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“MECQUE DE LA PÉDAGOGIE”: TWO OTTOMAN STUDY GUIDES AND THEIR PLEA FOR SWISS PEDAGOGICS

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Abstract

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Tūnalı Hilmī, an Ottoman intellectual and Young Turk who studied and lived in Geneva, and Türk Yürdü, an Ottoman-Turkish student organisation in Geneva, each published a study guide to persuade Turkish-Muslim Ottomans to study in Europe or more precisely, in Switzerland. These works are not merely travel guides for those studying and living in Europe. They are also political writings. Their argumentation allows for an insight into the multifaceted and contradictory Ottoman perception of Europe. In these guides Hilmī and Türk Yürdü call for the study of Swiss pedagogics. The guides are a good example of the difficult task of justifying the transfer of things European.

Generations grow up, times and lifestyles change, but pedagogics remains the cornerstone for all human beings, for the whole world [...]! [...] It is everything. Everything is education, everything is pedagogics! Education is the world. The world consists of education and pedagogics!¹

This eulogy for pedagogics and education was delivered by Tūnalı Hilmī, an Ottoman intellectual of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who – like many other Ottomans of the time – promoted reform of the educational system as a tool to strengthen the empire. Hilmī is a good example of the Ottoman intellectuals who cast their eyes towards Europe in search of inspiration and guidance for the process of reforming and strengthening their state. In order that they might benefit from Europe’s “superiority”, progress and strength,

1 HILMİ, 1320: 233f. All translations from Ottoman Turkish are by the author. – The transcription of Ottoman names and terms, and passages from primary sources is carried out in accordance with the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. The transcription of Arabic citations is aligned to the rules of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.

Ṭūnalı Hilmī, Necmeddīn ‘Ārif², and the student organisation Türk Yürdu Geneva chose to persuade young Ottomans to study in Europe, above all in Paris and Geneva, by writing Ottoman study guides showing the usefulness of Europe for the Ottoman Empire.

From the nineteenth century onwards, Ottoman intellectuals discussed the question of what to adopt from Europe. The study guides constitute one element of this debate. Far from intending to propagate an indiscriminate orientation towards Europe, the authors rather try to base their arguments on their individual and nuanced perceptions of Europe and their own society. Consequently the works give an insight into the multifaceted and contradictory relations of the Ottoman Empire with Europe. This contribution will present two of the three Ottoman study guides for Europe: Ṭūnalı Hilmī’s *Āvrūpāda taḥşīl I (resimli), Cenevrā, şehri – mektepleri, mühimm bir zeyl* (Studying in Europe, I (illustrated), Geneva, the City – the Schools, an Important Appendix), published in Geneva in 1903, and *Cenevrede taḥşīl. Cenevrede Türk Yürdunuñ Türk genclerine hediyeceğidir* (Studying in Geneva. A Small Present to Turkish Youth from Türk Yürdu Geneva) by Türk Yürdu Geneva, published in Istanbul in 1912–13.³

These two works are more than mere study guides. First and foremost, they are a *vade mecum* for travelling to Europe and studying and living there. As guide books they are characterised by a focus on the functional, i.e., they impart knowledge and skills, and provide practical advice.⁴ The body of the works consists of a description of Geneva’s higher educational institutions, including practical information such as entry requirements, study guidelines, curricula and fees. At the same time the authors of the study guides feel the need to give their readership an understanding of Europe as the “other” and to indicate its usefulness. They attempt to facilitate the handling of Europe and to provide a way of dealing with it. The guides also bear the features of a travelogue. Based on the individual perceptions of the authors and objective information, places are

2 Necmeddīn ‘Ārif (1871–1926) was an Ottoman doctor, writer and politician, who studied medicine in Paris. There he wrote his Paris study guide: *Pārisde taḥşīl. Pārisiñ mekātib-i ‘āliyyesinden ve progrāmlarından uşul-i taḥşīl ve ma‘īşetinden bâḥiş rehberdir* (Studying in Paris. A Guide to the Higher Educational Institutions of Paris and Their Curricula, Their Teaching Methods and Living Expenses) Cairo, 1322 (1904–05).

3 The three study guides have hitherto attracted little research attention. Most intensively, KIESER, 2005, used the study guides by Hilmī and Türk Yürdu as examples of Turkish nationalism. The guides also appear sporadically in the context of the Ottoman educational system’s orientation towards the French model; ERGÜN, 1990.

4 KLINGENBÖCK, 2005: 1 (reference 2).

described in detail independent of their function as locations for study.⁵ These sections make a plea for studying in Europe and acquire, in the historical context, the character of political writings.⁶

Both study guides avoid recommending their readership certain fields of study. The focus lies on gaining knowledge from and about Europe in general. The pursuit of knowledge is declared as the highest aim. *Ṭūnalı Hilmī* and *Türk Yürdu Geneva*, however, highlight the importance and benefit of one particular field of science: pedagogics.

Introducing the Authors and Their Aims

The objective of the workshop “Entangled by Multiple Tongues: The Role of Diaspora in the Transfer of Culture” was to find out how “multilingualism (in its widest sense) peculiar of all diaspora shapes the transfer of culture”.⁷ The use of the concepts “transfer”, “diaspora”, and “multilingualism” in the context of this contribution needs further explanation.

