such, it is this thesis contention that geography education was a part of territoriality

in a modern sense; that is, the establishment of direct state authority over territories, people and natural resources.

Within this context, geography education became an integral and inseparable component of the Ottoman public education curriculum. Geography courses in various hours and details were given at every level of public education, namely in *ibtidaiye*, *rüşdiye* and *idadiye* schools. Their contents and places within the curricula were shaped by the government. There were some crucial materials which were used in the geography courses in order to make it possible for the students to reify the territories of the empire: geography textbooks, wall maps and atlases. Strictly inspected by the relative apparatus of the government, i.e., the Ministry of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*), these materials determined not only the contents of the geography courses but also the official geographical imagination of the Hamidian state.

However, the Hamidian official geographical imagination should not be considered as fixed and remained unchanged during the period under study. The geographical imagination was shaped, transformed and reproduced within the context of a contestation with rival geographical imaginations of regional and separatist sort. The local elites with their alternative discourse emphasized their localities in order to consolidate their own authorities against the central one within the context of the political realities and questions of the empire at the end of the nineteenth century. In this sense, geography courses not only reflected the official geographical imagination but also contributed to its formulation and standardization. State control over and inspection on geography books, maps and atlases were some of the most important elements which affected this process of formulation and standardization.

Though the written materials in the geography courses and the official geographical imagination shaped around these materials were based on the European model and the European geography, they were not simple reflections and copies of geographical studies produced in Europe. Instead, they reflected the Ottoman realities and the political agenda of the Hamidian state. In this respect, the inspection commissions within the Ministry of Public Education played an important role. Many documents in the Ottoman archives and the contents of geography textbooks, maps and atlases confirm this interpretation.

Overall, this study conceives the geography education during the Hamidian period as the politics of territoriality. Through geography education the Hamidian regime attempted to establish direct authority over territories supposedly under its control, people and natural resources of the empire. Such a perspective and an emphasis on the geographical and spatial dimension of the Ottoman politics can make it possible to reexamine relations between the central state and provinces and power struggles between ruling elites who sought to legitimize their own power. Documents, published works and maps in Ottoman archives and private libraries are so rich that it is possible to conduct a study of place of geography in the late Ottoman world and of the Ottoman geographical imagination in a broader context.

The main body of primary sources that I used for this thesis composes of archival documents in the Prime Ministry Archives and published sources such as geography textbooks and atlases. Archival documents are usually from the collections of the ministries of Public Education and Internal Affairs, and of Yıldız Palace. These documents include correspondences between the central bureaucracy of the empire and the provincial bureaucracy, reports from inspection commissions of the Ministry of Public Education, imperial decrees (*irade*) and documents on the

school curricula. Published works such as geography textbooks and atlases in private libraries are among the sources used in this study. Four geography textbooks and two atlases were examined. These works constitute a rich source of information on the geographical imagination in the late Ottoman world. These sources altogether enable me to trace the transformation of the Ottoman geographical imagination promoted in primary and secondary education.

This thesis is composed of six chapters, including an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter 2, that follows the Introduction, places the Ottoman public education of the Hamidian period into a historical context. Its focal point is the expansion of public education into all provinces of the empire as a political tool of the Hamidian regime. Chapter 3 focuses on the main dynamics of the Ottoman geography education within the context of territoriality. This chapter examines in detail the place of geography courses within every level of the Ottoman public education system – that is, in ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools.

Chapters 4 and 5 include a discussions on the written and visual materials used in the geography courses, geography textbooks, and maps and atlases. Focusing on geography textbooks, Chapter 4 discusses the process of preparation and inspection of these books and places their contents within this process as an integral component of the formulation of the official geographical imagination in the late Ottoman period. Chapter 5 examines another aspect of this process: maps and atlases as visual materials. It addresses the contents of maps and atlases, and the Hamidian state's sensitivity regarding these visual materials used in schools. The conclusion chapter provides a brief discussion of the Ottoman geography education within the Hamidian period.

CHAPTER 2

PUBLIC EDUCATION

DURING THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD, 1876–1908

Theodore Zeldin says that among the labels which characterize the nineteenth century, one is the Age of Education; in this age when it was believed that every problem could be solved by the spread of education, "schools came to be considered indispensable amenities, which every state must provide for all its citizens."[2] It can be said that the belief that education was the solution of every problem was one of the most important ingredients which made the state modern in the nineteenth century. In fact, it is seen that the state assumed the duty of teaching its people, that the establishment of education became an important branch of the modern state, that state-driven public education rapidly spread throughout the population and that schools were established in even the smallest villages throughout the world during the century. Following the suit and constituting a part of this universal tendency, the Ottoman Empire also applied a systematic program of mass education during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Although the Edict of Gülhane (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*) did not include any articles about the reorganization of Ottoman education, the Tanzimat statesmen attempted to reorganize the education system, especially the primary education system. Until this period, the education in the primary level had been undertaken in Quran schools (*sıbyan mektebi*) by charitable organizations and waqfs, but not by the state. Education had not been not regularly controlled by the state or any central

[2] Theodore Zeldin, *France: 1848-1945: Volume II: Intellect, Taste and Anxiety* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 139.

governmental apparatus. But this began to change with the Edict of Gülhane and the state began to organize, systematize and control education.

In fact, the notion of mass education in the Ottoman Empire was originated in the Tanzimat Era. A new hierarchy between primary (sıbyan – ibtidai) and secondary (rüşdiye and idadiye) schools, the reorganization of the sıbyan schools, the education of girls, a new method (*usul-i cedid*) in education, the establishment of new schools in provinces by the central government, new regulations for the educational system, all had begun to be shaped during the Tanzimat period.[3] Although financial problems and the lack of a systematic program until the Regulation of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*) of 1869 made the application of a full-fledged modern educational system in the Ottoman Empire difficult, it can be seen that many serious steps were accomplished during this period.[4]

The period when mass schooling constituted a serious development at the provincial level and when the number of primary and secondary schools rapidly increased was the Hamidian period. Giving a special importance to the spread of primary and secondary schools not only in Istanbul but also throughout the empire, Abdulhamid II attempted to use mass education in order to legitimize his personal authority, constructed around Yıldız Palace. In this sense, it is necessary to place the development of public education at the primary and secondary levels during the Hamidian era within its political and social context. As was mentioned above, the development of mass education in the nineteenth century was not peculiar to the Ottoman Empire and was a universal fact. So it is necessary to adopt a comparative perspective in which the Ottoman experience of public education could be compared

[3] Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), p. 69.
[4] Reşat Özalp, *Milli Eğitimle İlgili Mevzuat (1857-1923)* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1982), pp. 165-197.

with the experiences of other states such as France, Russia, China, and England. Such a perspective that Ottoman history is comparable with other histories will make the notion that Ottoman state and society were essentially unique meaningless[5] and help to prevent a reductionist approach in which education is understood in terms of modernization and westernization.

Education is not only a cultural phenomenon, neutral, static and isolated from the social and political context and dynamics of society; indeed, it is an arena of contestation between various rival groups. As Emine Önhan Evered points out, recent scholarship on education evaluates it as "a field in which power systems and struggles in a given society can be understood" and refers to Pierre Bourdieu's writings on education which examine education as a contested territory.[6] The field is the arena of competition and contestation. So the matter of education should be evaluated within the context it is used. In a pedagogical sense, it can be used in order to legitimize and reinforce an established authority in a given society or can be a "practice of freedom." As Richard Shaull writes

> "There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes 'the practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world."[7]

[5] See Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005), p. 6 for a criticism of reductionist approaches in the Ottoman historiography.
[6] Emine Önhan Evered, "The Politics of Late Otoman Education: Accommodating Ethno-Religious Pluralism Amid Imperial Disintegration" (Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 2005), p. 23.
[7] Richard Shaull, "Foreword," in Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 2002).

In this sense, it is necessary to note that being used to legitimize the authority of a group in a given society, the field of education constitutes a part and arena of power struggles between the ruling elites of a society. The education policies and associated matters –such as textbooks, curriculum, and teachers– are shaped, transformed and reshaped in terms of these struggles and various and rival educations develop. For example, according to Abram de Swaan, the long-term tendencies of centralization in education, as in health care and welfare, has been shaped as a result of struggles between elite groups. The elite groups which wanted to gain the support of lower groups in struggles among themselves have tried to exploit these tendencies of centralization.[8]

Adeeb Khalid also thinks in terms of the Jadid movement of reformation that culture in general and schools in particular witnessed considerable contestation between old and new elite groups in Central Asia. According to him, the conquest of Central Asia and the direct Russian administration prepared the social terrain in which new intellectual technologies and forms of sociability such as the printing press and the creation of a public space allowed the Jadids to challenge the old elites' cultural authority –"the authority to create and interpret culture"[9]– in society. During this struggle in which old elites were increasingly marginalized by new ones' challenge, the latter gained an advantage thanks to the institutionalization of new modern schools.[10] Consequently, the culture in Central Asia has been shaped as a result of this contestation between elite groups. Indeed, education has constituted a crucial means of power struggles between elite groups and their attempt to legitimize

[8] Abram de Swaan, *In Care of the State: Health Care, Education and Welfare in Europe and the USA in the Modern Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
[9] Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 5.
[10] Ibid., p. 13.

their own authority within society. It can be said that the Ottoman experience of public education during the Hamidian era should be examined from this perspective.

The Ottoman Empire witnessed a systematic process of transformation and change in social, economic, cultural, political and administrative areas during the nineteenth century, like many other states of the period which tried to integrate and control their countries and populations in a given territorial area. In order to understand the development of public education in the Ottoman Empire, one should examine this process of transformation and change during this period, because it was also a part of this transformation.

Much of the research about the late Ottoman period until the 1990s explained the process of transformation and the attempt of centralization in the late Ottoman period with external factors, based on modernization theory. But such an approach which sees the nation state as an inevitable outcome of the change is problematic and ignores the internal dynamics of Ottoman society, that is, its socio-political and economic context. According to Abou-el-Haj, the transformation in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century was connected to a continuous process dating back at least two hundred years.[11] As such, we should examine this process in order to understand the nineteenth century.

As Abou-el-Haj has pointed out, the process of transformation which the Ottoman society underwent in the second half of the seventeenth century came from the change in tax collection and produced a new mechanism in the form of a local ruling elite which supervised "the collection of taxes, on its own behalf as well as on behalf of the Istanbul-based ruling class."[12] During this process, in many regions semiautonomous local dynasties rose and even some *miri* lands (lands owned by the

[11] Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, p. 65.
[12] Ibid., p. 64.

government) were turned into private property. These lands constituted the material base of the local elites. As a result, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Ottoman provincial elite gained both a considerable wealth and a local authority against the central state.

Şevket Pamuk also discusses the strengthening of provincial notables, the *ayan*, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[13] The *ayan* began to obtain an economic, political and military power in the seventeenth century. During that century, the Ottoman state changed the taxation system in order to provide "cash" and to meet the necessities of the army which was equipped with new technologies and was reorganised. The *timar* system was replaced by *iltizam*, annual tax farming. In this new system, the state granted the right of collecting taxes in a region to regional notables (*ayan*s) called *mültezim*; the *mültezim* made a payment to the state before collecting taxes. This system made the *ayan* the *de facto* controller of the land. Thus the *ayan* obtained economic, political and military power in his own region. He increasingly became the rival of the state for the political power and the state decentralised.

These local notables in the provinces gained a considerable amount of power and authority, especially after the 1750s. The state increasingly had to rely on notables as intermediaries in relations with the local people.[14] This made them remarkable rival groups of authority. We can see that during the second half of the seventeenth century, the central authority weakened in especially the distant provinces such as Damascus and Nablus. For example, in Damascus, which was a key place for the Ottoman state and witnessed Bedouin attacks on the Damascus-

[13] Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), pp. 140-145.
[14] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p 101.

Mecca pilgrimage routes, the state tried to establish a closer central control over the area, but all efforts to centralize the area failed and ended until the nineteenth century; as a result, the local notables gained more authority. Similarly, in Nablus, the central authority was felt less and local notables obtained autonomy until the 1840s.[15]

On the other hand, along with the rising power of the provincial elites, since the second half of the seventeenth century, new elite groups outside military groups also emerged in Istanbul, around vizier and pasha households,[16] turning into power groups to rival the sultan at the center. They increased their wealth thanks to the land granted to them, and also waqfs which allowed them to guarantee a substantial revenue. By the eighteenth century, these vizier and pasha households had reinforced their positions as rival power groups.[17]

What made the nineteenth century different from the eighteenth century was the central state's efforts to eliminate its rival groups of power at both the center and the provinces (not only the *ayan*s, but also groups like the Janissaries, tribes, religious authorities), to control them and to concentrate all of the power in its own hand. Quataert writes that "The central state employed the expanding bureaucracy and military –along with a host of other new technologies such as the telegraph, railroads, and photography– to control, weaken, or destroy domestic rivals."[18] It used various modern techniques and methods. It tried to extend its scope of control and authority over society.

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[15] Ibid., pp. 101-108.
[16] See Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households, 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 94, no. 4 (October-December, 1974), pp. 438-447 for vizier and pasha households..
[17] Quataert, pp. 33-34.
[18] Ibid., p. 107.

First, the central state employed many civil servants in various branches of the bureaucracy. Both the scope and functions of the bureaucracy extended. There emerged a modern division of labor and specialization in the bureaucracy. Some new bureaucratic branches which dealt with areas such as health, education, and trade were established; these made it possible for the state to intervene in society. In other words, the central state attempted to employ many methods of rule to establish a direct control over everyday life, to develop a new form of relationship between itself and the population and to assume many duties which previously had not been responsibility in order to legitimize its authority against domestic rivals and to obtain the advantage in this power struggle. Especially during the Tanzimat period, a series of reforms happened in both the central and provincial administration in order to centralize the state. Specialization and the division of labour continued; some institutions of counseling were constituted. The provincial administration was reorganized with the Regulation of Provinces (*Vilayet Nizamnamesi*) based on the French model in 1864; this regulation constituted a hierarchical system which strengthened the central authority over the provinces. The increasing power of the provincial notables is the most important factor which encouraged the central state to transform itself into a modern state that sought to intervene and control the social sphere. The increasing power of the *ayan* led to a political struggle between ruling elites.

However, we cannot talk about a fixed and unchanged central rule of state during the nineteenth century. Especially it should be emphasized that there was a deep difference between the Tanzimat period and the Hamidian era. The Tanzimat concentrated all power in the hands of a circle of bureaucrats around the Sublime Porte. Employed in the various ranks of the increasingly growing state bureaucracy

during the second half of the nineteenth century, these military, political and bureaucratic elites obtained considerable authority in the Tanzimat period. Instead, after 1876, when Abdulhamid II ascended the throne, the new sultan sought to get rid of the state bureaucracy and concentrate power in his own hand via Yıldız Palace by adopting a monarchic rule. He sought to establish a direct relationship between himself and his subjects without resorting to any intermediary such as bureaucrats. This tendency created substantial tension between the sultan and bureaucratic elites and a legitimacy crisis.[19] The sultan felt the necessity of legitimizing his power in front of the people. For this reason, he had to provide the consent of the people through various means.[20] Abdulhamid II employed many methods and strategies in order to legitimize and reinforce his authority against both these elite groups in Istanbul and notables in the provinces. For example, Nadir Özbek demonstrates that welfare system and philanthropic activities should be examined within the context of the political struggles between ruling elites and sultan's ruling strategies; the welfare system during the Hamidian period served to legitimize the political regime, symbolized in Abdulhamid's personality.[21]

Selim Deringil writes that the Ottoman Empire was faced with a legitimacy crisis which had both external and internal dimensions. According to him, the internal dimension of this crisis was concerned with how the central state attempted to increase its authority and control over society while the external dimension was about how the state aimed to provide a legitimate status for the Ottoman Empire within the international politics and changing global conditions. The ruling elites

[19] Selim Deringil, "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23, no 3 (August, 1991), pp. 345-359.
[20] Nadir Özbek, "Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Sosyal Devlet," *Toplum ve Bilim* 92 (Bahar, 2002), pp. 7-33, p. 16.
[21] Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet, 1876-1914* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), pp. 31-32.

were aware of this legitimacy crisis, which began in the reign of Mahmud II and continued during the Hamidian period. During this long period, the state expanded its scope of physical and ideological authority and control over the society it ruled through various reforms and its wide network of bureaucracy.[22] According to Deringil, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman, Russian, Austrian and Japan monarchies tried to create monarch cults, emphasizing the divine character of the monarch. Its aim was to prevent that the people who tended to form rival groups among the central ruling elites, such as political parties or parliament. These four monarchies had similar experiences at this point. All of them tried to create an official ideology and to spread this ideology throughout the society by the means of mass education.

In this sense, education during the Hamidian era was one of the most important means of sultan's efforts to weaken the bureaucratic elites and provincial notables and to legitimize his monarchic authority. The issue of education in this period should be understood within this context of "legitimacy crisis" and of the modern state which tried to solve this crisis with new governmental techniques, based on intervening in and controlling society. So the Ottoman public education was an arena of political contestation between the ruling elites. Now the central state around Yıldız Palace would tried to systematize, regulate and control education, which previously it had not seen as its own responsibility and waqfs and religious institutions assumed, spread it to the whole population and then, legitimized itself by imposing the values and messages of the center.

According to Deringil, the education reform was closely connected with ideologically legitimizing the existing social order, challenged by the changing world

[22] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), pp. 8-11.

conditions and some other conditions. Education and indoctrination were the most important means of legitimation. The main issue was to constitute the sense of belonging to a community; this sense could be embodied in the semi-divine personality of the sultan.[23] The aim of education during the Hamidian period was to create a loyal subject who identified the values of the state with himself.

Benjamin Fortna also formulates the development of the Ottoman modern education within the context of the changing world conditions and challenges to the Ottoman social order.[24] Fortna evaluates the dynamics of the change and expansion in the Ottoman state education in the nineteenth century, especially during the Hamidian period. He points out that although the Ottoman education system had some particular characteristics and although the Ottoman/Islam element played a crucial role within these characteristics, the expansion of mass education in the late Ottoman period was a part of a global tendency toward mass education within a wider geography in the nineteenth century. Within this framework, like in other monarchies and states such as Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France, in the Ottoman Empire mass education expanded; the number of primary and secondary schools increased both in the center of the empire and in provinces; despite financial problems, the expenditures on education increased; and an education based on discipline was introduced. For him, this process was shaped as a result of the juxtaposition of the Ottoman/Islam tradition within modernity and as a result of that the empire adapted itself to changing conditions.

Fortna points out that the process of reformation in the Ottoman education was closely connected with the ruling elites' pessimism (or fear) about the existing conditions of the empire or their hope about the future of the empire. He thought that

[23] Ibid., pp. 107-108.
[24] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

the empire was surrounded and challenged in many spheres by various factors. Education was also a sphere in which the state struggled against ideological challenges and the effects of various factors and competed with them. The Ottoman statesmen hoped that this struggle would guarantee the future of the state. The first rival was missionary schools, which had rapidly increased in the 1880s and 1890s. These schools concentrated their activities on distinct provinces from the center. The second rival source was the activities of neighboring states such as Iran, Bulgaria and Greece. They challenged the boundaries of the empire. The third rival power was minority schools. According to Benjamin Fortna, the Ottoman ruling elites were increasingly dissatisfied with the growing activities of these three rival powers; at this point, the main factor which encouraged the state to formulate a new strategy of education was this dissatisfaction and fear.

The state could struggle against them only with the help of a new systematic mass education.[25] Therefore, the main dynamic of the reformation of the Ottoman education system during the nineteenth century and especially during the Hamidian period was that the ruling elites of the empire saw education as a sphere of struggle against some factors which surrounded and challenged the empire. In this sense, the Ottoman/Islam tradition was juxtaposed with the Western modernity and a new system of education was formulated.[26]

As said before, the issue of public education in late Ottoman society should be understood within the context of the modern state, which tried to control its own subjects and their daily lives and to legitimize its authority against rival groups of power. Social control is one of the most important tasks of the modern state. Social control includes the elements of social disciplining and moral regulations. New

[25] Ibid., pp. 43-86.
[26] Ibid., p. 9.

moral norms were imposed on people through education. Thus, social control and social discipline surrounded the whole society.[27] We can see that efforts of the reform in the Ottoman education resulted from such a task which aimed to control and to discipline the society. The introduction of religious and moral elements in education was the most important means of social discipline.

In 1857, the Ministry of Public Education was founded. Its aim was to coordinate the increasing number of government schools and to secularize the education in the empire. Another important legal step toward the education reform in the Ottoman Empire was the introduction of the Regulation of Public Education in 1869.[28] With this regulation, the Ottoman state, for the first time in its history, aimed to constitute a systematic educational policy. It offered modern methods and techniques for education.[29] The regulation also constituted a legal basis to reform the primary school education system into a more secular educational network. However, this does not mean that both the Ministry of Public Education and the Regulation of Public Education led to increased tension between Islamic and more secular tendencies.

One of the most crucial characteristics of the Ottoman educational reform during both Tanzimat and the Hamidian periods was the dual character of education.[30] It tried to apply positive and practical course subjects, but with Islamic content. This duality was maintained in the Hamidian period. Religious curricula and elements were a part of the policy of social discipline, as it was in Russia. Government education accented moral and religious content. Textbooks were

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[27] Özbek, "Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Sosyal Devlet," p. 17.
[28] Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999).
[29] Sakaoğlu, p. 89.
[30] İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 185; Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p.2.

rearranged according to this moral and religious content of the education. The usage of textbooks which were approved by the Ministry of Public Education was a standardized procedure in the Ottoman educational system. Both textbooks and curriculum had an Islamic content especially during the Hamidian period. In the 1880s, "the state tried to combat nationalist secessionism by stressing religious and authoritarian values in the education."[31] Tanzimat education had emphasized the more general Islamic precepts such as the instruction of the rules of prayer or ethics, but the Hamidian education indoctrinated the Sultan-Caliph as the main source of political and religious loyalty and the Islamic community as the only social unit of political and religious identity.

During the early years of the Hamidian era, public education did not get ahead because of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78 and financial problems. However, after 1881 when Abdulhamid II began to establish his authority, public education not only developed in the center of the empire, Istanbul, but also expanded to the provinces. One of the most distinctive features of public education during the Hamidian era was its spread to the provinces and the institutionalization of provincial education.[32] Provincial educational councils emerged. New ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools were opened in many parts of the empire. In order to staff these schools, teacher seminaries were established not only in Istanbul but also in the provinces. Unlike the Tanzimat period, Abdulhamid II gave priority to the establishment of primary schools.

The most emphasized values in the education system were to obey and to respect the Sultan/Caliph, parents, relatives, teachers and aged persons; so one of the most significant socializing effects of the public education was to encourage the

[31] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, p. 180.
[32] Ibid., pp. 83-138.

student to obey hierarchies within the society and the family. Within the family, the father was offered as the head (*reis*) that had the right to correct and to punish anyone in the family. He was the person who kept the different organs of the body (family) in balance. This sense of hierarchy was a means of social disciplining; it had also political implications. This perception of family was "an allegory of the ideal political system, with the sultan providing justice by means of establishing harmony among the different layers of the society."[33] Because it offered obedience and loyalty to the sultan and the father as a norm, according to this norm, everyone had to obey the values offered by the sultan and the religion and to avoid from bad behaviours and undesired political tendencies such as liberalism or parliamentarism. In this sense, the curriculum sought to legitimize the sultan's authority by reinforcing the monarch cult and emphasizing the divine character of the monarch and his paternalist aspects.

The state applied strict control over the curriculum and the textbooks. The number of religious subjects increased and religious duties outside the classroom were taught and emphasized; students who disobeyed these duties were punished. Thus the education aimed to discipline both schoolboys in particular and society in general. In 1887, the *Şeyhülislam* issued a memorandum to Abdülhamid II. Saying that religious education and knowledge of Arabic was lacking in the elementary and secondary schools, the memorandum demanded the intensification of religious and moral education. The memorandum included the revisions of curricula in these schools.[34]

[33] Ibid., p. 192.
[34] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, pp. 94-95.

Activities and religious duties outside the classroom were strictly emphasized and controlled. The monitoring of the life outside the classroom was an important part of the social disciplining in the primary and secondary schools.

> "Both the yearly calendar and the daily regimen followed an Islamic rhythm. Such important times as the month of Ramadan and the Prophet's birthday were marked on the school calendar. Likewise, the schoolday accommodated time for students to pray. Moreover, as more and more state schools at the secondary level were converted to boarding institutions, the state assumed some parental functions. School regulations charged specific member of the schools' staff with supervising moral comportment."[35]

The "correction of subjects" (*terbiyye-i tebaa*) was one of the most crucial tasks of the state education. It was expected that students learn positive and negative behavioural categories. Benjamin Fortna thinks that the Ottoman state bureaucracy formulated a systematic program of education which gave priority to religion and morality lessons in order to deal with the effects of missionary and foreign involvement in education. But although it is true that religion and morality lessons had special importance and increasingly gained importance in education during the Hamidian era as in many other states like France, China and Russia, it is necessary to note that this effort came not only from the fear of missionary and foreign activities, but also from the power relations within the ruling elites and the attempt of the palace bureaucracy around Abdulhamid II to legitimize the sultan's authority as "something … of pater familias"[36] of all the empire.

Another crucial value which was emphasized by the new system of education was love of the fatherland, or a territorial space, like in France. The aim of the public

[35] Benjamin Fortna, "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman 'Secular' Schools," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* no. 32 (2000), pp. 369-393, p. 377.
[36] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, p. 103.

education in the late Ottoman period was to create a sense of unity or territoriality in the minds of students by using geographical and cartographic materials and instruments. During the Hamidian period, the state devoted serious energy and attention to the issue of geography. Geography courses became one of the main elements of the curriculum and appeared at every level of the system, that is, primary (ibtidaiye) and secondary (rüşdiye and idadiye) schools. The number of geography textbooks increased and their contents became more varied. New textbooks divided into parts of the Ottoman geography and the general geography. They included information about the emergence of the world, the sun, stars, continents, countries; political systems, religions, races; and details on the Ottoman geography. In addition, atlases, together with wall maps, became parts of the attempts to constitute a geographical imagination in the minds of the people.[37] They were the visual representation of the Ottoman territory and included many details about it (borders, names of rivers, mountains, etc.). These made more concrete the sense of belonging to a territory and a unity. In this sense, cartographic literacy was one of the main targets of the Ottoman public education during the nineteenth century.

Cartographic education played an important role throughout the nineteenth century. However, it took a new form during the Hamidian period. Before Abdülhamid II, the geography courses and maps tended to emphasize continental lines and divisions, but this was a paradox for the empire which tried to get together its all territories. Because the Ottoman territory consisted of three continents and maps which divide the imperial territory into continents destroyed the image of an integral and united empire.[38] On the other hand, during the Hamidian period and

[37] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 165; and Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Modernization from Empire to Republic and Education in the Process of Nationalism," In *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, ed. Kemal Karpat (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 80-82.
[38] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 179.

especially by the 1890s, the Ottoman territory was presented more homogenously and integrally. Maps depicted the empire in its entirety. Fortna writes that "By insisting on maps that focused attention on the empire as a whole, as opposed to divided among separate continents, the Hamidian state was reinforcing the notion of Ottoman territoriality in a fixed geographical space and communicating that notion to the young generation."[39] Thus, by presenting a sense of territory as a whole, the state tried to foster allegiance to the Ottoman territory and loyalty to the Sultan as the head of this territory as a whole. This unity would create a loyal people and lead to the control of society within a bounded territory.

According to Maier, as a bounded space, territoriality is a powerful geographic strategy to control people and things by controlling the area. It is one of the most crucial features of the modern state.[40] Territory involves two components: the frontier at the edge and the lands within. The modern state tended to determine its own frontiers strictly. Education and especially geography education in the provinces were two of the most important means of this project.

In the Ottoman Empire, after 1869, the number of primary and secondary schools in the provinces increased, but the period when they intensified was the Hamidian period. In this period, especially primary education gained importance; it was planned that almost every village would have a primary (ibtidai) school. In fact, the number of these schools rapidly increased. These schools had especially two targets: non-Turkish Muslims such as Arabs, Albanians, Kurds, or Pomaks; and nomadic or heterodox groups such as Alevis, Yezidis or Zeydis. According to Somel, schooling was also a means of the state efforts to make various ethnic and tribal groups in especially distant regions loyal to the central state.

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[39] Ibid., p. 191.
[40] Charles S. Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era," *American Historical Review* (June, 2000), pp. 807-831.

> "People in mountainous regions or desert areas of the Empire at the end of the nineteenth century still retained their social integrity and tradition of political autonomy despite increasing administrative penetration of the Ottoman state to remote localities. The efforts of the Sublime Porte to raise taxes and regularize conscription were mostly not welcomed by the tribal populations."[41]

During the nineteenth century, the authority of the sultan was limited over Arabian, Albanian and Kurdish territories and populations because of the local notables' wealth and authority on their own population. The central state aimed to weaken their authority and intermediary status and to establish a direct relationship between the sultan and the population without any intermediary by a civilizing mission. "Government education tried to be utilized as a means for the political integration of peripheral areas where civil administrative institutions could not take root."[42] So the aim of educating peripheral groups was to legitimize the sultan's authority by controlling them. The education of the Turkish language had such a direction in terms of bringing civilization to tribes.[43] So an important motive of this project was to prevent the development of local nationalism or separatism and to strengthen the position of the central state in the periphery against local notables, rival to the central state. The Tribal School (*Aşiret Mektebi*) was also a part of such a project. Although it was in Istanbul, it aimed to foster the loyalty of the sons of leading Kurdish, Arabian and Albanian tribal leaders in the frontier provinces of the empire.[44]

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[41] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, p. 233.
[42] Ibid., p. 233.
[43] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, p. 101.
[44] For detailed information about Aşiret Mektebi, see Eugene L. Rogan, "Aşiret Mektebi: Abdulhamid II's School for Tribes (1892-1907)," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* no. 28 (1996),

However, the territory had also a second component. It was the land within. According to Maier, territory is a source of resources, livelihood, output and energy. It is a means of power and rule. "Territorial consciousness meant that no point inside the frontiers could be left devoid of the state's control, just as no point within a field was devoid of physical force. Administrative energy in the form of primary schools, prefectures, and railroads would pervade and 'fill' the nation's space."[45] The Ottoman education used this element of territoriality in order to control social space. In textbooks, curriculum and maps, the notion of fatherland was taught to students. Patriotic feelings and values were emphasized.

Public education was a universal tendency in the nineteenth century, especially in the second half of the century. Many states of the nineteenth century developed state-oriented educational policies. All of them experienced the expansion of mass schooling in this period. China, Russia and France witnessed familiar experiences in the education. All of these states saw education as a means of reforming society and of intervening in the daily lives of the subjects. In Russia, the state tried to reform the whole society and applied a secular and modern system of education which emphasized religious and moral elements and the semi-divine character of the czar, like in the Ottoman Empire. The state aimed to sever the religious establishment's monopoly over education and to control society directly, but with the help of religious elements.[46]

In China, the Imperial power, like the Ottoman Empire, increasingly felt itself under attack both from the outside world and from internal opposition. Missionary

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pp. 83-107; and Alişan Akpınar, *Osmanlı Devletinde Aşiret Mektebi* (İstanbul: Göçebe Yayınları, 1997).

[45] Charles S. Maier, p. 820.

[46] Fortna, "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman 'Secular' Schools," pp. 369-393. For detailed information about the development of schooling in Russia, see Wayne Dowler, *Classroom and Empire: The Politics of Schooling Russia's Eastern Nationalities, 1860-1917* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

education and military defeats encouraged the Chinese imperial state to formulate a new system of education, based on both the Western modernity and traditional Chinese elements. Especially curriculum and textbooks were rearranged within the framework of indigenous morality. The new system of education in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries emphasized loyalty to the emperor.[47]

According to Stephen Heathorn, English elementary schools were workshops of a reformulated English nationalism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The children of working class learned the symbols, values and ideals of nationalist and imperialist discourse in these schools. This discourse was connected to "a responsible and self-aware citizenry" in which children learned his duties and responsibilities as a citizen in fields of military and social life. They were taught citizenry and loyalty to the nation.[48] In other words, primary education was used as a mechanism of social control.

It may be useful to compare and contrast the French experience of education in the nineteenth century with the Ottoman one. There are two reasons for this expansion. Firstly, mass schooling was especially evident in France where primary education was compulsory and free. Secondly, the fact that The Regulation of Public Education of 1869 was issued under the influence of the French educational system and even under the counseling of Victor Duruy, the French Minister of Education makes this comparison more necessary for us.

In France, reforms concerned with the system of education began to be applied in 1833, the year when François Guizot, the Minister of Public Instruction, introduced a law which Weber writes "required every commune or group of neighboring communes to set up and maintain at least one elementary school; it

[47] Fortna, "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman 'Secular' Schools," pp. 371-2.
[48] Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

reaffirmed the standards of competence for teaching that had been set by royal ordinance in 1816, and prohibited the operation of a school without an official certificate that such standards had been met; it decreed that each department should set up, alone or jointly with its neighbors, a normal school to train primary school teachers; and it produced quick results."[49]

From this year onward, the state in France tried to develop public education and the number of schools and students rapidly increased. However, the most important step toward the expansion of public education in France was accomplished in 1881 by Jules Ferry. The new law, introduced by him, abolished all fees and tuitions in public elementary schools. In 1886, an elementary teaching program was instituted, along with elaborate provisions for inspection and control.[50] The most important part of this program was to teach the ability to read and to write French to students. In fact, in 1863, a fifth of the population in France did not know the French language. They spoke their own local languages, *patois*. So the elementary school program emphasized the use of the French language and students who did not use it were punished. Therefore, the majority of the people had learned it by the end of the century.

According to Weber, the most important factor which encouraged the parents to send their children to the new schools was the usefulness of these schools in practical life; so there was a close relation between the social benefits of schooling and the attendance at the schools. Education both provided jobs for the poor in state services and taught them trades. From the 1870s onward, parents began to understand the practical benefits of schooling and sent their children to the school.[51]

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[49] Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (California: Stanford University Press, 1976), p. 307.
[50] Ibid., p. 309.
[51] Ibid., p. 328.

The public education also had some benefits for the central state. Weber writes:

> "The schools provide a complementary, even a counter-education, because the education of the local society doesn't coincide with that needed to create a national one. This is where schooling becomes a major agent of acculturation: shaping individuals to fit into societies and cultures broader than their own, and persuading them that these broader realms are their own, as much as the pays they really know and more so."[52]

Therefore, education tried to create a notion of territoriality as a bounded space and to guarantee order and social stability within this territoriality. It attempted to increase the sense of unity under the French nationhood. The school became a great socializing agent which taught children national and patriotic sentiments; it encouraged the teacher to "institute the nation." Maps were used in all schools as a symbol and means of teaching the sense of unity and territoriality. They tried to place the French fatherland in their minds. Children in country schools were fascinated by tales of past French glories.[53] Therefore, France constituted a sense of unity and territoriality and spread this notion through education. A similar process can be seen in the public education in the late Ottoman Empire.

In conclusion, education is not a neutral cultural issue, isolated from social and political dynamics. It is an arena of contestation between elite groups in a given society. It reflects power struggles between these groups and is formed during these struggles. The development of public education should be evaluated from within this context. During the nineteenth century, throughout the world, the central ruling elites used public and central education as a means to legitimize their authority and to obtain the support of the masses. This was a general tendency during the nineteenth

[52] Ibid., pp. 330-1.
[53] Ibid., p. 334.

century. The development of public education during the Hamidian era was not exempt from this fact. The education in the Ottoman Empire was standardized and reformed by the central state. Especially after 1869 and during the Hamidian period, the number of primary and secondary schools both in the center and in the peripheries rapidly increased. Ruling the empire from Yıldız Palace, Abdulhamid II tried to legitimize his authority over the bureaucratic elites in the center and local notables in the provinces by obtaining the support of the masses via these schools. His aim was to establish a direct relationship between himself and the population in order to concentrate power his own hand and to reinforce his monarchic rule. Education was one of many modern strategies and methods he used to accomplish this aim, like philanthropic activities or health care.

