

## MUSLIM PRIMARY EDUCATION IN NORTH DOBRUCA (IN THE 1860S-1870S)

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### **Abstract**

In the 1840s - 1870s the Ottoman reformers sought to actualize the Muslim education. Since they considered the Muslim primary education as an essential base of the training at the higher schools, my paper explored the available data about its network, the funding, the instruction and the enrolment rate of the pupils in North Dobruca. Despite the partial data about the urban mektebs, there was a certain development of the primary education in the towns. The interest of the pupils, girls and boys, towards the new-founded mektebs was due to the factors such as the adherence to the traditional values and social models and the opportunity of acquiring practical skills. The density of the village school network varied between 90-100%. The Muslims provided the construction costs by themselves, by minor loans from the capitals of the Public Benefits Bank, or by the sale of the ram furs. They failed to establish school funds in order to secure the mektebs' daily expense and the teachers' wages. The promotion of the actualized curriculum was related to the teachers' qualification and the actual enrolment rate in North Dobruca. Except few cases, the enrolment rate varied between one third and two thirds.

**Keywords:** North Dobruca, Muslim primary education, development

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Until 1864, the region of Dobruca belonged to the eyalet of Silistre. The kazas of Babadağ, Hırsova, Maçın and Tulça were under the sancak government of Silistre, and the kazas of Köstence, Mankalya, Hacıoğlu Pazarcık (modern Dobriç) and Balçık – under the sancak government of Varna. In order to settle the Crimean refugees, in 1854, the Ottomans founded the town of Mecidiye<sup>1</sup>. Reorganizing the eyalet of Silistre, Vidin and Niş into a new province, “the Danube Vilayet”, in October 1864, the reformers attached the kazas of Babadağ, Hırsova, Maçın, Köstence and Mecidiye to the new-founded sancak of Tulça. The kaza of Mankalya still was still governed by the kaymakam of the sancak of Varna. Today the former Ottoman districts of Babadağ, Hırsova, Köstence, Maçın, Mecidiye and Tulça are part of Romania. The kaza of Mankalya is divided between Bulgaria and Romania. I refer to these 7 districts as North Dobruca.

Complying with the Vilayet Law published on 8th October 1864 in the newspaper “Takvim-i Vekayi”, the local Ottoman administration of the North Dobruca strictly carried out the orders and the regulations of the Sublime Porte and various ministries. The kaza clerks reported to the sancak and vilayet officials on the issues completed or they appealed to them for assistance and advices<sup>2</sup>.

In the early 1870s, the population of North Dobruca numbered about 60530 male Muslim villagers and about 34800 male Non-Muslim villagers. The Muslim urban population amounted to 10419 male persons and the Non-Muslim one – to 9361 male persons. Embodying the imperial multiculturalism, the region housed Armenians, Bulgarians, Circassians, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Jews, Kazaks, Lipovans, Mokans, Moldovans, Noghays, Protestants, Tatars, Turks and Vlachs<sup>3</sup>.

In the 1860s – 1870s many Muslims of North Dobruca farmed land, bred livestock or fished. Some of them were craftsmen, shopkeepers, merchants or tax farmers<sup>4</sup>. Few Muslims joined the local administration. They

<sup>1</sup> *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye*, Defa 2, İstanbul: Daru’l-Matbaat-i Amire 1264 (1848/1849), p. 165,167, 181, 193, 205, 207, 211; C. J. Heywood, Medjidiye. *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Leiden-Brill, 2003, vol. 6, p. 972.

<sup>2</sup> Newspaper „Takvim-i Vekayi”, no. 773, 7 Cemaziyelevvel 1281 (8. 10. 1864).

<sup>3</sup> *Salname-i Vilayet-i Tuna*. Defa 6, Rusçuk: Tuna Vilayeti Matbaası 1290 (1873), s. 264-283, 304-309; National Library “Sts Cyril and Methodius”, Oriental Department (hereafter NLCM, Or. D.), D 490, p. 2; Vidin 8/85, p. 3-5, 8; Tulça 51/46, p. 6a-9a.

<sup>4</sup> The Ottoman documents evince that the Muslims of the region traded crops, tobacco, fabrics and wool. They practiced as watchmakers, innkeepers, blacksmiths, shoemakers,

served on the court, military, quarantine and telegraph posts, on mosque and school bodies or as shore and land patrolmen<sup>5</sup>. Besides the available general information<sup>6</sup>, there is a bulk of Ottoman documents about the Muslims' economic rhythm, their social and cultural life in the 1860s – 1870s, or in broader sense, during the Tanzimat period (1839-1876) when the modern European culture and the economic models slowly diffused into the daily routine of all Sultan's subjects. Facing with the challenges of the modernity, the Ottoman reformers sought to actualize the Muslim education and to establish a wide network of secondary schools (rüşdiyyes)<sup>7</sup>.

Since the Ottomans considered the primary education as an essential base of the training at the secondary schools, my paper explores the development of the Muslim elementary schools (mektebs) of North Dobruca in the 1860s-1870s, a process directed by the Ministry of Education.

Founded in 1856, the Ministry of Education acted to solve the problems specified by its predecessors: the Educational Commission at the Council of Public Work (established in 1838) and the Council of Public Education (established in 1846). Promulgating the Law of Public Education in September 1869, the Ministry prescribed the set up of provincial educational commissions which would effectuate its programs and regulations.

In the autumn of 1871, the General Council of the Danube Vilayet declared the necessity for a local educational commission. However, it was established two years later, in September 1873, and its local units spread in some kazas in the next few years<sup>8</sup>. Patterning its ideas on "The Guide-

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tailors, servants, boza-makers, builders, barbers, butchers, carpenters, cooks, coopers, confectioners, porters, gunsmiths, tinsmiths, boatmen, bakers, and makers of coffee, vinegar, axes, cart, or saddle (NLCM, Or. D., Babadağ 7/9; Vidin 13/53; Tulça 52/13, Tulça 57/10, Tulça 62/9, Tulça 62/13; F. 170A, a. u. 98; F. 171, a. u. 1225; F. 171A, a. e. 51; F. 173, a. e. 1; *Opis na osmanskite dokumenti za zanayatiie i turgoviyata*. Ed. Stefan Andreev, Sofia: NL "Sts Cyril and Methodius" 1993, p. 224, 299, 310, 317, 320, 351, 396, 404, 410, 417, 441, 444, 464, 469-470, 473, 548, 551, 562, 576, 584-586, 591-592, 620, 640, 667).

<sup>5</sup> "Salname-i...", 1290 (1873), s. 90-99.

<sup>6</sup> Müstecib Ülküsal offers general information about the Muslim settlements, economic and cultural life in Dobruca (Müstecib Ülküsal, *Dobruca ve Türkler*, Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü 1987).

<sup>7</sup> Margarita Dobрева, "Pupils' Instruction at the Rüşdiyyes in the Region of the Danube Vilayet during the 60s and 70s of Nineteenth Century", *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, 2012, 31, 61-85.

<sup>8</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 615, 3. 10. 1971; no. 809, 12. 9. 1873; Maarif Umumiye Nizamnamesi, m. 143, 146. (Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye'nin Eğitim Sistemi Gelişmesine Tarihi bir Bakış*, Ankara, 1964, s. 112).

book for Instructors (New Training Principals at the Mektebs)”, developed in 1870 by the Ministry of Education, the Vilayet Educational Commission drafted a specific “Regulation on the Training at the Mektebs of the Danube Vilayet”. Sanctioned by the Ministry of Education, the Regulation was sent out to all sancak and kaza centers of the Danube Vilayet in April 1874. It promoted the class instruction method and the establishment of primary schools of 150-200 children. According to the Regulation of 1874, the advanced students were taught by a teacher-in-chief and an assistant teacher, whereas the younger pupils memorized their actual lessons under the control of the advanced one (kalfa)<sup>9</sup>.

Besides the establishment of new mektebs, the central and local Ottoman government attempted to inspect the actual mekteb network, efficiently to provide their funding, to update the traditional instruction and to foster the pupils’ enrollment at the school. Surveying these main educational issues, I draw on Ottoman sources held at the Oriental Department by the National Library “Sts. Cyril and Methodius”, the yearbooks of the Danube vilayet or notes and reports of the newspaper “Danube”.