Firstly, the present contribution takes a different direction: it looks at two sources that argue in favour of the transfer of knowledge, not at its outcome. Transfer in this case refers to the transfer of knowledge from Europe to the Ottoman Empire, which is promoted by the two sources this contribution examines. The reciprocity of transfer⁸ notwithstanding, the actors and transfer channels are examined in one direction only. The key aspect of “changes that take place in the course of the transfer of concepts, norms, pictures and

5 Description of the place of residence: *HİLMİ*, 1320: 16–58: In this chapter (“Geneva from Every Point”), the author portrays Geneva and its environment in great detail. *TÜRK YÜRDU*, 1328: 13–16: this section (“Geneva”) serves to acquaint the reader with the sights and features of Geneva.

6 Unfortunately, it is not possible to draw comparisons in this contribution. A comparison with contemporary Russian study guides for Europe could be interesting. A reference to them can be found in the work of *IVANOV*, 2001: 37f. *ŠČAPOV*, 1983: 396f. mentions seven Russian study guides written between 1898 and 1911. Similar works seem to exist for Bulgarian students; see *PASKALEVA*, 1987: 60.

7 Multilingualism here refers to “mediating between parallel reference frames, switching back and forth between a home and one or more host cultures, in short, ‘speaking multiple tongues’”. <<http://www.asienundeuropa.uzh.ch/news/entangledtongues.html>> (last accessed 19 January 2011).

8 *AUST*, 2003.

representations from one culture to the other”⁹ is touched on only marginally. Hence, rather than attempting to fathom the real role of the authors of the two study guides in the process of transfer, this contribution traces the authors’ plea for pedagogics, i.e., European pedagogics, with the aim of demonstrating how a concrete takeover / transfer from Europe was justified.

The authors, Tūnalı Hilmī (1871–1928) and members of the student organisation Türk Yürdu in Geneva (founded in 1911), were themselves Ottoman students in Europe.¹⁰ Hilmī studied in Europe during the Hamidian period (1876–1908). In his case, studying in Europe was to some extent a side effect of his political exile.¹¹ He was politically active in Europe in the Young Turk movement and published many writings. He also worked temporarily as an Ottoman official. Returning to the Ottoman Empire shortly after the Young Turk revolution in 1908, he became active in several domains of the Ottoman, later Turkish state. The members of Türk Yürdu came to Europe for the most part after the Young Turk revolution.¹² Influenced by Turkish nationalist ideas in the Ottoman Empire and radicalised during their stay in Europe, they aspired to create awareness of a Turkish national identity among Ottoman students in Europe. Their principal aim was to initiate a social revolution.¹³

Hilmī and the members of Türk Yürdu undoubtedly played a role in the transfer of knowledge and ideas from Europe to the Ottoman, later Turkish state. Türk Yürdu in particular seems to have been quite successful in convincing Ottomans to study in Europe and to imbue them with nationalist ideas.¹⁴ My research did not allow for an in-depth analysis of the impact this had on the

9 Kaelble, 2005: 1f.

10 For further information on Hilmī, see *inter alia* HANIOĞLU, 1995 and 2001; ÖNDER, 1982: 492f. A biography has recently been published in Turkish, ATEŞ, 2009. For further information on the student organisation Türk Yürdu see *inter alia* KIESER, 2005; SARINAY, 1994; ARAI, 1992; TUNAYA, 1984.

11 In the broadest sense all authors can be regarded as members or adherents of the Young Turk movement. This notion, however, is diffuse and does not allow for deduction of a straightforward ideological line. In Hamidian times, the term “Young Turk” was used to denote all opposition movements; HANIOĞLU, 1995: 74.

12 KIESER, 2002: 332.

13 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 76–79. Up until 1923 they organised conferences and lectures, and published several political writings, including *Les minorités en Turquie. Leurs privilèges, leurs droits politiques. Protection de l’Europe. La loyauté de la Turquie à l’égard des sujets alliés. Pour la défense des droits légitimes de la nationalité Turque*, Lausanne 1919; *La Turquie Moderne. Réponse à nos calomnieux*, Genève 1919.

14 FAHREDDİNOF, 1329: 908f. ALP, 1915: 31.

Ottoman or Turkish state. Measuring the role of the Ottomans in Europe in the process of transfer is not an easy task. Many of them became involved in the restructuring of the educational system and contributed to the development of disciplines at home.¹⁵ Similar to Hilmī, they were active in the political and intellectual life of the Empire and initiated several reforms.¹⁶ The extent to which their stay in Europe shaped their actions and ideas, however, is not always clear. The importance of the role played by intellectual movements within the Empire – themselves often influenced through other channels by European ideas – is likewise unclear. It should be remarked that not all contact with, or knowledge of, Europe automatically led to transfer, which could range from mere orientation or inspiration to a process of transformation and imitation.

The second issue I wish to address is whether the Ottomans who studied and lived in Europe – in this case Hilmī and the members of Türk Yürdu – were part of a diaspora. Of the concepts and theories on diaspora I came across it can be said that definitions of diaspora are either vague or focused on specific diaspora groups. Furthermore, notions of exile, diaspora and immigration, for example, are sometimes used interchangeably. If we regard a population “which is considered deterritorialised or transnational” as diaspora, then the Ottoman community in Geneva is such a diaspora. In general, however, diaspora appears to be associated with “forced displacement”¹⁷ and the displacement of greater numbers of people.¹⁸ Although Hilmī was partly forced to leave the Empire, it was nonetheless an individual displacement. As for Türk Yürdu, they were greater in number but not coerced into leaving. It could be argued that the lack of educational institutions at home and the belief that in Europe the knowledge crucial to saving their home country could be acquired forced these students to leave the Empire. Apart from seeking a more precise definition of the term “forced”, one could agree with Tölölyan, who suggests focusing on the conditions that make a group of people a diaspora in their host country rather than emphasising the reasons for leaving their home country. As possible prerequisites he mentions that emigrants remain a minority in the host country; they are actively involved in preserving their foreignness and express the desire to return “home” or at least

15 KREISER, 2000: 482–485.

16 ŞARMAN, 2005: 14 and 23. Major reformers included Muştafâ Reşîd and Fu'âd; İbrâhîm Edhem and Ahmed Vefîk, who studied in Paris and were Grand Viziers under 'Abdülhamîd II; İbrâhîm Şinâsî (writer, scholar, and politician).