CHAPTER 3

GEOGRAPHY EDUCATION

DURING THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Geographical knowledge is not static and neutral; it is a point of contestation between various groups in society. For Lacoste, geography enabled a state to organize territory in order to control the people over which it has authority. In this sense, geographical knowledge has ideological and political functions as a means of power.[54] For example, in the USA there was a close relationship between geographical knowledge and power at the end of the nineteenth century. The National Geographic Society was founded in order to serve scientists working for the federal government and many federal officials published their research in the society's magazine. Geography served the interest of the nation as a tool of exploration and conquest. Schulten writes that, "Geographical knowledge was used to describe and contain a world in which the American presence was rapidly expanding … the accumulation, organization, and dissemination of geographical information has often been a struggle to present and legitimate the nation and its goals."[55]

In the nineteenth century when the modern state attempted to intervene in and control territories and people within its own boundaries, geographical knowledge and education was one of the most crucial tools to create a sense of territoriality in a modern sense, that is, a territorial sovereignty in which states claim authority over people and the resources. In this sense, territoriality is not only about the delimitation

[54] Yves Lacoste, *Coğrafya Savaşmak İçindir* (Ankara: Doruk Yayımcılık, 2004).
[55] Susan Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880–1950* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 13.

of international boundaries, but also, as Vandergeest and Peluso tell us, about "internal territorialization in establishing control over natural resources and the people who use them."[56] Therefore, it is a modern state's strategy to integrate and dominate its own territories over which it claims authority.

Maier examines territoriality as a powerful geographic strategy to control people and things by controlling area among the features of the modern state.[57] Sack defines territoriality as "the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area. This area will be called the territory."[58] This definition of territoriality involves a form of classification by area, a form of communication by boundary and an attempt at enforcing. In this sense, territoriality is a spatial strategy to be evaluated in terms of power struggles because it is "socially constructed and depends on who is controlling whom and why."[59] That is, it is geographical expression of social power.

During the Hamidian era, the Ottoman Empire applied various modern strategies and policies in order to extend its central authority to distant provinces and people, especially only partly under its rule and to legitimize the sultan's power. Among these strategies, one can count the formation of a modern bureaucracy, the construction of state buildings in provinces, the expansion of public education into the provinces, philanthropic activities, and the creation of gendarmerie as the tools of modern state's tools to unify, integrate, control, and dominate all recognized territories under its sovereignty. Through these policies, the state attempted to dominate territories such as eastern Anatolia, Syria and the Balkans by controlling

[56] Vandergeest and Peluso, p. 385.
[57] Charles S. Maier.
[58] Robert David Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 19.
[59] Ibid., p. 3.

and intervening in everyday life of society. Another strategy which can be related to this aim was the creation of a sense of territoriality in the modern sense. The Ottoman state during the Hamidian era devoted serious energy and attention to geography courses in public education in order to create a sense of unity and territoriality in the minds of students, so geography courses constituted an integral and inseparable part of the curriculum in every level of the public education. Primary (ibtidaiye) and secondary (rüşdiye and idadiye) schools involved courses of general and Ottoman geography for various hours and in varying detail. They appeared in the curricula of all schools as a standard element and their contents were determined by the relative apparatus of the central state, the Ministry of Public Education.

During this period, geography education had three crucial aspects and functions. Firstly, through geography courses, the Ottoman state tried to establish central authority and control and to legitimize the sultan's power over distant territories of the empire such as eastern Anatolia, the Balkans and Syria against local centers of authority such as local officials, notables, tribal leaders or separatist movements by communicating a sense of imperial unity and territoriality to the students. Secondly and related to the first aspect, geography courses aimed at strengthening the notion of Ottomanism and Ottoman patriotism by creating a direct relationship between the subject and the geographical space, made of territories of the empire, and by establishing a sense of belonging to this space. With religious and imperial overtones, Ottomanism was an important tool in providing loyalty to both the sultan and the homeland and of legitimizing sultan's authority as "symbolically embodying the unity of the Ottomans"[60] against local authority centers and separatist movements. The third aspect is concerned with establishing control over the natural

[60] Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876–1909," *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* no. 37 (2005), pp. 59-81, p. 72.

resources of the empire, in parallel to Vandergeest and Peluso and Maier's definitions of territoriality. In 1902, the Hamidian regime revised the school curricula and increased the hours of courses on agriculture, trade and industry.[61] Apart from this revision, geography courses and textbooks also included parts on the natural resources and products of the empire. Thus, this education tried to control and use efficiently these resources and products and reveal the productive capacity of the empire by providing awareness in the minds of students about them.

The Ottoman Tradition of Geography until the Nineteenth Century

It is necessary to examine briefly geographical studies in the Ottoman Empire until the nineteenth century before discussing the issue of geography education during the Hamidian era. It is possible to divide the development of Ottoman geography literature into two phases. In the first phase, from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, Ottoman scholars tried to adapt the Islamic geographical knowledge to the Ottoman conditions by translating various books on geography in Arabic and Persian into Turkish. In the second phase, from the middle of the seventeenth century on, they concentrated on cartographic literature produced in Europe by making translations of some books such as Mercator's *Atlas Minor* or Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maior*.[62]

In the first phase, Ottoman geographical studies can be examined within two traditions. The first one was the geographical literature of strange creatures (*acaib-ül*

[61] Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter, BOA), Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Maarif Nezareti Maruzatı (hereafter, Y.PRK.MF), 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).
[62] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," in *The History of Cartography: Volume Two, Book One: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 218.

mahlukat), produced by *medrese* scholars and based on the free translation of Arabic and Persian works of Islamic scholars on geography and cosmography. Far from a scientific concern, books in this literature were works with a literary style and semi-mythical overtones, like Ahmed Bican's *Dürr-i Meknun* (The Hidden Pearl).[63]

The other tradition included works produced by various persons such as sailors, soldiers, envoys outside medrese. The development of this tradition was related to conquests and the territorial expansion of the empire from the fifteenth century on. During this process of expansion, the state needed geographical knowledge like maps, topography, statistics, places and administrative divisions on lands both to be conquered and already conquered for military and administrative aims.[64] Thus, detailed works were made on these lands and sea routes. These works consisted of charts and guides which displayed sea routes and coasts for military campaigns, of itineraries (*menzilname*) and books of days (*ruzname*) which gave information about places, cities and distances passed for land campaigns of the army and of travel diaries of embassies (*sefaretnames*) which described foreign countries and had importance for foreign affairs.

The second phase of the Ottoman geography literature especially began with Katip Çelebi's work *Cihannüma* (The Appears of the World) which was the first to use and combine eastern and western works on geography.[65] Katip Çelebi attributed the expansion of western states to their advanced knowledge on geography and thought that the Ottomans had to increase geography knowledge by using western

[63] See Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 volumes (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2000); Mahmut Ak, "Osmanlı Coğrafya Çalışmaları," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol. 2, no 4 (2004), pp. 163-211; Osman Gümüşçü, "Osmanlılarda Coğrafya Biliminin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi," in *Osmanlı 8: Bilim*, ed. Güler Eren (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999); Ramazan Şeşen, "Osmanlılarda Coğrafya," in *Osmanlı 8: Bilim*, ed. Güler Eren (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999); Cevdet Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959) for this literature.
[64] İ. Hakkı Akyol, "Tanzimat Devrinde Bizde Coğrafya ve Jeoloji," in *Tanzimat I: Yüzüncü Yıl Münasebetiyle* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), p. 515 and Gümüşçü, p. 337.
[65] Akyol, "Tanzimat Devrinde Bizde Coğrafya ve Jeoloji," p. 519.

sources. Thus, from his works on, Ottoman scholars made free translations of many western geography works such as Mercator's *Atlas Minor* or Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* and made use of the western tradition of cartography. They concentrated on these western works and published many geography works, thanks to İbrahim Müteferrika's printing press in the eighteenth century. İbrahim Müteferrika, also himself a geographer, published some books on geography and maps; his own works and *Cihannüma*'s new edition among them. They contributed to an increase in interest in geography and of the publication both in copyright and translation, based on western tradition of cartography during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

One of the most important aspects of geographical studies until the nineteenth century when geography constituted an integral part of the public education was that they were directed toward a small elite group, consisting of political rulers, soldiers, sea captains, and scholars. This was about the fact Ahmet T. Karamustafa calls "map audience." In pre-modern Islamic societies, maps were dominated by texts. This suggests that

> "most Islamic maps were directed toward the literate, cosmopolitan elites of pre-modern Islamic societies, who alone produced and used books. By and large maps were not available, nor were they meant, for the use of the illiterate majority. The existence of text-free map artifacts does not lead us to modify this conclusion, since these maps too were produced by elite groups such as astronomers and astrologers, sea captains, and political rulers for their own use."[66]

This fact is valid not only for maps but also geographical texts. Directed toward ruling elites, these works aimed at informing them about geographical issues

[66] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Introduction to Islamic Maps," in *The History of Cartography: Volume Two, Book One: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 5.

such as places, cities, roads, distances, seas, coasts, amount of people in a given land for military, administrative or financial concerns rather than creating a territorial awareness, based on the unity of imperial territories, among people in a modern sense. Thus, they were only written and read by some ruling elites. The style and quantity of these works before the nineteenth century confirms this fact. While geography works written during the nineteenth century were printed materials in which some of them were published in thousands to be read by students in schools, ones written previously were manuscripts handwritten for literate elites; with some famous exceptions, the number of copies of these manuscripts was at best ten.[67] Even the printing press didn't change this fact. Thus, the state did not try to legitimize its power by communicating cartographic literacy to the masses or by providing a sense of territorial unity.

Related to this fact, another aspect of geographical studies before the nineteenth century was the lack of borders and territorial unity as a bounded space. Though Karamustafa points out that in the Islamic world borders were not rigidly drawn on maps,[68] it can be suggested that Ottoman geographical studies until the nineteenth century also lacked an absolute precision, contrary to the nineteenth century works which accurately defined and emphasized the borders of the imperial territories. Sack indicates that in pre-modern civilizations the use of territory was by no means precise by modern standards and "boundaries were never delimited as accurately as they are now."[69]

Benedict Anderson also provides a useful comparison between modern and pre-modern conceptions of border in terms of state sovereignty:

[67] İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. I, p. LIX.
[68] Karamustafa, "Introduction to Islamic Maps," p. 7.
[69] Sack, p. 75-6.

> "In the modern conception, state sovereignty is fully, flatly, and evenly operative over each square centimeter of a legally demarcated territory. But in the older imagining, where states defined by centers, borders were porous and indistinct, and sovereignties faded imperceptibly into one another. Hence, paradoxically enough, the ease with which pre-modern empires and kingdoms were able to sustain their rule over immensely heterogeneous, and often not even contiguous, populations for long periods of time."[70]

The lack of territorial unity as a bounded space in the Ottoman geographical studies before the nineteenth century can be examined in terms of Anthony Giddens' distinction between frontier and border. Giddens correlates the former with traditional state and the latter with the emergence of the modern nation-state. According to this distinction, "frontier' refers to an area in the peripheral regions of a state (not necessarily adjoining another state) in which the political authority of the centre is diffuse or thinly spread."[71] Instead, borders, particular to the modern state, demarcated state's sovereignty. In this sense, geographical studies lacked a sense of territorial unity in which borders were rigidly drawn and with which the central state established strict authority over all peripheral regions.

It is known that some Ottoman schools taught geography courses before the nineteenth century. Geography was one of the courses taught in the teachers' training courses in Quran schools. It also appeared in the Ottoman court school at Topkapı Palace; it included a primary geographical knowledge on Ottoman dominions and the world.[72] In addition, in the Ottoman medrese schools, education consisted of positive sciences as well as religious ones. One of these sciences was geography. Although it did not appear in the official curriculum of these schools until World War I, medrese

[70] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006), p. 19.
[71] Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), p. 50.
[72] Ramazan Özey, "Osmanlı Devleti Döneminde Coğrafya ve Öğretimi," in *Osmanlı 8: Bilim*, ed. Güler Eren (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), p. 329.

curricula had included geography since the fifteenth century, from which time, Ottoman scholars had translated the works of Muslim geographers.

Some Ottoman scholars emphasized the importance of geography education for politics. For example, Ebubekir Behram ed-Dimaşki pointed out that geography was more useful than all of the other sciences when it came to politics.[73] Although he was not a scholar from a medrese, İbrahim Müteferrika also said that geography was a guide for holy war. Rulers had to have information about peoples and that geography served as a mirror displaying the world.[74] The education they meant, however, was not a public education of geography which communicated a cartographic or geographical knowledge on the imperial territories, but an education directed toward the ruling elites, scholars and soldiers. Its aim was to give information about Ottoman dominions, the world and countries in terms of administration and politics.

A similar judgement can be made on geography education in military schools founded in the second half of the eighteenth century. The curriculum of the Naval Engineering School (*Mühendishane-i Bahr-i Hümayun*) founded in 1773 included courses on navigation, cartography and geography.[75] The Engineering School for the Armed Forces (*Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun*) also gave geography education to students.[76] Beydilli indicates that inventory document of the school included geography books, atlases and maps.[77] However, with the geography education these schools aimed at training soldiers about cartographic and topographic issues.

[73] Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim II: Tabiî İlimler* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997), p. 235.
[74] Ibid., p. 236.
[75] Özey, p. 330.
[76] Ibid., p. 330; Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne: Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphânesi (1776-1826)* (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1995), p. 60.
[77] Beydilli, p. 374.

Geography Education during the Hamidian Period

Describing subjects in geography course in the third year of rüşdiye schools, *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye* of 1316 (1898-1899) emphasizes that although the place and natural and general boundaries of the Ottoman Empire (*memalik-i mahruse-i şahane*) are in three continents, it is a common inseparable continent.[78] Thus, the empire's unity would be emphasized in courses. In fact, this emphasis was valid for general geography education at every level of public education.

In this sense, geography education was one of the most significant tools in the formation of the modern state as a cohesive territorial identity during the Hamidian era. Through geography courses, the Ottoman state, like all modern states in the nineteenth century, tried to establish or increase its control over recognized but distant territories and to legitimize the sultan's power as the centre of authority against local rivals by creating and communicating a sense of territorial unity which transcended a region-based notion of space ruled by local ruling elites. In this sense, this attempt can be examined in terms of internal territorialization in which the state claims authority and control over a given territory, people and natural resources.[79] This process inevitably includes a power struggle because as Sack writes, it "depends on who is controlling whom and why."[80] In this sense, geography education can be seen as a tool the modern state used in order to provide loyalty to the unified empire and the sultan and to legitimize his authority in a power struggle during the Hamidian era.

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[78] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, p. 256. "*Memalik-i mahruse-i şahanenin kıta'at-ı salisedeki mevki'i ile hudud-ı tabi'iye ve 'umumiyesi, yekdiğerinden gayr-i münfekk bir kıt'a-i umumiye halinde olduğu.*"
[79] Vandergeest and Peluso, p. 385.
[80] Sack, p. 3.

The Ottoman state tried to extend the central governmental authority to distant provinces, "especially in view of the deeply rooted and often resistant local traditions of special organizations and governance"[81] in the nineteenth century. The state especially concentrated on the frontier regions of the Arabian provinces, eastern Anatolia and the Balkans. Although in the middle of the nineteenth century the Ottoman state had established an authority against the local elites over the provincial centers, its authority was very limited to more remote rural areas, treated as frontiers where the state was unable to establish its hegemony because of the autonomous power of the local elites, especially in eastern Anatolia and on the Syrian steppe.[82] The order of the local elites in the frontier as a contact zone between the state and tribes was an important barrier to direct Ottoman rule because the tribes themselves provided functions now attributed to the central state, such as taxation, military force and a justice system.[83] This region-based notion of authority prevented the modern state and the sultan from establishing their rule and legitimizing their power. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the state applied some methods such as the use of military force and various modern strategies of power such as schooling, gendarmerie, a new provincial division, philanthropic activities, and railways in order to destroy the authority of the local elites by extending the state's sovereignty to its recognized territorial boundaries and incorporating frontiers to the direct Ottoman rule in eastern Anatolia, Yemen, Hejaz and Libya. In Diyarbekir, in eastern

[81] Nadir Özbek, "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late 19th-Century Ottoman Empire (1876–1908)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* no. 40 (2008), pp. 47–67, p. 49 conceptualizes the extension of central government administrative apparatuses like the introduction of the gendarmerie into provinces and rural districts as a kind of "colonization" of countryside.
[82] Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850–1921* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 5, like Giddens, refers to frontiers as an area on the peripheral regions of a state in which the political authority of the centre is diffuse or thinly spread. Rogan embodies it as a contact zone between the Ottoman state and tribal society.
[83] Ibid., p. 9.

Anatolia, a power struggle was experienced between the state, urban notables and the Kurdish tribal leaders during the nineteenth century.

In the Hamidian era, the state pursued a politics of balance among notables and tribal leaders in order to weaken their authorities and to establish a decisive influence in the region.[84] To accomplish this aim, the state did which things as limit the movements of nomadic Kurdish tribes, built state institutions and schools, appointed powerful governors, created the Hamidiye Light Cavalry regiments and gendarmerie. It aimed at integrating peripheral regions and populations into the Ottoman political system and strengthening their weak feeling of what Somel calls "being a part of a greater political entity."[85]

The Balkans was another region over which the Ottoman state tried to establish its authority during the Hamidian era. Until the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, the Balkans saw some rebellions in the nineteenth century. After the Berlin Treaty in 1878, the Ottoman Empire lost a large proportion of its own territories in the Balkans and became concentrated in its territories in Asia and Africa. But it still had some territories in the Balkans and tried to establish a central authority over them. For example, according to the Berlin Treaty, there emerged a privileged province, called the Province of Eastern Rumelia (*Rumeli-i Şarki Vilayeti*), in the south region of great Bulgaria where the Russians intended to create. Matters about the internal administration of this province would be determined by an interior regulation to be prepared by a European commission in cooperation with the Sublime Porte.[86] The Ottoman state competed with local officials in order to have authority in this region in which Bulgarians lived in large numbers and to integrate it into the central state.

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[84] Stephen Duguid, "The Politics of Unity: Hamidian Policy in Eastern Anatolia," *Middle Eastern Studies,* no. 9 (1973), pp. 139-155, p. 145.
[85] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education,* p. 237.
[86] Mahir Aydın, *Şarki Rumeli Vilayeti* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992), p. 17.

Within this context, the Hamidian state used geography education as a tool of unifying imperial territories and creating a sense of unity in the minds of students, and of belonging to a greater political entity in order to weaken the authority of these local rivals and to legitimize its power over them. Thus, geography courses were based on a notion of homeland unifying all imperial territories which transcended a region-based notion of space and local centers of authority. Determined from the center, homogenous and standard course contents, textbooks and maps which emphasized the unity of the empire increased the sense of belonging to a cohesive entity and a direct relationship between this entity and students.

Geography courses and texts precisely defined imperial borders in the modern sense and fixed them within a concrete ground, in contrast to geographical works of the pre-nineteenth century which had not had such a notion. Especially geography textbooks included detailed descriptions about the fixed borders of the empire in every direction.[87] These descriptions about precise imperial borders enabled students to imagine a unified homeland and to identify themselves with this homeland, ruled by the sultan in Istanbul. In this sense, they could internalize and absorb the borders of their homeland. Therefore, geography education was integral to the strategy of internal territorialization the modern state tried to establish its authority and control over territories, people and natural resources. That is, the fixing of borders was connected with the formation of modern state sovereignty and authority over all territories unified.

A similar interpretation can be made in Iran in the nineteenth century. Tavakoli-Targhi writes that

[87] This issue will be examined in the third chapter in detail.

> "The emergence of Iran as a 'geobody' with bounded territory was linked to the global establishment of nation-states and the international demarcation of national boundaries in the 19th century. ... Territorial enclosure shifted the characterization of Iran from a confederation of territories (*mamalik*) to a cohesive entity (*mamlikat-i Iran* or *kishvar-i Iran*). The displacement of plural *mamalik-i Iran* with singular *mamlikat-i Iran* marked the transition from an empire to a modern nation-state. The relative fixity of borders provided the ground upon which Iran could be conceived as a unified homeland (*vatan*) with a distinct character, identity, history, and culture."[88]

This takes us to the second aspect of geography education during the Hamidian era: the promotion of Ottomanism and Ottoman patriotism with dynastic and religious overtones, based on loyalty to the Ottoman homeland as a unified entity and the sultan as its ruler. Ottomanism, which conceived of the populace as a family and the sultan as the head of this family, was one of the most important tools the Hamidian state used to unify and integrate peripheral regions and communities in view of separatist movements and rival authority groups such as local notables, officials and tribal leaders in the Balkans, eastern Anatolia and the Arabian provinces and to legitimize the sultan's power. Özbek writes "*Vatan* in the Hamidian context had definite territorial connotations and was imagined as a political community with the paternal figure of the sultan as its symbolic center."[89]

Geography education reified *vatan* (homeland) and presented it in a territorial fixity to students through atlases, wall maps and descriptions in textbooks about the geographical ordering of the empire. Students learned imperial borders, memorized places and drew map and thus expected a direct relationship between themselves and the empire.

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[88] Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "From Patriotism to Matriotism: A Tropological Study of Iranian Nationalism, 1870–1909," *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* no. 34 (2002), pp. 217–238, p. 218.
[89] Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876–1909," p. 72.

Geography courses also included subjects about the Ottoman Empire and the world. Students were taught essential knowledge on continents and other countries, especially on European countries. Schulten points out that "geography is a way of distinguishing 'here' from 'there'."[90] In fact, geography courses enabled students to make a distinction between "our" homeland and "theirs" and thus an Ottoman political identity by communicating knowledge about other countries. That is, students defined themselves in terms of the differences among countries. Winichakul calls this process "negative identification."[91]

The third aspect of geography education during the Hamidian era was that the state was interested in the control of natural resources and in their use efficiently by revealing the productive capacity of the empire. Curricula, geography textbooks and contents confirm this aspect of the education. Through a revision in curricula in 1902, the state increased the intensity and hours of courses on agriculture, trade and industry, along with courses on morality and religion.[92] In addition, geography textbooks on the Ottoman Empire included detailed knowledge about natural resources and the agricultural and industrial products of every region in the empire one by one. Giving information about the contents of geography courses at various levels, educational yearbooks also pointed out that geography courses in rüşdiye and *idadiye* schools taught the natural resources and agricultural and industrial products of the empire in regional term.[93] Thus, this education tried to control and efficiently use these resources and products and reveal the productive capacity of the empire by

[90] Schulten, p. 3.
[91] Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), p. 5 points out that in Siam the domain of Thainess was defined from the outside, that is, through the identification of Thainess by the domain of what is not Thai.
[92] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).
[93] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899.

providing awareness in the minds of students about them, as integral to the territorial strategy of the modern state.

Based on these foundations, geography education was an integral part of the Ottoman education system during the Hamidian period. One of the most important aspects of the development of the Ottoman public education during this period was its expansion into all provinces of the empire through the building of new ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools and the standardization and determination of all matters concerning it. The state center in Istanbul and its relative apparatus, the Ministry of Public Education, standardized and determined such matters as school buildings, training styles, curricula, course contents, textbooks, maps, educational tools, and clothes through regulations. Thus, all of the schools in every province of the empire taught the same subjects in the same courses. For example, in 1892-3 Yıldız Palace stated that all ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools, whether public or private, in Istanbul and all provinces would have the same curricula and these curricula could not be different from each other. The textbooks to be used in these schools should be selected by the Ministry of Public Education and teachers had to give their lessons in terms of these textbooks.[94]

This standardization created a sense of unity in the minds of the students and in a sense legitimized the central authority by making Istanbul a powerful center for the periphery to rely on. Evered writes that

> "Istanbul's advantage to be the capital of the Ottoman Empire had its own drawbacks as such proximity would keep the educational institutions, their curriculum, and teachers under close scrutiny to assure the values of the state were enforced. Also, the schoolbooks, dictionaries, and maps would be prepared mainly by the educators in

[94] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 2/82, 1310 (1892-3).

> Istanbul and get distributed to the peripheries of the empire. Istanbul would have the central role in determining the subjects of the teaching and learning, therefore becoming a powerful center for the periphery to rely on."[95]

The Hamidian state made revisions to the curricula at various dates. Through these revisions, the number of hours of courses on morality and religion were increased. For example, modifications in school curricula in 1902 emphasized the necessity of additional morality and religion courses and increased their hours and intensity.[96] Thus, religious overtones in education gained importance. However, geography courses preserved their place in the curriculum in particular and public education in general.

During the Hamidian period, geography education constituted an integral and inseparable part of public education. It seems that they had an important place in curricula of ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools. The contents of these courses were determined by the Ministry of Public Education and were taught by teachers, depending on these standard contents and teaching styles.[97] In these courses, teachers used textbooks, pamphlets, wall maps, atlases, and spheres which were again selected and confirmed by the ministry in order to reify the unified imperial territory. It is possible to find documents about the use of these textbooks and tools in school in the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul. For example, in 1895 the province of Hudavendigar demanded maps and spheres for geography courses in the Kütahya Idadi School from the Ministry of Public Education, stating that students could not

[95] Evered, p. 41.
[96] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).
[97] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 2/82, 1310 (1892-3).

efficiently benefit from geography courses. The school demanded maps displaying Ottoman Europe, Ottoman Asia and Ottoman Africa and two globes.[98]

In 1875, before Abdulhamid II came to power, Silistre Rüşdiye School demanded a pamphlet of geography from the province of Salonika for its students.[99] In 1894, Aristoklis Efendi, charged with inspecting *Mekteb-i Sultani*, expressed modifications and reform necessary for the school by preparing a report on education. He stated that students in the school had old geography textbooks, the class in the ibtidaiye section had no map and there was not an embossed map in the school. So the Ministry of Public Education ordered that geography courses would be taught according to the new method.[100] Finally, although the interior regulation of the Province of Eastern Rumelia stated that the need for textbooks in Muslim schools in the province would be met by the educational directorate of the region, it seem that the ministry sent textbooks, maps and globes to the province for the demand of schools.[101]

Therefore, these textbooks and tools were used in order to make it easy for students to understand courses and to conceive of the unified territories of the homeland in a reified form. In order to strengthen the sense of imperial territory in the minds of the students and to enable the students to establish a relationship between themselves and this territorial unity, they would learn to draw a map and display the places of five continents on a map and a globe.[102] In this sense, the training method in geography courses was based on the memorization of place names on maps and globes and drawing their maps by memory.

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[98] BOA, Maarif Nezareti Evrakı (hereafter, MF.MKT), 279/57, 1313.Ra.08 (29 August 1895).
[99] BOA, MF.MKT, 27/173, 1292.Ra.25 (1 May 1875).
[100] BOA, MF.MKT, 210/11, 1311.Z.7 (11 June 1894).
[101] Aydın, p. 221.
[102] Özey, p. 330.

İ. Hakkı Akyol points out that in the Hamidian era, thanks to competent geography teachers like Ali Tevfik, Hüseyin Saadet and Nuri in idadiye schools in Istanbul, place geography made serious progress. During their teaching period, students could find places on maps, draw a complete map of any country on blackboard in terms of maps in atlases from memory and tick off geographical places again on maps. Yet, Akyol states that the geography course during this period was a meager and dull geography made up of counting names of places and of giving statistics.[103] In a similar way, Hasan Ali Yücel also criticizes the geography education of this period, stating that there were some competent individual teachers, but courses on Ottoman geography in the rüşdiye schools could not go beyond the memorization of names of provinces, *sancak*s (subdivisions of a province), *kaza*s (districts of a province) and *nahiye*s (subdivisions of a kaza).[104] However, this training method was integral to the aim of strengthening the sense of imperial territory in minds of students and enabling students to establish a relationship between themselves and this territorial unity.

The Content of the Geography Courses in Ottoman Schools

As mentioned above, geography courses were available at every level of public education, that is, ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools during the Hamidian era. Students in ibtidaiye schools learned geography in brief, but as they passed to other levels, rüşdiye and idadiye, the depth, intensity, scope and hours of the lessons

[103] İ. Hakkı Akyol, "Son Yarım Asırda Türkiye'de Coğrafya," *Türk Coğrafya Dergisi,* no 1 (Sonkanun 1943), pp. 3-15, p. 15.
[104] Hasan Ali Yücel, *Türkiye'de Orta Öğretim* (Ankara: TC Kültür Bakanlığı, 1994), p. 175.

increased. Thus, the state tried to provide "students with geographic knowledge of the empire, even at the primary level."[105]

In the Ottoman Empire, the institutions of primary education were sıbyan schools. Aiming at teaching reading-writing and Islamic rules, these schools were in districts or villages. Until the nineteenth century, their number in the empire was very limited. During the nineteenth century, the state made some reforms in order to make the education in these schools more efficient. The Regulation of Public Education of 1869 included some articles about sıbyan schools;[106] its aim was to standardize primary education and expand it into the provinces. In 1872, along with sıbyan schools, ibtidaiye schools were established as institutions of primary education, based on the new method (*usul-i cedide*). For a time, both sıbyan and ibtidaiye schools existed. However, the Tanzimat state failed to accomplish its aims in the regulation and primary education did not get ahead during the Tanzimat period. The Hamidian period witnessed the most important steps toward the development of primary education and its expansion into the provinces. Firstly, the constitution in 1876 made primary education compulsory. Especially after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, the Hamidian state spent serious energy to establish in every region of the empire and to create local educational offices in order to institutionalize primary education in the provinces. With 1882, the state began to give weight to ibtidai schools, based on the new method, in replace of sıbyan schools.[107]

The Regulation of Public Education of 1869 gave the list of courses to be taught in sıbyan schools. According to the sixth article of the regulation, brief

[105] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 190.
[106] Özalp, p. 166.
[107] See Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991); Kodaman, 1999; and Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education* for the development of primary education in the Ottoman Empire.

geography course was among courses in the curricula of these schools.[108] In 1891, it seems that a brief course on Ottoman geography was available in the schools in both Istanbul and the provinces. According to this revision of the curriculum, ibtidaiye schools with three years included brief Ottoman geography courses for two hours a week in the second and third years. But they were not available in schools in villages with four years. As mentioned above, in 1902, the state made some modifications in the curricula of schools. According to these modifications, while ibtidaiye schools with four years did not include geography courses, schools in the provinces with three years taught brief Ottoman geography for two hours a week in the third year.[109] Alkan, Unat and Koçer point out that by 1904, the state removed courses on history and geography from the curricula of ibtidaiye schools.[110]

The first rüşdiye schools in the Ottoman Empire were established in 1847 in Istanbul by Kemal Efendi. In 1848 students in this school learned Arabic, Persian, arithmetic and geography.[111] The Regulation of Public Education of 1869 included articles about rüşdiye schools. Determining the education period in rüşdiye schools as four years, this regulation stated in its 23rd article that geography was among courses to be taught in these schools.[112] Like ibtidaiye schools, rüşdiye schools also get ahead and were expanded into the provinces during the reign of Abdulhamid II.

The Hamidian state often revised curricula in rüşdiye schools. In 1883-4, in Damascus, rüşdiye schools of four years had a curriculum consisting of geography

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[108] Özalp, p. 166.
[109] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).
[110] Alkan, pp. 47-132, Leiden: Brill, 2000, p. 71; Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)*, p. 128; and Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1964), p. 40.
[111] See Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)*; Kodaman, *Ibid.*; Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*; Uğur Ünal, *II. Meşrutiyet Öncesi Osmanlı Rüşdiyeleri (1897–1907): Programlar, Ders İçerikleri, İstatistikler* (Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi, 2008); and Hasan Ali Yücel, *Türkiye'de Orta Öğretim* (Ankara: TC Kültür Bakanlığı, 1994) for the development of *rüşdiye* schools in the Ottoman Empire.
[112] Özalp, p. 169.

courses in the second, third and fourth years. However, Kodaman points out that this curriculum was applied at the centers of provinces and some sancaks whereas little rüşdiyes in kazas gave weight to courses on morality and religion and did not include geography.[113] In 1892 the state revised the curricula because of the limiting education period with three years after a combination of rüşdiye and idadiye schools. Despite this modification, rüşdiye schools in Sivas continued education with four years in 1896. These schools included geography courses in the second, third and fourth years for two hours a week.[114] In 1898-99, combined rüşdiye-idadiye schools with seven years (rüşdiye section in first three years) included geography course in the first, second and third years for two hours a week.[115] General rüşdiye schools with three years also gave geography education in the first, second and third years for two hours a week.[116] The state again made some modifications in the curricula in 1902, but these modifications did not change the place of geography courses. The geography course was again two hours a week in the first, second and third years.[117]

According to the educational yearbooks, the contents of geography courses at rüşdiye schools for three years were as follows:

> First Year
>
> "Introduction: Description and division of geography – mathematical geography, shapes, parallels and movements of the earth, the solar system, concise information on stars.
>
> Physical geography, concise information on the shape of the earth, higher and lower lands, mountains, plateaus, plains, mountain passes or passages, rivers, coasts, lakes,

[113] Kodaman, p. 111-2.
[114] BOA, Yıldız Esas Evrakı (hereafter, Y.EE), 131/24, 1314.M.17 (28 June 1896).
[115] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, p. 191.
[116] Ibid., p. 358.
[117] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).

archipelagos, peninsulas, isthmus, channel, strait, cape, gulf, harbor, bay and other geographical terms.

Solid and liquid parts of the earth, its division into continents, general information on five continents."

Second Year

"Four Continents (continens apart from Europe would be taught concisely): Geography and its division – mathematical geography, the shape of the earth, the general view of sky, fixed stars, planets, comets, meteors.

The earth's relations with celestial bodies, the moon, lunar and solar eclipse, movements of the earth, night and day, the four seasons, longitude and description of place, orbits, other circles and areas.

Physical geography – general information on the formation of the earth, water and soil, sea and continents, surrounding seas, atmospheric movements, seasons, higher and lower lands, plain and mountains, islands.

Division of mountains to their heights, division of mountains to their formations, kinds of stone and soil, rivers and lakes, movement of waters over the earth, currents.

Plants and animals, human and human races, faiths and governments, Asia, Africa, America and Australia: place of Asian continent, its boundaries, amount and kind of its population, its natural conditions (concisely), Siberia and Turkestan, Iran, Caucasia.

Peninsula of Asia Minor, Balochistan, Afghanistan, Eastern Indian Peninsula, Indian islands, China, Japan.

General information on Africa: southern and central Africa, eastern Africa, western Africa, the Sudan, Sahara.

The Nile basin, Egyptian Sudan, Abyssinia, Nube, Egypt, principality of Tunisia, province of Tripoli, Algeria, Morocco, African islands.

General information on the Americas: Natural and political conditions of southern America, central America, its natural and political conditions, west Indian islands, northern America, its natural conditions.

Mexico, the United States of America, Britain's colonies in Canada, Greenland, America's lands at the poles.

General information on the Australian continent: New Holland and Tasmania, Polynesia, Micronesia, the South Pole lands, the North Pole lands."

Third Year

"Europe and Ottoman territories (they would be taught concisely): Europe – its place, boundaries, extent, coasts, natural conditions, air and water conditions, mineral resources, animals, agricultural products, human races, faiths, governments.

Southern Europe: Balkan peninsula, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Italy, Switzerland, the Italian islands, the Iberian peninsula, Spain, Portugal, central Europe, Romania, Austria and Hungary.

Western Europe: France, Belgium, Netherlands, Britain, the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, mountain side, Germany.

Northern Europe: Scandinavia.

Eastern Europe: Russia.

Geography of Ottoman territories: The place and natural and general boundaries of the Ottoman Empire in three continents, its being as a common continent inseparable from each other.[118]

The Ottoman Empire's extent, amount and kind of population, faiths, government.

Ottoman Europe: places, boundaries, extent, water and air conditions, mountains and rivers, mineral wealth, animals and plants.

Definition of administration: provinces, sancaks, famous cities.

Ottoman Asia: definition of administrative and natural conditions.

Ottoman Africa: definition of administrative and natural conditions.

The explanation of the Ottoman Empire's commercial and political significance because of that it has the most important and fertile land of three continent although it is placed in an ancient centre and adjoining.