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There was no official regulation on the establishment of mektebs until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Throughout 15<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, their gradual spread all over the Balkans manifested the Muslims’ attempts to carry out one of their basic religious duties, notably to educate the youth, boys and girls, and to socialize them into the Muslim society. Some primary schools were financed by waqf revenues whose regular expenditures were overseen by the Imperial Treasury from the mid-1400s onwards<sup>10</sup>. The mekteb network of 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries was affected by various factors such as wars, fires or

<sup>9</sup> There were 7 mekteps of 150-200 pupils in the Danube Vilayet. Five of these were set up in Rusçuk (modern Russe), Samokov, Sofia, Provadiya and Tutrakan. (NLCM, Or. D., Ruse 76/4, p. 40; Newspaper “Danube”, no. 839, 2. 1. 1874; no. 1015, 15. 10. 1875; no. 1019, 5. 11. 1875; no. 1041, 28. 1. 1876; no. 1069, 12. 5. 1876; Aziz Berker, *Türkiye’de İlk Öğretim*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1945, p. 86-88; Selim Sabit, *Rehniüma-yi Muallimin. Sibyan Mekteplerine Mahsus Usul-i Tedrisiyye*. Istanbul: Daru’l-Matbaat-i Amire s. a.; *Salname-i Vilayet-i Tuna*. Defa 8, Rusçuk: Tuna Vilayeti matbaası 1293 (1876). s. 127; *Tuna Vilayeti Sibyan Mekteplerine Dair Talimat*. Rusçuk: Tuna Vilayeti matbaası 1291 (1874), m. 6, 8, 26).

<sup>10</sup> Orlin Sabev, *Osmanskite Uchilista v Balgarskite Zemi XV-XVIII vek*. Sofia: Lyubomadrie-Hronika 2001, p. 84.

natural disasters, the misuse of the waqf revenues or the infeasibility of the building's renovation. In order to surmount their negative effects upon the mekteb network, to legalize the new-founded elementary schools or the appointment of a new teacher, the local kadis and the waqf supervisors approached the central government<sup>11</sup>. Some examples of their correspondences are available even today, but many of them went lost.

Beside the elementary schools maintained by waqf revenues, there were mektebs set up by the local Muslim communities for their practical purposes. These rarely constituted an issue in the contacts between the local and central officials, since the assignments of the teachers and their remunerations were negotiated between the parents and the tutors themselves. The practice was mentioned in the Sultan Mahmud II's edict of 1822 dispatched to the kadi of Yenice Karasu (modern Genissea) and once again in his ferman of 1833 to the vali and all kadis in the eyalet of Bosna<sup>12</sup>.

It's likely that in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the kadis had neglected the supervision of the waqf schools. This provoked Mehmed Emin Behiç, a supporter of the Sultan Selim III, to appeal for a better control over the network. In 1839 the Educational Commission placed the same problem among the actual questions at issue<sup>13</sup>. Setting up the mixed provincial councils in the 1840s and making the kadis assist them<sup>14</sup>, the central government obliged all local officials to take care of the elementary schools and to guarantee the implementation of the educational initiatives. Either subsidized by waqfs or by the local Muslim communities, the urban or village mekteb network of North Dobruca is one of the essential, but also difficult points to be outlined.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. "Osmanските училшта..." p. 119; Margarita Dobрева, "Material Provision of Ottoman Teachers in Mektebs and Rüşdiyyes in the Danube Vilayet during the Tanzimat", *Études balkaniques*, 2010, 3, p. 118-121.

<sup>12</sup> Ismet Kasumović, *Školstvo i Obrazovanje u Bosanskom Ejaletu za Vrijeme Osmanske Uprava*. Mostar: Islamski Kulturni Centar 1999, p. 93; Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*. Brill 2001, p. 25.

<sup>13</sup> Kemal Beydili, "Küçük Kaynarca'dan Tanzimat'a Islahat Düşünceleri", *İlmi Araştırmalar*, 1999, 8, s. 42-43; Mahmud Cevat, *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcratı-XIX Asır Osmanlı Maarif Tarihi*. Haz: T. Kayaoğlu, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye 2001, s. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Musa Çadireci, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi 1997, s. 218-223; İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840-1880)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi 2000, s. 29-45.

### 1. Urban Network of Mektebs

Surveying the urban school network, I shall draw on letters and charts drafted by the local administration. I shall summarize the data in the 1869 yearbook of the Danube Vilayet, and these of 1872-1874 and of 1876-1877, as well (Figure I).

Schools in Town	1869 <sup>15</sup>	1872 <sup>16</sup>	1873 <sup>17</sup>	1874 <sup>18</sup>	1876 <sup>19</sup>	1877 <sup>20</sup>
Babadağ	5	5	4			
Hırsova	1	3	3			
Isakça			4	4	4	
Köstence	7 (Muslim and Non-Muslim)		1	4	4	4
Mankalya	3	2				
Maçın	2	2				
Mahmudiye			1	1	1	
Mecidiye	11	1				
Sünne	3 (Muslim and Non-Muslim)	3				
Tulça	15 (Muslim and Non-Muslim)	15 (Muslim and Non-Muslim)		3	3	

Figure I

In these two yearbooks, this one of 1869 and of 1872, the discussed data were entered under the heading “Houses, shops and public facilities”. This detail allows for the suggestion that both yearbooks primarily registered all school buildings, and not the actual schools in charge of the local council. A letter and a chart composed by the local clerks help the suggestion that both

<sup>15</sup> *Salname-i Vilayet-i Tuna*. Defa 2, Rusçuk: Tuna Vilayeti matbaası 1286 (1869), s. 110, 114.

<sup>16</sup> *Salname-i Vilayet-i Tuna*. Defa 5, Rusçuk: Tuna Vilayeti matbaası 1289 (1872), s. 111, 113.

<sup>17</sup> “*Salname-i...*”, 1290 (1873), s. 92-93, 98-99.

<sup>18</sup> *Salname-i Vilayet-i Tuna*. Defa 7, Rusçuk: Tuna Vilayeti matbaası 1291 (1874), s. 107, 109.

<sup>19</sup> “*Salname-i...*”, 1293 (1876), s. 114, 116.

<sup>20</sup> *Salname-i Vilayet-i Tuna*. Defa 9, Rusçuk: Tuna Vilayeti matbaası 1294 (1877), s. 104.

yearbooks listed the Muslim and Non-Muslim schools, as well. An undated chart of the population, schools and religious facilities in the town and the kaza of Köstence registered a church, 3 mosques and 7 schools in the town. Since the data coincide with these of the 1869 yearbook, I suppose the chart was drafted in 1867 or 1868. A register of population and taxes evinces that in 1867, there were an Armenian, Greek and Jewish quarter of between 18 and 41 dwellers in Köstence. The Bulgarians amounted to 7 persons. Although these three quarters were not densely populated, I suppose that every community sustained a school upon its own funds. A letter of 4<sup>th</sup> September 1872 imparts that there were 4 Muslim mektebs and 4 Non-Muslim schools in Köstence<sup>21</sup>. Summing up these details, I assume that the 1869 yearbook of the Danube Vilayet offers data about the Muslim and Non-Muslim education in the town of Köstence. The yearbook of 1874 and these of 1876-1877 listed only the mektebs. Perhaps, the number of the Muslim schools was wrongly entered into the 1873 yearbook and it referred to the rüşdiyye of Köstence founded in April 1871<sup>22</sup>.

The yearbooks of 1869 and 1872 communicate that there were 15 primary schools in Tulça. In 1867, there were 11 quarters in Tulça populated by Armenians, Bulgarians, Germans, Greeks, Jews, Kazaks, Lipovans, Moldovans, Poles, Protestants and Vlahs. Varying from 113 to 794 dwellers, the communities were to found an elementary school or two. Since the 1873 yearbook registered 519 male Muslims in the town of Tulça<sup>23</sup>, I suggest that there were few mektebs. So the data of 1869 and 1872 encompass the Muslim and Non-Muslim schools and that the data of 1874 and 1876 impart only the number of the Muslim schools.

A similar case is to notice in Sünne. The yearbooks of 1869 and of 1872 listed 3 schools. In 1867 there were 7 Armenians, 179 Bulgarians, 12 Jews, 23 Kazaks and 6 Moldovans in the town. Maybe, one or two of these communities set up schools. The 1873 yearbook registered only 34 Muslims or totally 10 Muslim households. An official letter of 27<sup>th</sup> February 1876 states that they were the families of the Ottoman clerks whose children went to the mekteb near the mosque<sup>24</sup>. So, at least one of the 3 schools belonged to the Muslim families.