17 VERTOVEC, 1997.

18 TÖLÖLYAN, 1993: 197.

influence developments in their own country.¹⁹ Following this approach, the Ottomans in Geneva could be characterised as a small diaspora-like community.²⁰ Tūnalı Hilmī, Türk Yürdu and the entire Ottoman community in Geneva certainly constituted a minority. Türk Yürdu in particular focused heavily on preserving their “Turkish” identity and not becoming “European”. Their intention to return home – as they eventually did – was coupled with a desire to have an impact on developments in the Ottoman Empire in the course of their stay abroad.

Pressing the authors into the concept of diaspora, however, does not seem fruitful for the main aim of this contribution. The fact that Hilmī and Türk Yürdu were abroad is not unimportant for the analysis of how they justify their plea for pedagogics: they had direct access to European knowledge, they were clearly influenced by their Swiss and Ottoman environment as well as by other foreigners in Geneva, and their plea gained further currency through personal experience of the benefits of Swiss pedagogics in its country of origin. Nonetheless, I prefer to categorise them simply as *travellers* in search of knowledge to save their country.

Their plea for pedagogics is a good example of “speaking multiple tongues”. While trying to convince Turkish-Muslim Ottomans of learning in and from Europe, the authors had to take into account the peculiarities of their readership at home. They sought to diminish the perceived dangers of Europe in order to legitimise living in “the land of infidels”. In an attempt to justify the takeover of knowledge and transfer of ideas from Europe, they defined the things to be learnt in Europe as universal goods. Although the plea for European pedagogics goes a step further, it is almost easier to justify.

Pedagogics is more than the knowledge to be gained from Europe. It is also acquiring the methods to impart and perpetuate this knowledge in the Ottoman Empire – as a means of defeating Europe with its own weapons. For the authors it is moreover a tool to educate their home society in terms of their personal visions of a perfect Ottoman society.

19 TÖLÖLYAN, 1993: 198.

20 In VERTOVEC, 1997, e.g., we find further commonalities between the Ottoman community and what he describes as “diaspora as a social form”, a “type of consciousness” and a “mode of cultural production”.

Why Pedagogics?

The knowledge *Ḥilmī* and *Türk Yürdu* thought to be indispensable to “saving the Empire” consisted of educational knowledge gained from Europe. But why the strong emphasis on the need to educate Ottomans in Europe and on educational studies in particular? The reform of the educational system was at the core of state efforts in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This was not unique to the Ottoman Empire. On the contrary, what Zeldin refers to as the “age of education” was a European, if not worldwide, phenomenon.²¹ Qualified manpower was to be created through *schooling* in order to compete with other states. Additionally, the educational system was seen as a way of *educating* pupils to become socially worthy individuals. It was used as a tool in the interests of social control, influencing cultural identification and creating political loyalty. In the following, *schooling* refers to the imparting of knowledge and skills in preparation for a specific occupation. The term *education* refers to shaping character and mind, but also to promoting certain ideas, sentiments and behaviour.

For education continued to be regarded as the necessary foundation for the reorganization of the empire and the creation of a cadre of new leaders to maintain it. As one contemporary writer put it, the salvation of the ‘sick man’ was not through extermination, but through ‘education’.²²

Non-state actors and opposition groups likewise propagated the use of schooling and education to transform and “save” the Empire.²³ The Ottoman state began its reform of the educational system as early as the late eighteenth century. Initially the focus was on higher educational institutions, which were to serve as a breeding ground for qualified personnel for the state apparatus and the military. The importance of primary and secondary education, however, soon became apparent to the state.²⁴ The expansion of the educational system was enforced during the Hamidian period (1876–1908), also in the provinces.²⁵ An education fund was established and teacher training promoted. The introduction of *i‘dādi* schools was an attempt by the state to fill the gap between primary schools and higher

21 For education in France at this time, see ZELDIN, 1977.

22 KAZAMIAS, 1966: 57.

23 See, e.g., DERINGIL, 1998: 93–111.

24 SZYLIOWICZ, 1973: 139f.

25 FORTNA, 2002: 98f.

educational institutions.²⁶ Parallel to reform of the institutional framework, the focus was on educational content and new teaching methods.²⁷ Ottoman educational thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth century tried to develop – frequently while making use of European pedagogics – suitable educational concepts for the evolving educational system and the respective state ideology.

As in the case of the entire reform process, the issue of what to take over from Europe and what to preserve in the Ottoman Empire was dominant in the discussion on schooling and education. The authors of the two study guides positioned themselves in this debate. The decision for schooling and studies as a tool to save the country was not merely a proposal for a solution in the sense of educational policy. By choosing Europe as the place of study and Turkish-Muslim Ottomans as the addressees, the study guides acquired a political, ideological, and partly oppositional connotation.