[118] "… *yekdiğerinden gayr-i münfekk bir kıta-i umumiye halinde olduğu…*"

Land and sea routes: highways, railways, routes suitable to navigation, sea importation, post and telegraph service.

Relations with continents and other countries and natural and commercial relations, transit."[119]

Though the Regulation of Public Education of 1869 included articles about the establishment and ordering of idadi schools,[120] the first civil idadi schools in the Ottoman Empire were founded in Istanbul beginning in 1872. The first provincial idadi school was founded in 1873 in Yenişehir. These were expanded into provinces after 1885 thanks to the introduction of the Educational Contribution-Tax (*Maarif Hisse-i İanesi*). The two kinds of idadi schools in the empire had different curricula. The first one was the day-idadi with five years and the second one was the boarding idadi school with seven years only in the provincial centers.[121] The Regulation of Public Education of 1869 had limited idadi education with three years in which the curricula included a geography course. In fact, it can be seen that general Ottoman geography was among the courses in the first civil idadi schools founded in the 1870s. According to modifications in idadi schools in 1892, the curriculum of the boarding idadi school with seven years gave geography education in the first six years for two hours a week and the curriculum of the day-idadi school with five years included geography course in all five years for two hours a week.[122] In 1896, the curriculum of the boarding idadi school with seven years in Sivas confirms this program; it also included a geography course in the first six years for two hours a

[119] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, pp. 378-382.
[120] Özalp, p. 171.
[121] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, p. 120-1. Also see Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)*; Kodaman, *Ibid.*; and Unat, *Ibid.* for the development of *idadiye* schools in the Ottoman Empire.
[122] Kodaman, p. 131-2.

week.[123] However, the curriculum displaying courses in combined rüşdiye-idadiye school in 1898-9 suggests that a geography course one hour a week was added to the seventh year. According to this curriculum, idadi schools with seven years gave geography education for two hours a week in the first six years and for one hour in a week in the seventh year.[124] The document about modifications in idadi curriculum with five years in 1902 shows that the geography course was given two hours a week in the first three years and one hour a week in the fourth year; the fifth year did not include geography education.[125]

The geography courses in idadiye schools had a more intense and detalied content than the ones in rüşdiye schools. According to educational yearbooks, the contents of geography courses in idadiye schools for seven years were as follows:

> First Year
>
> "Introduction: Description and division of geography – mathematical geography, shapes, parallels and movements of the earth, the solar system, concise information on the stars.
>
> Physical geography, concise information on the shape of the earth, higher and lower lands, mountains, plateaus, plains, mountain pass or passages, river, coast, lake, archipelago, peninsula, isthmus, channel, strait, cape, gulf, harbor, bay and other geographical terms.
>
> Solid and liquid parts of the earth, its division into continents, general information on the five continents."

[123] BOA, Y.EE, 131/24, 1314.M.17 (28 June 1896).
[124] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, p. 191.
[125] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).

Second Year

"The four Continents (continents apart from Europe would be taught concisely): Geography and its division – mathematical geography, shape of the earth, general view of sky, fixed stars, planets, comets, meteors.

The earth's relations with celestial bodies, the moon, lunar and solar eclipse, movements of the earth, night and day, the four seasons, longitude and the description of place, orbits, other circles and areas.

Physical geography – general information on the formation of the earth, water and soil, sea and continents, surrounding seas, atmospheric movements, seasons, higher and lower lands, plains and mountains, islands.

Division of mountains to their heights, division of mountains to their formations, kinds of stone and soil, rivers and lakes, movement of waters over the earth, currents.

Plants and animals, human and human races, faiths and governments, Asia, Africa, America and Australia: the place of the Asian continent, its boundaries, amount and kind of its population, its natural conditions (concisely), Siberia and Turkestan, Iran, Caucasia.

The Peninsula of Asia Minor, Balochistan, Afghanistan, eastern Indian Peninsula, Indian islands, China, Japan.

General information on Africa: southern and central Africa, eastern Africa, western Africa, Sudan, Sahara.

The Nile basin, Egyptian Sudan, Abyssinia, Nube, Egypt, the principality of Tunis, province of Tripoli, Algeria, Morocco, African islands.

General information on America: Natural and political conditions of South America, Central America, its natural and political conditions, the West Indian islands, northern America, its natural condition.

Mexico, the United States of America, Britain's colonies in Canada, Greenland, America's lands at the poles.

General information on Australian continent: New Holland and Tasmania, Polynesia, Micronesia, the South Pole lands, the North Pole lands."

Third Year

"Europe and Ottoman territories (they would be taught concisely): Europe – its place, boundaries, extent, coasts, natural conditions, air and water conditions, mineral sources, animals, agricultural products, human races, faiths, governments.

Southern Europe: the Balkan peninsula, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Italia, Switzerland, Italian islands, Iberian peninsula, Spain, Portugal, central Europe, Romania, Austria and Hungary.

Western Europe: France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Britain, the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, Germany.

Northern Europe: Scandinavia.

Eastern Europe: Russia.

Geography of Ottoman territories: The place and natural and general boundaries of the Ottoman Empire in three continents, its being as a common inseparable continent (*yekdiğerinden gayr-i münfekk bir kıta-i umumiye halinde olduğu*).

The Ottoman Empire's extent, amount and kind of population, faiths, government.

Ottoman Europe: places, boundaries, extent, water and air conditions, mountains and rivers, mineral wealth, animals and plants.

Definition of administration: provinces, sancaks, famous cities.

Ottoman Asia: definition of administrative and natural conditions.

Ottoman Africa: definition of administrative and natural conditions.

The explanation of the Ottoman Empire's commercial and political significance because of that it has the most important and fertile land of three continents although it is placed in an ancient centre and adjoining.

Land and sea routes: highways, railways, routes suitable to navigation, sea importation, postal service and telegraph.

Relations with continents and other countries and natural and commercial relations, transit."

Fourth Year

"The four continents: The Asian, American, African and Australian continents would be taught in detail in parallel with order in the second year."

Fifth Year

"Mathematical geography and Europe: Mathematical and natural geography and the European continent would be taught in detail in parallel with order in the third year."

Sixth Year

"Geography of the Ottoman Empire: Ottoman Europe – boundaries, measurement, races, coasts, mountains, waters.

Form of administration – the province of Istanbul, boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, products, forests and water reservoirs.

The Province of Edirne – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Salonika – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Yanya – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of İşkodra – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Manastır – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Kosova – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Bosna and Hersek – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, famous lands.

The Province of Girid – boundaries, inhabitants, coasts, natural conditions, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Eastern Rumelia (*Rumeli-i Şarki Vilayeti*) – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, trade, famous lands.

The Province of Bulgaria – boundaries, inhabitants, coasts, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, famous lands.

Famous postal routes and railways in Ottoman Europe.

Ottoman Asia – boundaries, measurement, population, races, coasts, mountains, waters and lakes, sancaks and kazas,

Provinces along the coast of the Black Sea:

The Province of Kastamonu – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Trabzon – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

Mutasarrifiyya of Izmid – famous lands.

Mutasarrifiyya of Biga – famous lands.

The provinces along the coast of the Sea of Marmara:

The Province of Hüdavendigar – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The provinces along the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea and the Aegean Sea:

The Province of Aydın – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of the Aegean Islands (*Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid*): boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

Cyprus Island and the Province of Sisam.

The Province of Konya – boundaries, inhabitants, natural conditions, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Adana – boundaries, inhabitants, natural conditions, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Aleppo and mutasarrifiyya of Zor – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Provinces of Syria and Beirut and mutasarrifiyyas of Jerusalem and Mount Lebanon – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The provinces in the eastern boundaries:

The Provinces of Basra, Baghdad and Mosul – boundaries, natural conditions, sancaks and kazas, agricultural and industrial products, famous lands.

The Province of Van – boundaries, inhabitants, natural conditions, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Erzurum – boundaries, inhabitants, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

Provinces in the centre:

The Province of Bitlis – boundaries, inhabitants, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Diyarbekir – boundaries, inhabitants, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Mamuretülaziz – boundaries, inhabitants, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Sivas – boundaries, inhabitants, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Ankara – boundaries, inhabitants, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The provinces on the Arabian Peninsula:

The Province of Hicaz – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Yemen – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, agricultural and industrial products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

Postal and usual routes and railways.

Ottoman Africa:

The Khediviate of Egypt – boundaries, measurement and population, description of nature, products, famous lands.

The Province of Tripoli and mutasarrifiyya of Bingazi – boundaries, measurement and population, description of nature, products, sancaks and kazas, famous lands.

The Province of Tunisia – boundaries, inhabitants, description of nature, products, famous lands."

Seventh Year

The Ottoman Empire – boundaries, measurement, population, place of trade, agriculture, air condition, directions, agricultural products, nature of land, climate of agriculture, food products, industrial products, vineyards, grasslands, pastures, forests, domestic animals.

Handicrafts and handiworks, industrial exports, (minerals and rocks), industrial manufacturing, trade, vehicles of transportation (internal navigation, highways, railways, sea routes, large seaports), coins, weights and measures.

Together with the Great Powers of Europe and northern United States of America's colonies, their agricultural, industrial and commercial conditions will be shown and the conditions of various European countries will be instructed briefly.

The Great Powers' agricultural, mineral and industrial products, their roads, amounts of trade, sea routes and post routes to them will be shown together with regular tables which include useful details about them."[126]

The Content of Geography Courses in the Ottoman Female Education

In the Ottoman Empire, traditional primary female education was given in sıbyan schools. There was no any secondary educational institution until 1858 when the first rüşdiye schools were founded in Istanbul. In the same year, some sıbyan schools in Istanbul were assigned to female education.[127] Although there is no information about curricula of these first institutions for female education, the Regulation of

[126] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, pp. 252-262.
[127] Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde Kız Eğitimi," *Kebikeç*, no. 10 (2000), pp. 223–238, p. 225.

Public Education of 1869 included some articles on female education. According to the regulation, sıbyan schools for girls were to apply the same curricula with as the schools for male. In this sense, these schools included brief courses on geography.[128] The regulation also determined the education period for rüşdiye schools for girls would be four years; and its curriculum based on courses on women's domestic responsibilities and combined history and geography in the same course.[129] In 1873, rüşdiye schools for girls with four years gave geography education in the second, third and fourth years.[130]

The Hamidian state gave a special importance to female education and promoted it in the empire in order to raise potential mothers who would bring up their children as subjects loyal to the sultan and the state and thus to guarantee the legitimization of the regime in the future.[131] The state combined some ibtidaiye and rüşdiye schools for girls in 1891-92 and determined their education period as six years. It seems that these combined schools for girls did not include geography courses in the first three years and gave geography education for two hours in a week in the fourth, fifth and sixth years.[132] The document displaying curriculum of rüşdiye schools with six years states that geography was instructed for two hours a week in the last three years and included brief knowledge on five continents.[133] The educational yearbook of 1899 also maintained the same curriculum.[134] Although the state also made some modifications in the curricula of rüşdiye schools with six years

[128] Ibid., p. 226.
[129] Ibid., p. 227; and Özalp, p. 170.
[130] Somel, "Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde Kız Eğitimi," p. 228.
[131] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, p. 185.
[132] Somel, "Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde Kız Eğitimi," p. 230; and Ünal, p. 19.
[133] BOA, Y.EE, 131/24, 1314.M.17 (28 June 1896).
[134] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, p. 393.

for girls in 1902, this did not change the place of geography courses; these schools also gave geography education for two hours a week in the last three years.[135]

According to the educational yearbooks, the content of geography courses in rüşdiye schools for girls with six years for the last three years was as follows:

Forth Year

"1 – Principal directions: descriptions of these directions will not be memorized and they will be taught and instructed in classrooms and breaking grounds according to the place of the Sun.

2 – Seasons: principal signs and indicators of winds, the horizon, the earth and other stars.

3 – Names assigned to land and seas (always beginning with the ones the children know and gradually progressing toward the ones they do not know and difficult ones).

4 – Local geography: home, street, district, village, nahiye, kaza, sancak, province, homeland, continent, country.

5 – General geography: the earth, its shape and extent, continents and great seas, famous states and just capitals on every continent.

6 – Teaching of geography with maps, map and plan, planisphere (*küre-i musattaha*), displaying of subjects on maps, distances of continents from each other, the place and boundaries of the Ottoman Empire."

Fifth Year

"7 – Astronomy: brief knowledge on the universe, the Sun, fixed stars and planets, the earth and its shape and movement, events derived from this movement: year, seasons, months, night and day, hour and minute, the satellite of the earth and phases of the moon.

[135] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).

8 – The Ottoman Empire: the place of the Ottoman Empire on the globe, names of the Ottoman Empire in three continents (Rumelia, Anatolia and Arabia, Egypt, Tripoli and Tunisia); seas, straits, gulfs and islands among them.

9 – Ottoman Europe: (Rumelia): natural geography; Rumelia's boundaries, coasts (straits, gulfs, capes), plains, mountains, rivers and lakes.

Administrative geography: names of nahiyes, kazas, *livas* and provineces (*vilayat*) and their officials, provinces and their places and boundaries in Rumelia, provinces in coasts and hinterlands, famous cities, ports and trade centers in each province, Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, railways in Rumelia, craft, trade and agriculture in Rumelia.

10 – Ottoman Asia: (Anatolia and Arabia): natural geography; boundaries, coasts (straits, gulfs, capes), mountains, plains, rivers and lakes.

Administrative geography: provinces and dominions in Ottoman Asia and their places and boundaries, famous cities, ports and trade centers in each province, railways, craft, trade and agriculture.

11 –Ottoman Africa: The khedivate of Egypt, the province of Tripoli and the province of Tunisia."

Sixth Year

"12 – The five continents: (natural geography): shape, place and boundaries of each continent, the most famous straits, gulfs, capes and seas. (administrative geography): famous states and their capitals in each continent, famous cities and trade centers of the greatest states."

"A reminder: Geography course will be never taught without a map; among the states on five continents, those that have had relationships with the Ottoman Empire will be taught in a more detailed way; others will be summarized and not be confused because of the details of names."[136]

[136] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, pp. 428-430.

The Content of Geography Courses in the Teachers' Seminaries

After the establishment of the first rüşdiye schools in 1847, a Teachers' Seminary (*Darülmuallimin*) was founded to train instructors for them in 1848 in Istanbul.[137] This school taught Arabic, Persian, Turkish, arithmetic and geography. After the establishment of this school, no teachers' seminary was founded until 1868 when a Teachers' Seminary for Sıbyan Schools (*Darülmuallimin-i Sıbyan*) was founded. The Regulation of Public Education of 1869 also included some articles about teachers' seminaries. It proposed the establishment of a Great Teachers' Seminary (*Darülmuallimin-i Kebir*) in Istanbul in order to train teachers for rüşdiye, idadiye and *sultaniye* schools. Parallel to this aim, the regulation devised to divide the school into three sections: The rüşdiye section of the school with three years would not include any geography course; similarly, the idadiye section with two years and sultaniye section with three years would not give geography education to students.[138] However, the Tanzimat state was unable to establish this school.

Only in 1874 was the Istanbul Teachers' Seminary (*İstanbul Darülmuallimini*) founded in order to train teachers working in the sıbyan, rüşdiye and idadiye schools.[139] However, the teachers trained in these schools were not enough to meet the need for teachers because of the expansion of public education into the provinces during the reign of Abdulhamid II. Thus, the Hamidian state spent an important amount of energy on establishing new teachers' seminaries and expanding them into the provinces from 1882 onwards. The Great Seminary (*Darülmuallimin-i Aliye*),

[137] See Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Öğretmen Yetiştirme Problemi (1848-1967)* (Ankara: Yargıçoğlu Matbaası, 1967); Kodaman, pp. 145-156; and Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, pp. 129-135 for the development of teachers' seminaries during the Hamidian era.
[138] Özalp, pp. 175-6.
[139] Kodaman, p. 147.

devised by the Regulation of Public Education of 1869, was only found in 1889-1890 and became fully operational in 1891-1892.[140]

In 1892, a regulation about the modification of articles regarding the teachers' seminaries in the Regulation of Public Education of 1869 (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesinin İkinci Faslının Darülmuallimin Hakkındaki Mevaddını Tadil Eden Nizamname*) was issued. This regulation divided education in the school into three sections, namely ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and *aliye*, each of them with two years. The geography course in the first year of the ibtidaiye section was two hours a week and taught five continents briefly; the same course in the second year was also for two hours and included the geography of the Ottoman Empire. The geography in the first year of the rüşdiye section was for two hours a week and taught details of five continents; the second year did not include geography course. The aliye section with two years also gave geography education for two hours a week in the first and second years.[141]

The educational yearbook of 1899 gives the curricula of sections in the Teachers' Seminary. According to it, the ibtidaiye section with two years included course on general and Ottoman geography for two hours a week in the first and second years. The rüşdiye section with two years gave geography education for two hours a week in the first year and for one hour a week in the second year. The aliye section with three years included geography education for one hour a week in the first, second and third years.[142]

The curricula of ibtidaiye and rüşdiye section were maintained after modifications in 1902. However, it seems that aliye section, including two branches

[140] Koçer, *Türkiye'de Öğretmen Yetiştirme Problemi (1848-1967)*, p. 28; and Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, p. 131.
[141] Özalp, pp. 372-377.
[142] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, pp. 127-129.

(science and literature), was limited to two years. According to this curriculum, the literature branch of the aliye section included geography courses for two hours a week in the first year and for one hour a week in the second year.[143] On the other hand, the same document shows that there was a change in the geography course of the ibtidaiye section of the provincial teachers' seminaries in 1902; according to this modification, in the first year the geography course for two hours a week was replaced by one for one hour. But the course in the second year was again for two hours. The decrease in the first year was due to the addition of courses on morality, religion and agriculture to the curriculum.[144]

The Regulation of Public Education of 1869 included articles on teachers' seminaries for girls (*Darülmuallimat*) which were designed to train female teachers for female education. It divided this school into two sections, namely sıbyan and rüşdiye. The sıbyan section with two years included a course on history and geography; the rüşdiye section with three years also gave a course on history and geography.[145] The curriculum of the Teachers's Seminary for Girls with three years included geography courses in the first, second and third years.[146] In 1899, the Teachers's Seminary for Girls with three years gave geography courses for two hours a week in the first year and for one hour in the second and third years.[147] The curriculum reform in 1902 did not change the place of geography courses within the Teachers' Seminary for Girls.[148]

According to the educational yearbooks, contents of geography courses in the Teachers' Seminary for Girls for three years were as follows:

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[143] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).
[144] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).
[145] Özalp, pp. 177-8.
[146] Somel, "Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde Kız Eğitimi," pp. 234-5.
[147] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, pp. 453.
[148] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902).

First Year

"1 – A brief information about cosmography.

2 – A general information about the earth.

3 – Geographical terms.

4 – Maps and globes.

5 – A general information about continents and each surrounding. Descriptions of continents.

6 – Mountains and rivers.

7 – Currents of air and sea.

8 – Human race.

9 – The Equator, the Tropics, the Poles.

10 – Political geography: information about states in Asia, Africa, America and Oceania.

11 – China, Japan, Indochina, India, Russian Asia, Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and Baluchistan, Ottoman Asia.

12 –Ottoman Africa, northern Africa, eastern Africa, western Africa, southern Africa, central Africa.

13 – America: the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina and other states.

14 – The Australian continent and the European colonies.

15 – Famous products."

Second Year

"16 – Natural panorama of Europe.

17 – Natural, administrative, agricultural, industrial and commercial geography of each state.

18 – Governments and faiths."

Third Year

"19 – The natural geography of the Ottoman Empire and its division into three continents.

20 – Its coasts and boundaries.

21 – Mountains and rivers.

22 – Division of provinces.

23 – Information about each province.

24 – Agricultural, industrial and commercial geography.

25 – Important means of transportation: trains and ships."[149]

Despite all efforts of the Hamidian state to establish teachers' seminaries and to expand them into the provinces, the number of teachers unable to meet the need derived from the expanding public schools during the reign of Abdulhamid II. In order to solve this problem, the state tried to make use of other sources apart from teachers' seminaries, although the Regulation of Public Education of 1869 stated that teachers in ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools would be appointed from persons graduating from relative sections of teachers' seminaries. One of these sources was the *medrese*: *Medrese* graduates became teachers in sıbyan and ibtidaiye schools in villages and districts and taught courses on religion, morality, Persian and Arabic.

The second source for meeting the need of teacher was the army; army officers gave courses on science, history and geography. The third source was non-Muslims; the non-Muslim subjects of the empire generally taught foreign languages and the courses in which the teacher deficit was felt. Apart from these sources, the state made use of officials, idadiye graduates and religious officials.[150]

These difficulties were also valid for the recruitment of geography teachers. In the Hamidian era, there was no professional group of geographers who were

[149] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, pp. 476-478.
[150] Kodaman, p. 154.

educated in geography at the academy level. Geography teachers in the primary and secondary schools of public education were generally teachers' seminaries' graduates or army officers. Archival documents show that many officers taught geography in civil schools because of their military training, which gave importance to cartography and geography education. For example, in 1893 Abdülfettah Efendi was appointed geography teacher to replace Lieutenant Mecid Efendi at the Baghdad Idadi School.[151] In 1890, Lieutenant Şevki Efendi, the geography teacher of the military rüşdiye school, was appointed geography teacher at the Erzurum Idadi School.[152] The state also made use of non-Muslims in Muslim schools as geography teachers. For example, Leon Efendi was appointed as geography teacher at the Manisa Idadi School in 1889.[153]

Many archival documents state that because of the teacher deficit, some teachers taught many courses at the same time. Thus, geography teachers gave lessons in arithmetic, history or Turkish along with geography. For example, Bodrumlu Mehmed Efendi, who had graduated from the Teachers' Seminary, was appointed as both history and geography teacher at the Sinop Idadi School in 1892.[154] In addition, the Ministry of Public Education informed the Ministry of Finance that teachers of arithmetic in some rüşdiye schools also gave lessons in geography and complained about their salaries in 1877.[155]

In conclusion, the Hamidian state applied some modern strategies in order to extend its authority into the distant provinces and to legitimize the sultan's power over that of the local rival ruling elites, especially in the Balkans, eastern Anatolia and Syria. Geography education became an inseparable and integral part of public

[151] BOA, MF.MKT, 174/28, 1310.Z.26 (10 July 1893).
[152] BOA, MF.MKT, 117/119, 1307.L.11 (30 May 1890)
[153] BOA, MF.MKT, 108/102, 1306.N.4 (4 May 1889).
[154] BOA, MF.MKT, 151/124, 1310.Ra.25 (16 October 1892).
[155] BOA, MF.MKT, 47/127, 1294.R.9 (23 April 1877).

education at this time. It was related to territoriality in a modern sense and internal territorialization in which the modern state tried to establish authority over the territory, people and natural sources it claimed. In a sense, the Ottoman state used geography education as a tool of establishing a sense of unity in the minds of the students, of creating a people obedient to the homeland and the sultan and of controlling and revealing natural resources and productive capacity of the empire. In parallel to these functions, it seemed that geography courses had an important place in curricula of ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools during the Hamidian era.

CHAPTER 4

READING IMPERIAL TERRITORIES:

GEOGRAPHICAL IMAGINATION IN TEXTBOOKS

School textbooks are not simple representations of reality; they contain some social and political constructions for specific purposes. In this sense, they are not free from the power relations in society although they are usually presented as if the knowledge in these books is neutral. However, they are not simply composed of neutral knowledge. They have an ideological and political function, transmitting and communicating "official knowledge" to students; and official knowledge is determined as a result of complex power relations and struggles in society. Apple and Christian-Smith write that

> "This is a distinct problem since texts are not simply 'delivery systems' of 'facts.' They are at once the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power. And what texts mean and how they are used are fought over by communities with distinctly different commitments and by teachers and students as well."[156]

Thus, the forms and contents of textbooks are determined in accord with the knowledge reflective of the worldview of ruling elites in a given society after a process of selection and organization. Apple and Christian-Smith point out that

[156] Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith, "The Politics of the Textbook," in *The Politics of the Textbook*, ed. Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 2-3.

"They signify –through their content *and* form– particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge. They embody what Raymond Williams called the *selective tradition* – someone's selection, someone's vision of legitimate knowledge and culture, one that in the process of enfranchasing one group's cultural capital disenfranchises another's."[157]

During the nineteenth century when public education spread throughout the world, modern states and the central ruling elites began to pay attention to the forms and contents of textbooks. Their aim was to legitimize their power against rival groups in society by transmitting "official knowledge" reflective of their visions and thus by providing mass support. Textbooks were among the most effective tools the central ruling elites had to accomplish this aim. Because of the significance attributed to textbooks, their contents and forms were determined and closely monitored and inspected by some commissions of the state. For example, during the nineteenth century in England, the content of classroom texts was strictly monitored by the boards and local education authorities and "publishers had to submit their texts to municipal or county education officials or to a standing textbook committee of a school board or voluntary school would sanction books by placing them on an approved requisition list."[158] This inspection process was significant in terms of transmitting true "official knowledge" to students and became common with the spread of public education in the nineteenth century.

Disseminating their ideologies to the masses through textbooks, states either directly prepared them themselves thanks to their officials or gave the license to the available textbooks after inspection. As a result of this process, they gave permission to school textbooks which contained "true" knowledge and rejected "harmful" ones.

[157] Apple and Christian-Smith, p. 3-4.
[158] Heathorn, p. 16.

Therefore, political regimes aimed at legitimizing their political power or at strengthening the legitimacy of their political systems by creating masses furnished with their "official" knowledge.[159]

In the Ottoman Empire, from the Tanzimat Era onward, textbooks became an integral part of the Ottoman public education. The Tanzimat state tried to provide many textbooks on course subjects in order to meet the need of textbook of new schools. The Regulation of Writing and Translation (*Telif ve Tercüme Nizamnamesi*) of 1870 determined basic matters about writing, translating and publishing textbooks in Turkish.[160] During the Hamidian period, textbooks became a more crucial issue for the political regime because public education was not limited to Istanbul and secondary schools and was expanded into all provinces within the empire and included primary schools. Thus, both the number of schools and students and the intensity and diversity of courses increased thanks to this expansion. The Hamidian state devoted itself to providing, monitoring and inspecting the textbooks to be used in both public and private schools. It established strict control over textbooks. Textbooks constituted the main body of public education in this period.

Teachers had to give their courses based on these textbooks and could not give education in any course outside the framework in them in order to standardize education. In 1892-3 Yıldız Palace stated that all ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools, whether public or private, in Istanbul and all provinces would have same curricula and these curricula could not be different from each other. The textbooks to be used in these schools were to be selected by the Ministry of Public Education and the teachers had to teach their lessons in terms of these textbooks.[161] The state

[159] Nuri Doğan, *Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme (1876-1918)* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1994), p. 15; and Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, p. 187.
[160] Özalp, pp. 198-210.
[161] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 2/82, 1310 (1892-3).

formed some commissions such as the Commission for Inspection and Examination (*Encümen-i Teftiş ve Muayene*) in 1881 and the Commission for the Inspection of Texts (*Tedkik-i Müellefat Komisyonu*) in 1892 in order to inspect textbooks.[162] The Hamidian state strictly controlled not only the textbooks published within the empire, but also all of the books, magazines and newspapers in the various languages came from foreign countries. In this sense, a regulation was formed concerning the prohibition of harmful written materials penetrating the empire through customs in 1885.[163] Therefore, during the Hamidian period, the state paid attention to textbooks in order to legitimize its power and to create a loyal and obedient populace for the sultan by transmitting "official knowledge" to students.

Geography textbooks also were inspected by the Hamidian state, which sought to form a standard and homogenous geographical imagination ("official knowledge" in terms of geography) among students by intervening and inspecting geography textbooks. The bureaucracy gave permission to geography textbooks to be assumed acceptable in terms of regulations concerning textbooks while rejecting, withdrawing from the market and destroying those which contained knowledge considered to be "harmful" to the official geographical knowledge. The issue of whether geographical knowledge was harmful or not was related to the politics of the territoriality of the state. It was determined by the Hamidian state's aims of extending and establishing its central authority over all provinces and recognized territorial boundaries of the empire and of creating a sense of imperial unity which would form a direct relationship of belonging between the territory and the subjects. In this sense, the state paid special attention to geographical information in textbooks about borders

[162] See Fatmagül Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2007), pp. 89-104 for detailed information about these two inspection commissions.
[163] "Evrak ve Resail-i Muzırranın Memalik-i Osmaniye'ye Men'i İthal ve İntişarı için Tedabir-i Muktaziye İttihazı Hakkında İrade-i Seniyyeyi Mübelliğ Tahrirat-ı Rüsumiye"; see Özalp, p. 38.

and administrative division of the empire. This information needed to reflect the state's official views about its recognized borders.

All geography textbooks were inspected carefully by commissions in the Ministry of Public Education and it was expected that all of them would contributed to these aims. Licenses were granted to geography textbooks in accord with this framework. However, geography textbooks were not simple tools by which the state disseminated its official geographical knowledge to students in terms of its ideological purposes, but they themselves constituted and formulated this knowledge. This means that the state's own ideas about official geographical imagination were not given but were formulated in a long process, in accord with the Hamidian state's territorial politics, which paid attention to the expansion of its central authority over all territories of the empire. The formulation of an established official geographical knowledge was the result of this process within which the state inspected geography textbooks, gave license to some of them and rejected others.

In the Ottoman Empire, school textbooks in the modern sense were not old. Before the Tanzimat era, the corpus of textbooks in primary sıbyan schools had been limited to primers for Arabic letters and parts from the Quran. These texts were used to teach reading. Somel writes that "The first printed texts used for purposes of education were either small Persian-Ottoman and Arabic-Ottoman dictionaries, grammar books and catechisms, or technical books, some of them translated from foreign languages and used in military professional schools such as the Naval Engineering School or the Military Academy."[164] Especially at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, The Printing Press of Engineering School (*Mühendishane Matbaası*) met the needs of textbooks for

[164] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, p. 188.

students in military schools such as the Naval Engineering School and the Engineering School for the Armed Forces. It printed many textbooks of courses such as geometry, geography, grammar, history, medicine, astronomy, religion, and military training taught in these schools, along with dictionaries, atlases, maps and some translations.[165] But the amount of their copies was so limited that they could only meet the needs of the students in these schools. Only with the Tanzimat era did textbooks in the modern sense became an inseparable feature of the Ottoman education. During this period and especially the Hamidian era, the development of public education, its expansion into the provinces and the foundation of many schools at both the elementary and secondary levels created the environment in which textbooks were mass-produced.

The printing press played a crucial role in the preparation, production and circulation of textbooks. It made it possible for all students in Ottoman institutions of education to obtain textbooks for their courses. In addition, the tight control over the printing press by the state and regulations concerning press centers both constituted one of the most important factors in the process of inspecting and monitoring of textbooks and provided the homogenization of their contents, forms and languages. It was especially true for the Hamidian period; it can be pointed out that some rules that concerning the publication of books and textbooks became established in this period. In this sense, it is necessary to examine the state of the printing press in order to understand the issue of textbooks in the nineteenth century.

[165] Beydilli, Ibid.

The Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire

There is a common view that the first printing press in the Ottoman Empire was that established in 1727 by İbrahim Müteferrika, but it is incorrect. The first printing press in the empire was founded at the end of the fifteenth century in Istanbul by Jews who had come from Spain in 1492.[166] They founded presses in Istanbul, Salonika, Edirne and Izmir and printed books in Hebrew, Spanish, Greek and Latin. They were not allowed, however, to print titles in Turkish or Arabic. After the Jews, the Armenians and Greeks also established printing presses to publish works in Armenian and Greek in the Ottoman territories.[167] The first printing press to publish Turkish books and other works such as maps in the empire was founded in 1727 by İbrahim Müteferrika, but it was prohibited from publishing works on religion.[168] As a geographer himself, İbrahim Müteferrika printed many geography books such as *Cihannüma* and *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* (History of the West Indies), atlases and maps, along with books on sciences, in his own printing press.[169] At the end of the eighteenth century the establishment of The Printing Press of Engineering School was a crucial step, aimed at meeting the need for written materials in military education in Istanbul.[170]

In this process from the end of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the state did not need to establish a comprehensive mechanism of control over the printing press and to intervene in it, apart from the prohibition on

[166] See Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2000); and Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür* for the development of the printing press in the Ottoman Empire.
[167] Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, p. 23; and Fatmagül Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi," *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları: TC İstanbul Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Dergisi,* no. 5 (2004), p. 89.
[168] Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, p. 25.
[169] İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. 1, pp. 134-137.
[170] Beydilli, Ibid.

works on religion.[171] However, by the middle of the nineteenth century when the number of private printing presses increased, the state began to pay attention to controlling them and to monitoring the materials they printed. As a result of this attention, the Regulation of Printing Press (*Matbaa Nizamnamesi*) of 1857 both established the rules printing presses had to obey for their foundations and printing activities and expressed how the materials they printed would be controlled. According to this regulation, anyone who wanted to found a printing press had to obtain a license from the state. If a printing press had been founded without this license, it could be closed and its owner could be punished. Secondly, even if a printing press had a license, a material to be printed by it would be inspected by Council of Education (*Meclis-i Maarif*) and then be printed with the permission of the office of the Grand Vizier, if it did not have any harmful information.[172]

This regulation was replaced by The Regulation of Printing Presses (*Matbaalar Nizamnamesi*) in 1888 in the Hamidian era. However, this regulation was also abolished and a new one was issued in 1894; this new regulation, called The Regulation Concerning Printing Presses and Booksellers (*Matbaalar ve Kitapçılar Hakkında Nizamname*), remained in force until 1909.[173] The educational yearbook of 1898-1899 gives a copy of this regulation.[174] According to this regulation, anyone who wanted to establish a printing press within the Ottoman territories needed to obtain an official license. Anyone who would violate this rule was punished according to 137th article of the penal code.[175] In this sense, this person would submit to the Ministry of Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*) in Istanbul and to the office of the

[171] Demirel points out that this prohibition was abolished after 1803. Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi," p. 91.
[172] Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, p. 30; and Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi," p. 92.
[173] Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi," p. 94.
[174] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, pp. 170-190.
[175] This punishment included the closing of the printing press and a cash fine of 50 gold coins.

governor in the provinces; and after this submission, there would be made an investigation into those who had submitted. Only after taking a vow from them that they would not print any material which was against interests of the sultan and the Ottoman Empire, the Ministry of Interior in Istanbul and governors in the provinces issued official license for the establishment.

In addition, when it comes to book production, the owners of the printing presses would cite their own names, the places of their printing presses and their numbers on the bottom of the books. The printing of the book needed the official license of the Ministry of Public Education. After printing with this license, the ministry would inspect whether all copies were same as the original copy; and then, the printing press could took a license for the distribution of the book. This regulation enabled the Hamidian state to establish a strict mechanism of control over book production and to inspect and to homogenize the content of every book to be published in the imperial territories. In this way, the state tried to disseminate "official knowledge" while prohibiting harmful knowledge against its own official ideology though its content changed in time.

Despite this strict control over the printing press and book production, the number of books and printing presses in the empire continued to increase. Mizancı Murad compiled a bibliography of some 4,000 books published during the first fifteen years of Abdulhamid's reign.[176] Along with the number of books, there were also many printing presses within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. The educational yearbook of 1899-1900 shows that 91 printing presses maintained their

[176] Johann Strauss, "'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute': Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p. 225.

printing activities only in Istanbul.[177] Much of them were private companies and a few belonged to the state (*Matbaa-i Amire*, *Matbaa-i Askeriye* and *Matbaa-i Bahriye*). The yearbook gives information about the name, place, owner, kind, language, and date of establishment of every printing press.

They printed their works in various languages, namely Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, Bulgarian, French, English, German, Italian, and Russian. Some of them printed school textbooks and made money for their specialization on this area. Therefore, although it was not equal to book production industry in England,[178] it can be said that there was an industry specialized in book production in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the nineteenth century. Some of these companies in this industry tried to expand their market by printing books in various disciplines and by founding new branches in Anatolia. Especially companies specialized in textbook production, printed and sold thousands of copies of every textbook in order to meet the needs of the recently established public schools and earned much money thanks to these sales. Public education created a huge market for printing presses and publishers. This resulted in the commercialization of book production in the empire during this period.