<sup>21</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Tulça 51/46, p. 8a; E. 171, a. u. 443; E. 171, a. u. 676, p. 17b.

<sup>22</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 564, 7. 4. 1871.

<sup>23</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Tulça 51/46, p. 6a; "Salname-i...", 1290 (1873), s. 265;

<sup>24</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Tulça 51/46, p. 8a; E. 174, a. u. 413.

Since the register of 1867 listed 15 Muslim quarters and only 21 Non-Muslims dwellings in the town of Mecidiye, I presume that in the late 1860s, the mektebs, which were entered into the 1869 yearbook, really amounted to 11 schools. Identically to the case of Köstence, the number of the Muslim primary schools was wrongly recorded in the 1873 yearbook and it referred to the rüşdiyye of Mecidiye founded in March 1865<sup>25</sup>. In response to a letter of the sancak center, an official note of 1<sup>st</sup> February 1874 pointed out that there were 8 mektebs in Mecidiye<sup>26</sup>.

Some data inconsistencies are to notice in three more cases, namely Babadağ, Mankalya and of Hirsova. I hardly could hardly speculate on the causes, since the 1874 yearbook and this of 1876, both do not offer any information about the mektebs in these towns and there are no available documents drafted by the local Ottoman administration.

The sources at hand convey the Ottoman efforts to sustain and develop the urban mekteb network, as well. On his visit in 1868, the governor of the sancak of Tulça inspected the accountability of the waqf expenditures in Babadağ. He found out that the local accountants regularly portioned out an amount of 30 000 guruş, the revenues of the waqf of Ali Rıza Paşa<sup>27</sup>, among some persons who were not entitled to financial relief. He ordered that the local waqf supervisor lent various portions of the revenues and to spent the interest incomes on the mekteb and the high religious school (medrese) founded by the same paşa<sup>28</sup>.

In the autumn of 1868, two mektebs, one for girls and the other for boys, were set up in Maçin. These were funded with the amount bequeathed by Mestan ağa, a notable who passed away earlier in the year. Perhaps, the foundation of the girl school was inspired by the attempt of the vilayet officials to set up a vocational school (islahhane) for orphan girls in the vilayet centre Rusçuk. The vilayet initiative was announced in the newspaper "Danube" as late as 1<sup>st</sup> November 1867<sup>29</sup>. Since the Muslim dwellers of

<sup>25</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 173A, a. u. 370.

<sup>26</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Tulça 64/11, p. 25, 42; Tulça 51/46, p. 6a.

<sup>27</sup> Ali Rıza Paşa fought against the Habsburgs in the wars of 1601-1603. He served as governor-in-chief (vali) and beylerbey of Buda. Eventually, he discharged the duty of muhafiz of Hotin and mütesellim of Silistre, as well. The religious complex in Babadağ proves that he stayed in the town towards the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century (Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti 1981-1982, Cild 1, s. 11).

<sup>28</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 410, 14. 9. 1869.

<sup>29</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 223, 1. 11. 1867.



Tulça admired the idea of female schooling, in March 1869, they proposed to establish a particular girl school. The school building was completed in September 1869<sup>30</sup>. However there are no data about the instruction of the girls at the school.

Adhering to the Regulation of 1874, in early December 1874, the Muslims of Tulça founded a mekteb of 150-200 pupils<sup>31</sup>. Before November 1875, the local Educational Commission of Mankalya opened a similar school in the town<sup>32</sup>. It's likely that in September 1874, the Muslims of Babadağ initiated the establishment of a mekteb of 150-200 pupils. Their main concerns were related to the provision of a proper financing<sup>33</sup>. Perhaps, the mekteb's construction which the Muslims of Isakça initiated in the summer of 1874 could also be associated with the attempts to actualize the elementary instruction. This primary school was opened before 18<sup>th</sup> December 1874<sup>34</sup>. The available sources shed no light as to whether the local officials and the Muslim notables of Köstence, Maçin and Hirsova sought to constitute educational commissions and to set up schools of 150-200 pupils.

## 2. The Village Network of Mektebs

The Law of Public Education of 1869 obliged the Muslim villagers to provide at least one school building whose rooms could hold all girls between 6 and 10 years of age and the boys between 7 and 11 years of age<sup>35</sup>. Essentially paying attention to the number of the mektebs and the pupils, in the 1870s, the Ministry of Education endeavored to inspect the village school network. The available documents, drafted by the local clerks throughout the inspection, provide information about the school network in 4 kazas of North Dobruca, notably the kaza of Babadağ, Hirsova, Köstence and Maçin.

<sup>30</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 364, 30. 3. 1869; no. 411, 17. 9. 1869; NLCM, Or. D., F. 169, a. u. 2955, p. 10a-b.

<sup>31</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 932, 15. 12. 1874.

<sup>32</sup> The chairman of the commission in Mankalya was Hakim effendi. He was assisted by Salih ağa, by 3 members (Abas bey, Ahmed bey, Ismail efendi), the bookkeeper Nuri effendi and the scribe Mustafa effendi (Newspaper "Danube", no. 1019, 5. 11. 1875; "Salname...", 1293 (1876), s. 130; "Salname...", 1294 (1877), s. 100).

<sup>33</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 169, a. u. 2972, p. 41.

<sup>34</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 169, a. u. 2971, p. 11b; F. 112, a. u. 3352, p. 143; Newspaper "Danube", no. 1037, 14. 1. 1876.

<sup>35</sup> Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi, m. 3, 9. (e.g. "Türkiye'nin Eğitimi...", s. 96-97).

A register of 1<sup>st</sup> - 8<sup>th</sup> October 1870 emphasizes that there were a school or two in 11 of all 57 villages in the kaza of Babadağ. The teachers instructed the Turkish, Tatar, Circassian or Noghay pupils and served as imams, as well. Only 4 villages had school buildings, whereas almost all teachers held lessons at their own houses (Appendix I)<sup>36</sup>. A list composed as early as April 1872 evinces that particular school buildings were to be constructed in all 32 Muslim villages in the kaza of Hirsova. A teacher or two trained the Turkish, Tatar or Circassian pupils in every single village (Appendix II)<sup>37</sup>. The school inspection of March-April 1874 demonstrates that there was at least a mekteb in 13 of all 14 Muslim villages in the kaza of Maçın and the number of the pupils who were to be enrolled at the mektebs varied between 30 and 82 children (Appendix III)<sup>38</sup>. In order to inform the sancak and vilayet officials about the number of the primary schools and the pupils in the kaza, as early as 8<sup>th</sup> August 1872, the local administration of Köstence sent off a chart containing the required details. According to the data, there was a school, or even several mektebs, in 30 of all 33 Muslim villages in the kaza of Köstence (Appendix IV)<sup>39</sup>.

Comparing the total number of the villages in the kaza of Hirsova, Köstence or Maçın to the number of the villages which sustained at least a school in the same kazas, I would like to emphasize that the density of the village school network varied between 90-100%. The high density allows for the suggestion that there was a school or two in all villages in the kaza of Babadağ.

The chart of 8<sup>th</sup> August 1872 offers information about the number of the households in the villages of the kaza of Köstence, as well. The details demonstrate that except the village of Tekfürköy and of Kara Harman, almost all villages of between 12-122 households maintained only one school. All villages of between 130 and 170 households had two mektebs, except the village of Nedirca. The schools varied between 2 and 3 mektebs in all villages of more than 200 households. The comparison evinces that in the kaza of Köstence the number of the village schools depended on the number Muslim households.

Another list of 1867-1868 sheds light on the density of the mekteb net-

<sup>36</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Şumen 41/3.

<sup>37</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 175A, a. u. 99.

<sup>38</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Tulça 55/20, p. 84, 109.

<sup>39</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 171, a. u. 676, p. 17.

work in the kaza of Köstence<sup>40</sup>. The close examination of the data proves that the villages of more than 230 households sustained 5 or 6 mektebs, and these of between 17 and 76 households had a school or two. The villages of between 81-95 households tended to maintain two schools. There was no clear correlation between the number of the households and these of the schools in the villages of between 108 and 155 families. Except the village of Kargalık-i Sağır, the mektebs varied between 1 and 3 schools (Appendix V).