“It Takes More Than a Father’s Knowledge to Become a Man”²⁸

Both Hilmî and the Türk Yürdü thought that the Ottoman educational system was ill-equipped to instruct people and enable them to save the Empire.²⁹ They were indeed not wide of the mark. Implementing the reform of the Ottoman educational system was difficult, not least for financial reasons.³⁰ The vision of providing all Ottomans with schooling did not materialise.³¹ At the beginning of the twentieth century only a very small section of the population attended state schools,³² and the debate on the most appropriate educational system persisted.

The Ottoman state began to send students to Europe in the early nineteenth century as a short-term strategy to produce well-educated and schooled men at short notice. The students themselves expected to have greater advantage of gaining high positions in the state apparatus on their return, to have a deeper

26 FORTNA, 2002: 115f. For higher educational institutions during the Hamidian period, see, e.g., LEWIS, 1961: 177.

27 KAZAMIAS, 1966: 63.

28 Turkish proverb, see Ebüzziyâ’ TEVFİK: *Durûb-ı Emsâl-ı ‘Osmâniyye*, 1886: 396.

29 This refers to the state educational system, which, however, could not claim to have a monopoly, as it competed with minority schools, missionary schools, and European and Muslim private schools; DEGUILHEM, 2000: 662.

30 DERINGIL, 1998: 114f.

31 DEGUILHEM, 2000: 663.

32 DEGUILHEM, 2000: 663.

insight into several sciences and to be able to serve their country. Around the 1870s, the state began to doubt the usefulness of sending students to Europe.³³ These doubts increased during the Hamidian period, when the state made efforts to control the educational system and European influence. The notion of generating loyal subjects seemed at odds with studying in Europe.³⁴ At the same time individual decisions by young Ottomans to study in Europe became more urgent. The boundaries between voluntarily going to Europe to study and being forced to go in the sense of exile were blurred as a result of activities opposing the Hamidian system.³⁵ Following the Young Turk revolution in 1908, the practice of sending students to Europe was revived.

Since the quality of schooling and education was assumed to be superior in Europe, the solution for Hilmî and Türk Yürdu was to go to Europe. Hilmî's misgivings about the suitability of the Ottoman educational system are evident from the very beginning of his study guide. On the front page we find the Ottoman proverb "It takes more than a father's knowledge to become a man" (*Bābā bīlgīsiyle ādām, ādām olmaz*), an obvious reference to Ottoman-Turkish traditions. In Hilmî's opinion even the ancestors were aware that knowledge imparted by the father was not sufficient to complete the process of becoming a man, i.e., knowledgeable, prudent and capable. For Hilmî, the knowledge of the father represents the knowledge available in the Ottoman Empire and does not enable Turkish Ottomans to save their country. Printed on the same page is the hadith "Seek knowledge, even in China!" (*Utlubū al-`ilma wa law bi-ş-Şīn*).³⁶ This appears to serve as the religious legitimation for taking up studies in "the land of infidels" but in essence contains the same message: the knowledge to be sought cannot be found in the Ottoman Empire. In Hilmî's opinion, Ottoman schools and teachers did not have the capacity to convey to pupils that money

33 ŞIŞMAN, 2004: 4f. and 79.

34 DERINGIL, 1998: 96.

35 KIESER, 2005: 38. In addition, a number of Ottomans who came to Europe to study were politicised there and became politically active.

36 Both study guides cite several hadiths in an attempt to justify studying in Europe. All of the hadiths deal with the obligation to seek knowledge, but this one is central. Although it could not be verified in the canonical hadith collections, it is mentioned in the Suyūṭī collection as *Utlubū al-`ilma wa-law bi-ş-Şīni, fa-`inna ṭalaba al-`ilmi farīdatun `alā kulli muslim, Djāmi` al-aḥādīth li-al-Suyūṭī, ḥadīth raqm 3207, cited in ŞAQR / `ABD AL-DJAWĀD, 1994: 463. Juynboll comments that this particular hadith is not authentic but was fabricated at the end of the eighth century. On the other hand, he also remarks that the hadith scholars of the Middle Ages qualified its *isnād* (chain of narration) as *da`īf* (weak) but its content as *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound / authentic); JUYNBOLL, 1983: 68f.*

and rank were less important than becoming a “man of knowledge” (*fenn ādāmī*). He criticises the small number of primary schools, as well as school and university fees.³⁷ Türk Yürdu sees no occasion to mention the shortcomings of the Ottoman educational system as a justification for studies in Europe. They admit “scientific deficits” (*irfānī nakāşeler*),³⁸ but do not elaborate on them.

It is not immediately obvious, however, *what* was to be studied in Europe. Gaining knowledge as such is defined as the principal aim. Both study guides attempt to present a full picture of the educational institutions in Geneva without alluding to their usefulness for Ottoman students or giving specific recommendations. There are, however, some visible tendencies: Türk Yürdu emphasises the high standard of the *Faculté de médecine*.³⁹ In addition to universities they highlight the value of vocational schools. They also regard the application of knowledge as vital.

[...] don't come here for decoration, don't come to follow the fashion of 'having seen Europe', don't even come for the label of 'having studied in Europe'. Learn a profession instead, especially an applied profession.⁴⁰

Ḥilmī stresses the *Faculté des lettres et des sciences sociales*.⁴¹ He explicitly enumerates what can be gained by studying and living in Geneva, and describes the political system, the political parties, and social and university-related organisations. This reflects indirectly the aspects Ḥilmī considers flawed in the Ottoman Empire, first and foremost the political system he is intent on improving upon by adopting the Swiss model.⁴² Interestingly, he sees knowledge as available not only in traditional educational institutions but also in moving through the world with open eyes – in his case through Geneva. Ḥilmī makes use of a quotation by Seneca: *non scholae, sed vitae discendum est*⁴³, one that sums

37 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 14f. and 104f.