For example, *Şirket-i Sahafiye-i Osmaniye*, founded in 1882 by Hacı Ahmed and Müellifzade Arif Efendi, printed many books in 37 years on various disciplines such as religion, history, literature, and medicine.[179] The company founded seven branches in cities in Anatolia. But the prohibition of a book, *Şerh-i Mevakif*, on the grounds that it was deemed harmful by the Ministry of Public Education, led the

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[177] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1317/1899-1900, pp. 850-859. Kabacalı, pp. 125-132 also gives names of printing presses maintaining their printing activities in all of the empire between 1876 and 1892.
[178] Heathorn, p. 14.
[179] Fatmagül Demirel, "Osmanlı'da Bir Kitap Şirketi: Şirket-i Sahafiye-i Osmaniye," *Müteferrika,* no. 25 (Yaz 2004), pp. 89-97; and *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1317/1899-1900, p. 853.

company to financial problems.[180] Many publishers and printing presses faced similar problems in the Hamidian period because of the strict regulations and inspection commissions especially concerning school textbooks.

Therefore, the creation of a huge market for publishing companies thanks to new schools and the commercialization of book production resulted in the standardization of forms and contents of textbooks and in the homogenization of the views in these books, because companies and textbook writers had to obey rules and regulations concerning book production and textbooks in order to prevent the prohibition of their books; and they were able to publish their books only after getting a license from the inspection commissions of the Ministry of Public Education. These commissions could prevent the distribution of books on the grounds that they were harmful. A similar process was available for school readers in England at the end of the nineteenth century.

> "The vast increase in sales and the large potential profits to be made in the publishing of school readers meant that great attention was paid to the demands of the school codes, the dictates of the inspectorship, and the perceived desires of the educational authorities. Commercial publishers were regularly censured by the school boards and local educational authorities for attempting to bypass formal selection procedures and peddle their wares directly to the teachers. Indeed, the content of classroom texts tended to be strictly monitored by the boards and local education authorities. In most districts in England, publishers had to submit their texts to municipal or country education officials or to a standing textbook committee of a school board or voluntary school who would sanction books by placing them on an approved requisition list."[181]

[180] Demirel, "Osmanlı'da Bir Kitap Şirketi," p. 91.
[181] Heathorn, p. 16.

Inspection Commissions and the Control of Textbooks

In the Hamidian period, the state tried to intervene in textbooks and establish direct control over their contents in order to prevent the dissemination of harmful "knowledge." In order to accomplish this aim, it made use of some inspection commissions within the Ministry of Public Education for textbooks and thus, as Somel writes, turned the ministry "into a department of state censorship and into an agency aiming to monopolize information."[182] All inspection activities were executed by units within the ministry. In the Ottoman Empire, from 1857 to 1879, the mission of inspecting textbooks was performed directly by the Ministry of Public Education, according to the Regulation of Printing Press of 1857. In 1879 a new unit was founded within the ministry, the Department for the Writing and Translation (*Telif ve Tercüme Dairesi*).[183] This unit inspected books before publishing and gave licenses to them if they included no harmful information. But in 1881, the Department for the Writing and Translation and the Administration of Printing Presses (*Matbaalar İdaresi*) were united and a new commission was constituted: the Commission for Inspection and Examination.[184]

The Commission for Inspection and Examination both inspected books before publishing and controlled written materials in customs and post offices in all territories of the empire. In the process concerning giving license to books, the author or printing press had to submit to the Ministry of Public Education in order to publish any book in Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Greek or Bulgarian. The ministry assigned the inspection of these books to the Commission for Inspection and

[182] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, p. 92.
[183] Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi," p. 95.
[184] See Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, pp. 89-93; and Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi," pp. 96-97 for detailed information about this commission.

Examination which employed many members who knew Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Greek or Bulgarian. The members of the commission inspected a book and prepared a report on it noting whether it was harmful or not. If the book was not harmful, the ministry gave a license to print it. And then, after printing, there needed another license to distribute it.[185]

Some books that were deemed "harmful" (*muzır*) were rejected, while others were returned to their authors for the correction of some expressions. Reports by the members of the commission on books seen and rejected as harmful sometimes clearly noted reasons for prohibition and even gave the exact pages in which harmful expressions had been found. Sometimes they simply noted the book as having harmful information without any explanation. Many archival documents show that this process of inspecting books and giving licenses was also effective for geography textbooks.[186]

In 1892, along with the Commission for Inspection and Examination, another commission was created again within the Ministry of Public Education. The Commission for the Inspection of Texts was a commission which aimed at re-inspecting books in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages and dramas in Turkish which previously had been inspected by the Commission for Inspection and Examination on the grounds that the one-third of books inspected by the commission were in these three languages.[187] After the Commission for Inspection and Examination assigned any book in these three languages to the Commission for the Inspection of Texts after inspecting it together with its own report, the Commission

[185] Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, p. 91; and Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi," p. 96.
[186] Sections on licenses for geography textbooks below will both give examples of this process and explain the meaning of "harmful" in terms of geography textbooks.
[187] See Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, pp. 93-96; and Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi," p. 98 for detailed information about this commission.

for the Inspection of Texts also inspected it, wrote its decision and again assigned it to the Commission for Inspection and Examination for the application of the decision. This two-phased cautious and strict process of inspection especially in textbooks is evidence of the attention the state attributed to how knowledge was communicated to its subjects for ideological purposes.

In 1901, another institution, the Department of Interior Printing Press (*Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdüriyeti*) became a part of this process of control over written materials. After this date, on the inner covers of books, a note that it was printed with the license of both the Ministry of Public Education and this institution can be seen.[188] All of these institutions and commissions aimed at censoring and controlling ideas and information against official knowledge.

Abdulhamid II tried to legitimize his power against rival groups in the empire by making use of textbooks, strictly inspected and monitored by inspection commissions which prohibited the printing of harmful books. During this period, textbooks, especially on morality, emphasized both religious values and morality and hierarchy within family in which a head (*reis*) would keep the family members in order. Somel writes "This head (*reis*), the father of children, ought to be like a physician trying to keep the different organs of the body in balance."[189] Clearly, it was "an allegory of the ideal political system, with the sultan providing justice by means of establishing harmony among the different layers of the society."[190] Thus, the sultan could legitimize his power, thanks to textbooks which implied to loyalty to his own authority.

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[188] Demirel, *II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Sansür*, p. 96; and Demirel, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kitap Basımının Denetimi," p. 99.
[189] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, p. 191.
[190] Ibid., p. 192.

Geography Textbooks during the Hamidian Era

During the Hamidian era, geography textbooks were also a tool the sultan used to legitimize his authority over all of the territories of the empire by emphasizing the unity of the empire. The state devoted serious energy to preparing and inspecting geography textbooks in order to distribute them to the schools in all of the empire. Because these textbooks were also strictly monitored by the inspection commissions of the Ministry of Public Education and were dependent on rules and regulations, again prepared by the ministry, their forms and contents were usually homogenous and they were bowdlerized. In fact, the content of geography textbooks were determined with The Regulation of Writing and Translation of 1870 which established basic matters about writing, translating and publishing textbooks in Turkish.[191] According to this regulation, there were three ways to choose a textbook. They were selected as a result of a competition, presented by an individual author or ordered to prepare in return of a price by the state.[192] The regulation established the order and content of textbooks in sıbyan schools to be sent for competition. It also noted which subjects were included in geography textbooks in sıbyan schools.

Their content was described as follows:

> "General information about shape and place, and movement of the earth. Circles over the earth. Improvement of geography. Human races. Forms of governments and religions. The borders and populations of the five continents, beginning with the European continent. Information about borders, extent, mountains, lakes, large rivers, old and new administrative division, and various communities and groups of the Ottoman Empire; about borders, population, agricultural and industrial products, central

[191] Reşat Özalp, pp. 198-210.
[192] Ibid., p. 199.

> administration, sancaks, and fortified places of each province in the empire; about railways, highways, postal routes and telegraph lines in the empire; and about form of government and style of administration, land and sea forces, courts and public education of the Ottoman Empire. A table noting military division and another table stating provinces and sancaks."[193]

After this date, geography textbooks were expected to include these subjects and framework. Before Abdulhamid II came to power, the state needed a geography textbook clearly displaying places in the empire. A document of 1875 pointed out that because the available geography books and maps did not have the correct spellings of places in the empire, nobody could sufficiently benefit from the science geography which was crucial for the interests of the state and country. It was ordered to establish a commission familiar to both this science and foreign languages in order to prepare a book which included proper information about places. This commission would have consisted of military officers, officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Hariciye Nezareti*) and members of the Council of Education.[194] It means that geography textbooks were needed to reflect the state's interests and they needed to be prepared by officials working in the name of the state. In this sense, the discipline of geography was accepted as a state affair and was shaped in the direction of the state policies. In a similar way, in the USA during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a close relationship between geographical knowledge and power. Geographers tried intellectually to justify the nation's commercial and

[193] Ibid., p. 207. "*Kürre-i arzın şekil ve mevki ve hareketine dair malumat-ı umumiye. Arz üzerinde farz olunan devair. İslahat-i coğrafya. Ecnas-ı nev'i beşer. Suver-i hükümat ve mezahip. Avrupa'dan başlayarak kıt'at-ı hamsenin hudut ve nüfus ve sairesi. Memalik-i şahanenin hududu ve vüsati ve dağları ve gölleri ve büyük nehirleri ve idarece eski ve yeni taksimi ve şamil olduğu milel ve tavaif-i muhtelife her bir vilayetin hududu ve nüfusu ve mahsulat-ı arziye ve sınaiyesi ve merkezi idaresi ve münkasem olduğu sancakları ve mevaki-i müstahkeme ve sairesi memalik-i şahanede bulunan demir ve şose yolları posta ve telgraf hatları, Devlet-i Aliyyenin suret-i hükümet ve usul-i idaresine ve kuvve-i berriye ve bahriyesine ve muhakim ve maarif-i umumiyeye dair malumat. Taksimat-ı askeriyeyi mübeyyin bir cedvel ve vilayet ve sancakları mübeyyin bir cedvel.*"
[194] BOA, MF.MKT, 28/76, 1292.Ca.03 (7 June 1875).

political expansion.[195] There was a similar expectation in the first years of Abdulhamid II's reign to prepare a perfect book which included the geography of the Ottoman Empire.[196] So it was demanded from Tax Office and The Ministry of Telegraph and Post to prepare statistical table displaying every sort of places.[197]

Because Yıldız Palace ordered that textbooks to be used in public schools should be selected by the Ministry of Public Education and teachers had to teach their lessons from these textbooks,[198] geography textbooks were the primary tools teachers used to instruct geography course and the state disseminated its geographical discourse. While the content of these textbooks was generally based on the framework, established by the Regulation of Writing and Translation of 1870, the geographical discourse of the state was changed and shaped by the political interests of the Hamidian state. Thus, the state gave high priority to these books. The Ministry of Public Education distributed geography textbooks, prepared both by its own printing press, *Matbaa-i Amire*, and by private printing presses, to public schools in order to meet the needs for textbooks. But it approached them cautiously on the grounds that they could include harmful geographical knowledge. Therefore, like other textbooks, they were strictly controlled, inspected and monitored by inspection commissions such as the Commission for Inspection and Examination and the Commission for the Inspection of Texts.

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[195] Schulten, p. 10.
[196] BOA, MF.MKT, 77/55, 1299.Za.26 (9 October 1882): "*Memalik-i mahruse-i şahanenin mükemmel bir surette coğrafyasını havi bir kitabın tertib ve tanzimi…*"
[197] There are two documents about this issue: BOA, MF.MKT, 77/55, 1299.Za.26 (9 October 1882); and BOA, MF.MKT, 76/5, 1299.B.01 (19 May 1882)
[198] BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 2/82, 1310 (1892-3).

The Inspection of Geography Textbooks

As mentioned above, during this period, both the establishment of these attempts to control textbooks and the commercialization of the printing press highly contributed to the homogenization and standardization of textbooks in form and content. Geography textbooks were no exception of this interpretation. This homogenization enabled the state to disseminate its official geographical knowledge and imagination to students. However, it cannot be said that there was a given, established or fixed geographical knowledge the state simply communicated in every phase. Instead, the official geographical knowledge was shaped, formulated and changed in a long process during which the government tried to establish its authority throughout territories of the empire. As the government entered new arenas of power struggle against rival authority groups and ruling elites especially in peripheral areas it could not reach, geography textbooks took new forms. For example, Bulgarian and Armenian questions in the Balkans and the eastern provinces, as will be seen below, led to the state paying special attention to geography textbooks in Bulgarian and Armenian. These textbooks and every expression within them were carefully inspected and monitored. Not only geography textbooks in these languages but also ones in Turkish were closely controlled by the state on the grounds that they might include harmful information. In this sense, geography textbooks were not simple tools of disseminating official geographical knowledge, but they contributed to the formulation of this geographical knowledge in accord with the state's territorial politics which paid attention to the expansion of its central authority over all territories of the empire.

Therefore, although many people think that much of the geography textbooks was composed of only translations of geography works in the western languages,[199] they were in fact adapted to Ottoman realities and conditions in terms of the territorial politics of the Hamidian regime, shaped by a power struggle against separatist movements and rival authority groups such as local notables, officials and tribal leaders in the Balkans, eastern Anatolia and the Arabian provinces. They had an ideological function and were related directly with the internal territorialization in which the Ottoman state tried to establish a sense of unity in the minds of the students, create an obedient people to the homeland and the sultan and control and reveal natural resources and productive capacity of the empire. The content of geography textbooks was shaped and adapted to Ottoman realities during this period in this context.

The limits of adaptation were determined by inspection commissions, the Commission for Inspection and Examination and the Commission for the Inspection of Texts, which inspected all books and textbooks to be published in the empire and gave licenses to them during the Hamidian era. The Commission for Inspection and Examination was established within the Ministry of Public Education in 1881 in order to inspect books in Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Greek or Bulgarian languages in the empire before publishing and to control all written materials in customs and post offices. The Commission for the Inspection of Texts was also created within the ministry in 1892 in order to re-inspect books in Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages and dramas in Turkish because of the need to carefully control them. These commissions also inspected geography textbooks in various languages to be published and used in various public and private schools in the empire. They

[199] See Mahmut Ak, "Osmanlı Coğrafya Çalışmaları,"; Şeşen, "Osmanlılarda Coğrafya,"; İ. Hakkı Akyol, "Son Yarım Asırda Türkiye'de Coğrafya," and "Tanzimat Devrinde Bizde Coğrafya ve Jeoloji."

gave licenses to these books after the inspection process; and this process, as mentioned above, contributed to the formulation of the geographical discourse of the state within the context of its interests.

It is possible to find many examples of the process of inspecting geography textbooks and giving official licenses (*ruhsat-ı resmiye*) to them in the Ottoman archives. According to these examples, anyone who wrote a geography textbook first submitted to the Ministry of Public Education in Istanbul or directorates of education (*maarif müdürlüğü*) in the provinces with a petition in order to publish it. The Ministry of Public Education assigned it to the Commission for Inspection and Examination for inspection. This commission inspected and transferred it to the Commission for the Inspection of Texts for the second inspection if it was in Turkish, Arabic or Persian. The Commission for the Inspection of Texts also inspected the book, decided whether the book would be published or not and re-assigned it to the Commission for Inspection and Examination for the application of its own decision. If the conclusion was for the publishing of the book, the Ministry of Public Education gave the license to the book and informed the Ministry of Interior about this issue. If the author who took the license for the book demanded it via directorate of education in any province, the Ministry of Public Education also gave information to this directorate of education. However, the process was completed only after the Ministry of Public Education was sure about that all copies of the book were the same as the original copy. Only then could the author obtain the license for distribution. This geography book could finally be published after this long process of inspection.

There are many documents in the Ottoman archives which confirm that this process was applied in every case for geography textbooks. For example, in 1905,

Lieutenant İsmail Zühdi Efendi, one of the officers of the Second Army, wrote a geography textbook, named as *Mebadi-i Coğrafya-i Umumi* (the Principles of General Geography) and submitted it to the Directorate of Education of Edirne with three copies of his text in order to publish it. The Directorate of Education of Edirne informed the Ministry of Public Education about this issue. The Ministry of Public Education assigned it to the Commission for Inspection and Examination for inspection. The commission inspected it and, after stating that there was no harm in publishing it, transferred it to the Commission for the Inspection of Texts for the second inspection,[200] because it was in Turkish. The Commission for the Inspection of Texts also inspected the book, decided that there was no harm in publishing it, and re-assigned it to the Commission for Inspection and Examination for the application of its own decision and control whether the other copies were same as the original copy or not. In conclusion, the author took the license for his work and both the Ministry of Interior and the Directorate of Education of Edirne were informed about that the book was licensed.[201]

The second case is about a geography textbook, namely *Coğrafya Dersleri* (Courses of Geography) by Abdurrahman Şeref, the director of Galatasaray Lycee (*Mekteb-i Sultani*) and the writer of many geography and history textbooks.[202] In 1905, this textbook, prepared for the first year of rüşdiye schools, was referred to the Commission for Inspection and Examination for inspection by the Directorate of Rüşdiye Schools (*Mekatib-i Rüşdiye İdaresi*) in the Ministry of Public Education. The book was again inspected by both the Commission for Inspection and Examination and then the Commission for the Inspection of Texts because it was in

[200] "*… bervech-i tayy ve tashih tab'ında be'is olmadığı ledelmu'ayene anlaşılmağla tedkik-i mü'ellefat hey'et-i 'alisine havale buyurulması babında…*"
[201] BOA, MF.MKT, 846/30, 1323.S.06 (11 April 1905).
[202] See İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 499-504 for Abdurrahman Şeref.

Turkish. After the Commission for the Inspection of Texts decided that there was no any harm in publishing it, and again referred it to the Commission for Inspection and Examination for the application of the decision and control of whether other copies were the same as the original copy or not, the conclusion was notified to the Ministry of Interior by the Ministry of Public Education and license was given for the printing and distribution of the book.[203]

The Ministry of Public Education gave official license to the work of Colonel Ali Tevfik Bey, the geography teacher of *Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i İdadi*, namely *Yeni Coğrafya* (New Geography) in 1907.[204] Ali Tevfik submitted his text to the Ministry of Public Education in order to make a new edition of his previously printed work because it was no longer available. The ministry applied standard procedure for this geography textbook and sent it for inspection by these two inspection commissions again because it was in Turkish. After the book was inspected by them and was decided that there was no harm in printing it[205] and that all of its copies were the same as the original one, the Ministry of Public Education gave a license and informed the Ministry of Interior for the application.[206]

The expression *"… bervech-i tayy ve tashih tab'ında be'is olmadığı …*" was used in all correspondences about giving licenses to books if they did not include harmful information against the state views on its own interests. It meant that the book had been inspected by the state and that it did not include any information of which the state did not approve after correction. It led to the homogenization of the contents of geography textbooks and of ideas about geographical imagination and

[203] BOA, MF.MKT, 855/24, 1323.Ra.12 (17 May 1905).
[204] See İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 430-434 for Ali Tevfik.
[205] "*… bervech-i tayy ve tashih tab'ında be'is olmadığı …*"
[206] BOA, MF.MKT, 1020/48, 1325.S.27 (11 April 1907).

enabled the Hamidian state to disseminate the same geographical knowledge in all schools.

This process of inspection also resulted in standardization of their forms. That the book took the license from the Ministry of Public Education was cited on the cover page of each book. In addition, there needed to be cited the name of the owner, address and number of the printing press at the bottom of the cover page. This obligation was also expressed in the Regulation Concerning Printing Presses and Booksellers of 1894.[207] At the top of the cover page was given the title of the book and the name of the author.

This strict procedure of inspection and then standardization and homogenization of ideas in geography textbooks enabled the state both to disseminate its own official geographical knowledge and even re-shape it during the process and to try to prevent rival geographical imaginations. In fact, the Hamidian state did not hesitate to take measures against rival geographical imaginations which tended to violate its own geographical knowledge and territoriality politics, based on the unity of empire and the establishment of palace authority over all territories of the empire through inspection. In order to prevent the dissemination of such harmful geographical ideas, it prohibited the publishing of geography textbooks which included such ideas and their use in schools or forced their authors to revise texts.[208] Therefore, there was a serious struggle on geography textbooks and this struggle contributed to the formation and formulation of official geographical knowledge of the regime.

The state paid special attention to geography textbooks used in sensitive peripheral and distant provinces of the empire such as the Balkans, eastern Anatolia

[207] *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, p. 173.
[208] There are some cases in archival documents that inspection commissions permitted such books under the condition that they would be revised and harmful sections would be omitted.

and the Arabian provinces where there were a power struggles against separatist movements and rival authority groups such as local notables, officials and tribal leaders. In this sense, the struggle over geography textbooks was especially prominent about books to be used in community schools in these sensitive areas and written in community languages, especially Bulgarian, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew or even Arabic. Communities in the empire could give education and use textbooks in their native languages in their own schools. The government carefully controlled and monitored geographical imagination in these books through the Commission for Inspection and Examination inspected not only such books before printing thanks to its own translators and prohibited their printing but also already published and captured geography books.

The Hamidian state carefully monitored Bulgarian geography textbooks to be used in Bulgarian schools in the Province of Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia, created after the Berlin Treaty of 1878, because of questions of Eastern Rumelia in the 1880s[209] and Macedonia during the reign of Abdulhamid II.[210] Before it was declared that Eastern Rumelia was united with Bulgaria in 1885 in Filibe, there was a contention about textbooks to be used in Filibe between the Ministry of Public Education and the directorate of education in this province. Mahir Aydın points out that the Ministry of Public Education prohibited the publication of a geography textbook printed in Filibe and used in Bulgarian schools in the province and its use in these schools on the grounds that it included information against the Ottoman Empire.[211] In 1888, because a Bulgarian geography textbook, printed again in Filibe and used in Bulgarian schools in the province, included harmful information against

[209] See Aydın, Ibid. for conditions in this province.
[210] See Fikret Adanır, *Makedonya Sorunu: Oluşumu ve 1908'e Kadar Gelişimi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996) for the Macedonian question.
[211] Aydın, p. 218.

the Ottoman Empire, it was decided that it would not be used in these schools and that all copies would be withdrawn from the market and destroyed. This decision was sent to the provinces of Edirne, Salonika, Manastır, Karesi, Hüdavendigar and Kosova.[212] However, documents about this case don't mention why this book was considered harmful.

Similar questions were seen in Macedonia from the beginning of the 1890s to the end of the Hamidian era. Bulgarian nationalists, after Eastern Rumelia, tried to unite Macedonia with Bulgaria. They saw the school as one of the most important tools of this struggle to gain support among Bulgarians in Macedonia. In 1890s, the number of Bulgarian schools, teachers and students rapidly increased. In 1882-83, there were 323 Bulgarian teachers and 14,815 Bulgarian students in Macedonia.[213] In this sense, textbooks in general and geography textbooks in particular constituted a crucial issue for both Bulgarian nationalism and the Hamidian state. The state strictly monitored geography textbooks used in Macedonia in order to prevent the dissemination of harmful information which could violate its authority. Thus, a struggle over geography textbooks existed.

For example, in 1891, the Directorate of Education in Kosova submitted to the Ministry of Public Education and stated that a bookseller named Mişo had bought a book on general geography (namely, *Zavtori Kolaş*) special to second year for the Bulgarian school in Üsküp in Salonika and that although this book had been permitted to be published after the inspection of a translator in the Directorate of Education in Salonika, it included information harmful to the Ottoman state. According to this petition, the 34th and 35th pages of this book said that the provinces of Van and Erzurum were within Armenia. The ministry assigned the case to the

[212] BOA, MF.MKT, 73/98, 1299.S.11 (01 January 1882); and BOA, MF.MKT, 73/113, 1299.S.13 (03 January 1882).
[213] Adanır, p. 112.

Commission for Inspection and Examination, which noted that it was understood from the seal of translator that the book had been permitted to be published by the Directorate of Education in Salonika although it included untrue and politically harmful ideas in the section on the Ottoman Empire.[214] Therefore, it was decided that copies of this geography book would be withdrawn from the market, burned[215] and destroyed and that the official who had inspected and permitted the book would be prosecuted.[216] In another case in 1893, the Ministry of Public Education informed the Directorate of Education in Kosova that a geography treatise written in Bulgarian by Petre, a Bulgarian teacher in Üsküp, had been inspected by the Commission for Inspection and Examination and its printing was found to be politically improper (*gayri caiz*); however, the document does not give any information about why it was unproper.[217]

In 1905, a geography textbook in Bulgarian, namely *Coğrafya Vatanı* (The Homeland of Geography), used in Bulgarian schools in Gostivar and sent to the Ministry of Public Education for inspection was declared improper for use in these schools because it mentioned the Bulgarian constitution and available government, cited the names of some Bulgarian military chiefs of bands (*sergerde*s) as men of intrigue (*erbab-ı fesad*) and displayed some sancaks of Eastern Rumelia as being within Bulgaria. The ministry informed the province of Kosova about this issue.[218] All of these cases and other many examples from the Ottoman archives show that there was a serious contestation over the content of geography textbooks in the

[214] That is, it mentioned that provinces of Van and Erzurum were within Armenia.
[215] See Fatmagül Demirel and Raşit Çavuş, "II. Abdülhamid Dönemi'nde Gümrüklerde El Konulan (Ve Elbette Yakılan) Kitaplar," *Müteferrika,* no. 26 (Kış 2004), pp. 151-158 for burning of harmful books in the Hamidian era.
[216] BOA, MF.MKT, 134/1, 1309.Ca.17 (19 December 1891). After this decision, the Directorate of Education in Salonika submitted to the Ministry of Public Education and demanded a copy of the book in order to inspect it; thus, the Commission for Inspection and Examination sent its copy to the directorate: BOA, MF.MKT, 135/38, 1309.B.02 (01 Fabruary 1892).
[217] BOA, MF.MKT, 174/47, 1310.Z.26 (10 July 1893).
[218] BOA, MF.MKT, 858/14, 1323.Ra.20 (25 May 1905).

Balkans, especially in terms of the Bulgarian question in Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia during the Hamidian era. The state strictly controlled and inspected geography textbooks in Bulgarian used in Bulgarian schools and prohibited those which included harmful information that would violate its authority and was against its territoriality politics based on the unity of the empire.

Similarly, the state displayed sensitivity to geography textbooks in Armenian to be used in Armenian schools because of the exacerbation of the Armenian question in the eastern provinces especially in the 1890s. It also carefully monitored these books during this period. Archival sources give an idea about how the Hamidian state paid attention to the inspection of geography textbooks which would destroy its authority in the area. For example, in 1892, the Ministry of Police (*Zaptiye Nezareti*), by referring to an article in a newspaper in Armenian, *Manzume-i Efkar*, stated that a geography textbook used in Armenian schools with the approval of the Patriarchate included harmful opinions. The document gives the translation of a part of the respective article. We can learn from this part that the geography textbook in question was written by Markaryan Efendi, a teacher in Hasköy. According to the author of this article, Markaryan Efendi intentionally or not had acted foolishly on an issue, because he had used the expression "He is a great person" for a priest who had written books which were clearly harmful to both their own *millet* (Armenians) and the state (the Ottoman Empire) for 40 years. The author of this article criticized the use of this geography textbook in Armenian schools.[219]

In another case, in 1893, the governor of Trabzon informed the Ministry of Public Education about a geography textbook, imported to be used in the Armenian Catholic School in Trabzon and sent to the office of the governor by the directorate

[219] BOA, İrade Hususi (hereafter, İ.HUS), 2/1310.M/188, 1310.M.26 (19 August 1892).

of customs in the province. The governor stated that this book displayed the privileged province of Tunis as administered under French patronage and described Erzurum as the most famous city of Armenia though any idea named Armenia had no place in geography. He sent a copy of the book with another book on reading to the ministry for inspection. The Commission for Inspection and Examination decided that this geography textbook would be destroyed after inspection.[220] In 1898, the Ministry of the Interior informed all provinces in the empire that a geography textbook used in Armenian and Greek schools in Konya (in Armenian and Greek letters but at the same time in Turkish inscription) had harmful content and ordered that it had to be prevented from being imported and spread. But the document does not say anything about why this book was harmful or what its content was.[221]

In 1899, the Director of Education in Adana sent a copy of the geography textbook, *Yeni Coğrafya* (New Geography), by Arslanyan, in Armenian printed on the printing press of Bağdadlıyan in Istanbul and used in the Armenian Catholic school in Adana for inspection because the Directorate of Education in the province was doubtful about this book on the grounds that it included some opinions in the section on the Ottoman territory such as mentioning the Armenian capital and old Armenian cities. The Director of Education in Adana demanded from the ministry the determination of whether the geography textbook in question was proper or not for education in this school. After this demand, the Commission for Inspection and Examination inspected the book and decided that it included some harmful phrases and details and that it was not proper for education. In conclusion, the Ministry of Public Education informed the Directorate of Education in the province about this

[220] BOA, MF.MKT, 163/129, 1310.Ş.26 (15 March 1893).
[221] BOA, Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi (hereafter, DH.MKT), 2090/12, 1316.Ra.19 (07 August 1898).

issue.[222] In 1901, again after the petition of the Governor of Adana, the Ministry of Public Education assigned the inspection of a geography textbook named *Muhtasar Coğrafya* (Brief Geography) in Armenian, used in the Armenian school in the village Hasanbeyli in the kaza of Bağçe, to the Commission for Inspection and Examination. During inspection, it was understood that the book in question had been printed and published by the publisher Agob Boyacıyan in Istanbul with the official license about 25 years earlier but it was registered in the list of harmful books because it mentioned the region of Armenia. Despite the fact that it was listed as a harmful book, it was still used in some schools in the empire. Thus, the Ministry of Public Education ordered the Province of Adana and all provinces that its publication and use in the schools would be prevented to publish and to use in schools.[223]

As understood from all of these cases, the Hamidian state was highly sensitive to every phrase of the geography textbooks in Armenian because of the exacerbation of the Armenian question in the eastern provinces, especially in the 1890s. All geography textbooks were carefully inspected by the Commission for Inspection and Examination and doubts were raised about their contents, they were prevented from publishing and from using in Armenian schools because they were harmful for the Hamidian authority and its geographical imagination, based on the unity of the empire.

Sensitivity to geography textbooks in Greek also existed because there was a large Greek community in the empire. The state carefully inspected and, if necessary, intervened in geography textbooks used in Greek schools in various regions of the empire. For example, in 1881 the Department for the Writing and Translation – before the creation of the Commission for Inspection and Examination – expressed

[222] BOA, MF.MKT, 440/18, 1316.Za.13 (25 March 1899).
[223] BOA, MF.MKT, 562/11, 1319.S.19 (06 June 1901).

that the third volume of a geography textbook by Paparos, used in Greek schools, had been published without official license[224] and that because it included harmful information in its own content, its copies should be removed from all Greek schools and bookstores which sold books in foreign languages, and destroyed in the various provinces. The Ministry of Public Education informed the provinces of Edirne, Salonika, the Mediterranean Islands (*Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid*), Trabzon, Yanya and İşkodra where Greeks lived, about this issue. But the document about this case does not mention why this book was harmful.[225] Evidence that the Hamidian state was highly sensitive to geography textbooks in Greek in various areas of the empire is that the Ministry of Public Education warned the province of Tripoli about geography textbooks in a school opened for Greek students in 1890. According to this case, a new school was opened in Tripoli for Greek students. The ministry had inspected and approved names of textbooks, curricula and certificates of this school, but it warned the government of the province that it should pay attention to harmful phrases in the geography and history textbooks.[226]

In an another case about geography textbooks in Greek, the governor of Manastır informed the Ministry of Public Education that a geography textbook, named *Saklaryo Coğrafyası* (The Geography of Saklaryo), used in the Greek Girl's School in Ohri had been prohibited in this school and its four copies were collected as the ministry ordered on the grounds that it was harmful. Then, the province sent these copies to the ministry in Istanbul. After the report of the Commission for Inspection and Examination about this book, the Ministry of Public Education burned and destroyed these copies, but it warned the province of Manastır that

[224] According to the document, the first and second volumes of the book have taken the license, but it was necessary to take individual license for each volume.
[225] BOA, MF.MKT, 72/89, 1299.M.19 (11 December 1881).
[226] BOA, MF.MKT, 117/148, 1307.L.16 (04 June 1890).

harmful books which were declared as such should be destroyed locally. But this document says nothing about why this book was harmful.[227]

In 1904 correspondences between the Directorate of Education in Yanya and the Ministry of Public Education gives information about a geography textbook in Greek which was found during an inspection in the province and that was understood to have been published in Izmir with an official license. The Director of Education in Yanya sent the copy of this book to the ministry for inspection because it was harmful on the grounds that it did not mention Ottoman Europe (*Avrupa-yı Osmani*) at all. After the inspection of the Commission for Inspection and Examination, it was decided that the book in question was really unsuitable for the division of the Ottoman Empire on the grounds that it did not include Ottoman Europe and the available copies of the book were ordered destroyed. Notification of this decision was made in the provinces of Yanya and Aydın because it had been published in Izmir with an official license.[228]

All of these cases about the prohibition of some geography textbooks in community languages show that the Ottoman state during the Hamidian era carefully controlled and inspected every type of geographical knowledge which could violate the state's authority in respective areas. The state especially paid attention to information and phrases about the division of the Ottoman territories. In this sense, cases in which the state was the most sensitive were ones about the Balkans and the eastern provinces of the empire. Because the 1880s and 1890-1900s witnessed the Bulgarian question in Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia, the state directed its attention toward geography textbooks in Bulgarian which included information displaying

[227] BOA, MF.MKT, 127/90, 1308.Ş.28 (08 April 1891).
[228] BOA, MF.MKT, 820/55, 1322.L.16 (23 December 1904).

these regions outside the Ottoman borders and inspected and prohibited them through its inspection commissions within the Ministry of Public Education.

At the same time, because of the exacerbation of the Armenian question in the eastern provinces, geography textbooks in Armenian were strictly controlled on the grounds that they would might include phrases naming provinces of the Ottoman Empire such as Van and Erzurum as cities of Armenia. Therefore, the Ottoman state prohibited such geography textbooks and geographical imaginations because it saw them against its own geographical imagination and territoriality politics, which were based on the establishment of its authority over all peripheral regions and on the unity of all territories in the empire.

In this sense, it is important to note that the geographical imagination and knowledge during the Hamidian period was not given, established or fixed to be disseminated through geography textbooks, but it was shaped and formed in a process in which then contents of these textbooks were an issue of contestation between authors or local officials of education and the inspection commissions within the Ministry of Public Education. That is, geography textbooks were not a simple reflection of the official geographical knowledge, but one of the most important components which constituted it.

However, this contestation was not confined to the geography textbooks of the community languages in the empire. It can be noted that a similar process was seen for geography textbooks in Turkish. As mentioned above, there was a complex system of control and inspection over Turkish geography books through a double-phased process of inspection by the Commission for Inspection and Examination and the Commission for the Inspection of Texts. In this sense, many textbooks on geography were rejected because of harmful content, while some were accepted and

were used in schools. This process led to the homogenization of ideas and general framework in geography textbooks, in accord with the Hamidian state's geographical imagination based on the unity of the empire. This geographical imagination and knowledge was disseminated and assimilated to students in ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools in order to create a sense of unity and to legitimize the sultan's authority within this unity. However, as mentioned above, these books were not a simple reflection of this geographical imagination and knowledge, but also they contributed to its formulation because of the inspection process.

The Content of Geography Textbooks

Therefore, it is necessary to examine the contents of these geography textbooks in order to understand the geographical imagination during the Hamidian era. In this sense, four geography textbooks were selected for this aim. One of them, *Muhtasar Coğrafya Risalesi* (The Brief Treatise of Geography) by Selim Sabit Efendi, a famous educator of the Tanzimat era, was written before the Hamidian era. It was selected in order to make a comparison between two periods. The other three books were written and published during the Hamidian period. One of them was *Hulasa-i Coğrafya-i Osmani* (The Summary of the Ottoman Geography) by Ali Cevad, a military officer while other two books, *Coğrafya-i Umumi* (The General Geography) and *Coğrafya-i Osmani* (The Ottoman Geography) were written by Ahmed Cemal, again a military officer. After summarizing their contents, an evaluation will be made of their common subjects and themes.