The comparison between the chart of 1872 and this of 1867-1868 shows that the number of the households and of the schools mutually decreased in 5 cases. Although the households increased in 10 villages, the number of the schools got lower. Despite the population variance, the number of the schools was constant in other 10 villages. There are no details to cast light on the demographic, economic and social profiles of the villages under survey at now. It is likely that sometimes the number of the schools was determined by multiple local agents, which were valid for a single village. These varied from the village's topography, the children rate and families' social and economic status to the actual attitude to the education. Perhaps, in some cases, the registered decrease was caused by the construction of larger school building.

### **3. The Construction and Renovation of the Mektebs**

In 1830s, the Ottoman efforts towards the educational development aimed at the reconstruction of the mektep buildings. In 1850s-1860s, the Ministry of Education considered this issue among their priorities, as well<sup>41</sup>. The sources on the school construction and renovation in North Dobruca shed light on the Muslims' engagement in the activities in the 1870s. The Law of Public Education of 1869 stipulated that the financing of the school construction and the renovation should be provided by waqf revenues or by the local Muslim community<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> NİCM, Or. D., E. 171, a. u. 443.

<sup>41</sup> BOA, A. MKT, MHİM Dosya 135 Gömlek 93, 20. 7. 1858; A. MKT, MHİM, Dosya 168 Gömlek 1, 19, 10. 1859; İ. DH, Dosya 481 Gömlek 32359, 16. 11. 1861; MVL Dosya 724 Gömlek 82, 11. 9. 1866.

<sup>42</sup> Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi, m. 4, 198. (e.g. "Türkiye'nin Eğitim...", s. 96, 119).

In 1868, the amount bequeathed by Mestan ağa served to buy a building for the girl school in Maçın and then to repair it<sup>43</sup>. By the spring of 1876, the Muslim villagers in the kaza of Mankalya already had already renovated the school buildings by their own, inspired by the actual training at the new-founded elementary school in Mankalya. Meanwhile, the village notable of Gerencik paid for the construction of a mekteb, and for the text books, he sent out to the pupils there. In order to provide the teacher wage, he endowed an amount lent at interest<sup>44</sup>.

In order to meet the construction costs, the Muslims of North Dobruca utilized the revenues from the furs of the rams which they sacrificed on the occasion of Eid al-Adha. They financed the construction by the interest incomes accumulated by lending of the capital of the Public Benefits Bank (*Menafi Sandığı*), as well. Perhaps, for the purpose of raising a school of 150-200 children, in October 1874, the sancak accounting department approved a loan of 5000 guruş from the capital of the Public Benefits Bank to the Muslim dwellers of Babadağ<sup>45</sup>. In March 1874 the vilayet accounting department granted for the construction of a new e school in Tulça only 5 000 guruş from the total of 15 942 guruş provided by the sale of ram furs. The lent amount consisted of 1 833½ guruş from the fur sale in Tulça and 3 169½ guruş from the fur sale in Mahmudiye. If larger financing was needed, it was to be supplied by the Muslims in the town of Tulça<sup>46</sup>.

In 1870s, the Ottoman government encouraged or obliged the Crimean and Circassian refugees to raise a school building in their settlements all over North Dobruca. Once the administrative correspondence on the construction was initiated by the village notables, it was scrutinized by many kaza, sancak and vilayet officials and approved by their resolutions. It consisted of an application letter which declared the need for the particular school building, of a detailed budget developed by a technical advisor, a report on the number of the households and on the dimensions of the building. The report gave an account about the construction materials which the refugees should deliver by themselves and about the amount allotted by the Vilayet Refugee Commission. The allocated financial aid depended on the villages' particular tithe revenues deposited in the Com-

<sup>43</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 169, a. u. 2955, p. 10a-b.

<sup>44</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 1069, 12. 5. 1876.

<sup>45</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 169, a. u. 2971, p. 11b.

<sup>46</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 112, a. u. 4056, p. 13.

mission. The aid primarily served to remunerate the builders. By various reasons the commission could require further details on the village and on the construction. It could order the refugees to build a smaller school. Such an approach failed to grant the necessary construction permission as soon as possible. Perhaps, in order to avoid the complicated administrative correspondence and to carry out one of their religious duties, the notables of village Karcalar and village Timurcu Islam endowed the total amount necessary for the construction<sup>47</sup>.

#### 4. The Funding and the Salaries of the Teachers

As prescribed by the Law of Public Education of 1869, the teachers, remuneration, the daily expenses on drink water, wood, coal or mats should be provided by waqf revenues or by the local community. Patterning on the actual French model of sustaining the primary schools, the Ottoman officials specified the purpose of the school funds which should be provided in all kazas. These were projected to secure the remunerations of the teachers and to reimburse the daily expenses. Their capital should be raised by all Muslims in towns or villages<sup>48</sup>. In September 1871, the General Council of the Danube Vilayet stated that the local Educational Commissions should control the school funds and that they should levy 12.82 kg of wheat on every yoke of oxen kept by the Muslim farmers for plowing. The farmers could pay off cash the tax, as well<sup>49</sup>.

In August 1872, the Ministry of Education obliged every Muslim farmer to deposit in the local school fund a volume of crops, which equaled 10% of his personal tithe share. The landless villagers should assist different public works and their daily wages were to be allocated to the fund<sup>50</sup>. The available sources cast no light as to whether both initiatives were effectuated in North Dobruca. However, as early as in September 1872, the vilayet newspaper "Danube" reported that the Muslim farmers regarded

<sup>47</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 172, a. u. 87, p. 6a, 92; Tulça 55/20, p. 50b; F. 169, a. u. 3014.

<sup>48</sup> Towards the end of 1847 the Ottomans declared that they sought to pattern the Muslim education on the actual French model. (Newspaper "Takvim-i Vekayi", no. 361, 11 Muharrem 1264 (19. 12. 1847); Solomon Frumov, *Frantzuzkaya shkola i borba za eyo demokratizatsiya (1850-1870)*. Moscow: Nauka i izkustvo 1960, p. 58-72, 100, 128; Marif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi, m. 197, e.g. "Türkiye'nin Eğitimi...", s. 118).

<sup>49</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 615, 3. 10. 1871.

<sup>50</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 173, a. u. 559, p. 14; Newspaper "Danube", no. 708, 6. 9. 1872.

the cultivation of extra crops and their allocation to the school funds as a heavy burden, and respectively that there was a certain public reluctance to carry out the actual appeal of the Ministry of Education<sup>51</sup>.

In September 1876, the Ministry of Education dispatched a new instruction to all vilayet, sancak and kaza councils. It compelled the urban and village farmers to sow an Istanbul kile of wheat (25.64 kg) as “a tax” on every yoke of oxen. After paying the regular tithe, they should donate the cash revenues of the yielded harvest to the local school fund<sup>52</sup>. The Muslims in the kaza of Mankalya did not demonstrate much enthusiasm for carrying out the order. In February 1877, they petitioned the sancak administration of Varna to release them from this charge, since they provided carts, horses, mules and oats for the army, and since they were endangered by famine because of the last poor harvest. They emphasized also that the villages suffered a lack of farmers, since the young Muslims were enlisted in the army<sup>53</sup>. The sources at hand impart no information whether the request was approved or not.

In response to the initiative of September 1876, the officials of Köstence emphasized that the farmers in the region ploughed with 4 yokes of oxen. However, the plots were sown in February or in March. By good weather they could yield about 16 000 Istanbul kiles of wheat next year<sup>54</sup>. In the spring of 1877, the vanishing imperial future linked the attention of the local officials to the Russo-Ottoman war, and the attempt to raise capital for the local school funds failed in the region of North Dobruca.

This fact allows for the conclusion that the teachers still were still remunerated by the waqf incomes and by the parents who enrolled their children at the mektebs. The Law of Public Education laid down that their annual salaries should vary between 600 and 900 guruş. The Regulation of 1874 guaranteed an annual remuneration of between 2400 and 3600 guruş to the teacher-in-chief. The wage of his assistant varied between 1800 and 3000 guruş<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Newspaper “*Danube*”, no. 708, 6. 9. 1872.

<sup>52</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Silistre 27/1, p. 1; F. 26A, a. u. 3302; Newspaper “*Danube*”, no. 1108, 26. 09. 1876.

<sup>53</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Varna 24/9.

<sup>54</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 169, a. u. 2735.

<sup>55</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 112, a. u. 3345, p. 7; “*Tuna Vilayeti Sibyan...*”, m. 8; Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi, m. 198. (e.g. “*Türkiye'nin Eğitimi...*”, s. 119).