38 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 12.

39 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 33–37.

40 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 8.

41 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 140–150.

42 In his work *Un projet d'organisation de la souveraineté du peuple en Turquie*, he provides a draft constitution containing the principles of sovereignty of the people and universal suffrage independent of the tax class. For a modern Turkish version of the draft, see SOMEL, 1984: 29–31.

43 The citation is from the French section of Ḥilmī's guide (“Il ne faut pas apprendre pour l'école, mais pour la vie”). There are Latin and French versions, but no Ottoman version, ḤILMĪ, 1320: 36.

up his approach to knowledge acquisition. He even goes a step further when he claims that students should not only learn *for life* but also learn by *living*. Here he differs from Türk Yürdu. Unlike Hilmî, who perceives Geneva as a veritable source of knowledge, they restrict knowledge acquisition to traditional educational institutions.

Both study guides claim completeness and to some extent neutrality in their presentation of Geneva's educational institutions. For the most part the authors avoid personal judgements.⁴⁴ This notwithstanding, there is an explicit preference for one field of study: pedagogics.

Meccas of Pedagogy: Europe in General – Geneva in Particular⁴⁵

Türk Yürdu's brief but insistent plea for pedagogics in Geneva – the “centre of schooling and education” (*tedrîs ve terbiye merkezi*)⁴⁶ – is embedded in its description and recommendation of the school of education in Geneva, the *Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau*.⁴⁷ The Institut was founded in 1912, shortly before publication of the Türk Yürdu study guide, on the initiative of Genevan psychologist and pedagogue Edouard Claparède, and later headed by Pierre Bovet.⁴⁸ It seems that the *Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau* was distinctly popular among foreign students. Between 1912 and 1916 over a hundred students attended this school, eighty of which were foreigners.

[...] it was a world in miniature with a universal vocation imparted by its ambition to lead the field in the movement to reform education [...].⁴⁹

The plea for educational science is the logical consequence of the Türk Yürdu objectives. They were striving for a social revolution that would save the nation in the face of its enemies. In their view this revolution could only be brought about by a new generation. Studying in Europe was a central component in the

44 HİLMÎ, 1320: 12f.

45 This image of Geneva dates back to the nineteenth century; HOFSTETTER, 2007: 134.

46 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 14.

47 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 55–68.

48 HOFSTETTER, 2007: 112–116.

49 NÓVOA, 1994: 503.

creation of a new “enlightened” generation – one that was versed in its own past and traditions, and would develop a national Turkish consciousness.

The mothers that can give birth to this generation are the schools of education. Although still relatively unknown in our country, the importance of these schools of education as distinct from other schools is regarded more highly in the educational systems of progressive nations.⁵⁰

Türk Yürdu stresses the backwardness of the Ottoman state in the field of pedagogics in comparison with Europe.⁵¹ The home country had made no progress in terms of methods of teaching and education; instead, it remained in the grip of traditional concepts. Teachers had not understood the real meaning of teaching and education. Not only were the methods wrong, but the content itself was inadequate. The teachers were not to blame for this situation, however, since they knew no better.

We undoubtedly have to shout for education today. This [education] is not just about our sons learning to read and write [...]. We are referring here [...] to the weapons and tools that will enable us to survive the struggle for life and guarantee our happiness. What are these weapons? Does reading the written or writing what has been said [...] safeguard us in the struggle against attacks? Certainly not! [...] The ability to read and write is merely the cornerstone of all the knowledge we really need.⁵²

With the phrase *weapons to fend off attacks*, Türk Yürdu refers to schools of teaching and education. Only these were in a position to train teachers to impart knowledge and educate children in a way that would benefit them and serve society. Türk Yürdu argues that children must be taught and educated according to their physical and intellectual abilities.⁵³ The Ottoman state had made vast mistakes: “programmes that appear perfect on paper” (*kâğıt üzerinde mükemmel duran progrâmlar*) were elaborated, but ignored the intellectual capacities of the pupils concerned.⁵⁴ Türk Yürdu’s views seem influenced by Edouard Claparède, who aspired to substantiate education and schooling psychologically and align them with the abilities of the pupils.⁵⁵ The *Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau* re-

50 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 56.

51 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 60.

52 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 56f.

53 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 57f.

54 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 59.

55 RIHOVSKY, 1974: 219.

commended by Türk Yürdu stands in the tradition of Claparède and his approach in experimental pedagogics and psychology.⁵⁶

Türk Yürdu describes European educational studies concisely, mentions several of its representatives and their works, and professes admiration for the triumphal procession of this science throughout the world – even in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania – albeit with the exception of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁷ This last point is crucial to their plea for pedagogics. If even former subjects of the Ottoman State had recognised the importance of educational studies, the Ottomans should rethink their situation thoroughly.⁵⁸

Eight years prior to the founding of the *Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau*, Hilmî had highlighted pedagogics as the most beneficial science to be studied in Geneva. Instead of writing a discrete work on the educational studies of the “civilised world” (*medenî âlem*) as planned,⁵⁹ he now confines himself to an appendix in the study guide, entitled “A profession in eight and a half months” (*sekiz bûçûk ayda bir meslek*).⁶⁰ He describes the significance of pedagogics for the East. In his plea for pedagogics he alludes to the opposites “East” (*şark*) and “West” (*ğarb*) and the opportunities of studying this branch of science. The parallels to Türk Yürdu are unmistakable. Both condemn the lack of pedagogics as a science in the Ottoman State and have similar motives for turning towards Europe to study this subject.

