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Araştırma Makalesi

THE TRIBE SCHOOL OF ABDULHAMID II: LOYALTY TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE SULTAN

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Abstract

This study analyzes the Tribal Schools established by Abdulhamid II. The main purpose of it was providing "Loyalty to the Empire." It examined what criteria were considered when choosing students, whether the tribal children realized Abdulhamid's policy, and the reasons for the closure of the school being questioned. During his reign, he aimed to ensure students' loyalty to the state as harmless. Education was given in Istanbul and their loyalty was tried to be ensured. In line with the education policy, students of Shiite origin were also brought to Istanbul, and the Sunni creed was taught. In the article, the implications of the efforts to create the idea of loyalty through the education policy of the Empire will be discussed. In our study, which examines the Tribal Schools in line with loyalty to the state and the Sultan, the political aim of the Empire to provide loyalty through education policy is the subject.¹

Keywords: Abdulhamid II, Tribe, School, Education, Loyalty, Shiite Students.

II.ABDÜLHAMİD'İN AŞİRET MEKTEPLERİ: OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU'NA VE SULTANA SADAKAT

Öz

Bu çalışma, II. Abdülhamid tarafından kurulan Aşiret Mektepleri'ni incelemektedir. Mektebin asıl amacı "İmparatorluğa Sadakati" sağlamaktır. Çalışmada, öğrenci seçiminde hangi kriterlerin dikkate alındığı, aşiret çocuklarının II. Abdülhamid'in politikasını gerçekleştirip gerçekleştirmediği ve okulun kapanma nedenleri

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¹ Bu araştırma için etik kurul iznine gerek duyulmamaktadır.

incelenmektedir. II. Abdülhamit'in saltanatı sırasında öğrencilerin devlete bağlılığının zararsız olarak sağlanması hedeflenmiştir. Birçoğuna İstanbul'da eğitim verilerek İmparatorluğa bağlılıkları sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Eğitim politikası doğrultusunda İstanbul'a Şîî kökenli öğrenciler de getirilerek onlara da Sünnî akide öğretilmiştir. Makalede, İmparatorluğun eğitim politikası üzerinden sadakat fikri oluşturma çabalarına ilişkin çıkarımlar tartışılacaktır. Devlete ve Sultana sadakat doğrultusunda Aşiret Mekteplerini inceleyen çalışmamızda İmparatorluğun eğitim politikası üzerinden gerçekleştirdiği sadakat sağlama eksenli siyasi amacı konu edinilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: II. Abdülhamid, Aşiret, Mektep, Eğitim, Sadakat, Şîî Talebeler.

INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known fact that the 20th century imposed a new world system. In this context, although great empires, which include many nationalities like the Ottoman try to keep their different members together. However, they couldn't succeed in keeping them together despite their great efforts. Thus, we have witnessed many new nationalities in history. Ottoman State did some efforts and produced some projects to prevent this separation. When we look at some of those projects, forming tribe schools is one of them, which was organized during the era of Abdulhamid II. Though its aim is disputable, its main purpose was keeping many young people together who have a different national background as Arab, Kurd, or Albanian (BOA. İ.HUS. 98-6). Albanians from 1902 to 1907 also studied at this school. However, they found the quota of 20 people insufficient to meet. (Yavaş, 2022, p. 245). In addition, thanks to the children of the Muslim tribal chiefs who will study in this school, it would be warmed to Istanbul, the caliph, the caliphate, and the Turks, so the effect of the nationalist propaganda of the Europeans among the Arabs would be reduced. (Kodaman, 1991, p. 9-11). Because of this reason, "sheiks should be cultivated and kept happy." (Deringil, 2003, p. 323). The same policy was followed by Shiite children. They were also brought to Istanbul, where they learned the Sunni creed and were asked to explain it when they returned to their homeland (BOA. İ.DH. 98525).

However, unlike the children in tribal schools, these were not the children of prominent families, they were poor children, and their expenses were covered by the state. The Sultan was also paying close attention to these children (BOA. İ.DH. 98993). A madrasa near Fatih was allocated for these children to take lessons (BOA. Y.MTV. 78/158). The education policy pursued the same goal: to create loyal subjects. While educating the children of the Arab elite was at the forefront in tribal schools, the children of modest families were here (Deringil, 2013, p. 159). Ten Shiite and two Sunni children were sent from Baghdad and Karbala. After a year and a half, six students returned to Iraq and could not complete their education. The project was not successful. Only a few completed their education in 1907, so they were appointed to Baghdad as teachers and preachers (Eraslan, 1985;

Çetinsaya, 2020, p. 232). This allows us to observe the importance of these students in terms of Ottoman state policy through education.