The data about the teachers' wages in cash and kind are scarce. In 1875-1876, the local Educational Commission of Mankalya paid the teacher of the new-established school 1800 guruş per year<sup>56</sup>. While Hafız Mehmed Efendi served as imam and hatip in "Aziziye" mosque of Sünne and instructed the pupils at the mekteb, his annual wage amounted to 4800 guruş. From February 1872 to April 1874 it was paid by the wealthy Muslims, since the Ministry of Education delayed issuing his appointment certificate<sup>57</sup>.

Serving also as imams in 9 villages in the kaza of Babadağ, in the autumn of 1870, other 14 teachers were remunerated by different volumes of wheat, barley, millet, rye and maize. Although each of the crops was utilized in different way, the scribe added up their volumes and registered the total as an annual wage (Appendix I). The teacher of village Çukurova earned 300 guruş per year and this one of village Hacilar depended on the free aid of the Muslims<sup>58</sup>.

Comparing the wage of the teacher and the number of the pupils at each of the village schools, I did not notice any proportionality between both variables. In some cases, the wages extremely differed from one to another despite the pupils equaled in number. For instance, the Tatar teacher in the village of Sebil and both Circassian teachers in the village of Armutlu and of Ortaköy got respectively 8, 14 and 23.5 kiles of crops. However, every one of them instructed 10 pupils. The Circassian teachers in the village of Ak Kadın and of Çineli earned 15 kiles of crops, and the local Muslim teachers in the village of Ak Kadın and of Kongaz – respectively 17.5 and 22.5 kiles of crops. Each of them trained 20 pupils. Both examples allow for the suggestion that the teachers' salaries depended on the number of the families who had enrolled their children at the mektebs, on the economic and social status of these households, or at least on the actual harvest.

As early as April 1872, the officials of Hirsova planned the annual wages of 32 village teachers in the kaza<sup>59</sup>. The comparison between the projected salaries and both amounts stipulated by the Law of 1869 evinces that the planned wages were higher. It's likely that the Ministry of Education once again actualized the remuneration of the teachers after September 1869.

<sup>56</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 1019, 5. 11. 1875; Newspaper "Danube", no. 1069, 12. 5. 1876.

<sup>57</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 112, a. u. 3181, p. 258; F. 112, a. u. 1351, p. 2a.

<sup>58</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Şumen 41/3.

<sup>59</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 175A, a. u. 99.

There is an undated chart about the teachers' planned wages in the same kaza, as well<sup>60</sup>. The comparison between each pair of the projected salaries demonstrates that the undated chart registered lower wages beside two cases, the teachers' salaries in the village of Tekeli and this in the village of Şerin. It is impossible to find out which of both salaries was planned earlier. Perhaps, in 1872 the local Ottoman government suggested higher wages, but these were not to be provided by the Muslim villagers and were reduced. However, if the lower salaries declared the initial intention of the villagers to remunerate the teachers, I should consider these of April 1872 as increased (Appendix II).

Surveying the planned wages of April 1872 and the households' number registered in the 1873 yearbook<sup>61</sup>, I have noticed that there was no correlation between both variables. Also, there was no proportionality between the wages of the undated chart and the number of the households in the same yearbook. It is impossible to argue that the villages of 49 or of 140 households could provide same wages.

A register drafted in 1877 enables me to examine as to whether there was a correlation between the proposed wages and the economic status of Muslim families. The register casts light on the values of estates and tracts in 10 villages of the kaza of Hırsovo (Maslah bey, Karabelit, Satıcı, Kartal, Çatal orman, Tekeli, Kalya, Boğazcık, Dülger and Mehmedçe)<sup>62</sup>. Summing up the financial data about the village houses, shops or craft shops, pens, stack yards, mills, plots, woodlands and vineyards, I would define 5 groups of villagers (Figure II).

<b>Families</b>	<b>Values of the Estates and the Tracts</b>
Under propertied	They had neither house nor land
Propertied	1-7999 guruş
Up-propertied	8000-15999 guruş
Rich	16000-24999 guruş
Very rich	Over 25000 guruş

Figure II

<sup>60</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 175A, a. u. 102.

<sup>61</sup> "Salname-i...", 1290 (1873), s. 274-277.

<sup>62</sup> NLCM, Or. D., D 696, p. 1-58, 69-80, 105-144.



In April 1872 the local officials awarded a wage of 1400 guruş for every teacher in village Maslah bey, Çatal orman, Dülger, and Tekeli. The 1873 yearbook imparts that there were respectively 54, 74, 80, 94 Muslim households<sup>63</sup>, and the register of 1877 reports on their increase respectively to 66, 97, 88 and 106 families.

Let me assume that the projected remuneration was divided up among the Muslim families as the Law of Public Education stipulated. There were not very rich families in village Tekeli. The share of the rich households amounted to 6% of the families and this of the under propertied households – to 4,7%. The main portion of the planned wage should be provided by the propertied and up-propertied families in the village.

In village of Maslah bey, of Çatal orman and Dülger, the share of the propertied households amounted to 38-39% and this of the rich villagers to 10-11%. In the village Maslah bey, the under-propertied families equaled the very rich households. However, in the village of Dülger, the very rich households were threefold less than the under properties families. The up-propertied households of Maslah bey, Çatal orman and Dülger varied between 17% and 39%. The different shares of these 3 groups allow for the conclusion that the provision of the projected salaries depended on the propertied families which were helped by the rich households. The teachers barely relied on the contributions of the under-propertied families. Although their male members could assist the public works and their daily wages would be allocated for education, such provisional “employment” did not guarantee the steady inflow of capital for the wages of the teachers (Appendix VIII).

The sketched variations help the suggestion that the Ottoman officials did not project the wages of the teachers on the base of the outlined estate profiles. My notion could be verified by the analysis of 3 more villages, Kartal, Mehmetçe and Karabelit. All they should provide an annual remuneration of 1200 guruş for their teachers. Examining the number of the hacis and ulema members in every village, I did not notice any correlation between the number of the eminent villagers and the planned salaries, as well.

Perhaps, the lacking proportionality is due to several aspects. The register of 1877 summarized the villagers’ economic statuses 5 years later than the project of higher wages. It is likely that some families acquired differ-

<sup>63</sup> “*Salname-i...*”, 1290 (1873), s. 275, 277.

ent economic profiles, since they bought or built real estate and ploughed new tracts, and since some of them sold their estates within this short period. This detail suggests some differences in the distribution of the households within the outlined segments.

The register of 1877 does not mention the Crimean and Circassian refugees as separate groups. As far as the Ottoman officials fostered the spread of a particular school network for the refugee children, they registered the Crimean and Circassian settlers separately from the local Muslims. This fact allows for the suggestion that in 1872, the government excluded their economic potential as factor by the planning of the local wages of the teachers.

It is possible that the Ottoman officials based the projected wages on the number and the economic status of the families which had enrolled their children at the mekteb, as well. Perhaps they counted on the actual capital share of every village in the Benefit Fund, on its projected interest incomes or at least on the actual 1872 harvest.

Since there are no available sources on the food prices in Sünne, Mankalya and in the kazas of Hırsova and Babadağ, I cannot calculate the approximate totals spent by the teachers on basic products. This detail sheds light on the question as to whether the village teachers could meet their individual daily expenses or these of their families by the awarded remuneration or they intensively farmed their plots, bred animals and considered the instruction of the pupils as “secondary employment”.

### 5. The Instruction of the Pupils

According to the tradition, Muslim pupils, girls and boys, started school at the age of 4-6 years. The school enrolment went on throughout the year. Girls attended school up to the age of 10, boys until the age of 12<sup>64</sup>. They shared the same room, but every pupil was individually instructed.

Following the traditional curriculum, the students memorized the alphabet and the “Ebcet” formula. In order to perform the fivefold daily worship, they memorized prayers such as “Sübhanaka”, “Et-tahiyyat”, “Kunut”, “Allahumma Salli” and the Quranic chapter “Al-Fatiha”. The students learnt by heart the last 22 chapters of the Quran. Usually, the

<sup>64</sup> e.g. “*Maarif-i Umumiye...*”, s. 22, 67; Bekir Onur, *Türkiye’de Çocukluğun Tarihi*. İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi 2005, s. 289, 291-292, 329-330, 371.

pupils read twice the whole Quran, beginning from chapter "Al-Lail" backwards to the second chapter "Al-Baqara". They paid special attention to the part "Tabaraka", the part "Kadsami", the chapter "Yasin" and the chapter "Adh-Dhariyat". Meanwhile, they memorized the rules of Quranic recitation, the Muslim religious duties and catechism<sup>65</sup>.