Playing an important role in the development of pedagogy and new method in the Ottoman public education system, Selim Sabit Efendi (1829-1911) graduated

from the Teachers' Seminary in 1853 where he received the *medrese* education.[229] He instructed Turkish in *Mekteb-i Osmani* and *Muradyan Mektebi*, established for Ottoman students, in Paris. After returning to Istanbul in 1861, he performed duties in some institutions of education such as teacher in the Teachers' Seminary and retired as the president of the Commission for Inspection and Examination. Interested in many disciplines from grammar to geography and history, Selim Sabit Efendi wrote many school textbooks such as *Rehnüma-yı Muallimin* (The Guidebook for Instructors), *Miyarü'l-Kelam* (The Measure of Word), *Muhtasar Sarf-ı Osmani* (The Brief Ottoman Grammar), *Muhtasar Nahv-i Osmani* (The Brief Ottoman Syntax), *Muhtasar Tarih-i Osmani* (The Brief Ottoman History) and *Muhtasar Coğrafya Risalesi*. He was not a professional geographer, but was interested in geography. *Muhtasar Coğrafya Risalesi* was published 6 times until 1885. For this thesis, its second edition was used which was published in 1876 by the *Matbaa-i Amire*.[230]

Written for students in sıbyan schools and citing this feature on the cover, this work begins with the religious formula *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim*.[231] It does not include a preface, introduction or content, but has six main sections. There are questions about subjects taught at the end of sections under the name of *temrin* (exercise). At the end of the book, there are maps of the earth, five continents (first the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa where the Ottoman territories were located and then other two continents, America and Australia) and then Rumelian and Anatolian territories of the Ottoman Empire. Because the work is special to

[229] See İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 411-412; Ekrem Çakıroğlu (ed.), *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 1999), p. 521; and Adnan Şişman, *Tanzimat Döneminde Fransa'ya Gönderilen Osmanlı Öğrencileri (1839-1876)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2004), pp. 35-36 for detailed information about Selim Sabit Efendi.
[230] Selim Sabit, *Muhtasar Coğrafya Risalesi* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1293 [1876]).
[231] "In the name of God who is merciful and compassionate."

students in sıbyan schools, the instruction of subjects and descriptions were so simple that pupils could understand them. It was designed to teach the main terms and information on geography to students. Thus, it is not detailed and intense, unlike the geography textbooks special to rüşdiye and idadiye schools. And finally, because it was published before the Hamidian era, it enabled anyone to understand the differences between the geographical imaginations of the two periods and shows that the geographical imagination of the Hamidian state was the result of a long process of formulation.

In the first section of the book, Selim Sabit simply and briefly described some main geographical terms such as island, peninsula, cape, plain, desert, mountain, mountain range, volcano, mountain pass, coast, seas, oceans, gulf, port, strait, river, stream, lake and runnel. The next five sections of the book examine five continents. It begins with Europe, Asia and Africa on which the Ottoman Empire was found. The second section concerned the European continent. Giving the borders, agricultural and natural products and population of the continent, the section stated that it contains sixteen *ülke* (countries); it pointed out that one of these sixteen countries was the Ottoman Empire on the European continent, called as *Rumeli* and drew its borders. Therefore, it briefly described *daire*s (circles; that is, provinces) of the Ottoman country in the European continent. And then, the section gave short descriptions of other fifteen countries on the European continent and gave their populations, capital cities and famous places. Finally, this section on the European continent ended with the list of famous seas, straits, gulfs, islands, mountain ranges, volcanoes, rivers and lakes in a table.

The third section was about the Asian continent. After giving the borders, agricultural and natural products and population of the continent, the section divided

the continent into twelve countries of which the Ottoman Empire was one of them. It briefly mentioned the borders and provinces of the Ottoman Empire on the continent and then described the other eleven countries on the continent; that is, again their populations, capital cities and famous places. Finally, it lists famous seas, straits, gulfs, islands, mountains, lakes and rivers on the Asian continent. The fourth section focused on the African continent where again the Ottoman territories were found. After giving the borders and population of the continent and stating that there was little information about them, the section gave the three provinces of the Ottoman country on the African continent, namely Egypt, Tripoli and Tunis followed by seventeen other countries. It ended with listing famous seas, islands, mountains, lakes and rivers.

The next two sections mention the American and Australian continents where the Ottoman Empire had no territory, so these two sections were limited. In accord with previous three sections, they again shortly described the countries and famous places on these two continents. The work ended with maps of the earth, five continents and then Rumelian and Anatolian territories of the Ottoman Empire.

The second geography textbook was *Hulasa-i Coğrafya-i Osmani* by Adjutant Major (*Kolağası*) Ali Cevad and Lieutenant Remzi.[232] Although there is no information about Remzi, Ali Cevad was known as a geography teacher and the writer of many geography textbooks.[233] Many of his works included figures, maps and plans along with written knowledge in order to support geographical knowledge of students. He was also the author of famous *Memalik-i Osmaniye'nin Tarih ve Coğrafya Lugatı* (The Dictionary of History and Geography of the Ottoman Empire). His geography textbooks, apart from his dictionary, were *Fezleke-i Coğrafya-i*

[232] Ali Cevad and Remzi, *Hulasa-i Coğrafya-i Osmani* (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1308 [1891]).
[233] See İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 460-465; and Çakıroğlu (ed.), vol. 1, p. 201 for Ali Cevad.

Umumi (The Summary of the General Geography), *Hülasa-i Coğrafya-i Osmani* (The Summary of the Ottoman Geography), *Muhtasar Coğrafya-i Osmani* (The Brief Ottoman Geography), and *Resimli Mücmel Coğrafya* (The Illustrated Concise Geography). He was exiled after the declaration of the Second Constitution; and then, he was pardoned and returned to Istanbul.

Hulasa-i Coğrafya-i Osmani, prepared for rüşdiye schools, was published in 1891 in Istanbul by Kasbar, a private printing press, named. In the cover page of the book were the name, owner, address and number of the printing press, apart from the title of the book and names of its authors. The cover also included note to the effect that the book had been printed with the license of the Ministry of Public Education. This shows that the book had been inspected by the Commission for Inspection and Examination and its content approved. At the end of sections, there were exercises (*temrin*) about subjects in the respective sections, as in Selim Sabit's work.

Especially focusing on Ottoman Europe (Avrupa-yı Osmani), the work first explained key terms about the Ottoman geography and, describing the administrative division of the empire, briefly gave the information about administrative units and their chiefs. After these brief descriptions, it divided the Ottoman territories into three regions, namely Ottoman Europe (Avrupa-yı Osmani), Ottoman Asia (*Asya-yı Osmani*) and Ottoman Africa (*Afrika-yı Osmani*) in terms of continent, as usual during the Hamidian era.

The main body of the book began with general information about Ottoman Europe; that is, it gave brief information about its borders, size, coasts, physical characteristics and waters. After this brief introduction, it began to explain all of them in detail. First, it broadly mentioned the borders and border lines of Ottoman Europe; that is, to which countries it was adjacent. It is important to point out that it

traced the all of lines of these borders on the continent in order to enable students to internalize the borders of their own country. And then, it gave the surface area of Ottoman Europe. It mentioned coasts, mountains, rivers and lakes of the region in detail. Firstly, it explained seas where Ottoman Europe had coasts and these coastal areas. It gave a great deal of information about mountains and mountain ranges of the region and described the countries through which these mountain ranges passed. After the section about mountains, the work focused on the rivers of Ottoman Europe in a long section. Finally, it finished the section on physical characteristics of Ottoman Europe with lakes there.

After these physical characteristics, the book began another important section, concentrating on the administrative characteristics of Ottoman Europe in terms of the official administrative division of the empire. It divided the region into two sections as provinces and privileged provinces. Provinces were administrative units which were directly governed by the Ottoman Empire. According the book, there were eight provinces in Ottoman Europe: Istanbul, Edirne, Salonika, Yanya, Manastır, İşkodra, Kosova and Girid. And then, it individually described all of these provinces in detail. First, it concentrated on the province of Istanbul. It introduced its borders, natural division and coasts, mountains and rivers, administrative division, kazas, population and people. Its descriptions of the other seven provinces of Ottoman Europe was based on this framework; that is, it mentioned the physical (borders, coasts, mountains, rivers, agricultural products) and administrative (sancaks, population and people –ethnic and religious composition– and transportation) characteristics of each province.

Finally, the work discussed the privileged province of Eastern Rumelia, Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina although they were not directly governed by the

Ottoman Empire. It gave information about the borders, coasts, mountains, rivers, administrative division, sancaks, and population and people of these regions.

The third geography textbook was *Coğrafya-i Umumi* by Yenişehirli Ahmed Cemal,[234] a lieutenant and a geography teacher at both the Military School and Rüşdiye School in Beşiktaş.[235] This book was published in 1890. Made up of ten chapters, it began with an introduction (*mukaddime*) which expressed the author's gratitude to the sultan and the audience of the work (the students at the rüşdiye schools). The first chapter was about the description of geography and main geographical terms. First, it described geography and its divisions and explained the benefits of having knowledge about the earth and production. It described the shape of the earth, directions, poles, the axis of the equator, seasons, the movements of the Earth and the Moon, maps, the distances of places, the scale of the map, and the division of the Earth into lands and seas. It stated that there were five continents on land: Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia. Lastly, it noted that people should be administered by governments and thus, tried to legitimize the authority of rulers. While rulers in Muslim world were called *padişah*, *sultan*, *şah* or *emir*, Christian rulers were called as emperor, king or prince. It also emphasized that the Ottoman sultan was both the sultan of all Muslims and Christians in the Ottoman territories and the caliph and protector of all Muslims in the world. It described three types of government: absolutism, constitutional monarchy and republic.

Depending on the continental division of the Earth, the work focused on the European continent in the second chapter. Like other geography textbooks during the Hamidian era, it emphasized Europe first and foremost. It first briefly mentioned Europe's borders, climate, surface area, population, population density and

[234] See İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. 1, pp. 290-293 for Ahmed Cemal.
[235] Ahmed Cemal, *Coğrafya-i Umumi* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Fünun-ı Harbiye-i Şahane Matbaası, 1307 [1890]).

distribution of this population to religions, and then, introduced coasts, seas, mountains, volcanoes, rivers and lakes and their places within countries.

The third chapter on countries in Europe was the most extensive chapter in the book. It began with Ottoman governments in Europe. Ottoman territories were divided into three regions, like in Ali Cevad's work: Ottoman Europe (Avrupa-yı Osmani), Ottoman Asia (Asya-yı Osmani) and Ottoman Africa (Afrika-yı Osmani). The main subject of this chapter was Ottoman Europe. After describing the borders of Ottoman Europe, it described provinces of Istanbul, Edirne, Salonika, Yanya, Manastır, İşkodra and Kosova on the continent where they were directly governed by the Ottoman Empire, and briefly mentioned the province of Bosnia-Herzegovina under the temporary (*muvakkaten*) occupation of Austria-Hungary, the status of the privileged province of Eastern Rumelia after the Berlin Treaty and Bulgaria. It discussed the ethnic and religious composition of each region in Ottoman territories in Europe. After finishing the Ottoman territories in Europe, it began to introduce each country in the continent. It first mentioned countries to which the Ottoman Empire was adjacent and then passes to other countries. It makes mention of borders, surface area, population, physical characteristics, natural resources, type of government, administrative division, capital, famous cities, ethnic and religious composition of population of each country in turn, beginning with borders. These countries were Greece, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italia, Spain, Andorra, France, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, the German Empire, Sweden, Holland, Luxembourg, Belgium, Denmark and England.

The fourth chapter of the book was about the general characteristics of the Asian continent. After introducing borders, coasts, surface area, and the population and population density of the continent, it listed the seas, mountains, mountain

ranges, volcanoes, rivers and lakes there. In the fifth chapter, after the authors noted that the Asian territories were governed by either native rulers or European states such as the Ottoman Empire, England, France, Portugal and Russia, they began to describe each of them. The first territory on which the work focused was Ottoman Asia (Asya-yı Osmani). It gave information about borders, surface area, population and population density of the Ottoman territories in the Asian continent and then talked about six regions –Anatolia, Islands, Kurdistan, Iraq, Syria and Palestine, Hejaz and Yemen– which were divided into twenty-two provinces and three individual mutasarrifiyes. It introduced borders, famous places, and the divisions and ethnic and religious composition of these six areas. After finishing the Ottoman territories in Asia, it moved on to the other countries in the continent. It stated the borders, surface area, population, physical characteristics, natural resources, type of government, administrative division, famous places, ethnic and religious composition of population and sometimes brief history of each country in turn. These countries were *Acemistan* (Iran), Russia, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, the Indian peninsula, Indochina, China and Japan.

The sixth chapter was about Africa, the third continent on which the Ottoman had territories. It gave some general information about the borders, surface area, population, climate, coasts, mountains, lakes and rivers of the continent. The seventh chapter again focused on countries on the continent, beginning with the Ottoman territories there. First, it mentioned the Khedivate of Egypt, the Principality of Tunis and the province of Tripoli and sancak of Bingazi under the direct government of the Ottoman Empire. It talked about borders, surface area, population, administrative division, the status of their administration within the Ottoman Empire, famous places and the people of these regions. It gave some general information about the living

styles of people in the regions, called *Bilad-ı Berberiye* (Towns of the Barbary) – Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco– and divided them into two sections *Berberiyeli* (the Berberian) and *Arabiye* (the Arabian). After mentioning the Ottoman territories in the African continent, it briefly introduced other countries there because there was so little information.

The eight and ninth chapter of the book were about the American continent and the division of this continent into countries and governments. Although the information about this continent was brief because it does not include any Ottoman territory, it mentioned there in order to create awareness about it in the minds of the students. It talked about borders, surface area, population, climate, coasts, mountains, volcanoes, lakes and rivers of the continent and introduced each country, that is, their borders, governments, populations and living styles of their people. The tenth and last chapter of the work was about the Australian continent (Oceania), another where the Ottoman Empire had no territories. The information about this continent was also concise, like the chapters on the American continent. It briefly examined the islands and peoples in the continent.

The fourth and last geography textbook examined here is *Coğrafya-i Osmani* again by Ahmed Cemal.[236] It was published in 1893-1894 (1311) on the printing press of the Military School (*Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası*) for students in the first year of idadiye schools. It was the first edition of the book. It was again published in 1900 and 1903 by the same printing press. It was especially used in military schools.

First, there was a preface in the book which began with the religious formula *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* and talked about the benefits of education and Abdulhamid II's contribution to it. Then, the author cited the sources he had used in

[236] Ahmed Cemal, *Coğrafya-i Osmani* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, 1311 [1893-4]).

the work. These were the yearbooks of provinces (*vilayet salnameleri*), *Kamusu'l-Alam* (The Lexicon of Proper Names) by Şemseddin Sami, travel books written by some foreign travelers in the Ottoman Empire, some geography books published in Europe, newspapers printed in the Ottoman provinces, dictionaries of geography and history and maps displaying Ottoman territories printed in the Ottoman Empire and Europe. The fact that the author used various sources (some of them published in the Ottoman Empire, others in Europe) and especially made use of yearbooks is evidence that the work was adapted to Ottoman realities, not a simple translation of foreign sources.

The work included three main chapters and each chapter focused on Ottoman territories in each of three continents, that is, Ottoman Europe, Ottoman Asia and Ottoman Africa. It was in conformity with the general framework based on the continental division of the empire in both Ahmed Cemal's other work, *Coğrafya-i Umumi* and Ali Cevad's work, *Hülasa-i Coğrafya-i Osmani* examined in this section. Therefore, this division was a general tendency in the Ottoman geography education and geographical imagination during the Hamidian era.

The first chapter was about Ottoman Europe (Avrupa-yı Osmani), like in the other works. First, the author talked about borders, general division, surface area and population of the region and individually emphasized borders with each country to which the empire was adjacent. And then, he described the coasts, seas, mountains, rivers, and lakes in Ottoman Europe. When he introduced these subjects, he gave some information about cities and important places around them, and short history (especially the dates when they were conquered by Ottoman sultans), administrative structure, historical artifacts and buildings, mosques, schools or agricultural products of each of these cities and places. After this information, he individually introduced

seven provinces in Ottoman Rumelia (*Rumeli-i Şahane*). He presented borders, physical characteristics, administrative division and sancaks of each of these provinces –Istanbul, Edirne, Salonika, Manastır, Yanya, Kosova and İşkodra– in tables. And then, he gave the borders, surface area, population and administrative division of Bosnia-Herzegovina where he stated a region as under the temporary occupation of Austria-Hungary. After these provinces and regions, he focused on the privileged regions in Ottoman Europe, namely the province of Eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria. Finally, the chapter mentions natural and physical characteristics –climate, terrain, plant cover, agricultural and mineral products–, peoples –ethnic and religious composition, living styles, livelihoods, characteristics special to communities–, railways and famous streets in Ottoman Europe.

The second chapter of the book was about Ottoman Asia (Asya-yı Osmani). After introducing borders, surface area, population and division of Ottoman Asia, the author divided the region into six sections –Anatolia, Kurdistan, Iraq, Syria and Palestine, Hejaz and Yemen, and the Islands– which included many provinces. And then, he emphasized its borders with each country –*Acemistan* and Russia– the empire adjacent. He discussed the coasts, seas, mountains, rivers, and lakes in Ottoman Europe in detail, along with some information about cities and important places around them, and about short history, administrative structure, historical artifacts and buildings, mosques, schools or agricultural products of each of these cities and places. After this general information, he introduced all of the provinces in the six regions within Ottoman Asia. He gave the borders, physical characteristics, administrative division and sancaks of each of all of these provinces in tables. And finally, he gave information about the natural and physical characteristics, peoples and communities, and railways in Ottoman Asia.

The last chapter was about Ottoman Africa (Afrika-yı Osmani) and is so brief in a connection with the fact that the Ottoman Empire had less territory on the African continent. The author first emphasized that Ottoman Africa consisted of the Khedivate of Egypt governed autonomously, the principality of Tunis under temporary occupation of France, and the province of Tripoli and the sancak of Bingazi under the direct government of the Ottoman Empire. After this introduction, he presented the coasts, seas, mountains and rivers in the region and important cities and places around them. Finally, the borders, physical characteristics, administrative division and sancaks of each of regions (the Khedivate of Egypt, the principality of Tunis, and the province of Tripoli and the sancak of Bingazi) in Ottoman Africa were discussed.

The Main Themes of Geography Textbooks

During the Hamidian era, the geography textbook was one of the most important tools the Ottoman state used to disseminate its official geographical knowledge to students and even to constitute this knowledge. It can be noted that this knowledge focused on three main subjects. Firstly, geography textbooks during this period emphasized borders of both the Ottoman territories and other countries in order to create a sense of bounded and united space within an imperial ground. Second and related to the first, they tried to constitute an Ottoman homeland and to consolidate Ottomanism within a fixed territory. Last, they were interested in natural resources in the empire in order to reveal the productive capacity of the empire.

First of all, all of the geography textbooks examined in this study from the Hamidian period emphasized the borders of the Ottoman Empire in detail. All of the

borders of the empire in every direction were detailed on a linear base and all of the neighboring countries were introduced, unlike in pre-modern geographical studies. This emphasis on borders was available in descriptions about not only imperial territories but also regions such as Ottoman Europe, Ottoman Asia and Ottoman Africa and provinces in the empire. The textbooks gave detailed information about the borders of each region, province and even city. But it should be emphasized that these descriptions about borders were also vital for sections on other countries in the textbooks of general geography. In this sense, almost each country on five continents was introduced in an order. According to this order, geography textbooks first gave detailed information about borders, surface area and population of each country before they explained other features.

Therefore, all of these detailed descriptions about borders tried to enable students to comprehend and assimilate the imperial territories and to place the sense of homeland by separating "our" territories from "others." In fact, it was one of the most important functions of geography textbooks to fix territories within a bounded space. That is, it was borders which separated countries from each other and each subject was identified with territories (with precise borders) he lived. The state was able to establish a direct relationship between its own territories and subjects and to enable its subjects to assimilate this relationship through these stated borders; and thus, it was able to legitimize its own authority over these bounded territories.

In this sense, the emphasis on borders constituted a crucial strategy in terms of the internal territorialization of the modern state to establish its authority and control over territories, people and natural resources. Geographical studies before the nineteenth century lacked this sense of precise borders and territorial unity as a bounded space. That is, the fixing of borders was connected with the formation of

modern state sovereignty and authority over all territories unified. A similar interpretation can be made of Iran in the nineteenth century.

> "The emergence of Iran as a 'geobody' with bounded territory was linked to the global establishment of nation-states and the international demarcation of national boundaries in the 19th century. ... Territorial enclosure shifted the characterization of Iran from a confederation of territories (*mamalik*) to a cohesive entity (*mamlikat-i Iran* or *kishvar-i Iran*). The displacement of plural *mamalik-i Iran* with singular *mamlikat-i Iran* marked the transition from an empire to a modern nation-state. The relative fixity of borders provided the ground upon which Iran could be conceived as a unified homeland (*vatan*) with a distinct character, identity, history, and culture."[237]

Within this context, geography textbooks had an order and content in which they tried to unify imperial territories and create a sense of unity in the minds of the students and of belonging to a greater political entity in order to weaken the authority of local and separatist rivals and to legitimize its power over them. Because descriptions about precise imperial borders enabled students to imagine a unified homeland and to identify themselves with this homeland, ruled by the sultan in Istanbul. In this sense, they could internalize and absorb the borders of their homeland.

One of the most important features about the geography textbooks examined in this study is their discourse on some regions such as Tunis, the province of Eastern Rumelia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although these regions were occupied by some countries and hence now were not within the Ottoman borders, they were still displayed as Ottoman territory in these books. For example, Ahmed Cemal displayed

[237] Tavakoli-Targhi, p. 218.

both Eastern Rumelia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as Ottoman territories in Europe.[238] Especially, all geography textbooks emphasized the temporary status of this occupation and place of the region within the Ottoman territorial division. Tunis was another example of this feature. Although Tunis was under the French occupation after 1881, it was displayed within Ottoman borders. Again Ahmed Cemal mentioned that Tunis was under temporary occupation of France.[239] Therefore, the Ottoman state sometimes competed with rival geographical realities in order to create a sense of unity which combined all of these regions in the minds of the students and to communicate the official geographical knowledge to them.

Second, geography textbooks tried to constitute an Ottoman homeland and to consolidate Ottomanism within a fixed territory. During the Hamidian era, Ottomanism and Ottoman patriotism were promoted in order to provide loyalty to the Ottoman homeland as a unified entity and the sultan as its ruler. It was a crucial tool of unifying and integrating peripheral regions against rival authority groups and separatist movements and legitimizing the sultan's power over all imperial territories. And it had territorial connotations.[240] Therefore, geography textbooks presented the homeland in a territorial fixity in order to enable students to internalize the Ottoman identity through detailed descriptions about imperial borders and places and some interpretations about other cultures. It was expected that the students would establish a direct relationship between themselves and the imperial territory and displayed loyalty to the sultan as its head.

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[238] Ahmed Cemal, *Coğrafya-i Umumi*, pp. 42-3. While it was declared that Eastern Rumelia was united with Bulgaria in 1885 in Filibe, Bosnia-Herzegovina was under the occupation of the Austria-Hungarian Empire by the Berlin Treaty.
[239] Ahmed Cemal, *Coğrafya-i Osmani*, pp. 256.
[240] Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876–1909," p. 72.

However, the geography textbooks included sections and information about other countries as well as the Ottoman Empire. Essential knowledge was introduced about almost every country in the world; that is, their borders, surface areas, populations, peoples, capitals, governments, famous places and cities, mountains, rivers, lakes, seas, coasts, natural resources, etc. This was an effective way of enabling students to make distinctions between "their" country and "others" and to constitute an Ottoman identity by comparing them with others and placing themselves within the world. That is, students defined themselves in terms of differences among countries.

In addition, another way of reifying the Ottoman identity in geography textbooks was to make interpretations about the national characteristics of other nations. They attributed some characteristics, negative or positive, to other nations and thus essentialized and fixed them within a territorial ground. This method enabled them to determine the domain of Ottoman identity through essentialization and identification of other identities in other countries. Winichakul calls this process as "negative identification in the Siamese context."[241] For example, Ahmed Cemal, in a section on Greece, mentions that the Greek people in Greece was highly swift and stingy and that their majority was weak against military difficulties so their soldiers and sailors usually came from the people of the islands.[242] In a section on China, Ahmed Cemal states that the Chinese people were very polite and diligent and that their available industrial products came from their diligence.[243]

However, geography textbooks included interpretations about not only peoples in other countries, but also peoples in the Ottoman Empire. When it comes to ethnic

[241] Thongchai Winichakul, p. 5 points out that the domain of Thainess was defined from the outside, that is, through the identification of Thainess by the domain of what is not Thai.
[242] Ahmed Cemal, *Coğrafya-i Umumi*, p. 51.
[243] Ibid., pp. 148-149.

and religious groups in Ottoman Asia –Turks, Arabs, Kurds, the Laz, Circassians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Druzes, Maronites and Keldanis in ethnic terms and Muslims (*Muhammedi*), Christians (*İsevi*), Jews in religious terms–, Ahmed Cemal mentions their living styles, communal characteristics and places in which they lived. But he partly cited peripheral groups such as Shiites or Yezidis. He constructed some characteristics of groups, and essentialized and fixed them within territorial grounds. For example, he stated that some Kurds could not accumulate wealth because they were devoted to repose and that some of them were under the service of the state as part of the Hamidiye Light Cavalry.[244] He emphasized the Circassians' bravery and the soldiering or the Laz's diligence and their seamanship.[245] Therefore, he displays all of them as components within the Ottoman territories.

The geography textbooks during this period also made a hierarchical discrimination between European and other countries and characterized Europeans as superior. It is possible to find many phrases in the geography textbooks that accept the superiority of Europe and place the Ottoman Empire as a part of it. Nuri Doğan points out that Azmi's geography work *Yeni Coğrafya* (New Geography) expressed Europe's superiority.[246] When Ahmed Cemal also mentioned people in the Sudan, he associated the nomadic life of this people with the fact that they were not prosperous and had not been in touch with Europeans.[247] In addition, courses on the European continent and Ottoman Europe constituted longest and most extensive sections in the geography textbooks.

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[244] Ahmed Cemal, *Coğrafya-i Osmani*, p. 235.
[245] Ibid., p. 238.
[246] Doğan, p. 39 cites Azmi's phrases about this issue: "*Harita ve küre-i musanna üzerinde görüyorsunuz ki Avrupa kıtası öbür dört kıtadan daha küçüktür. Lakin hepsinden medenidir. Ahalisi de ilimleriyle, sanat ve ticaretleriyle diğer kıtalardaki ahaliden daha ileri gitmiştir.*"
[247] Ahmed Cemal, *Coğrafya-i Osmani*, p. 177.

Third, the geography textbooks focused on the natural resources in the empire in order to reveal the productive capacity of the empire. Geography textbooks on the Ottoman Empire included detailed knowledge on the natural resources and agricultural and industrial products of every region in the empire one by one. According to Ahmed Cemal, to know geography was necessary for industrial and agricultural interests because it was essential to learn geography in order to make production.[248] These books also emphasized harbors, coasts and sea routes for the development of trade. Therefore, geography textbooks constituted a tool of enabling the state to control and use efficiently these resources and products and revealed the productive capacity of the empire by providing awareness in the minds of the students about them; this was integral to the territorial strategy of the modern state which was concerned with establishing control over the natural resources of the empire.

In conclusion, during the Hamidian era geography textbooks not only disseminated official geographical knowledge to students, but also greatly contributed to the formulation of this knowledge through a strict process of inspection. Some inspection commissions such as the Commission for Inspection and Examination and the Commission for the Inspection of Texts inspected and controlled all geography textbooks in all languages within the empire before and after printing. This process, along with the commercialization of the printing press, led to the homogenization of ideas and the standardization of contents, forms and languages in geography textbooks. Thus, it can be pointed out that geography textbooks during this period were not simple translations of geography works in Europe, but were shaped and adapted to Ottoman realities in the context of the

[248] Ibid., p. 6.

Ottoman territorial politics based on the unity of the empire and the sultan's authority over all provinces.

All harmful information in the geography textbooks were rejected against this territorial politics especially in terms of questions in the Balkans and eastern Anatolia on the grounds that they would violate the Hamidian state's authority. Hence, the contents of geography textbooks were determined within this framework. They first emphasized the imperial borders in order to create a sense of the united Ottoman homeland different from other countries in the minds of the students. Second, they tried to determine and strengthen the domain of the Ottoman identity by referring to other identities within a territorial area. And last, they tried to create awareness about the natural resources of the empire and to reveal its productive capacity by making use of geographical knowledge. Therefore, the geography textbooks contributed to the formation of territoriality and internal territorialization in a modern sense in which the Hamidian state tried to establish an authority over territory, people and natural sources it claimed.

CHAPTER 5

MAPPING IMPERIAL TERRITORIES:

MAPS AND ATLASES IN SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY

Maps represent a geographical reality and a sense of space in a society as well as contribute to the formulation of geographical area and space in the minds of people. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many modern states in Europe and all over the world used maps in order to consolidate their territorial authority over all recognized regions of their countries and to enable their subjects to identify themselves with these countries. In this sense, cartography had a political function. J.B. Harley points out that cartography is related to the process by which power is deployed. It is not an objective and true reflection and representation of a place, but a social product, shaped by power relations within society. In this sense, it "can be 'a form of knowledge and a form of power.'"[249] According to Harley, maps express much more than drawing the boundaries of a country. "They were used to legitimize the reality of conquest and empire. They helped create myths which would assist in the maintenance of the territorial status quo."[250] Therefore, they became a tool of executing territorial power.

In a similar way, Matthew H. Edney also calls attention to the political aspect of cartography. He points out that knowledge of the territory is determined by geographic representation and especially the map in an imperial context. In this context, geography and empire are intimately and thoroughly interwoven. That is,

[249] J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 54.
[250] J.B. Harley, p. 57.

"To govern territories, one must know them."[251] The British created their "own" India, not a "real" India, by mapping landscapes and studying the inhabitants. These maps enabled the British to "define the empire itself, to give it territorial integrity and its basic existence" in the process of construction of British India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[252] Therefore, there was a direct relationship between the activities of the British to map South Asia and their policies of territorial expansion into the subcontinent. They placed and fixed region's territories within a uniform archive of India through maps and even detailed cadastral surveys. The geographical imagination of the united India that was the result of this anxiety of mapping the British Empire, came from the process of territorial expansion.[253]

It is necessary to understand the attention the Ottoman Empire during the Hamidian period attributed to map production and the use of maps in public education within the context of its attempts to establish direct authority over all territories of the empire and to legitimize the sultan's power. The Hamidian state used maps in order to create a sense of imperial unity and thus to legitimize the sultan's authority over all of the imperial territories by enabling students to establish a direct relationship of belonging between themselves and these territories and to identify themselves with the empire. Maps would make it possible to place the Ottoman Empire within the general view of the world and to differentiate it from other states. The emphasis on the imperial unity in maps was connected with the territoriality in terms that the state established its own authority over all recognized territories, people and natural resources through. Therefore, maps and atlases became indispensable and integral components of geography education during the Hamidian

[251] Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 1.
[252] Ibid., p. 2.
[253] Ibid., p. 16.

period. In fact, the use of maps and atlases in geography courses was not only essential but also compulsory.

The Ottoman Tradition of Cartography until the Nineteenth Century

The Ottoman Empire had a long tradition of cartography dating back to the fifteenth century. According to M. Pınar Emiralioğlu, this tradition was the result of the combination of Islamic tradition of geography and European's studies. From the fifteenth century onward, reading and producing geographical works and being aware of Europeans' works on this issue, the Ottoman ruling elites and intellectuals combined Islamic tradition of geography with Europeans' studies and created an Ottoman tradition.[254] Their interest in geography was related to the Ottoman military expansion which resulted from Ottoman claims to universal rulership and world domination during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mehmed II made some Ottoman and European intellectuals and artists translate works of classical geography such as Ptolemy's *Geographia* and to draw maps. During the reigns of Bayezid II, Selim I and Süleyman I map patronage was related to the empire's campaigns on the seas.[255] During these centuries when the Ottoman Empire performed many military campaigns and expanded on both lands and sea, some sailors and soldiers such as Piri Reis, Ali Ekber Hitayi, Ali Macar Reis and Mehmed Reis produced a rich collection of Ottoman geographical works by "charting the Mediterranean, depicting

[254] M. Pınar Emiralioğlu, "Cartography and Geographical Consciousness in the Ottoman Empire (1453-1730)," in *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World, 1500-1750: Maps from the Collection of O.J. Sopranos*, Ian Manners (Chicago: Oriental Institute Museum Publications, 2007), p. 95. I want to thank to Cihangir Gündoğdu who attracted my attention to this study.
[255] Ibid., p. 97.

Ottoman domains, and narrating the remote corners of the world such as China and the New World."[256]

Especially maps produced under state patronage were related to the territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Ottoman interest in the Mediterranean led to the enrichment of cartographic works in the Ottoman Empire for administrative and military aims. This period witnessed the production of some siege plans and architectural plans.[257] However, the seventeenth century, when the territorial expansion of the empire stopped witnessed Ottoman geographers like Katip Çelebi, Evliya Çelebi and Ebu Bekir ibn Behram el-Dimaşki criticize corruption in state affairs and to translate and integrate geography works in Europe into Ottoman reality as a means of reversing the "decline."[258]

The second important feature of the Ottoman tradition of cartography until the nineteenth century was that it addressed a narrow map audience and a group of ruling elites; that is, maps during this period were designed for rulers, sailors, soldiers, officials, architects or scholars with military, administrative and intellectual aims.[259] Because of this feature, they were produced in manuscript form.[260] Cartography was called the "science of princes."[261] This feature was not specific to the Ottoman Empire during this period. It can be noted that ruling elites in various areas patronized map making and used maps for military, political, religious and propaganda purposes, like in the Ottoman Empire. They were aware of importance of maps in warfare and administration.[262]

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[256] Ibid., p. 96.
[257] Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," p. 210-216. Karamustafa divides the Ottoman tradition of cartography into two section: private and state-sponsored mappings.
[258] Emiralioğlu, pp. 96-9.
[259] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 172.
[260] Emiralioğlu, p. 107.
[261] Harley, p. 56.
[262] Ibid., p. 57.

Third, these maps were deprived of a sense of border in a metrical rigidity which became the essential characteristic of modern cartography. They usually focused on coasts or lands in terms of their importance in military campaigns. Karamustafa writes that, "In the Islamic lands, as in the rest of the medieval world, the borders between what now appear to us to be different modes of visual representation were not rigidly drawn. It should not be surprising, therefore, that all modes of visual representation shared a common terminological stock. Standardization and specialization begin only with the modern period."[263]

This characteristic was not specific to the Ottoman tradition of cartography during this period. Benedict Anderson mentions two traditions of mapping in Siam until the middle of the nineteenth century by referring to Thongchai Winichakul. One of them, based on the Buddhist cosmology, included symbolic representation of the Three Worlds and was organized around "a series of supraterrestrial heavens and subterrestrial hells wedged in the visible world along a single vertical axis."[264] The second tradition was developed around practical uses in military campaigns and shipping. They were always local guide-maps, far from a larger geographical context and based on drawer's eye. The most crucial shared feature of these two distinct kinds of maps was that neither of them marked borders, unlike modern maps. Instead, modern maps marked borders metrically and were based on a totalizing classification.[265]

Previously produced in manuscript form for the ruling elites in the Ottoman Empire, maps and atlases began to be published on the printing press in the eighteenth century. As a geographer himself, İbrahim Müteferrika printed many geography books such as *Cihannüma* and *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*, atlases and maps in

[263] Karamustafa, "Introduction to Islamic Maps," p. 7.
[264] Anderson, p. 171.
[265] Ibid., p. 171.

his own printing press.[266] These works were also directed toward a narrow group. However, the establishment of new military schools (the Naval Engineering School and the Engineering School for the Armed Forces) in the second half of the same century was an important step for the publishing of maps and atlases because military education in these schools required strict training in cartography and topography. The Printing Press of Engineering School tried to meet the need for written materials in these fields in military education in Istanbul. Beydilli indicates that an inventory document of the Engineering School for the Armed Forces included geography books, atlases and maps.[267] But these works were not produced and used for public education, but for only military students in these schools.