Hilmî himself studied pedagogics in Geneva under Paul Duproix, who held the chair of pedagogics at the *Faculté des lettres*, established in 1890, and received a full professorship in 1896.⁶¹ Hilmî’s vision is one of all Ottomans

56 By looking into the curriculum of the *Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau* and the different subject areas, the combination of psychology and pedagogics as well as the experimental approach in research become evident: the main areas are *Psychologie*, *Didactique* and *Éducation*. Beyond that there is a focus on experimental and empirical methods. For a detailed curriculum, see TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 61–67.

57 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 60. The difference between pedagogics and pedology (the science of the development and growth of children) is explained and reference made to the works of pedagogues and psychologists like Stanley Hall, Oscar Chrisman, Edouard Claparède and William Preyer.

58 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 60.

59 HİLMÎ, 1320: 251. He intended to include America.

60 HİLMÎ, 1320: 230–261. HİLMÎ underlines that 8½ months are normally not enough to study pedagogics in depth. It is, however, a start and a reasonable solution for students with little money and time to stay in Europe.

61 HOFSTETTER, 2007: 106.

taking up the study of pedagogics: He sees educational studies as a panacea for the problems of the East.⁶²

Ḥilmī does not deny the existence of education in his home country. He nonetheless perceives it as the “real source of every disaster” (*her felāketiñ aşıl kâynāğı*). Not bound to basic principles, Ottoman education was without scientific form.⁶³ Children in the Ottoman state were educated in an unprofessional manner. Education in Europe, on the other hand, had become a science and was developing.⁶⁴ Only by resorting to European pedagogics would the Ottoman Empire be able to produce teachers with a genuine ability to fulfil their task. Apart from the importance of teachers, the authors of children’s books and scholars who enhanced pedagogics had performed a splendid service. “They should be millionaires. Especially in our country where we need reforms so much!” (*Būnlar mīliyonderde kesile bilir. Hele tepe den ırnāğa kadar ıslāha muhtāc olan bizlerde!*)⁶⁵

The mission of the pedagogue should be to enlighten men, and to propagate and advance ideals such as freedom and knowledge.⁶⁶ Studying pedagogics is not enough. To serve the East educationally, the knowledge acquired must be applied. Those who perform the task “will save us from death” (*bizi ölüm”ler”den kırtaracaqlar dır*).⁶⁷ Ḥilmī specifies that this can be achieved by comparing and eliminating the mistakes of both East and West, and combining the positive aspects.⁶⁸ Things appropriate to humanity should be adopted, advanced and refined.⁶⁹ In Ḥilmī’s view, taking over European practice in this context is not tantamount to blind acceptance of all things European. Instead it is an opportunity to learn from Europe – not least from its mistakes.⁷⁰ He compares it to having “eyes like the camera of a photographer” (*gözleri bir fotoğrāfcıniñ mākinesi yerinde*). “A device that must detect the visible and the invisible like an x-ray” (*Bir mākine ki röntken şü ‘ā’ı gibi görüneni de görünemeyeni de görmeli*).

62 ḤİLMİ, 1320: 231f.

63 ḤİLMİ, 1320: 232f.

64 ḤİLMİ, 1320: 234.

65 ḤİLMİ, 1320: 243.

66 ḤİLMİ, 1320: 245.

67 ḤİLMİ, 1320: 236.

68 ḤİLMİ, 1320: 236f.

69 The meaning of “appropriate to humanity” (*insānlığa yakaşır*) is not specified; ḤİLMİ, 1320: 257.

70 ḤİLMİ, 1320: 258f.

This is the only possible way to discover useful subjects, correct mistakes and support progress.⁷¹

Ḥilmī, however, sees a change of mentality as the prerequisite for this development. The people from the East perceived themselves as victims. Learning from Europe would oblige them to develop a mentality born of science and to fight this self-perception.⁷² Furthermore, many people in the East had a narcissistic attitude and were unable to detect their own mistakes. In this context he recommends Gustave le Bon's *Psychologie de l'éducation*.⁷³

This Frenchman clamours "we are finished". If even the French are clamouring that they are finished, what about us? We were finished long ago!⁷⁴

Ḥilmī's all-embracing conclusion is to make a call for the study of pedagogics, and the best place to do so is "Geneva – Switzerland – the home and cradle of pedagogics" (*Cenevrā – İsviçre – pedāgociyā vaṭanı, pedāgociyā beşîğdir*).⁷⁵ It is at this point that Ḥilmī gives practical advice on studying pedagogics in Geneva.⁷⁶ He highlights the advantage of this field of study, which he sees simultaneously as the prerequisite for studying: in the course of these studies, a wide spectrum of knowledge, such as politics, economics and the social sciences, would be covered. The basis for this can only be found in Europe.⁷⁷

We have to adopt something from Europe; it is necessary! But only by living for some time among these people will it be possible. Even if the whole world disagrees [...], we say: No, we are not mistaken.⁷⁸

Towards the end of his appeal for the study of pedagogics, Ḥilmī also calls on women to take up pedagogics in Europe.⁷⁹ He emphasises didactics and psychology, and does not shun confrontation with religious restraints:

71 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 260f.

72 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 237, 241 and 239f.

73 LE BON, 1902.

74 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 248. Apart from Le Bon, ḤILMĪ, 1320: 36–40 (French section) recommends a list of educational works in a second appendix.

75 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 248.

76 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 248–252.

77 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 256.

78 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 261.