All pupils learnt by heart religious poems and recited them on different occasions, such as the enrolment of a new student at the mekteb. The training in reading and writing did not constitute a main educational goal of the mekteb. The lessons in reading depended on the availability of alphabet booklets and copies of part "Amma". The lessons in writing rarely were rarely part of the boys' schooling. They were accessible only to the boys who already had already completed the first reading of the Quran. In order to memorize the Quran and become a "hafız", the boys attended the same mekteb a year or two after they had completed the basic instruction, or their parents hired a private teacher<sup>66</sup>.

Girls were not taught to write at all. The primary teachers sought to educate them as obedient, honorable and virtuous individuals who secured the family comfort<sup>67</sup>. Some girls memorized the Quran under the supervision of female teachers and became "hafiza". They learnt specific heroic poems and religious hymns, as well. Almost all girls acquired some skills in sewing and embroidering at home.

In the 1840s-1870s, this traditional set of knowledge did not offer adequate skills which served to incorporate the Ottoman youth into the modern financial, economic, communicational and scientific models diffusing into the imperial daily rhythm. Facing these actual challenges, the Council of Public Education laid down the training in writing as a compulsory lesson. The new rule was stipulated in the Regulation on the elementary instruction, printed in April 1847<sup>68</sup>. Until the 1870s, both, the Council and the Ministry of Education, attempted twice to carry out this decision at

<sup>65</sup> Margarita Dobрева, "Reformite v uchebnata programa na myusyulmanskite nachalni uehilista (mektebi) ot 50-te - 70-te godini na XIX vek spored izvori za Severna Balgaria", *Istoriya i knigi kato priyatelstvo. Sbornik v pamet na Mitko Lachev*, Ed. Nadya Danova, Svetlana Ivanova, Hristo Temelski, Sofia: Gutenberg 2007, p. 386.

<sup>66</sup> e.g. "Türkiye'de Çocukluğun...", s. 329-330, 356, 361.

<sup>67</sup> e.g. "Maarif-i Umumiye...", s. 67.

<sup>68</sup> Yahya Akyüz, "İlk Öğretiminde Yenileşme Tarihinde bir Adım: Nisan 1847 Talimatı", *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, 1994, 5, s. 27.

some mektebs of Istanbul<sup>69</sup>. Establishing the primary schools of 150-200 children, the local officials of the Danube Vilayet sought to implement the curriculum legalized by the Regulation of 1874. It provided basic knowledge about Islam, ethic, mathematics, geography and history. The teacher had to train the students in reading and writing<sup>70</sup>.

There are few data about the actual primary instruction of the 1860s-1870s in North Dobruca. The notes of March and September 1869 reported that the girl school in Maçın offered an intensive training in reading and writing next to the lessons in religion<sup>71</sup>. The girls practiced embroidering on canvas patches, and then they sewed the patches onto pillows, slippers and tobacco pouches. They sewed shirts designed on European models and knit laces on two needles. Perhaps, the girls learnt to count the numbers while practicing sewing and embroidering. In April 1869, a volume of Ahmet Cevdet's "History of Ottoman Empire" was sent out to the girl school<sup>72</sup>. However, there are no evidence that the pupils studied the text. In 1874 the school hosted 40 girl students<sup>73</sup>. Perhaps, the girl school in Maçın evoked the Muslims' interest not only by its adherence to the traditional values and social models, but also by the practical skills which guaranteed to the female pupils a successful marriage, and source of minor incomes.

A note of 12<sup>th</sup> May 1876 emphasized that the students at the new mekteb of Mankalya fluently read some parts of the Quran, memorized the rules of Quranic recitation and the Muslim religious duties. All 90 boys mastered the writing in 6 months<sup>74</sup>. Perhaps, they learnt to count the numbers. The parents were motivated to enroll their children at the new school, since they hoped that the instruction would ensure them a place in the administration or it enabled them to keep their craft and commercial affairs.

<sup>69</sup> e.g. "Türkiye'de İlk...", s. 39-40.

<sup>70</sup> "Tuna Vilayeti Sıbyan...", m. 22-26.

<sup>71</sup> Margarita, Dobрева, "Osnovni Vazgledi na Osmanskiya Upravlyavast Elit za Obuchenieto po Religiya v Myusyulmanskite Nachalni Uchilista Prez Perioda na Tanzimata", *Etnicheski i Kulturni Prostranstva na Balkanite. Sbornik v Chest na Tzvetana Georgieva*, Part 1, Ed. Svetlana Ivanova, Sofia: Gutenberg 2008, 617-645.

<sup>72</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 364, 30. 3. 1869; no. 373, 4. 5. 1869; no. 411, 17. 9. 1869.

<sup>73</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Tulça 55/20, p. 109.

<sup>74</sup> Newspaper "Danube", no. 1069, 12. 5. 1876.

## 6. The Mekteb Teachers of North Dobruca

The implementation of the actualized curriculum depended on the qualification of the teachers. The available information emphasizes that some of the teachers were “mollas”, “hafizes” “sheyhs” or “effendis”. Since in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the professors at the medreses and the students themselves were called “molla”, I suppose that the teacher of the village Ramazan, in the kaza of Hırsova, studied at a medrese<sup>75</sup>. As Ibrahim effendi himself reported, he attended the lectures at the Fatih medrese and graduated from the “School of Kadis” (*Mekteb-i Nüvvab*) in Istanbul. Initially, he instructed the pupils in the village of Rakel, in the kaza of Maçın, and from June 1873 to December 1874 he was employed as assistant teacher at the rüşdiye of Maçın, founded on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1871<sup>76</sup>. There are no details about the education of 4 teachers mentioned as “hafız”. However, the title “hafız” proves that they finished at least the primary school. From September 1869 to April 1872, one of them instructed the pupils at the mekteb of the village Rakel. The other 3 teachers worked respectively at the mekteb of Sünne, at “Murat effendi” mekteb in Babadağ and at this one of the village Kalya, in the kaza of Hırsova<sup>77</sup>. According to the centuries-old tradition, the Muslims called every literate men “effendi”<sup>78</sup>. However, this title bears no information on the teacher’s education. Though, I suppose that the literacy and numeracy skills of the teachers were sufficient to train the pupils in reading, writing, and counting.

## 7. The School Enrolment Rate

The quick increase of the literacy rate is closely related to the actual enrolment rate. As early as in 1240 of Hegira (1824/1825), Sultan Mahmud II stated in an edict that the indigent and poor Muslim families did not enroll their children at the mektebs. A significant share of the already enrolled pupils quitted the school in an attempt to acquire craft skills as soon as possible. The Educational Commission at the Council of Public Works

<sup>75</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 175A, a. u. 99; Hamid Algar, Molla, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı 2005, Cild 30, s. 238.

<sup>76</sup> NLCM, Or. D., Tuluha 55/20, p. 556; F. 169, a. u. 3026; F. 169, a. u. 2955, p. 10.

<sup>77</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 175A, a. u. 99; F. 170, a. u. 595; Tuluha 61/2, p. 556; F. 112, a. u. 3181, p. 258.

<sup>78</sup> Bernard Lewis, “Efendi” *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Brill, 1986, Vol. 2, p. 687.

reaffirmed the Sultan's statement in its proposal of early 1839<sup>79</sup>. However, in the late 1860s and in the 1870s the Ottoman financial approach to the primary education failed to eradicate this tendency.

My suggestion rests on the comparison between the male and female population and the pupils enrolled at the village mektebs in the kaza of Köstence by 1867-1868<sup>80</sup>. Since I date my source before the Law of Public Education of 1869, I suppose that the parents might enroll their children at the mektebs at the age of between 4 and 6 years. The girls left the instruction as late as at age of 10, and the boys – at age of 12. In order to simplify the data analysis, I presume that the children started their education at age of 6. The survey of the population registers demonstrates that the girls at school age amounted to 14.29% of the women. The boys at school age were 17.57% of the men<sup>81</sup>.

Surveying the number of the school boys and all boys at school age, I noticed that the former exceeds the latter in two cases, in village Mamay and village Belenlik. It is likely that either both mektebs were attended by boys at four or five years of age, or the specific boy shares of both villages were higher than the estimated average rate. The pupils enrolled at 8 village mektebs were less than a third of all boys at school age. The enrolment rate varied between 41% - 64% in 14 villages, and between 69% - 86% at other 8 primary schools (Appendix VI).