The Ottoman School Cartography during the Hamidian Period

The Hamidian state established a monopoly over map production in order to control geographical knowledge of people and to intervene in cartographic literacy. School maps and atlases during the Hamidian period were directly produced for schools by the state.[268] In modern world, the state was the principal patron of cartographic activity in many countries.[269] By the middle of the 1890s, the Ottoman army became the only supplier of maps in the empire and it was ordered to prepare maps displaying all imperial territories within a unity.[270] This was the crucial evidence the state attributed to maps because it aimed at establishing a central control over map production in the empire in order to consolidate the official geographical imagination, based on the unity of empire, and to struggle against rival ones.

[266] İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. 1, pp. 134-137.
[267] Beydilli, p. 374.
[268] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 173.
[269] J.B. Harley, p. 59.
[270] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 166.

In 1880 when the Ottoman general staff was reorganized, there emerged five branches. The fifth branch was charged with making make maps of the empire. The state bought some equipment for mapping practices and appointed his officers who had previously gone to Paris for education in cartography as part of a map commission in 1895. They produced some maps.[271] Heinrich Kiepert drew the map of north-west Anatolia at various scales between 1841 and 1854 and his son Richard Kiepert also produced a map of western Anatolia. Especially H. Kiepert's maps were used in the Ottoman Empire. The famous map expert Ali Şeref translated the map of Anatolia by Kiepert into Turkish in 1896 and also prepared a wall map for schools.[272] He also published an atlas, namely *Yeni Atlas* (New Atlas), consisting of 22 maps.

During the Hamidian period, maps, atlases and globes were among the most important components of geography education along with geography textbooks. It was thought that this equipment would reinforce the geographical knowledge to be instructed in textbooks and courses. They contributed to the consolidation of the official geographical knowledge in the minds of the students and enabled them to place their own country within a general picture of the world where included many states and to identify themselves with this country in a spatial sense. In fact, the use of this equipment in the geography courses was compulsory. For example, the educational yearbook of 1898-9 noted that the geography courses would never have

[271] Muzaffer Şerbetçi, *Türk Haritacılığı Tarihi (1895)* (İstanbul: TMMOB Harita ve Kadastro Mühendisleri Odası, 1999), p. 54-5. Cevat Ülkekul, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Haritacılık Tarihi (İlk On Yıl)* (İstanbul: Dönence Basım ve Yayın Hizmetleri, 1998); Şerbetçi, *Ibid*.; *Türk Haritacılığında 75 Yıl* (Ankara: MSB Harita Genel Müdürlüğü, 1970); Mustafa Önder, *Geçmişten Günümüze Resimlerle Türk Haritacılık Tarihi* (Ankara: Harita Genel Komutanlığı, 2002); and Abdurrahman Aygün, *Türk Haritacılık Tarihi*, 2 volumes (Ankara: Harita Genel Müdürlüğü, 1980) for information about institutional development of the Ottoman cartography during this period.
[272] Şerbetçi, pp. 47-8.

been taught without the maps.[273] In this sense, this equipment was the integral components of the geography courses along with the textbooks.

Many documents in the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul show that the Ministry of Public Education sent various kinds of equipment to be used in the geography courses such as wall maps, atlases and globes to schools in the provinces of the empire and that many schools in the provinces demanded them. For example, in 1897, when *Camiü'l-Ezher* in Cairo began to instruct geography and arithmetic courses, it demanded maps and atlases to be used in the geography course because they were fundamental to this subject.[274] In 1897, the Province of Kastamonu informed the Ministry of Public Education that Mehmed İlhami Bey, the geography teacher of the Idadiye School of Kastamonu, demanded the printing of a map of five continents on the printing press of the province and its distribution to the students in order to sufficiently perform this course. The ministry evaluated this issue and permitted its printing on the condition that the responsibility of this job would belong to the Directorate of Education in the province and that the maps to be printed would be limited to students in the school.[275] In 1908, the Directorate of Education of Hüdavendigar appealed to the Ministry of Public Education in order to obtain maps to be used in ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools and the Hamidiye Medrese in the province. In response to this demand, the ministry sent 1120 maps in total; these included maps of Asia (150), Africa (150), South America (150), planisphere (150), North America (130), Oceania (130), Ottoman Rumelia (130) and Anatolia (130).[276]

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[273] "*Coğrafya dersi hiçbir vakit haritasız okutulmayacak …*" *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, İstanbul, 1316/1898-1899, p. 430.
[274] BOA, Yıldız Arşivi Sadaret Hususi Maruzat (hereafter, Y..A…HUS.), 371/44, 1314.Za.12 (14 April 1897).
[275] BOA, MF.MKT, 356/17, 1314.Z.6 (08 May 1897).
[276] BOA, MF.MKT, 1068/46, 1326.B.5 (02 August 1908).

State Control over Maps and Atlases

Because of the relationship of maps with power relations in a society, they can be deliberately distorted, manipulated or censored by states for political, ideological and military reasons. Harley writes that "'Cartographic censorship' implies deliberate misrepresentation designed to mislead potential users of the map, usually those regarded as opponents of the territorial status quo."[277] Especially political boundaries on maps become a crucial issue of dispute. They are subjected to some manipulations because of states' political preferences and claims over territories. "This arises both from attempts to assert historical claims to national territory, and from the predictive art of using maps to project and to legitimate future territorial ambitions. For example, disputed boundaries, whether shown on official maps, in atlases, or in more ephemeral images such as postage stamps, have been either included or suppressed according to the current political preference."[278]

In the Ottoman Empire during the Hamidian era, maps became an issue of such a contestation. The maps and atlases to be used in schools were, like the geography textbooks, strictly inspected by the state on the grounds that they might include cartographic knowledge harmful to the interests of the state and the sultan.

They were also inspected and controlled by commissions within the Ministry of Public Education. A similar procedure was followed in the process of the inspection of atlases as with geography textbooks. According to this practice, anyone who prepared an atlas appealed to the Ministry of Public Education in Istanbul or the directorates of education in the provinces in order to print and publish it. After this

[277] Harley, p. 63.
[278] Ibid., p. 65.

appeal, inspection commissions within the ministry, the Commission for Inspection and Examination and the Commission for the Inspection of Texts (if it was in Turkish, Arabic or Persian) inspected this atlas and decided whether it would be printed or not. If the atlas contained harmful information against the official geographical or cartographic discourse, the Ministry of Public Education issued an official license for its printing and publication. Archival documents show that the process worked in such a way.[279] Documents concerning official licenses given to some atlases which were named *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* (The Pocket Atlas of General Geography), *Coğrafya-i Umumi Atlası* (The Atlas of General Geography) or *Umumi Coğrafya Cep Atlası* (The Pocket Atlas of General Geography) also confirm it.[280]

This strict process of inspection both determined the content of cartographic materials constituting the basis of the official geographical imagination and adapted various maps and atlases, usually prepared and produced in the western model, to Ottoman realities during the Hamidian era. In this sense, it is necessary to examine the maps and atlases in question within the context of the Hamidian state's attempts to integrate all imperial territories in the Balkans and the east into the center and to establish direct control over all of these regions.

As in geography textbooks, the main features in these cartographic materials were the borders of the empire. Although Jeremy Black points out that the mapping of frontiers is a central issue in political cartography and mentions domestic and international aspects of political mapping, he gives priority to the international sphere. Thus, he examines the issue of determination of frontiers within the context

[279] This process was examined in detail in the third chapter.
[280] BOA, MF.MKT, 930/72, 1324.R.5 (29 May 1906); MF.MKT, 939/44, 1324.Ca.15 (08 July 1906); MF.MKT, 942/77, 1324.Ca.29 (22 July 1906); MF.MKT, 944/64, 1324.C.10 (01 August 1906); MF.MKT, 979/42, 1325.M.10 (23 February 1907); and MF.MKT, 986/27, 1325.S.7 (22 March 1907).

of international relations.[281] However, it can be claimed that the importance attributed to borders of the empire during the Hamidian era in the Ottoman Empire was more directed toward domestic politics than international relations. That is, the Hamidian state sought to establish its space of authority and sovereignty and to legitimize its power over all claimed territories in the eyes of its people. It was related to the territorial politics of the Hamidian state to establish authority over the territory, people and natural sources it claimed. Therefore, the state paid special attention to show some sensitive regions such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, the province of Eastern Rumelia, Tunis, and Van and Erzurum within the Ottoman borders. It certainly rejected all visual representations displaying these regions outside the Ottoman territories and thus violating its official geographical knowledge and its authority over them.

This attention was reflected in the issue of coloring maps. Every map pointed to a space of sovereignty by a modern state which tried to establish its own authority over this space. The map was a symbol of this sovereignty. Cartographic decoration and coloring consolidated, legitimized and normalized a state authority over any territory. In maps, a color was given to each state and all territories in which a state claimed were displayed in the same color, special to itself. This color represented the space of sovereignty and authority of that state. Any territory outside this color special to that state was accepted as outside its space of authority. Benedict Anderson expresses power of the map-as-logo in the context of imperial hegemony over colonies and of anti-colonial nationalisms.

> "The second avatar is the map-as-logo. Its origins were reasonably innocent – the practice of the imperial states of colouring their colonies on maps with an imperial dye.

[281] Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 121.

> In London's imperial maps, British colonies were usually pink-red, French purple-blue, Dutch yellow-brown, and so on. Dyed this way, each colony appeared like a detachable piece of a jigsaw puzzle. As this 'jigsaw' effect became normal, each 'piece' could be wholly detached from its geographic context. In its final form all explanatory glosses could be summarily removed: lines of longitude and latitude, place names, signs for rivers, seas, and mountains, *neighbours*. Pure sign, no longer compass to the world. In this shape, the map entered an infinitely reproducible series, available for transfer to posters, official seals, letterheads, magazine and textbook covers, tablecloths, and hotel walls. Instantly recognizable, everywhere visible, the logo-map penetrated deep into the popular imagination, forming a powerful emblem for the anticolonial nationalisms being born."[282]

In this sense, maps led to the internalization and normalization of any territory and authority over this territory in the minds of the people through their feature of being visible everywhere and certainly in the schools.

In this sense, the Hamidian state strictly inspected colorings and depictions in maps and atlases, especially when it came to the territories of the empire in the Balkans and the eastern provinces. The state's attitudes toward maps and atlases to be used in schools were shaped in terms of these concerns.

It is possible to find many cases in archival materials confirming this issue. In 1902, the Ministry of Public Education found out, after the inspection of the Commission for Inspection and Examination, that an atlas sent to university (*Darülfünun*) and the School of the Civil Service (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*), depicted some regions of the Ottoman Empire as if they belonged to foreign states because on the pages of 20, 22, 109, 111, 121, 127, 144, 147 and 154 the atlas did not display these regions with the color special to the Ottoman Empire. The ministry decided that if

[282] Anderson, p. 175.

these sections of the atlas would be corrected and modified by depicting the mentioned regions with the color special to the Ottoman Empire, the atlas could be used in schools.[283] In 1902, the province of Hüdavendigar sent an atlas in Greek to the Ministry of Public Education for inspection. This atlas, found in a person who came to the Port of Akçay, was *The Geography Atlas* (Coğrafya Atlası) by Anesti Konstantiyoni, published in Athens in 1901. The Commission for Inspection and Examination inspected the atlas and accepted it as harmful on the grounds that it depicted the sancak of Yenipazar in Bosnia-Herzegovina within the Austrian borders and the province of Eastern Rumelia on the Bulgarian borders, painted the province of Tunis with a different color from the province of Tripoli, and used the phrase "Armenia" in the map of Russia. Therefore, it was prohibited to print, import and distribute this map in the Ottoman Empire.[284]

In another case in 1906, an atlas named *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* (Pocket Atlas of General Geography) was first inspected by the Commission for Inspection and Examination. It was decided that there was no harm for its printing on the condition that all territories of the Ottoman Empire would be in the same color and that Crete, Cyprus and other islands in the Mediterranean would not be in a color different from it. Because the atlas was in Turkish, the commission transferred it to the Commission for the Inspection of Texts for a second inspection. The Commission for the Inspection of Texts also inspected the atlas and re-sent it to the Commission for Inspection and Examination for the official license.[285] According to another document, in 1907, an atlas named *Mükemmel ve Mufassal Coğrafya-i Umumi Atlası* (the Perfect and Detailed Atlas of General Geography) in Greek, printed by Parsih

[283] BOA, MF.MKT, 609/55, 1319.Za.12 (21 February 1902). The document doesn't mention the name of the atlas and places the ministry paid the attention to.
[284] BOA, MF.MKT, 665/19, 1320.C.27 (30 September 1902).
[285] BOA, MF.MKT, 931/48, 1324.R.8 (01 June 1906).

Efendi, the owner of Tefeyyüz Kitaphanesi, was inspected by both the Commission for Inspection and Examination and the Commission for the Inspection of Texts. In this inspection, it was found out in the map of the African continent that Tunis was not painted with the color special to the Ottoman Empire. It was decided that the atlas could be published on the condition that Tunis would be painted with this special color of the Ottoman territories.[286]

Selim Deringil writes that during the Hamidian period maps of the world were carefully inspected in order to ensure that all territories the empire claimed were included. For example, the maps of the Asian continent used in primary schools were replaced by new ones on the grounds that they included some errors in the Asiatic frontiers of the empire. The new maps were also inspected before they were sent to schools.[287]

The Content of Maps and Atlases

In the Ottoman Empire, geography atlases had a long history. The Ottoman elites during the sixteenth century were interested in the European art of mapmaking, especially in regard to the Mediterranean. They used atlases such as one prepared by Ali Macar Reis. Consisting of six nautical charts and a world map, Ali Macar Reis' atlas was prepared for a member of the Ottoman ruling elite or the sultan himself.[288]

It is known that some atlases and maps were used in military schools in the eighteenth century.[289] Abdurrahman Efendi also prepared and printed an atlas named *Cedid Atlas* (New Atlas) in 1803 by making use of European atlases; it included

[286] BOA, MF.MKT, 995/74, 1325.R.14 (27 May 1907).
[287] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, p. 95.
[288] Emiralioğlu, p. 100.
[289] Beydilli, p. 374.

colorful maps formed by 26 copper plates after astronomical and geographical information of 79 pages.[290] Unlike atlases in the second half of the nineteenth century, these atlases were prepared and used for military, administrative and intellectual aims, not for public education to create a geographical awareness in minds of people about their own country.

İ. Hakkı Akyol states that it was in the Tanzimat era when separate maps which previously had been used within the pages of geography books were combined as atlases and used in schools for geography education.[291] The Hamidian era was a period when the mass production and use of atlases in schools became intense in the Ottoman Empire. During this period, many atlases were prepared, published and used in schools after the process of inspection.

In this era, there was a direct relationship between geography textbooks, and maps and atlases in terms of content and classification. Like textbooks, atlases also divided the world into five continents and described them and states in these continents by emphasizing that all of them were different sovereign states and authority spaces. They also depicted the Ottoman Empire on the basis of its territories in three continents –Europe, Asia and Africa– and named these territories as Ottoman Europe –Avrupa-yı Osmani–, Ottoman Asia –Asya-yı Osmani– and Ottoman Africa –Afrika-yı Osmani. However, they emphasize the unity of the empire by displaying its all territories in these three continents with same color and border lines. The maps displayed the capitals, cities, famous places, seas, lakes, mountains and rivers of states, like in geography textbooks.

One of the most important features of the separate maps and maps in atlases was their simplicity; that is, they were designed so that everyone who knew how to

[290] Önder, p. 124.
[291] Akyol, "Son Yarım Asırda Türkiye'de Coğrafya," p. 12.

read and write could easily understand them because they targeted a broader audience –students in public schools– unlike pre-modern maps which were only designed for the use of ruling and literate elite groups and required expertise to understand. Their purpose was to create an awareness about the borders and territories of the empire among the people.

Every map included the names of places in the empire according to its content in order to create a direct relationship between these places, belonging to the empire, and anyone who watched these places, the subject of the empire. The indirect result of this relationship was that people identified themselves with these places in a spatial sense. However, this identification was not limited to the displaying of territories within the Ottoman Empire. School maps in atlases displayed not only the Ottoman territories and borders but also other countries all over the world. This also consolidated the spatial identification of Ottoman subjects within imperial territories and the sense of "our" country different from "theirs," as in geography textbooks. Therefore, the Hamidian state attempted "to effect a more direct identification between students and the empire to which they belonged."[292] In this sense, the map was a tool the Hamidian state used in order to dominate all recognized territories and peoples of the empire, to create a loyal mass to the empire and the sultan and thus to legitimize the sultan's authority over them against local ruling elites and separatist movements which emphasized locality and their separate geographical ground to consolidate their own authorities.

This attempt was not special to the Ottoman Empire. In the nineteenth century, many modern states used geography education to create a larger bounded space than their local settings in the minds of their subjects in order to legitimize and establish

[292] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 168.

central ruling elites. In France, the state aimed at convincing people that the homeland was larger than the place in which they lived during the nineteenth century. Geography lessons and maps were one of most important tools in this sense. Through these tools, it was intended that students would gain a sense of unity. Maps were used in all schools as a symbol and means of teaching the sense of unity and territoriality; they tried to place the French fatherland in their minds. However, provincialism resisted this sense of unity because it emphasized locality against the national homeland. Thus, all schools were equipped with wall maps which displayed France within a unity. Weber writes that these maps were "also powerful symbols, not only of the asserted fatherland, but of the abstractions young minds had to get used to."[293]

The first atlas used and examined in this study is *Umumi Cep Atlası* (The General Pocket Atlas) by Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi.[294] Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi was one of the most important publishers of the late Ottoman period. He published many books on history, literature, religion and geography in publishing houses he founded such as *Kütübhane-i İslam*, *Kütübhane-i Askeri*, *Kütübhane-i Hilmi* and, after the founding of the Turkish Republic, *Hilmi Kitabevi*. He himself also wrote some books and prepared geography books and atlases especially for public schools. Among the geography books and atlases he prepared, there were *Çocuklara İlk Coğrafya* (The Principal Geography for Pupils), *İbtidaiye Cep Atlası* (The Pocket Atlas for the İbtidaiye Schools), *İdadiye Cep Atlası* (The Pocket Atlas for the İdadiye Schools), *Memalik-i Osmaniye Cep Atlası* (The Pocket Atlas of the Ottoman

[293] Weber, p. 334.
[294] Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Umumi Cep Atlası* (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Askeri – İbrahim Hilmi, 1324 [1906-7]).

Empire), *Rüşdiye Cep Atlası* (The Pocket Atlas for the Rüşdiye Schools) and *Umumi Cep Atlası*.[295]

Umumi Cep Atlası was published in İstanbul in 1906-7 by *Kitabhane-i Askeri*, his own printing house. The first page of the book stated that it was based on natural, statistical, political and economic geography and that it included 35 maps along with statistical information. In addition, again in the first page, there was a phrase noting that the atlas was printed on the printing presses of Matyusyan (section on statistics) and Soma (maps) with the license (license number: 3449) of the Ministry of Public Education. This shows that the atlas was inspected by commissions within the ministry and was permitted to publish and to be used in schools.

The atlas begins with an introduction (*ifade*) in which the author expressed how he devoted his time to serving military education by publishing new books on science and his gratitude to the sultan for his interest in education. He mentioned that the maps used in atlases were prepared in accordance with mapping styles in Europe and that many maps had been added on the Ottoman Empire and that new statistical information was used which had not been included in any previous book.

After this introduction, the atlas was divided into two sections: the statistical geography and maps. The first section consisting of 48 pages was based on statistical geography. It included tables giving information about available measure units; sections and population of the Earth; distribution of population according to races and religions; islands and peninsulas; large cities where have populations of more than 500.000; means of transport and trade; railways; commercial shipping; colonies; land and naval forces of great powers; natural geographies, climates and seas of five continents (Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia-Oceania); states; surface

[295] For more information about Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, see İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 586-590.

areas, populations, famous places, incomes and expenses, imports and exports, railways and lines of telegraph and telephone of available states in turn in the world.

After this section on statistical geography, the second section presented 35 maps. The maps were also classified into two groups. In the first group, there were diagrams, tables and maps on sky of southern and northern hemispheres, the solar system, heights of mountains, great rivers and lands they irrigated, the composition of lands in five continents, the distribution of lands and the seas on the Earth, the North and South Poles and the planisphere (*kürre-i musattaha*). In this planisphere, although great states were displayed on map with colors special to themselves, only eight states were displayed in the table at the bottom of the map: the Ottoman Empire, Germany, England, the Netherland, France, the states of North America, Portugal and Denmark. All territories of the Ottoman Empire were colored with pink. In this map, Europe was at the center of the world whereas Australia was tiny at the bottom right-corner. According to Harley, all European maps placed Europe at the center and displayed it larger than real; this feature consolidated the sense of European superiority in the minds of the map audience.[296] This feature was reflected in the maps and atlases in the Ottoman Empire. A similar feature could be observed in the geography textbooks of this period; they also devoted more pages to Europe and Ottoman Europe than other continents and placed it at the center. In this sense, these works constructed the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman identity as a part of Europe in a spatial sense.

After this group, the second group was based on five continents and included maps of countries on these five continents. There was a general map of every continent – Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia-Oceania. In these

[296] Harley, p. 66.

continental maps, every state was again displayed with color special to itself. Capital and famous cities of every state and seas on continents were available in these maps. Every territory determined by borders and colors represented a space of the sovereignty and authority a state claims. On the corner of every map, there was a table displaying the scale of the map and signs used in the map. Lines of latitudes and longitude were also displayed.

Apart from these continental maps, there were political maps focused on states. These maps were Austria-Hungary, Germany-Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden-Norway, the Great Britain-Ireland, Italy, France, Netherlands-Belgium-Luxembourg, Spain-Portugal, Russia, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, India-Turkestan, Indochina-Siam, and the Northern States of America-Mexica. Among these maps, there was only a single map of state from the American continent: the Northern States of America-Mexica. And there was no map of the Australian continent. This limited content for these two continents can also be observed in nearly all geography textbooks of the Hamidian period; probably it results from the fact that these two continents did not include any Ottoman territory and that there was little information about them (especially about the Australia) in comparison with the other three continents. Like in continental maps, every map of the state had a table displaying the scale of that map. These maps showed capitals, cities, famous places, seas, lakes, mountains and rivers of states, like in the geography textbooks. The borders and neighboring countries of each state were depicted. In this sense, it can be pointed out that there was a coherence between the geography textbooks and the maps and atlases.

In these single maps about states, the territory of each state was again in the same color. For example, all Italian territories were in green. In addition, the border

lines of states were so explicit and sharp that it was possible to distinguish territories and thus authority space of any state from that of its neighboring countries. Territories furnished with the same color and determined by explicit border lines for a state gave the impression of a united and homogenous power and authority space and consolidate the idea that states could only be imagined through their borders and bounded territories. It not only differentiated states with the bounded territories from each other but also legitimized the power and authority of the central rulers over these territories.

The place of the Ottoman Empire within the maps in the atlas can be examined in the same perspective. General three continental maps on Europe, Asia and Africa in the atlas depict the Ottoman territories with the same color, pink and named Avrupa-yı Osmani, Asya-yı Osmani and Afrika-yı Osmani. In addition to these depictions of the Ottoman territories in continental maps, there are single maps of Ottoman territories, namely maps of Anatolia, Asya-yı Osmani (physical), Afrika-yı Osmani (physical), Rumelia (*Rumeli-i Şahane*), the Hejaz Railway and Avrupa-yı Osmani. All of these maps of the Ottoman Empire showed provinces, cities, famous places, seas, lakes, mountains and rivers of the empire and, meantime, borders and neighboring countries in detail. The most crucial feature of these maps was that they paid strict attention to displaying some regions in dispute such as Tunis, the province of Eastern Rumelia and Bosnia-Herzegovina within the Ottoman territories. However, it was a fact that Tunis and Bosnia-Herzegovina were under the occupation of France and the Empire of Austria-Hungary and that Eastern Rumelia had been united with Bulgaria. Despite of this fact, the Hamidian state emphasized in both geography textbooks and maps that these regions were still Ottoman territory in

accord with its official geographical imagination. They were displayed in the same color as the other Ottoman territories.

Therefore, these maps on the Ottoman Empire emphasized the unity of the empire by displaying all imperial territories with same color and giving detailed depictions on imperial borders. They represented the space of the imperial authority and power. In these sense, they functioned as "map-as-logo," as Benedict Anderson calls it.[297] They legitimized the sultan's power over all recognized territories and provinces of the empire in the eyes of its subjects by creating a direct relationship of belonging between territories in the same color and people watching maps and by implying the sultan's authority over them. In addition, they differentiated the Ottoman state with bounded territories from other states and enabled people to conceive of their own country as different from other ones. As Susan Schulten points out, "geography is a way of distinguishing 'here' from 'there'."[298] This feature also legitimized the sultan's power and authority because it led to a sense of loyalty to this country and to the sultan as its head.

The other atlas examined in this study is *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* (Pocket Atlas of General Geography) by Mehmed Celal.[299] One of ministers of the Second Constitutional Period, Mehmed Celal, served in some offices as geography teaching of the Teacher's Seminary and of the university, the Directorship of Education in Salonika and memberships of the Commission for Inspection and Examination and of the Commission for the Inspection of Texts. He prepared two works on geography: *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* and *Muhtasar Coğrafya-i Umumi* (The Brief General Geography).[300]

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[297] Anderson, p. 171.
[298] Schulten, p. 3.
[299] Mehmed Celal, *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1324 [1906-7]).
[300] For more information about Mehmed Celal, see İhsanoğlu (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 506-508.

Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası was printed in 1906-1907 in Istanbul by the Printing Press of Karabet, cited as the bookseller of the military and civil schools. The phrase on the cover page shows that it was produced with the official license of the Ministry of Public Education. It included 36 colorful maps, tables and diagrams. It began with an introduction (*ifade*) in which the author expresses his gratitude to the sultan because of his attention to education. He also mentioned that he prepared the atlas for the students but expected that it would be used by not only students but also everyone on geography.

The atlas consisted of two sections, like İbrahim Hilmi's study. In fact, these two studies had a similar content and division. The first section of Mehmed Celal's atlas also included some information about statistical and economic geography. But the place he devoted to this section was longer than the same section in İbrahim Hilmi's study. This section, consisting of 155 pages like the geography textbooks, includes detailed information and tables on physical, human, economic and commercial geography such as the extent of the Earth, continents, seas, populations, races, religions, commercial shipping, railways, telegraph lines, agricultural products and states on the world and extents, populations, famous places, incomes and expenses, naval and land forces, and imports and exports of these states.

After this long section, the second section consists of 36 maps, tables and diagrams. This section's content is also parallel with the map section of İbrahim Hilmi's study. Its division is similarly based on the continents. After some maps, tables and diagrams on the solar system, heights of mountains, southern and northern hemispheres, religions on the world, languages in Europe, composition of lands in five continents, great rivers and lands they irrigate, and the planisphere (*kürre-i musattaha*), the atlas focuses on five continents (Europe, Asia, Africa, America and

Oceania) and states on three continents (Europe, Asia, Africa; that is, continents in where the Ottoman territories placed). Along with these continental maps, one can find single maps of the Ottoman territories on three continents. In addition, there is a map on the Hejaz Railway. After these maps, the atlas includes maps of France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Britain-Ireland, Italy, Switzerland, Spain-Portugal, Sweden-Norway, Russia, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, India-Turkestan and Indochina-Siam. All of these maps are similar to those in İbrahim Hilmi's atlas.

In conclusion, the Ottoman state during the Hamidian era paid a special attention to the use of cartographic materials such as wall maps and atlases as a part of the territorial strategy it applied in order to establish a direct authority over all recognized territories of the empire. The state not only used and reproduced maps, originally produced in Europe but also adapted them into the Ottoman political realities, based on this politics of territoriality. In this sense, the Ottoman school cartography cannot be examined without the consideration of the Hamidian state's attempts to integrate all provinces into the central authority and to legitimize the sultan's power. Maps and atlases were used in schools in order to create a sense of imperial unity and to enable students to place this united empire within a general view of the world and to identify themselves with it. Such an identification between students and the empire to which they belonged would lead to loyalty to the empire and the sultan as its by normalizing the territories of the empire in their minds. Therefore, cartographic materials contributed to the legitimization of the sultan's authority over the empire against local ruling elites and separatist movements which emphasized locality and their separate geographical ground to consolidate their own authorities. Because of these political functions, maps and atlases became an

indispensable and integral component of geography education during the Hamidian period.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study examined the Ottoman geography education during the Hamidian period was as a territorial strategy that the Hamidian regime employed in order to integrate the provinces of the empire into its own authority and to legitimize the sultan's power over these territories and people. The study is based on the premises that geography education could only be understood within the context of socio-political realities of the late Ottoman history. The expansion of public education into provinces in levels of ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools during this period was discussed. Public education, especially in primary level, was expanded, standardized and reformed by the central state which was itself institutionalized. The number of primary and secondary schools both in the center and in the peripheries rapidly increased. This need resulted from Abdulhamid II's attempts to legitimize his authority against bureaucratic elites, local notables and separatist movements in the center and provinces by obtaining the support of the masses via these schools.

Geography education was also one of the most crucial tools by which the Hamidian regime tried to establish a sense of attachment among people towards the imperial territory imagined as a unity. By enabling students to identify themselves with this territory, it aimed to legitimize the sultan's authority over the provinces. The Hamidian regime sought to educate the public about geographical and cartographical issues; so geography education became an integral and inseparable part of the Ottoman public education. Geography courses were in the curricula of ibtidaiye, rüşdiye and idadiye schools. The Ottoman Empire as a modern state used

geography education as an instrument to establish an authority over the territory, people and natural sources. In this sense, the study has examined the place of geography within the Ottoman public education and the content of geography courses at every level of the education.

Because the content of geography courses was determined by the textbooks used in geography education, this study has paid particular attention to geography textbooks. During the Hamidian period, the government established a strict control over geography textbooks as other materials to be used in schools and inspected them through inspection commissions within the Ministry of Public Education. The mechanism of inspection, along with the commercialization of the printing press, led to the homogenization of ideas and the standardization of contents, forms and languages in the geography textbooks. Geographical information and ideas against the official geographical imagination of the Hamidian state were rejected because they would violate Abdulhamid II's authority over territories of the empire, particularly where nationalist political movements has some ground. But this geographical imagination was not a fixed one; it was shaped, transformed and reproduced in connection with imperial realities and conditions. In this sense, this thesis has emphasizes the fact that geography textbooks to be used in schools were adapted into Ottoman realities thanks to the mechanism of inspection and control, instead of the common view accepting them as simple copies of geographical studies produced in Europe.

In addition, the geography textbooks used in schools not only reflected the official geographical imagination but also contributed to its formation, again through this process of inspection. In this study, the official geographical imagination was interpreted within the framework of three features constituting the main subjects of

geography textbooks during the Hamidian period. First, textbooks emphasized the imperial borders in order to create a sense of the united Ottoman homeland different from other countries. Second, they sought to determine and strengthen the domain of the Ottoman identity by referring to other identities within a territorial ground. And finally, they tried to create awareness about natural resources of the empire and to reveal its productive capacity by making use of geographical knowledge.

Other instruments used in geography courses in public education were visual materials such as maps and atlases, which enabled students to reify the imperial territory they belonged to in a spatial ground. They were discussed as tools creating a sense of imperial unity and placing the united empire within a general view of the world. In this sense, like geography textbooks, the Ottoman school cartography cannot be examined without the consideration of the Hamidian state's attempts to integrate the provinces into the sultan's authority and to legitimize his power. They were also adapted into the Ottoman realities and conditions within the context of the political agenda of the Hamidian state.