79 Ḥilmī mentions several other institutions for women to study in Geneva, e.g., the *École professionnelle et ménagère* and the *École d'horlogerie*. Other suggestions include courses for

Can a Muslim girl go to Europe and study? Yes! Studying in Europe is indispensable for our men and our women alike [...].⁸⁰

Ḥilmī seeks to invalidate these restraints by applying the religious legitimation he uses to justify studying in Europe in general, i.e., he accentuates the Islamic obligation to pursue knowledge. Additionally, he describes Europe and specifically Geneva as places of freedom to fulfil religious obligations, possibly to a more satisfactory degree than in the Ottoman Empire. Ḥilmī mentions the veiling of women, confirming the absence of obstacles to this practice. He goes so far as to appraise Swiss women as positive role models, since they are able to veil themselves even “more perfectly” (*bizdekinden mükemmel*) than Ottoman Muslim women.⁸¹

Although Ḥilmī supports Muslim women studying in Europe, he places discernible boundaries on their social role.

We occasionally heard it said that women were necessary for education and therefore need education. Although this is true, it is also wrong. Apart from the psychological characteristics of women, their education in our country as a result of the veil is 90 per cent more difficult than that of men. For this reason we direct our efforts to 90 per cent towards the education of men. Education must be brought in to the homes through them. Or one has only to raise girls and women who are educators and advocates of education – not teachers of education [...]. That is why we need to let these girls and women see Europe once.⁸²

His focus is clearly on male students and his hopes to secure the Ottoman Empire are undoubtedly contingent on men.

In contrast, Türk Yürdu assigns women a role in undertaking a social revolution and thus saving the empire.⁸³ With great vigour they propagate the idea of Ottoman women studying in Europe. They are keen for women to acquire a “scientific identity” (*‘ilmī hüviyyet*), albeit primarily to indicate to them their female duties.⁸⁴ In the context of studying in Europe, Türk Yürdu rather tends to focus on the advantage to young Ottoman men bringing their sisters or wives to

women at the *Académie professionnelle* and evening classes for girls either at female boarding schools or at the *Union des femmes*; ḤILMĪ, 1320: 153f., 178, 179f., 183f., 202–204 and 210.

80 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 252.

81 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 253.

82 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 254.

83 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 12.

84 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 9.

Europe than on the actual benefits to women themselves.⁸⁵ Although they do not propagate that women should study pedagogics or any other field of study,⁸⁶ they characterise them as the “kind and merciful mothers of tomorrow” (*yārımñ şefik ve rahım vālideleri*).⁸⁷ In this function they are to bring innovation and contentment to the nation. As mothers they play a role in educating the socially valuable individual.

Both study guides admire Europe – especially Geneva – and specifically its educational institutions as places of knowledge. For Hilmī, Geneva is a “market and centre of knowledge” (*ma’rifet pāzārı / ma’rifet merkezi*). He stresses that it is merely one example of the numerous cities in Europe that constitute “beds of knowledge” (*‘ilim yatağı*).⁸⁸ Türk Yürdu regards the educational institutions (*‘irfānı mü’esseseler*), which they equate with “sources of knowledge” (*ma’rifet menba’lar*), as a key feature of Geneva.⁸⁹ In addition to the importance of *schooling* and gaining knowledge, the authors highlight the need to acquire methods to impart this knowledge. Only the acquisition of knowledge in Europe and the corresponding teaching methods will enable Ottomans to achieve something in the Ottoman state. At the same time pedagogics has a second value: both Türk Yürdu and Hilmī portray it as a tool to *educate* pupils to become socially valuable human beings. Although there is no clear distinction between *education* and *schooling* in the two study guides, their reasoning suggests the manifold influences these authors attribute to educational institutions.

Ottoman educators believed that public education would solve a host of problems, ranging from those of economic and military competitiveness, to those relating to manpower, social control, cultural identification, and political loyalty.⁹⁰

This thinking resembles that of the Ottoman state. The state likewise regarded the educational system as more than a mere tool to generate qualified manpower. When the state became aware of the possibility of creating new functional elites through the educational system, they saw the necessity to make the educational

85 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 10.

86 They merely mention the possibility for women to study at the University of Geneva and of secondary and higher education for women in general; TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 23f. and 38–40.

87 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 11 and 8f.

88 HİLMİ, 1320: 50 and 6.

89 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 14.

90 FORTNA, 2002: 30.

system available to a wider stratum of the population.⁹¹ This would ensure the state loyal subjects and – in the course of state expansion and the spread of nationalism – loyal “citizens”, all of whom would accept the values of the centre as their own.⁹² The state was eager to replace the family as educator with schools and teachers.⁹³ The state monopoly of the educational system evolved in Europe in the late eighteenth century and would later prevail in many parts of the world. These state-controlled educational systems sought to create nations and shape the political loyalty and social actions of their members.⁹⁴

[...] there emerged a new patterning of education in its relation to the state and new styles of educational structures. These new educational patterns were systems and they were primarily created by and around the interests of the state.⁹⁵

It was not only states that recognised the significance of schooling and education. Many Ottoman intellectuals – like Hilmî and the members of Türk Yürdü Geneva – addressed this issue in the context of searching for the means to save the Ottoman Empire. The manifold theoretical approaches varied both in their pedagogical methods as well as in the content to be taught. The value of religion, culture and tradition was assessed differently, as was the degree to which Ottomans should attune themselves to Europe.⁹⁶