<sup>79</sup> e.g. “*Maarif-i Umumiye...*”, s. 4, 8.

<sup>80</sup> NLCM, Or. D., F. 171, a. u. 443.

<sup>81</sup> The average share of the boys was calculated on the base of 45 population registers of 1872-1874. They detailed the demographic segmentation in 19 villages of the kaza of Şumnu, 14 village in the kaza of Silistre and 12 villages in the kaza of Hacıoğlu Pazarcık. The average share of the girls was calculated on the base of 3 population registers of 1865. They cast light on the demographic segmentation of the “Hacı Ramazan” quarter in Zistovi (modern Svistov), of the “Hacı Bayram” and “Terzi Bazirgyan” quarters in Hacıoğlu Pazarcık. (NLCM, Or. D., Vidin 12/141, Dobriç 15/5; Silistre 31/10; Silistre 32/9; Silistre 32/11; F. 119, a. u. 832, p. 5-8, 13-18, 26-43, 105-109, 115-124, 130-134; F. 119, a. u. 989; Şumen 3/38; Şumen 3/39; Şumen 3/40; Şumen 6/55; Şumen 15/67; Şumen 15/68; Şumen 46/17; F. 121, a. u. 1 641; F. 121, a. u. 1844-1847; F. 121, a. u. 1849; F. 121, a. u. 1851-1853; F. 121, a. u. 1857; *Turski izvori za balgarskata iztorija*. Ed.: Hristo Gandev, Gilib Gilabov. Sofia: AI “Marin Drinov” 1959, vol. 2, p. 16-94; Maria Todorova. *Balkanskoto semeystvo. Istoricheska demografija na balgarskoto obstestvo prez osmanskiya period*. Sofia: Amicitia 2002, p. 22-23; Slavka Draganova, *Materiali za Dunavskiya vilayet (Rusenska, Silistrenska, Shumenska i Tutrakanska kaza prez 50-te - 70-te godini na XIX vek*. Sofia: AI “Marin Drinov” 1980, p. 387, 390-396, 401-408, 415-421, 424-429; 340, 344, 351-352, 357-369, 373-374, 376-380).

The comparison between the number of the school girls and all girls at school age imparts that there were only few girls enrolled at the schools of the village Gelencik, Pazarlı, Kıvacık and Ester. The enrollment rates of 10 villages varied between 17-35%, and in other 13 villages – between 38-63%. In 4 villages the female students constituted over 70% of all girls at school age. There was full school enrolment only in the village of Mamay (Appendix VII). Generally, the enrolment rate varied between one third and two thirds.

Closely examining both enrolment rates in each of the villages, I would like to emphasize that there was no correlation between both rates. The enrolment of girls and boys differs by 5% in only 9 cases, whereas the margins between them varied from 8% to 35% in the other cases. Perhaps, this was due to factors such as: the strict adherence to the family tradition of schooling the boys and the girls; the social and economic status of the families; a pragmatic attitude to the education. Promoting only religious knowledge, the traditional Ottoman mekteb made the pupils quit their education as soon as they memorized the prayers of the daily worship<sup>82</sup>. Perhaps, many ordinary reasons forced them to become patrolmen, shepherds, servants, to enter craft training or to succeed their fathers' vocation of farmer, miller, and cart maker. It's likely that there were two groups of pupils which faced with the necessity to finish the primary schools. In order to secure a minimal living, some students chose the ulema career. Others regarded the primary instruction as a step towards higher education at a secondary school and then at a vocational school in Istanbul.

The available data shed no light on the enrolment rate and the attitude of the pupils or the parents towards the primary education all over North Dobruca. Perhaps, both aspects were marked by the some tendencies which favored the development of the primary education or impeded the efforts of the local Ottoman administration completely to carry out the programs and the regulations of the Ministry of Education.

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Since the Ottoman reformers considered the Muslim primary education as an essential base of the training at the new-founded rüşdiyyes, my paper explored the available data about its actual network, the funding-

<sup>82</sup> e.g. "Reformite v uchebnata...", p. 397-398.

the instruction and the enrolment rate of the pupils in North Dobruca. The survey proves that the information about the urban mekteb network offered in the yearbooks of the Danube Vilayet should be verified by other documents drafted by the local officials. There was a certain development of the primary education in the towns, marked by the foundation of a special girl schools in Maçin and Tulça and boy schools of 150-200 children in Isakça, Mankalya and Tulça. Perhaps the interest towards the actualized female education was due to factors such as the adherence to the traditional values or social models and the opportunity of acquiring practical skills in sewing and embroidering. Respectively, the boys' interest towards the schools of 150-200 pupils was due to the opportunity of entering the local administration or of enrolling at the new-founded rüşdiyes.

Surveying the data about the village schools, I noticed that the density of the network varied between 90 and 100%. The number of the village schools was determined by multiple local agents such as village's topography, families' social and economic profiles, and their actual attitude to the education. Complying with the Law of Public Education of 1869, the Muslims of North Dobruca provided the construction costs by themselves, by minor loans from the capitals of the Public Benefits Bank, or by the sale of the ram furs. Perhaps, they failed to establish school funds in order to secure the daily expense of the mektebs and the teachers' wages.

The promotion of the actualized curriculum was related with the qualification of the teachers and the actual enrolment rate. Except few cases, the enrolment rate varied between one third and two thirds. It depended on the strict adherence to the family tradition of schooling the youth, the family's social and economic status, and the pragmatic attitude to the education. Besides the actual school funding model, these were among the primary agents of the educational headway and the implementation of the new curriculums and regulations sent out by the Ministry of Education.



## Appendix I

The Wages of the Teachers and the Number of the Muslim Pupils  
in some Villages of the Kaza of Babadağ

Village	Pupils	Wages in kind			Total (in kiles)
		wheat	barley	Other crops	
Armutlu (Noghays)	5	2 ½	3		5,5
Kamber (Tatars)	6	2 ½	3		5,5
Sebil (Tatars)	10	3	5		8
Armutlu (Circassians)	10	7	7		14
Ortaköy(Circassians)	10	14 ½	9		23,5
Haciler	11	10	5		15
Davutça (Bey Davut)	12	12			12,5
Ortaköy (local Muslims)	14	12 ½	6		18,5
Armutlu (local Muslims)	15	9 ½	7 ½		17
Çinalı, (Cirkassians)	20	10	5		15
Ak Kadın (Circassians)	20		3	6 kiles millet, 3 kiles rye, 3 kiles maize	15
Kongaz (local Muslims)	20	10	7 ½		17,5
Ak Kadın	20	15	7 ½		22,5
Kamber (local Muslims)	25	18			18

**Appendix II**  
**Number of the Mektebs and of the Muslim Households, Wages of the Teachers in the Kaza of Hirsova**

Village	Households in 1873	Teachers	Planned wages in 1872	Planned wages according to an undated chart
Kapucu (local Muslims)	148	Ali efendi, annual wage of 1500 guruş	1500	
Kapucu (refugee quarter)		Ibrahim efendi, assigned after the resignation of Cemil efendi		
Şerin ("Teke" quarter)	112	Mucteba efendi, annual wage of 1000 guruş	1000	
Şerin ("Cuma" quarter)		Abdulhalim efendi		
Kalya	60	Hafız Ömer efendi	1500	1100
Atik Saray	52	Halil efendi, assigned after the resignation of Mehmet efendi	1500	670
Terzi	90	Abdulhalil efendi	1200	800
Rahman	60	Ali Osman efendi	800	595
Taşburun	60	Mahmud efendi	1200	925
Aygır Ahmet	45	Hasan efendi	1000	1605
Maslah Bey	54	Mehmet efendi	1400	1105
Tekeli	94	Abdulrahman efendi	1400	1400
Sararlar	41	Ömer efendi	1000	900
Berkesek	94	Şeyh Ahmet efendi	1500	1175
Kadı Kışlası	116	Mustafa efendi	1800	900
Dülger	80	Abdulrahman efendi	1400	600
Kalfa	40	Ali efendi	1200	600
İsa Bey	54	Mustafa efendi, assigned after the resignation of Hasan efendi	1000	910