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APPENDIXES

1. The Cover Page of *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* by Mehmed Celal

2. The Map of Europe in *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* by Mehmed Celal

3. The Map of Ottoman Rumelia in *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* by Mehmed Celal

4. The Map of Asia in *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* by Mehmed Celal

5. The Map of France in *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* by Mehmed Celal

6. BOA, Y.PRK.MF, 4/54, 1320.S.26 (3 June 1902): "*Mekteblerin ders programlarından yapılan tadilat…*"

7. BOA, MF.MKT, 77/55, 1299.Za.26 (09 October 1882): "*Mükemmel bir coğrafya kitabının tertib ve tanzimi…*"

8. BOA, MF.MKT, 855/24, 1323.Ra.12 (17 May 1905): "*Mekteb-i Sultani Müdürü Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi tarafından hazırlanan Mekatib-I Rüşdiye Birinci Senesine Mahsus Coğrafya Dersleri isimli kitabın basılmasına ruhsat verildiği…*"

9. BOA, MF.MKT, 134/1, 1309.Ca.17 (19 December 1891): "*Üsküp Bulgar Leyli Mektebi için Selanik'te satın alınan Bulgarca Coğrafya-yı Umumi Zavtori Kaloş adlı kitapta Erzurum ve Van Ermanistan toprağı olarak gösterildiğinden bunun nüshalarının imhasıyla tab'ına ruhsat veren memurun tecziyesi…*"

10. BOA, MF.MKT, 858/14, 1323.Ra.20 (25 May 1905): "*Gostivar Bulgar Mekteblerinde okutulmakta olan Coğrafya Vatanı isimli kitabın tetkikinde zararlı olduğu anlaşıldığından tedrisinin uygun olamayacağı…*"

11. BOA, DH.MKT, 2090/12, 1316.Ra.19 (07 August 1898): "*Konya'da Rum ve Ermeni çocuklarına ait mektepte okutulan kitaplardan coğrafya kitabının zararlı olduğu anlaşıldığından, neşrinin önlenmesi ve ele geçirilen nüshaların imhası…*"

12. BOA, MF.MKT, 440/18, 1316.Za.13 (25 March 1899): "*Arslanyan'a ait coğrafya kitabının Adana Ermeni Katolik Mektebi'nde okutulmasının uygun olmadığı…*"

13. BOA, MF.MKT, 72/89, 1299.M.19 (11 December 1881): "*Paparos adlı şahsın hazırladığı coğrafya kitabının ruhsatsız bastırıp dağıttığı üçüncü cildinde zararlı şeyler bulunduğundan okutulduğu Rum mektebleri ve satıldığı yerlerden toplatılarak imhası…*"

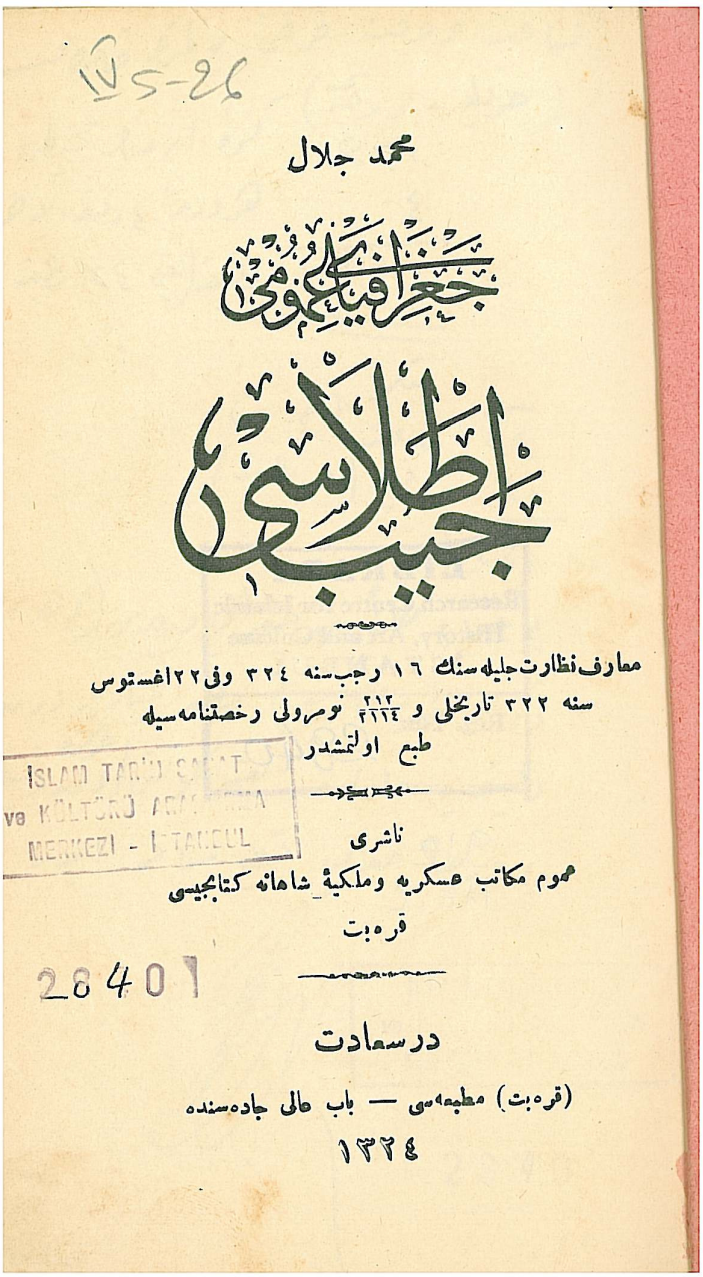
14. BOA, MF.MKT, 1068/46, 1326.B.5 (02 August 1908): "*Hüdavendigar'da bulunan idadi, hamidiye medresesi, rüşdiye ve ibtidai mekteplerinde coğrafya dersinde okutturulmak üzere talep edilen haritalar ile kürenin gönderildiği…*"

15. BOA, MF.MKT, 931/48, 1324.R.8 (01 June 1906): "*Coğrafya-i Umumi Ceb Atlası isimli kitabın Osmanlı topraklarının aynı renkde boyanması şartıyla tabına müsaade edildiği…*"

16. BOA, MF.MKT, 665/19, 1320.C.27 (30 September 1902): "*Hüdavendigar Maarif Müdüriyeti'nden gönderilen coğrafya atlası sakıncalı bulunduğundan yurda girişi ve yayınının yasaklandığı...*"

17. BOA, MF.MKT, 995/74, 1325.R.14 (27 May 1907): "*Babıali'de Tefeyyüz Matbaası Sahibi Parsih Efendi'ye Mükemmel ve Mufassal Coğrafya Atlası'nın, Tunus'un Memalik-i Şahane'ye mahsus renk ile boyanması şartıyla neşrine ruhsat verildiği…*"

1. The Cover Page of *Coğrafya-i Umumi Cep Atlası* by Mehmed Celal



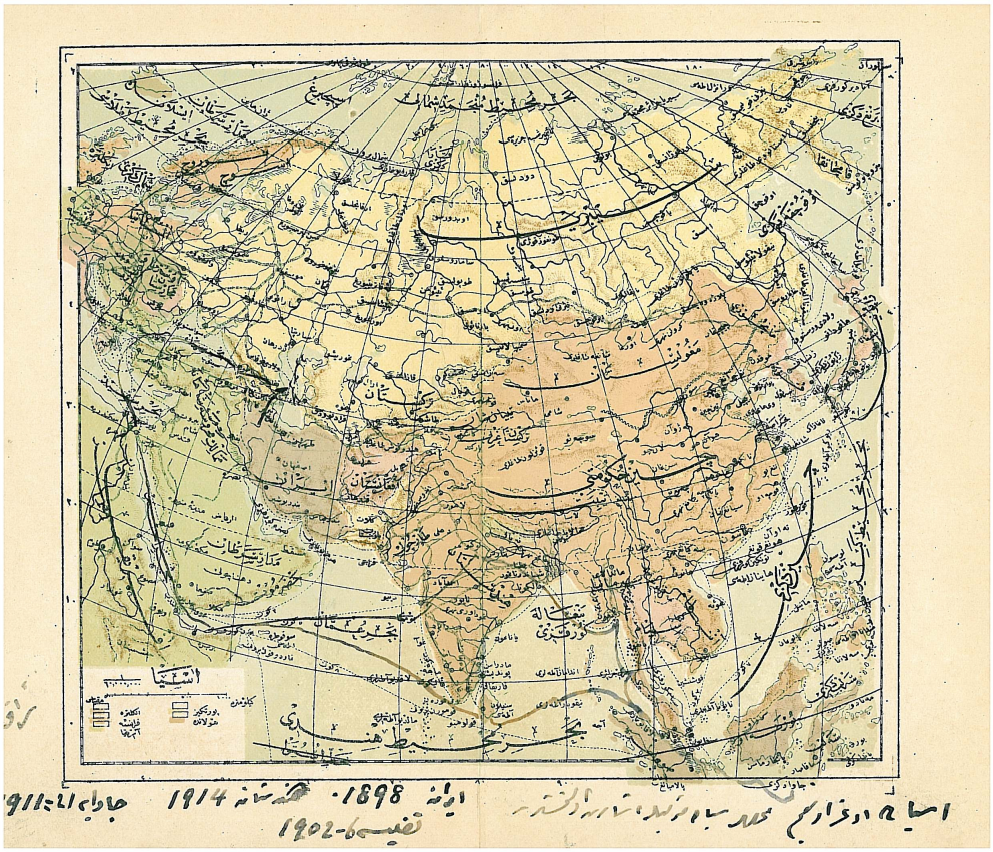
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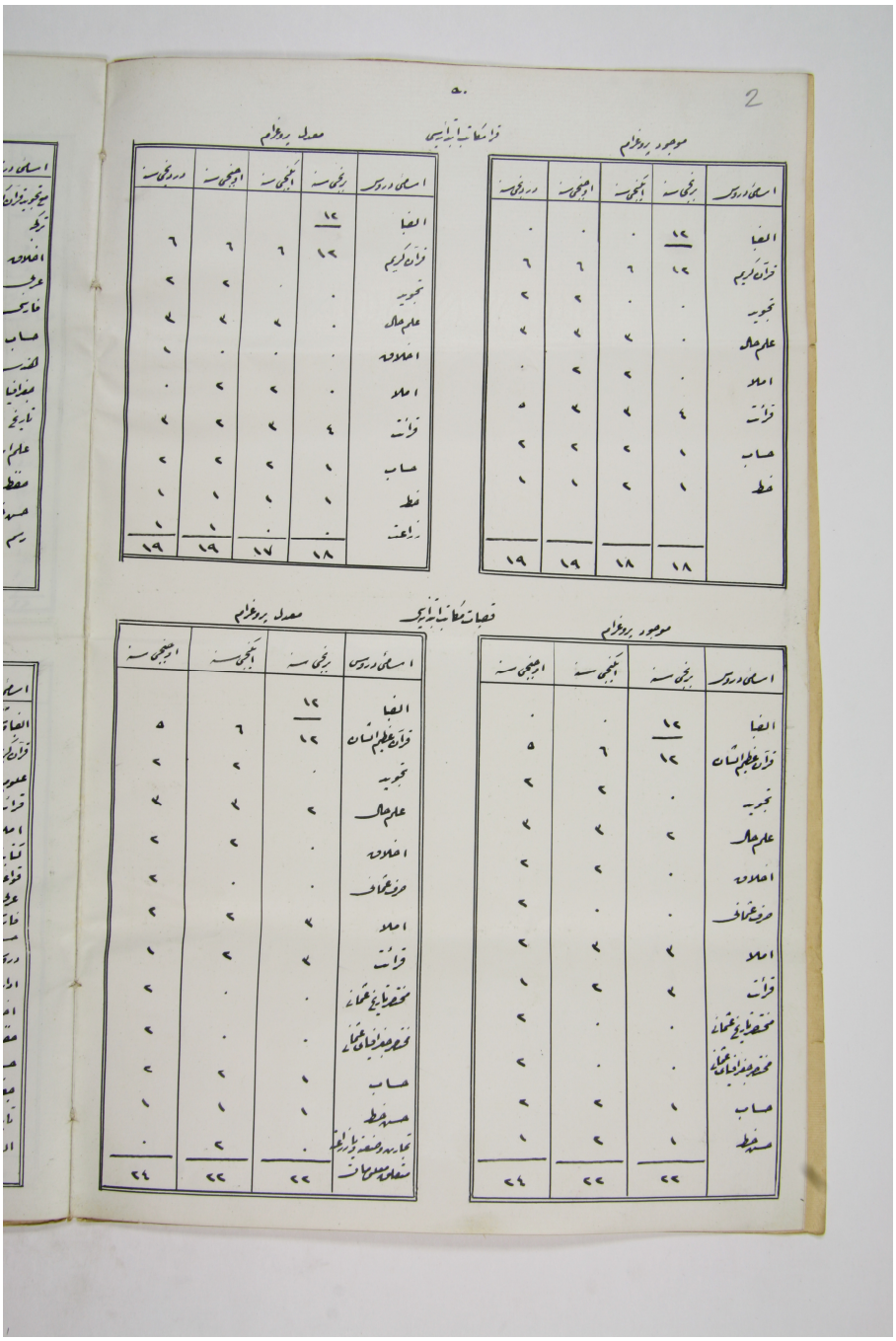
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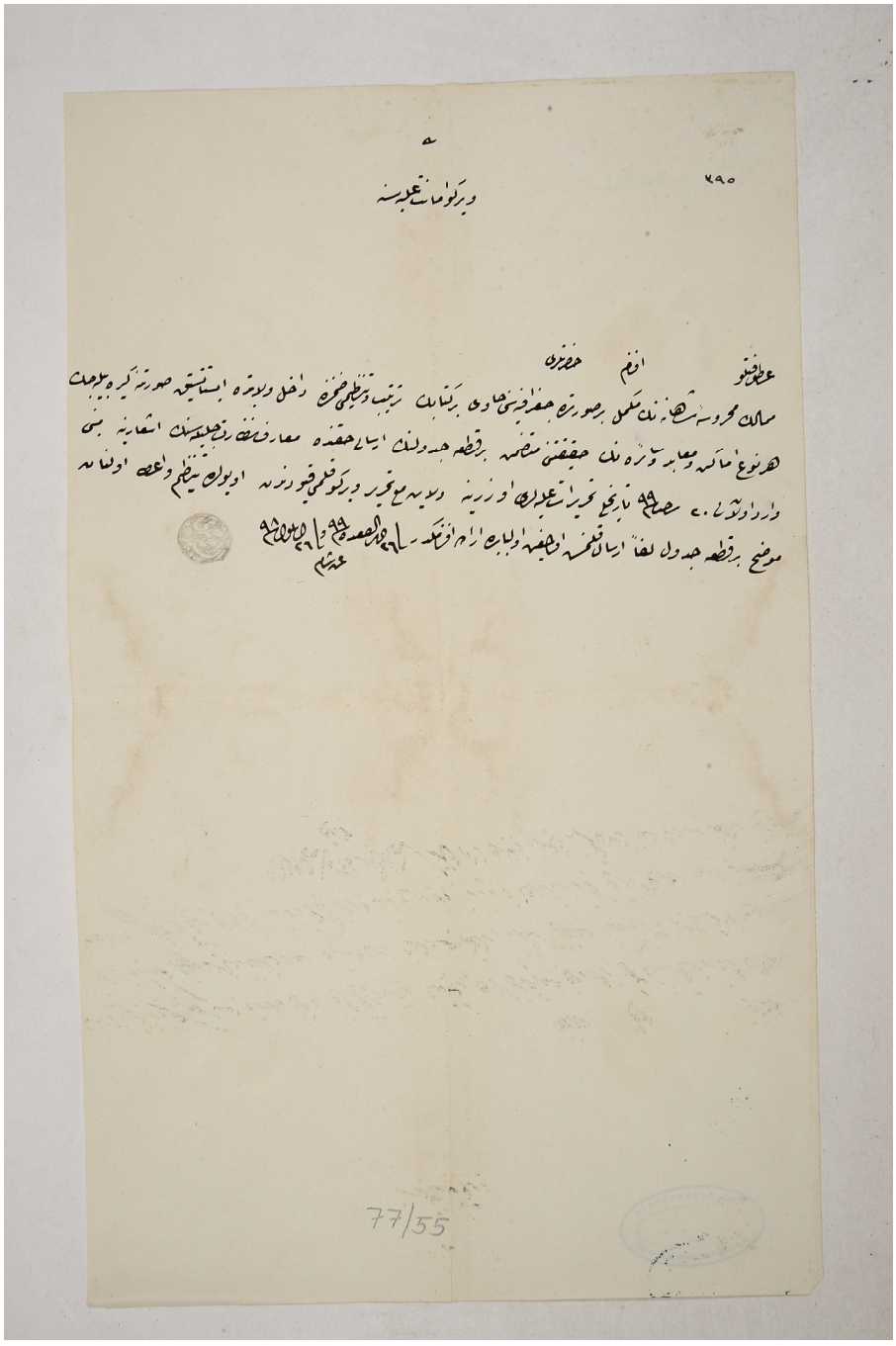


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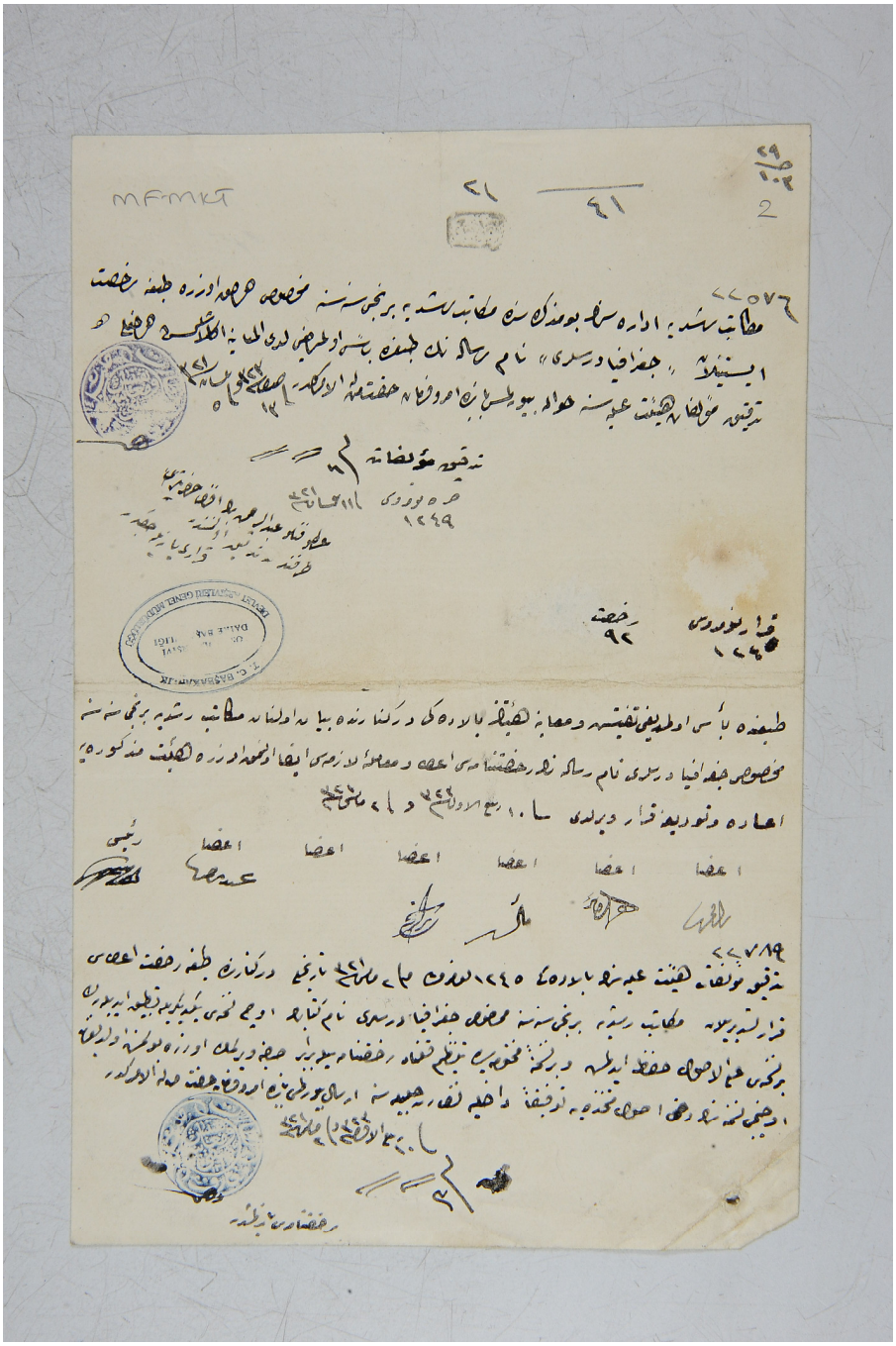


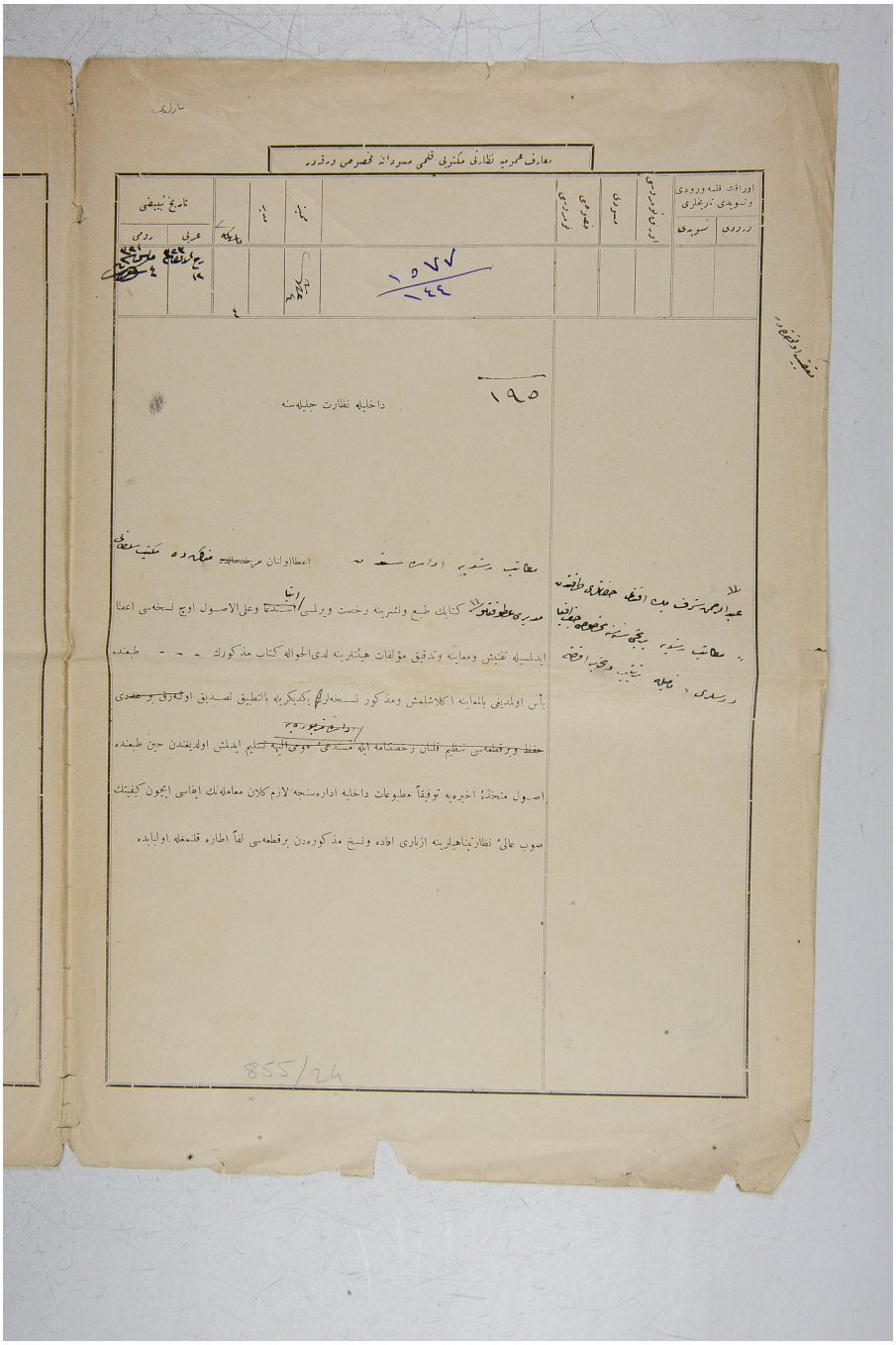


7. BOA, MF.MKT, 77/55, 1299.Za.26 (09 October 1882)



8. BOA, MF.MKT, 855/24, 1323.Ra.12 (17 May 1905)





معارف عمومیه نظارتی مکتوبی قلمی مسودانه مخصوص ورقه‌در

اوراقك قلمه ورودی وتسویه‌ی تذکاری		ادارهٔ تحریریه‌سی	مسوده‌ی	تحریرات نظارتیه‌سی	نمره	مبایعه	تاریخ پیمانه‌سی	
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داخلیه نظارت جلیله‌سنه

مکتب رشدیه ادارهٔ سنه ... اعطا اولنان مرخصنامه مفقوده مکتب مذکورك

مدیریه‌ی عطوفتلو ... کتابك طبع ونشریه رخصت ویرلمش اولدیغندن وعلی الاصول اوچ نسخه‌سی اعطا

ایدلمسیله تفتیش ومعاینه وتدقیق مؤلفات هیئتاریه لدی‌الحواله کتاب مذکورك ... طبعنده

بأس اولمدیغی بالمعاینه اکلاشلمش ومذکور نسخه‌لرك تکثیریه بالتطبیق تصدیق اولنمق ... حدی

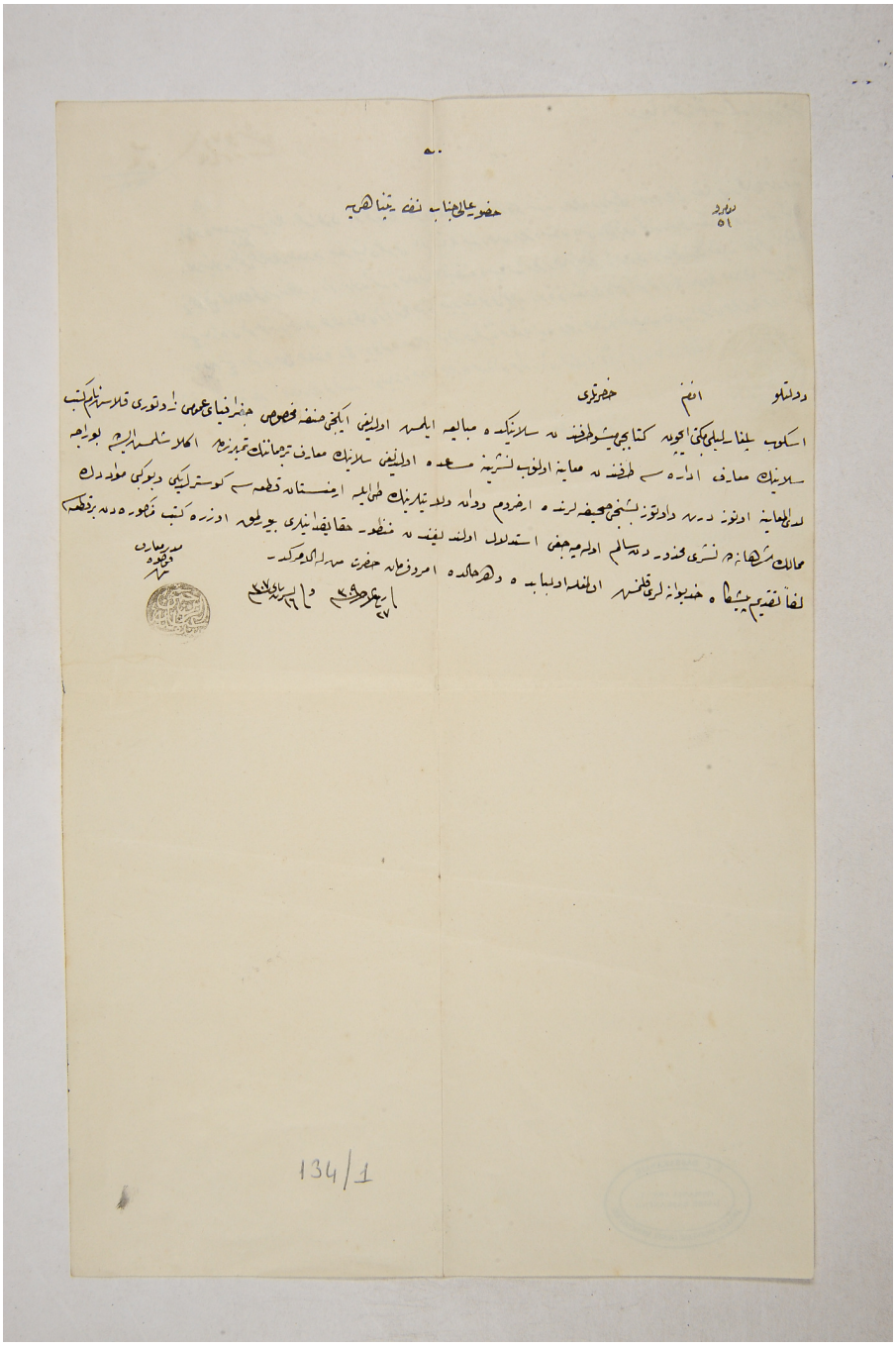
حفظ ورقه‌سی تنظم فلتان رخصتنامه ایله مستدعی سوی الیه تسلیم ایدلمش اولدیغندن حین طبعنده

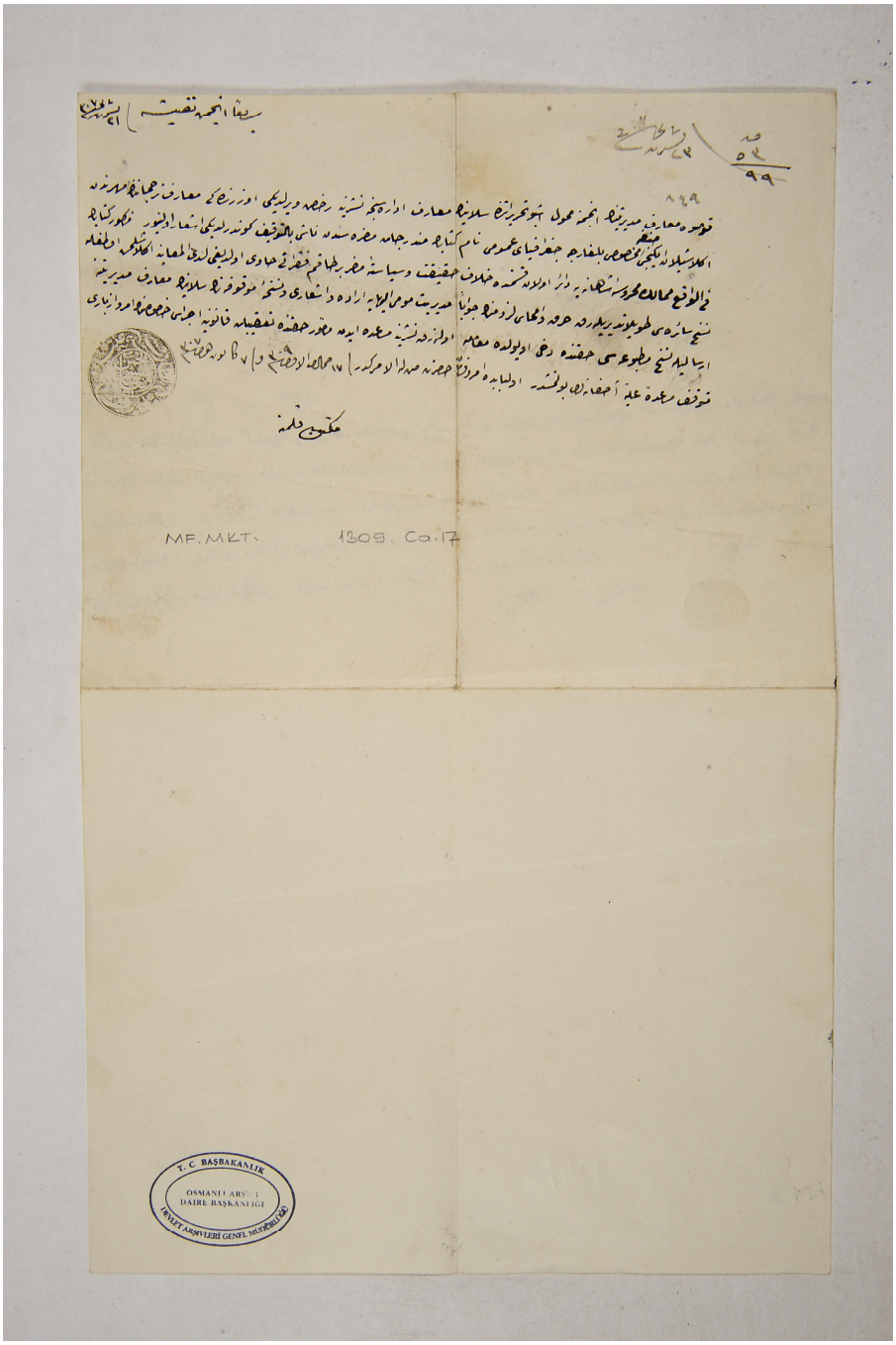
اصول متخذهٔ اخیریه توفیقاً مطبوعات داخلیه اداره‌سنجه لازم کلان معاملهٔ اجرا‌سی ایچون کیفیتك

صوب عالیٔ نظارتپناهیلریه اخباری اقتضا ونسخ مذکوره‌دن برقطعه‌سی لفاً اخطاره قلنمغله اولبابده

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9. BOA, MF.MKT, 134/1, 1309.Ca.17 (19 December 1891)