Before the examining background of the tribe schools and the Ottoman state policy for those schools, it can be useful to define the term “tribe”. Royal Anthropological Institute defined the tribe as a “politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory.” (Misra, 2008, pp. 449-451). In the Turkish context, it is usually used for nomadic or semi-nomadic groups. They engaged in animal husbandry. In areas suitable for agriculture, a system resembling a feudal order was dominant. Since the level of education and training was very low, societies were living according to old customs and traditions. Blood feuds, fights, and rivalries between tribes have been going on for centuries. The people of both regions had a belligerent character as they knew how to use weapons and ride horses from an early age. Tribal chiefs, feudal lords, aghas, and sheiks were the dominant character (Kodaman, 1987, p. 97). Çetinsaya emphasizes that we are faced with the picture in Northern Iraq: “Whenever the central authority weakened due to internal and external problems, the region went into turmoil; Intra-tribal and inter-tribal conflict/conflict never subsided.” (Çetinsaya, 1992, p. 154). Ottomans have desired to control such groups by implementing some policies because it wanted to create a strong centralized authority by settling those groups. We will examine this point later in the context of the tribe schools.

The state gave up the devshirme system, and it opened new schools for Cherkas, Georgian, Bosnian, Albanian and Hungarian rather than Christian students, before the Tanzimat era of the Ottoman Empire (Ergin, 1977, p. 1180). After that, on the eve of Nizam-ı Cedid and the Tanzimat, this policy turned to open new schools for both Turkish and Muslim students instead of those nationalities. During the time of Abdülaziz, there was a Silahşoranı Hassa school whose students were from Arabia, Rumelia, and Christian young people.

When it comes to the era of Abdulhamid II, the state has experienced a different event with Arabians in terms of school. Firstly, the state tried to teach these Arab people in military school (Harbiye), but then it gave up this idea, so tribe schools were opened for these students. This idea, firstly, was thought of by Abdulhamid II, but its report document was prepared by Osman Nuri Pasha in 1892 (Ergin, 1977, pp. 1182-1184). In the report, it was emphasized that “*this school was opened to prevent Arabian tribes from separation the state; there were many evil projects which aim the disinclining of these nations from the Ottoman. To prevent these threats, it is very important to educate the children of tribes. Because of this reason, they should be brought to Istanbul for the school.*” (Balçı, 2006, p. 69). At first times, students mainly came from Arabian tribes; they are children of Bedouin Seyhs and Reis. However, some Kurds tribes also desired to send their children to this school, such as Hamidian regiments (BOA. MF. MKT.

174-96).

These students were gathered from some tribes and when their families were informed about the school. They first settled the house of Esma Sultan in Kabatas (BOA. BEO. 60-4458). They will have been educated here for around five years, in this process, the main purpose of the state was to keep them loyal to itself by educating them (Ergin, 1977, p.1185). They have a uniform as cloth and in the first year, their numbers were around fifty (Musavver Malumat Gazetesi, 1316, V.30). Although it is claimed that the school was opened only in Istanbul Kabataş, according to the information obtained (Duman, 2019, 91) so far, *“three years after these schools were opened in Istanbul and Baghdad, other schools were opened in other places, especially in cities such as Patnos, Salmas, Toprakkale, Van, and Mudrak. Regarding these schools, Avriyanov says: There is a separate room inside the mosque which is of great political importance.”* (Abdulla, 2009, p. 274). After this short mention of the background of the tribe school, we want to examine Abdulhamid’s policy about both tribe schools and Arabian and Kurd tribes.

According to Ramazan Balcı, there are some important reasons for choosing these schools in terms of Abdulhamid II. These reasons can be categorized as politics, religion, and administration. It is obvious that during this era, there was a nationalism threat. Abdulhamid II was aware of this, and he wanted to protect those areas. Therefore, he finds it beneficial to educate the children of these regions. Briefly, he desired to impose the Ottoman ideology on them. Secondly, religious reason: actually, Abdulhamid’s main desire was to realize the Panislamism policy, so this school project was important in this case because it was aimed that when these children were educated, they will have become loyal to this ideology. Thirdly, it is claimed that Abdulhamid II prefers to centralization policy rather than decentralization, so he thinks that the tribes which sent their children to such schools approved and adopt the policy of the state. (Balcı, 2006, pp. 67-68). In this case, we can say that by opening this school, Abdulhamid might aim at having a strong power both in the domestic and international arena. From this perspective, it can be also claimed that he wanted to reach his target by the way of education, but it is disputable whether this is a successful project or just a dream. We will look at this case toward the end of our paper.

The recent studies about the tribe school focus on establishment, administration, and closing processes based on documents almost entirely from the Ottoman archives, (Demirel & Turan, 2013), (Duman, 2019), concentrate anthropologically on its daily life flow and control mechanisms used in the school (Akin, 2020), analyze the relationship with İttihad-ı İslam policy (Avşar, 2022), zoom on their career and life stories (Neyzi, 2022). Apart from such studies, this paper examines just a loyalty-oriented education policy via a tribe school project. Therefore, it focuses especially on student choices made based on loyalty issue. In

this respect, it deals with political engineering relied on the education of the tribe children. While doing this, it prefers especially concentrating on loyalty-themed issues and the success or failure of the project by benefiting from primary and secondary sources. It also makes references to the above-mentioned lastly literature. In this respect, it differs from previous studies.