Koruca	148	Ibrahim efendi, assigned on 1 <sup>st</sup> April 1872 after the resignation of Ali efendi	1200	910
Toprak	80	Şerif efendi	1200	800
Çatal Orman	74	Musa efendi	1400	1055
Kabayıl Saray	96	Mahmud efendi	1800	1160
Haydar	90	Cevahir efendi	1200	960
Karabelit	57	Hüseyin efendi	1200	600
Topalova (local Muslims)	80	Mehmet efendi	1000	
Topalova (Circassians)		Yusuf efendi	500	

### Appendix II - extension

Village	Households in 1873	Teachers	Planned wages in 1872	Planned wages according to an undated chart
Şemsler	24	Emin efendi	800	600
Meslih	140	Ibrahim efendi	1500	800
Boğazcık	85	Hasan efendi	1800	700
Rum Bey	38	Ömer efendi	1000	700
Ramazan	52	İsa efendi, assigned after the resignation of molla Vefa efendi	1000	700
Mehmetçe	49	Abdulrahman efendi	1200	700
Kartal	92	Mehmet efendi	1200	900
Baleci	28	Ali efendi	500	
Satıcı	93	İsmail efendi	1500	700

**Appendix III**  
**Muslim Pupils and Mektebs in the Kaza of Maçin**

<b>Village</b>	<b>Boys at school age</b>	<b>Mektebs</b>
Yayla	41	1
Hasanlar	32	1
Umurlar	30	1
Koyunbunar	45	1
Balanika	55	1
Mathan	82	1
Fanarkalfa	70	1
Kırcalar	74	1
Unknown (damaged page edge)	50	1
Unknown	43	1
Unknown	79	1
Unknown	48	1

## Appendix IV

## Muslim Households and Mektebs in the Kaza of Köstence in 1872

Village	Households in 1872	Mektebs
Mamay	12	1
Acıca	48	1
Şahman	51	1
Anadolu Köy	53	1
Horozlar	53	1
Taşagıl-i Balya	64	1
Palaz	66	1
Mehmetçe	66	1
Tekfurgöl	66	2
Laz mahala	68	1
Kara Harman	78	3
Şermet	87	1
Dolu Fakih	88	1
Belenlik	90	1
Taşagıl	96	1
Ester	100	1
Çakırkçı	122	1
Kanara	133	2
Kıvacık	139	2
Kara Köylü	141	2
Murvat-i Kabir	144	2
Hasanca	156	2
Koca Ali	160	2
Gelencik	163	2
Umurea	165	2
Parazlı	169	2
Nedırea	211	1
Belallar	280	2
Kara Murat	283	2
Kubeddin	285	3

**Appendix V**  
**Muslim Households and Mektebs in the Kaza of Köstence in**  
**1867-1868**

Village	Households in 1867-1868	Mektebs
Mamay	17	1
Acıca	35	1
Mehmetçe	51	2
Palaz	52	2
Horozlar	56	1
Taşagıl-i Balya	58	1
Laz mahala	58	2
Dolu Fakih	58	1
Şahman	66	1
Belenlik	68	2
Has Torluk	76	1
Anadolu Köy	81	2
Şermet	82	2
Kanara	95	2
Kara Harman	95	2
Hasanca	105	1
Taşagıl	108	2
Kıvacık	113	1
Murvat-i Kabir	115	4
Tekfurgöl	115	3
Çakırkçı	115	2
Koca Ali	116	1
Kara Köylü	118	3
Ester	123	2
Pazarlı	141	1
Kargalık-i Sağır	146	4
Umurca	152	2
Gelencik	152	1
Nedirca	155	3
Belallar	234	6
Kubeddin	295	5
Kara Murat	301	6

## Appendix VI

## Enrolment Rate, Number of Muslim Men, School Boys, Boys at School Age in the Kaza of Köstence

Village	Men	School Boys	Share of the Boys at Age of between 6 and 12 years (17.57%)	Enrolment Rate in percent
Gelencik	391	12	68	17.64
Kıvacık	259	9	45	20
Şahman	118	6	20	30
Taşagıl-i Balya	148	8	26	30
Pazarlı	314	15	55	30
Hasanca	259	10	45	22.22
Koca Ali	281	15	49	30.61
Kubeddin	695	39	122	31.96
Çakırkçı	265	19	46	41.30
Ester	296	24	52	46.15
Kara Murat	667	54	117	46.15
Dolu Fakih	138	11	24	45.83
Has Torluk	168	14	29	48.27
Horozlar	138	12	24	50
Taşagıl	241	21	42	50
Acıca	96	9	16	56.25
Tekfurgöl	249	25	43	58.14
Laz mahala	140	14	24	58.33
Belallar	585	64	102	62.74
Nedirca	382	41	67	61.19
Umurca	368	41	64	64
Kara Harman	198	22	34	64.7
Mehmetçe	152	18	26	69.23
Kargalık-i Sağır	420	51	73	69.86
Anadolu köy	161	21	28	75
Kara köylü	278	39	48	77.55
Şermet	172	24	30	80
Kanara	223	32	39	82
Murvât-i Kebir	282	42	49	85.71
Palaz	129	19	22	86.36
Belenlik	170	34	29	Over 100%
Mamay	39	9	6	Over 100%

**Appendix VII**  
**Enrolment Rate and Number of Muslim Women, School Girls and  
of Girls at School Age in the kaza of Köstence**

Village	Women	School Girls	Share of the Girls at Age of between 6 and 10 years (14.29%)	Enrolment Rate in percent
Gelencik	330	4	47	8.51
Pazarlı	281	4	40	10
Kıvacıık	205	3	29	10.34
Ester	253	9	36	11.11
Dolu Fakih	121	3	17	17.64
Koca Ali	252	8	36	22.22
Hasanca	204	7	29	24.13
Tekfurgöl	221	9	31	29.03
Kubeddin	408	17	58	29.31
Has Torluk	121	5	17	29.41
Kara Murat	581	25	83	30.12
Taşgıl	213	10	30	33.33
Çakırkçı	224	11	32	34.37
Taşgıl-i Balya	120	6	17	35.29
Nedirca	353	19	50	38
Kara köylü	238	13	34	38.23
Şahman	91	5	13	38.46
Kargalık-i Sağır	381	22	54	40.74
Horozlar	125	7	17	41.17
Laz mahala	121	7	17	41.17
Umurca	312	20	44	45.45
Acıca	82	5	11	45.45
Kara Harman	161	11	23	47.82
Belallar	502	35	71	49.29
Şermet	134	11	19	57.89
Mehmetçe	130	11	18	61.11
Murvat-i Kebir	253	23	36	63.88
Anadolu köy	138	14	19	73.68
Belenlik	162	19	23	82.6
Palaz	111	13	15	86.66
Kanara	201	25	28	89.28
Mamai	24	3	3	100



### Appendix VIII

#### The Profiles of the Muslim Households and the Number of the Ulema Members in some Villages of the Kaza of Hirsova

Village Families	Çatal orman	Maslah bey	Dülger	Tekeli	Kartal	Mehmetçe	Karabelit	Boğazcık	Satıcı	Kalya
Under propertied	19	6	14	5	12	18	9	13	3	
	19,5 <sup>o</sup>	9 <sup>o</sup>	16 <sup>o</sup>	4,7%	11,5%	21%	12,5%	13%	3%	
Propertied	37	26	34	53	12	48	25	40	71	13
	38 <sup>o</sup>	39 <sup>o</sup>	38 <sup>o</sup>	50%	11,5%	56%	34%	42%	67%	20%
Up-propertied	17	20	26	41	49	14	19	24	18	43
	17 <sup>o</sup>	30 <sup>o</sup>	29 <sup>o</sup>	38%	47%	16%	26%	25%	17%	67%
Rich	11	7	9	4	14	5	11	15	8	6
	11 <sup>o</sup>	10 <sup>o</sup>	10 <sup>o</sup>	6%	13%	5%	15%	15%	7%	9%
Very rich	13	6	5		17	1	8	3	5	2
	13 <sup>o</sup>	9 <sup>o</sup>	5 <sup>o</sup>		16,3%	1%	11%	3%	5%	3%
Number of the Households	97	66	88	106	104	86	72	95	105	64
	3 Hacıs 1 Efendi	6 Seyyids 4 Hacıs 1 Molla	4 Mollas 3 Seyyids 1 Hacı	3 Seyyids 2 Hacıs	3 Hacıs 7 Seyyids 2 Mollas 1 Efendi	2 Hacıs	3 Hacıs 1 Hoca 2 Seyyids 1 Molla	2 Hocas	7 Hacıs 1 Seyyid 2 Mollas 1 Imam	1 Seyyid

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