Although Hilmî and Türk Yürdü Geneva were close to the Ottoman state in terms of their attitude towards the educational system and its power to shape society, their ideas about the kind of society to be created differed. Hilmî’s opposition to the Hamidian system does not allow him to entertain the notion of education as generating loyal subjects. He propagates education as enlightenment of the people, introducing the ideals of freedom and knowledge. His objective is to change the mentality. He sees proficiency in pedagogics as the way forward to achieve this aim. Hilmî has a strong Turkish-nationalist focus. In his chapter on pedagogics he speaks mostly of the whole “East” but concentrates on Turkish Ottomans and their education in the interests of engendering a Turkish national consciousness. Hilmî does not explicitly formulate this idea but

91 FORTNA, 2001: 1f.

92 DERINGIL, 2002: 102; KARPAT, 2001: 135.

93 FORTNA, 2000: 388.

94 COWEN, 1996: 158.

95 COWEN, 1996: 156.

96 See, among others, STONE, 1973: 147–151; BINBAŞIOĞLU, 2005: 27–55.

makes clear that schools cannot be the sole backbone of education and teaching. On the contrary, education is the duty of society as a whole.

Türk Yürdu, on the other hand, is ideologically close to the Young Turk regime. Hence, the state educational system is perceived as the main instrument of schooling and education. Like many other intellectual movements in the Young Turk period, Türk Yürdu believes in the creation of a new generation through education.⁹⁷ This was the only path to social revolution, one that would enable the individual to assert himself in “life’s struggle”. According to Türk Yürdu, life’s struggle is the struggle with and against nature, and the overcoming of Western superiority. Türk Yürdu likewise sees youth education as the road to national consciousness and a Turkish identity.⁹⁸ For both Hilmî and Türk Yürdu education is not only a tool to convey their conception of socially valuable human beings in society but ultimately to create them.

I consider this plea for pedagogics a good example of speaking multiple tongues in the intended process of transfer. By mediating between different frames of reference, i.e., between their home and their host culture, the authors translate a specific concept from Europe to the Ottoman Empire. From their perspective pedagogics is multilingual by nature, as it speaks in a European as well as a Turkish-Ottoman tongue, or even one that is “universal”.

Conclusion: Something Else to Learn?

Although the last paragraph suffices as a conclusion to this contribution, I will make some final remarks on Tunalı Hilmî. His study guide and, to a certain extent, his personal life are, to my mind, a positive example of life and studies in a foreign country. Although he undeniably propagates a Turkish nationalist ideology, which should be understood in its historical and political context, his study guide nevertheless displays at the same time an open-mindedness about his foreign environment. Contrary to the sentiments of Türk Yürdu, he did not fear losing his Turkish-Muslim-Ottoman identity by living in Europe. He even married a Swiss woman,⁹⁹ a move that was totally opposed to the Turkish nationalist

97 TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 56. For the Young Turk period in general, see BERKES, 1964: 454.

98 *Inter alia* TÜRK YÜRDU, 1328: 77.

99 KIESER, 2005: 163 (reference 207); see also ÖNDER, 1982: 492.

approach of Türk Yürdu, who, at least in theory, explicitly prohibited marriage to European women.

Ḥilmī manages to declare a number of activities regarded by most Ottoman Turkish Muslims as distractions from studying and dangerous Europeanisations as useful to students. He encourages dancing, music, painting and acting classes,¹⁰⁰ as well as attending concerts and the theatre.¹⁰¹ Ḥilmī considers these activities to be as essential as attendance at university. Travelling to Europe, participating in European cultural and social life, and studying at an educational institution – all of these aspects serve to educate the student. This attitude may well spring from his more or less all-embracing admiration for Europe. At the same time, his idea of education is reminiscent of the neo-humanistic concept of a comprehensive harmonious education. The powers of the student should be allowed to thrive, and the student himself educated first and foremost to become a human being.¹⁰²

The influence of this educational idea is also evident in the list of books Ḥilmī suggests for reading. He warmly recommends the works of Pestalozzi, who postulated the ideal of a comprehensive human education in its widest sense, which he regarded as more important than vocational education and education for certain layers of society.¹⁰³

Against this backdrop, it is not possible to classify Ḥilmī as belonging to a certain intellectual school. He proceeds eclectically, and his study guide shows no evidence of adhering to a consistent educational idea. Comparison with the study guide by Türk Yürdu Geneva¹⁰⁴, however, reveals his propensity for the described ideal of a comprehensive human education. This is all the more apparent from his description of Geneva's educational system. He praises the pedagogical approach of the German pedagogue Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852), which is also mirrored at the *École enfantine* in Geneva. Here, apart from the knowledge that is imparted, children have the opportunity to play inside or in the garden, to visit museums and to play musical instruments.¹⁰⁵ This form of schooling and education is continued in the *École primaire*. In addition to sub-

100 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 190f., 194 and 197.

101 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 197f., 255 and 197.

102 For further information, see VIERHAUS, 1972: 519ff. and REBLE, 1999: 182.

103 VIERHAUS, 1972: 520.

104 Neither is this approach found in the study guide by Necmeddīn 'Ārif, mentioned at the beginning of this contribution.

105 ḤILMĪ, 1320: 70f.

jects such as reading, writing and arithmetic, the curriculum includes music, painting and gymnastics.¹⁰⁶

Despite my admiration for Hilmî's ideas and his ability to speak in multiple tongues, it should be remarked that he never forgets his mother tongue. Even he cannot detach education from its "outer purpose". In the end he, too, subordinates the education of the human being to the interests and benefits of the Ottoman State.

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106 HİLMÎ, 1320: 73f.

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Biography

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