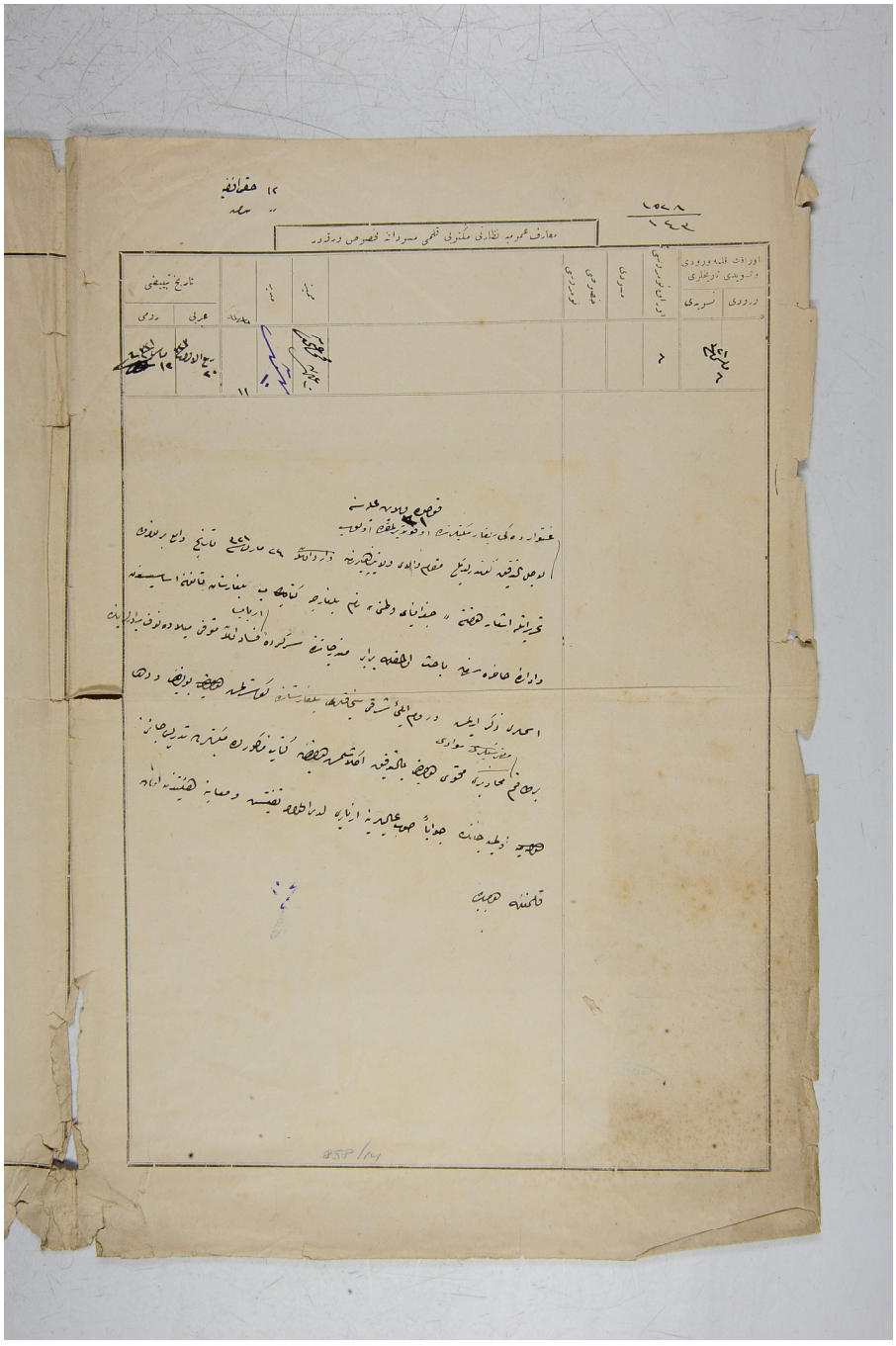




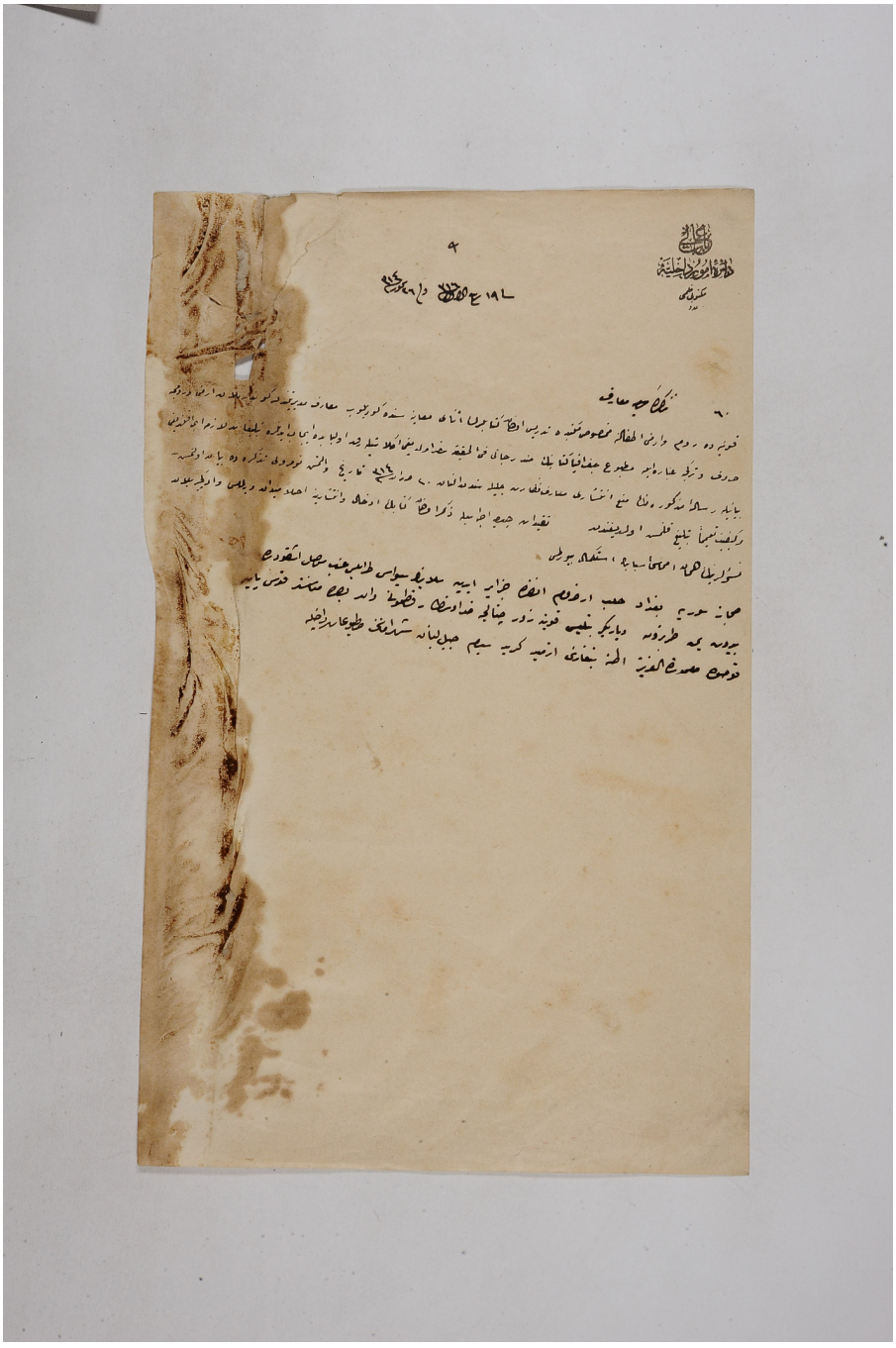
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T.C BAŞBAKANLIK
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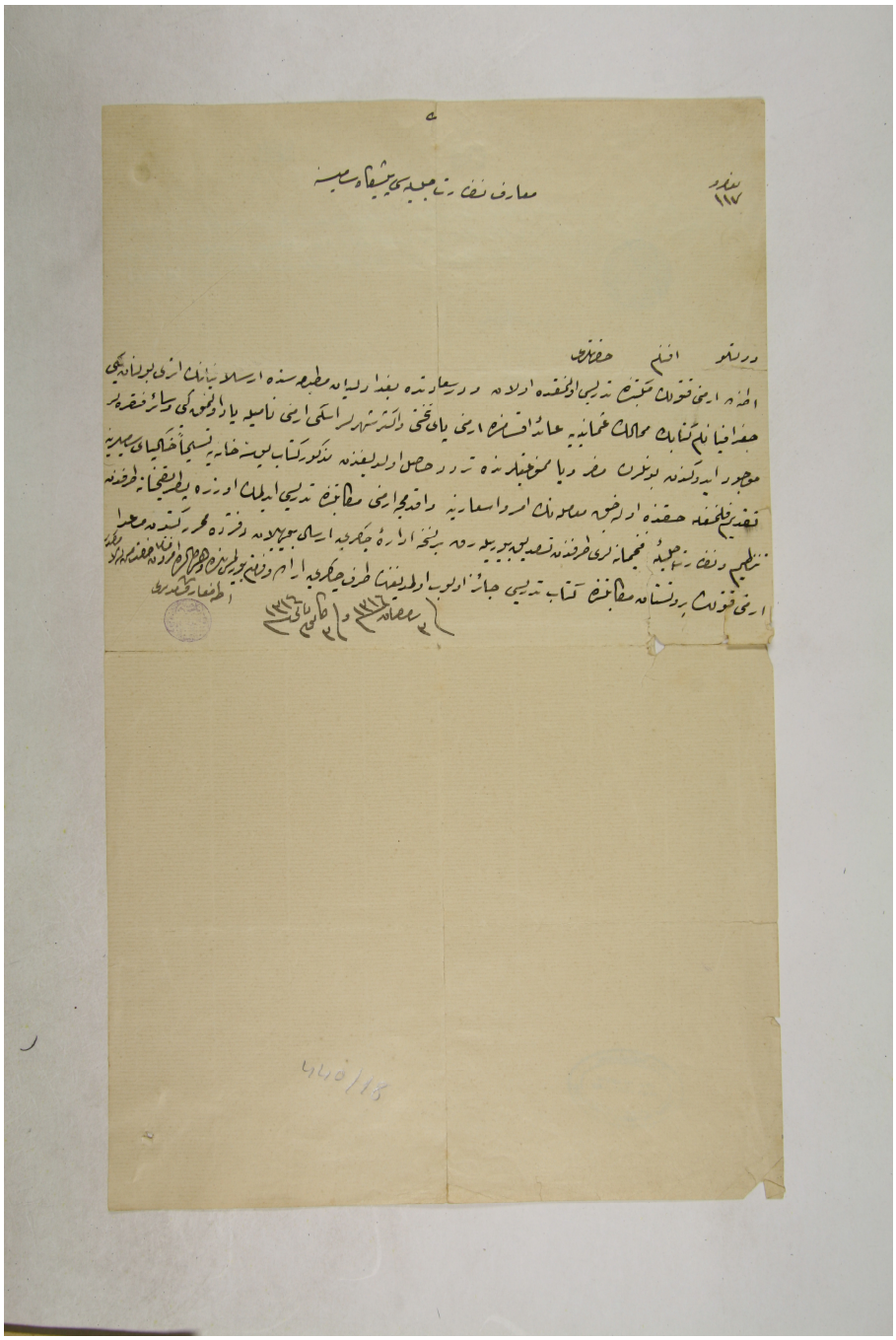
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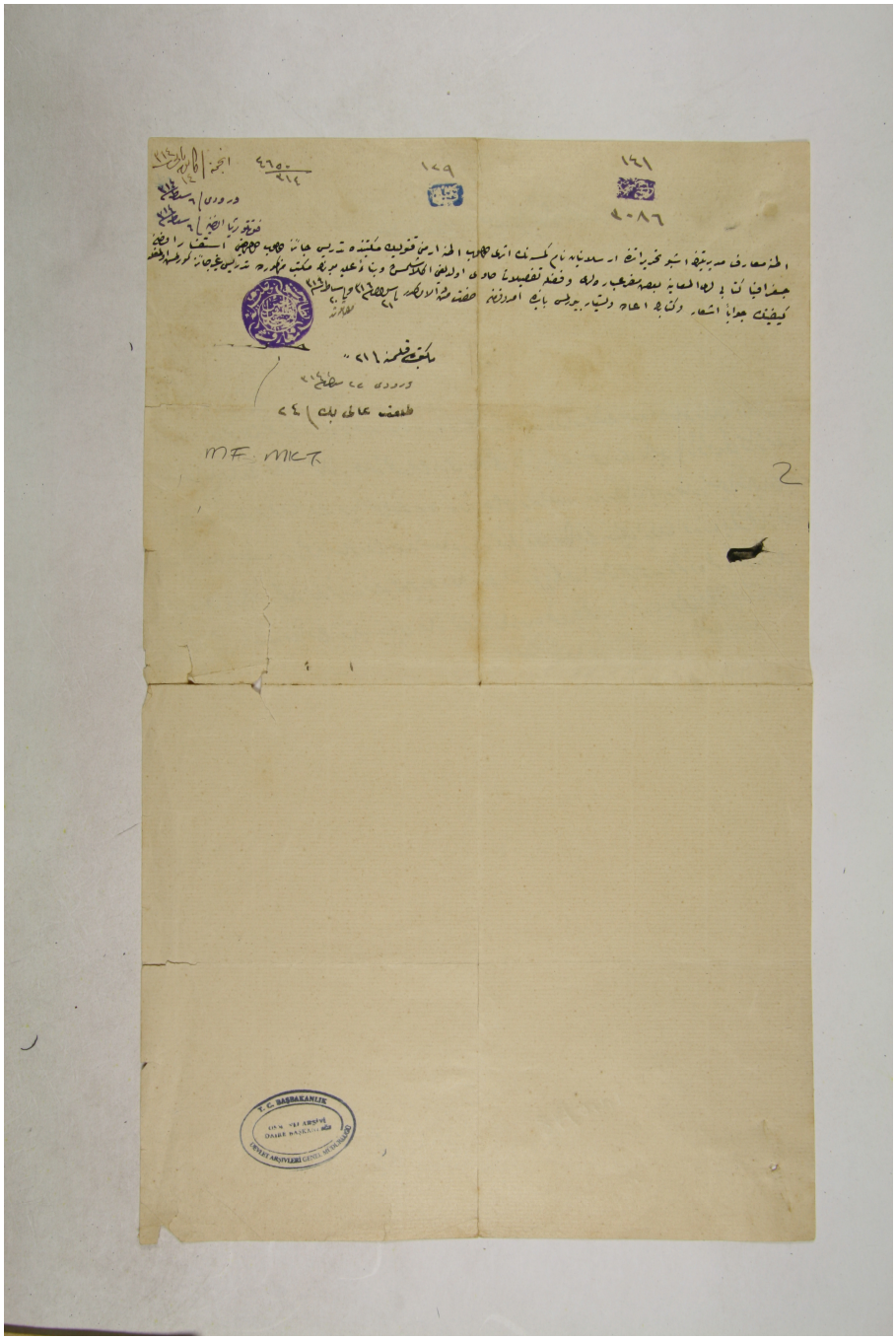


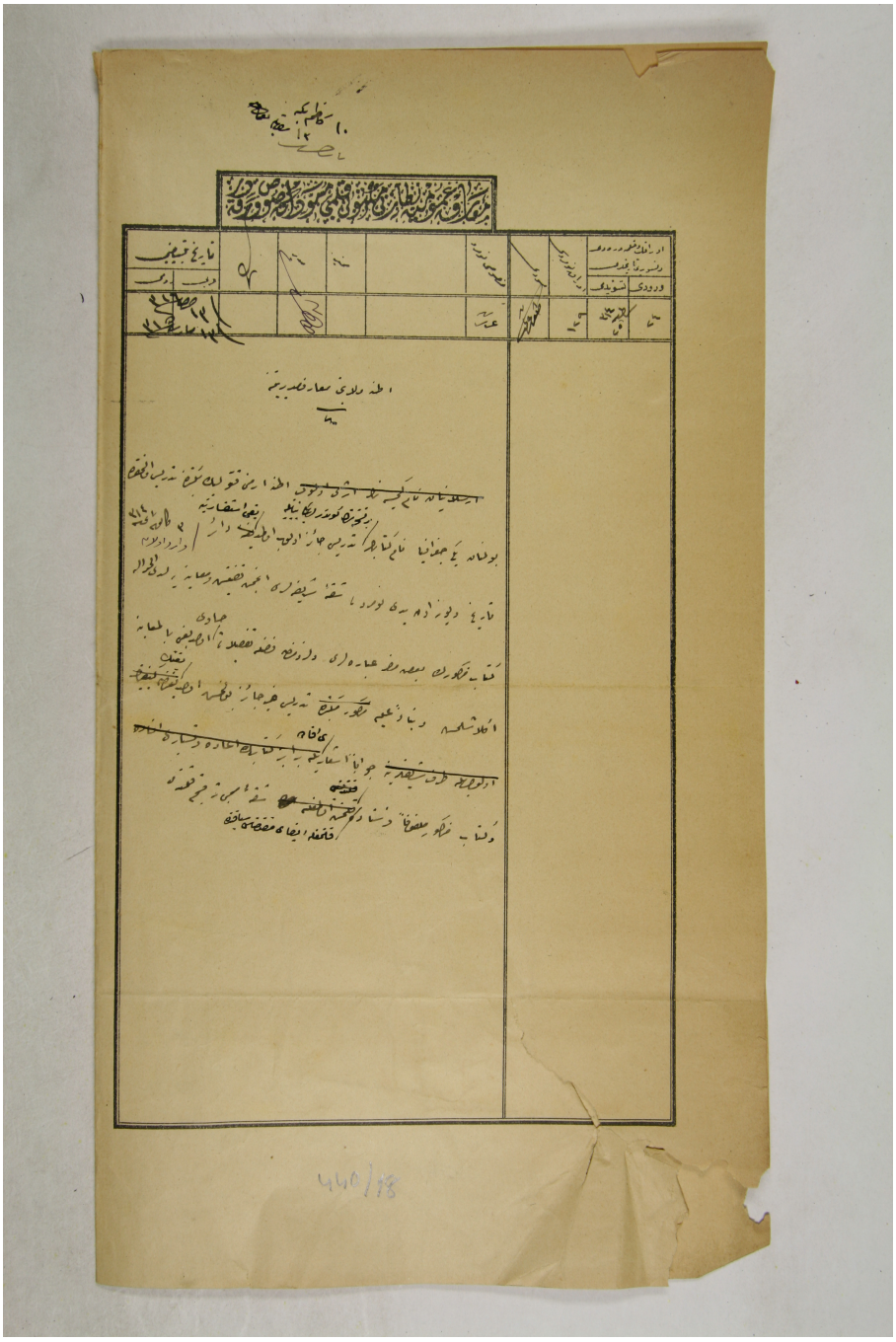
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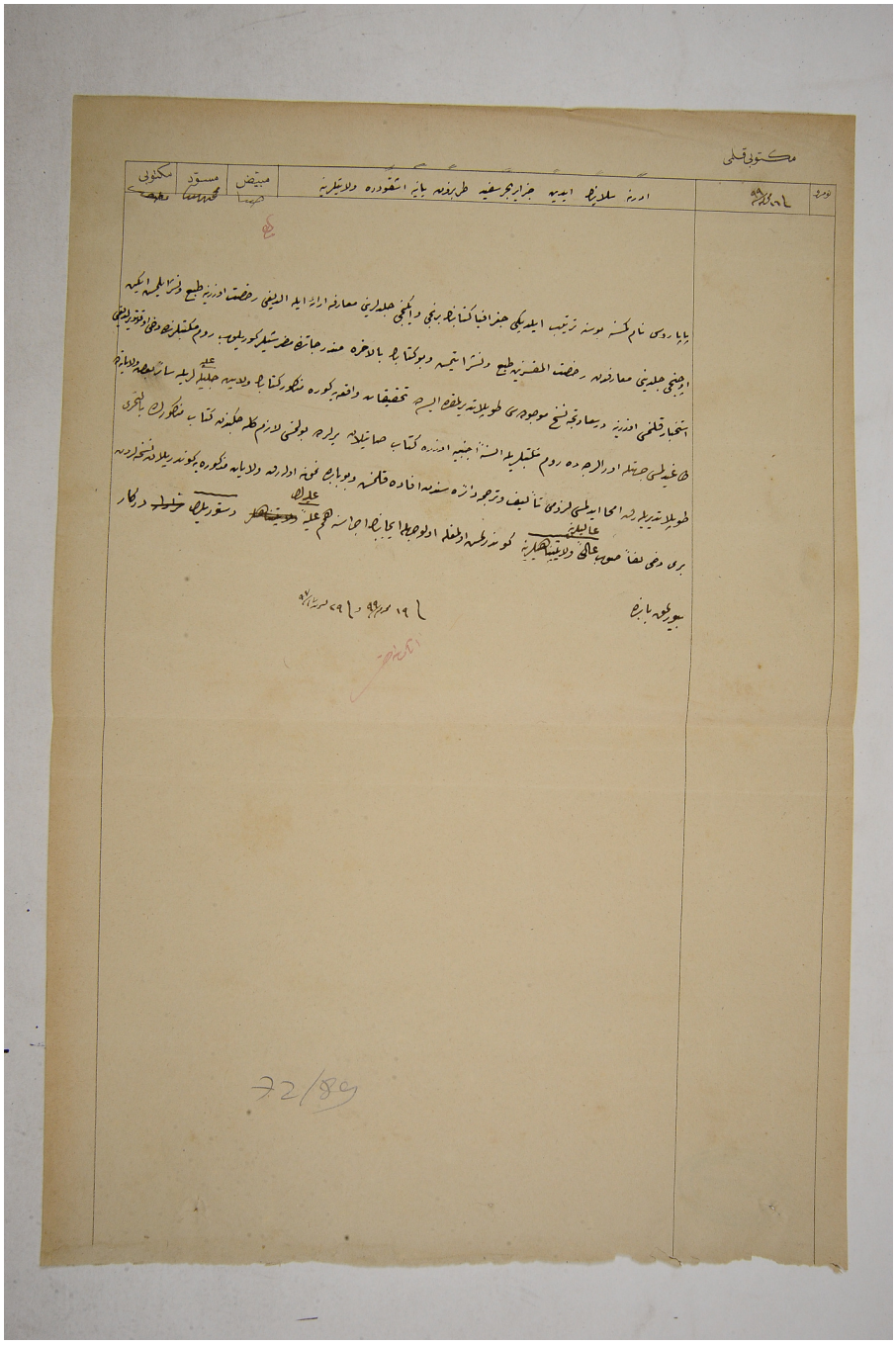
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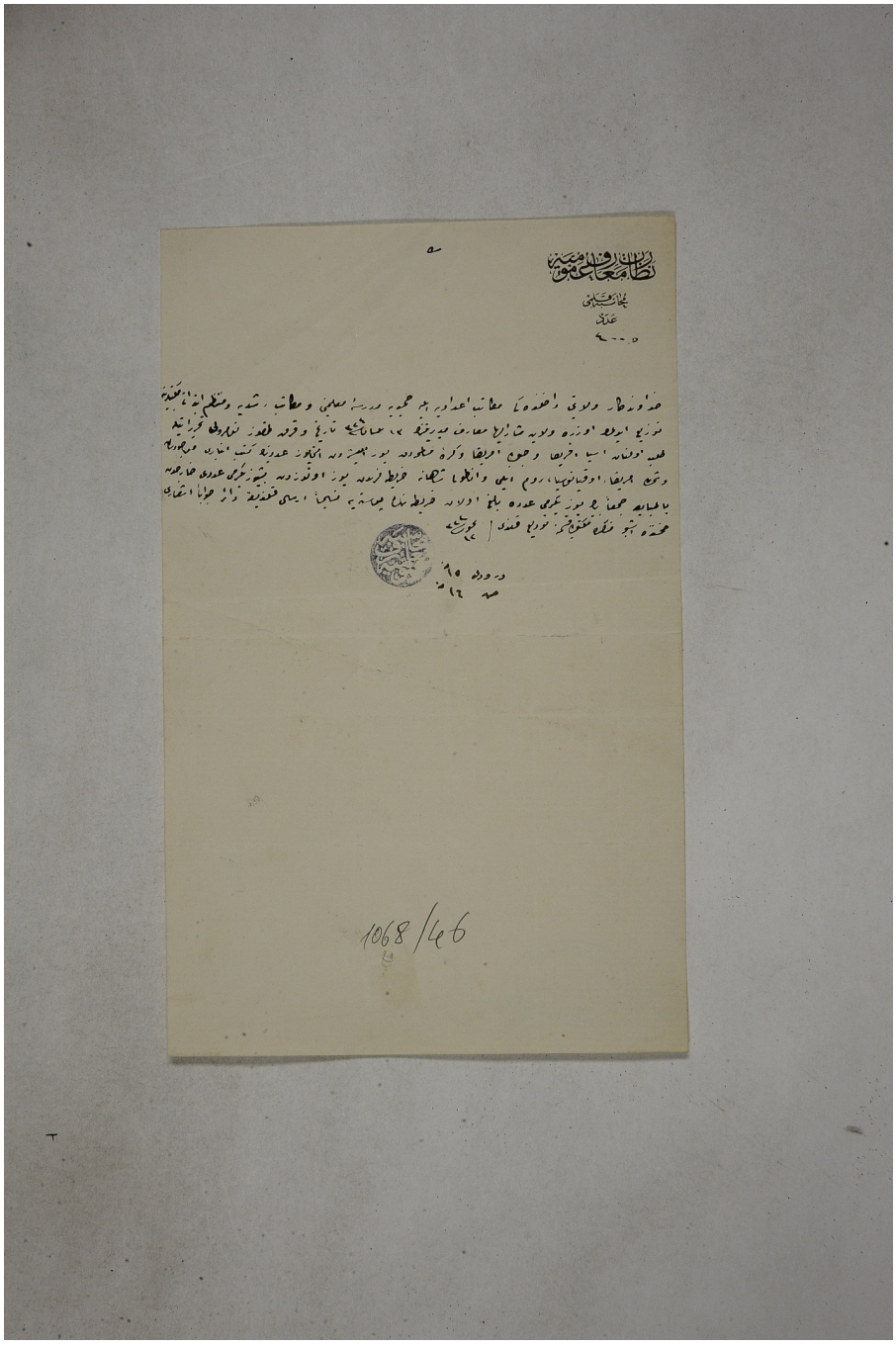




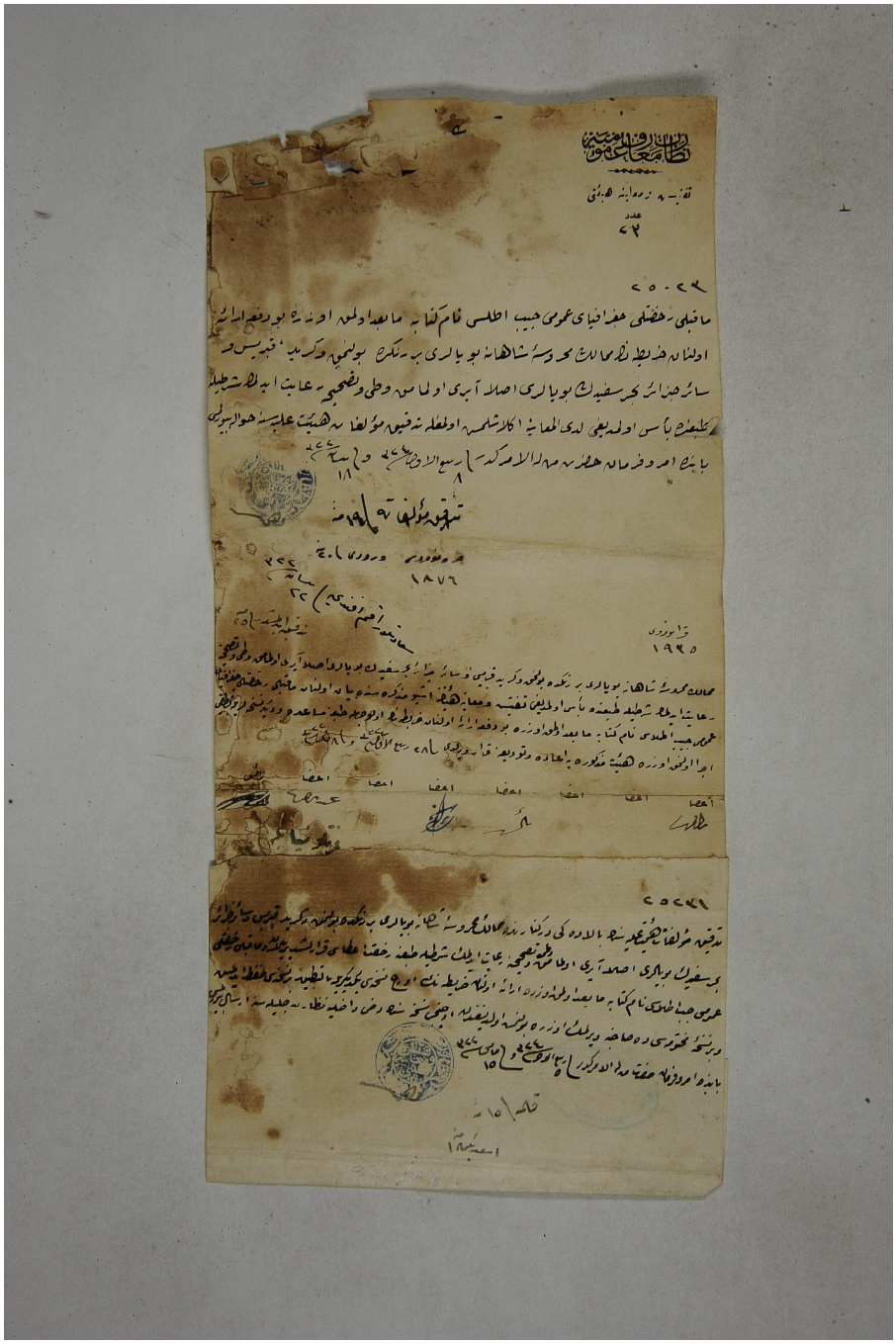
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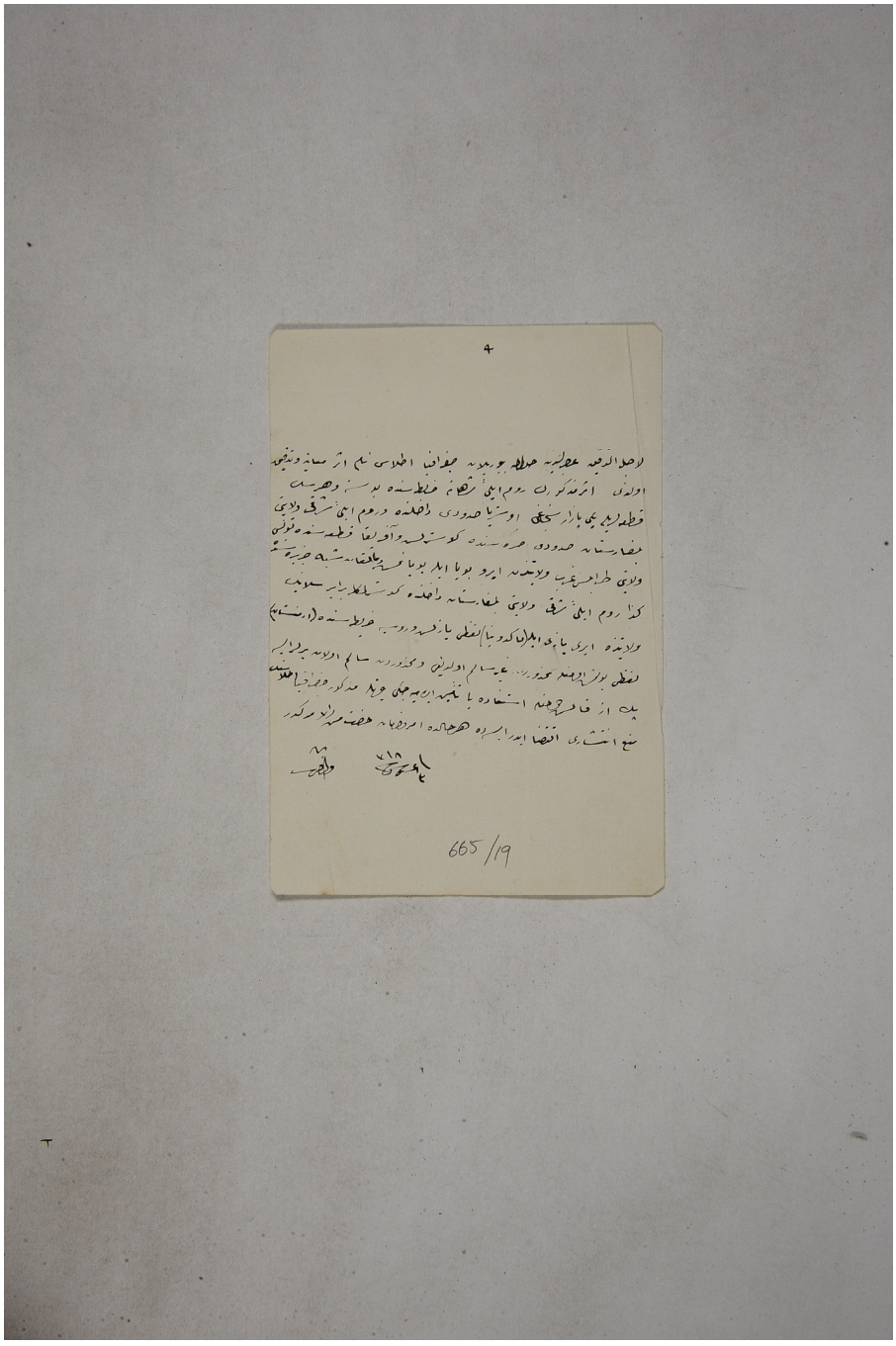
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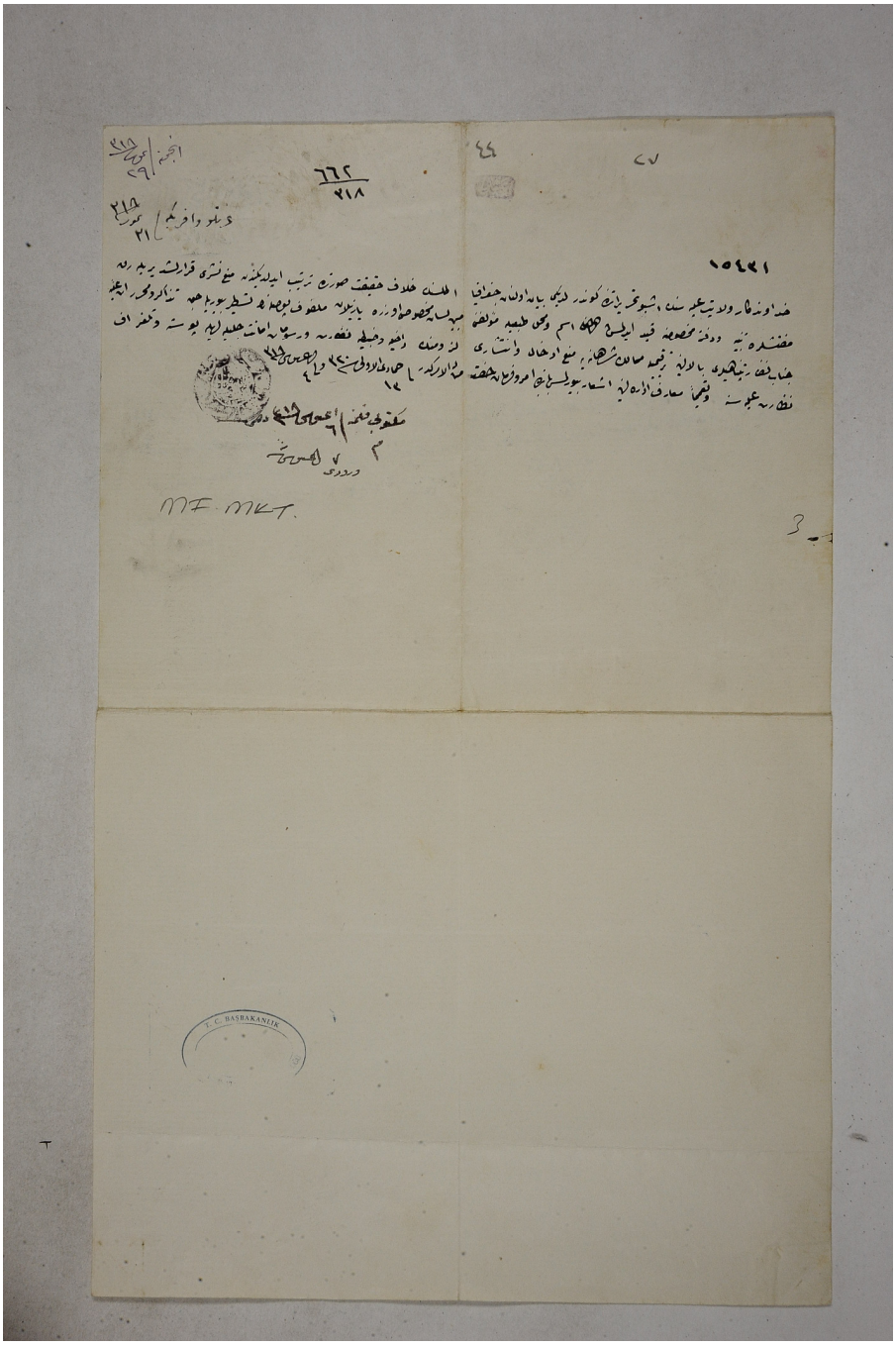


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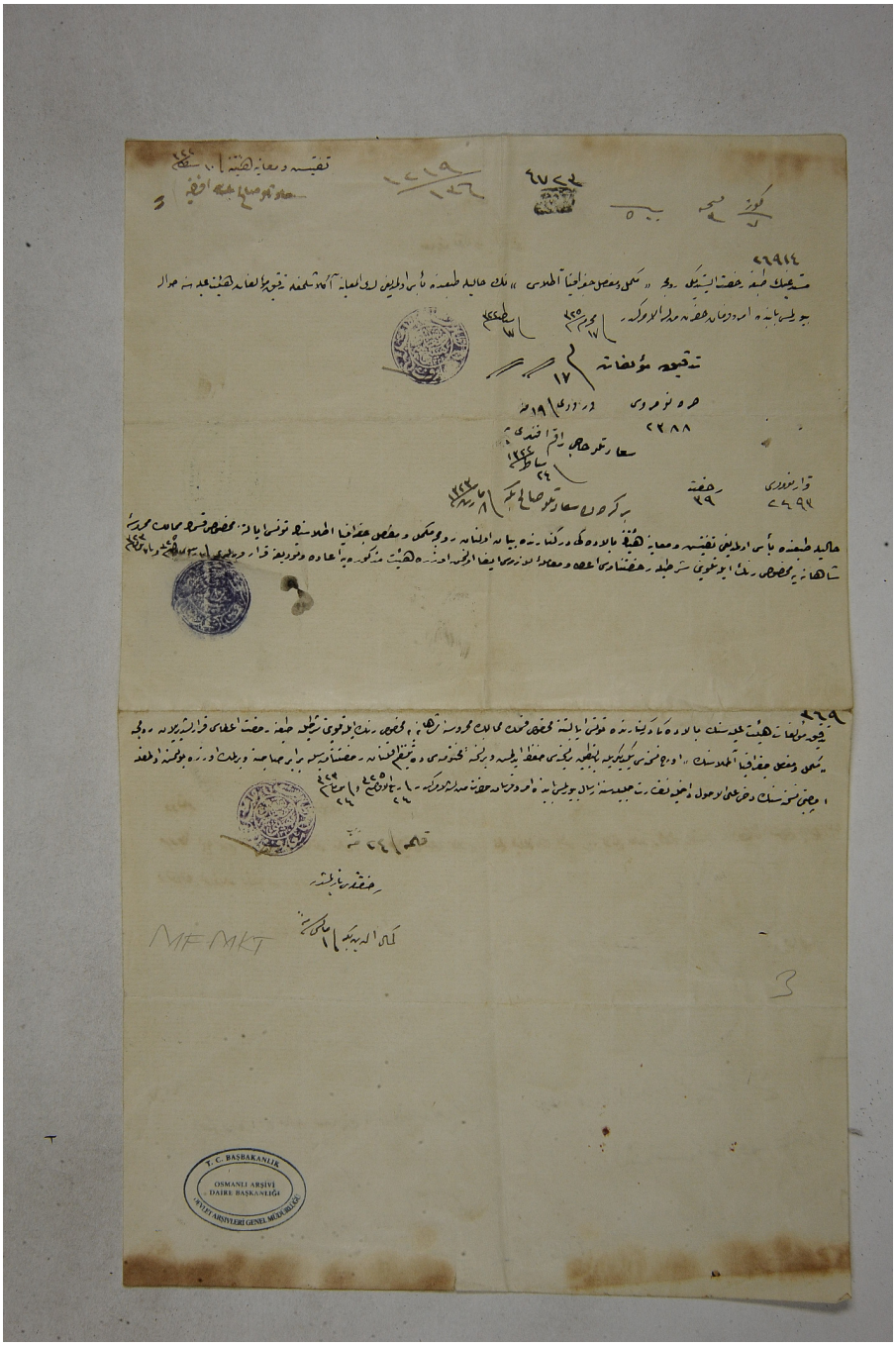


16. BOA, MF.MKT, 665/19, 1320.C.27 (30 September 1902)





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