What Are the Criteria in Terms of Choosing Students for the Tribe School?

At this point, we want to stress the criteria for choosing these students and what is the link between state policy and these selected students. The state needs to know whether those students are from tribes or not. If they don't from the tribe, there are two scenarios; the first option is the postponement of their record or sending them again their houses (BOA. DH.MKT. 2602-47). As it seems that the first criterion is belonging to a well-known tribe. These students must be enough in terms of their age, morals, and health. Their ages should be between twelve and sixteen. As well as this point, they should be available in terms of manners or morality (BOA. DH.MKT. 2605-24). We can also clearly say that the children of leading sheiks have priority compared to rüesa and some other groups' children. For example, Ali was from Bingazi and he was notable. Although he collected all documents and applied to the school, his application was held for about three months and was not approved (Gratien, 2014, p.13). As another document emphasized that applicants must be the children of prominent families: "birinci derecede meşayih evladından münasib talebe mevcut olmadığı takdirde ikinci derecede bulunan rüesa ve saire mehadim ve ekabirinden münasiplerinin bi'l intihap sene-i tedrisiye evailinin hululüne mebni..." (BOA. MF.MKT. 181-112). It is an important point that the Sultan firstly wants to please famous tribal families. Therefore, he thinks that it will be easy to attract the attention of others under the sheiks.

The sheiks of Arab and Kurd tribes wanted to send their children to this school with great pleasure because they desire to educate their children to get rid of their ignorance. Although some arguments say that sheiks do not want to send their children to this school and they sent students who are not the children of notables, (Koçu, 1960, p. 1160) some data show otherwise. Even, this school caused competition among these people. For instance, there was a sheik whose name is Ali al-Necri who protested the state, and he said that "if you don't accept my child, I can lose my dignity in the region; I am also ready to pay tuition." (Deringil, 2014, p. 109). These sentences are important because they show us the popularity of this school in the region. It can be reasonable to assess why some sheiks have such a tendency. They might like the education at school, or they only prefer to win the competitive race among each other by sending their children to this school. It means that the school might be the reference point for sheiks to prove their reputation in the region. It was important for local administrators to specify

whether students were from a tribe or not because some people want to send their children to this school. As a result, it seems that there was a great tendency of people to record their children in this school. As well as mentioned points, they might want to benefit from guaranteed job opportunities for their children. We will look at the job opportunities of those students after examining the school and city atmosphere in terms of these children.

We can continue with Deringil, he mentions the school situations of students. According to him, these students were living like “a prison life” because it was not so easy for them to adapt to this school life; they were also not good at speaking Turkish. Apart from these reasons, going outside of the school was banned, although some of them have relatives in Istanbul; there was a rough school administration system (Deringil, 2014, p. 110). It can be said that Arab students were very jealous of each other, so with this policy, the school administration might target to prevent such a feeling among them. The minister of education, Zühdü Pasha, claimed that “*these students are still in the effects of nomadic life, so they were not aware of the beauty of this city and empire, to provide awareness for them, they should be brought away mosques on Friday praying ceremony. Thus, they can understand these blessings.*” (Deringil, 2014, p. 110).

We can clearly say that the determinations of Zühdü Pasha are so right. The private letters of these students were also checked by the administration, and it was corrected if they did a mistake. These letters were sent to their parents. By correcting and censoring letters, the State was aimed at giving a good message to the parents of those students. Some students have a health problem owing to weather conditions in Istanbul and their school place, including a lot of humidity. Therefore some of them became ill (Akin, 2020, p. 82). Abdülhamid II charged some doctors to treat them. He is like a pater family towards those students. He was interested in their course grades, morals, and health. The students who have bad morals cannot be sent to their houses without informing him. It is obvious that by teaching these behaviors, Ottomans aimed at growing these people to a respectful and obedient to themselves. Through this policy, the Ottoman Empire was putting a barrier in front of possible revolts that might come from them or their families.

What Are the Employment Opportunities When They Graduate?

Looking at the career path of these students, they will serve in the state mechanism of the Ottoman. The curriculum of the school is following the idea of raising conservative and obedient generations, which are and kneaded with traditional discourses (Avşar, 2022, s. 112). The range of their courses are started from Koran, religious courses, reading Turkish, the Ottoman style writings, and dictionary, geography, and calculation methods up to French, Arabic, and Persia languages (Cevad, 1939, pp. 330-331). However, school administrators had difficulties in how constructing the 5-year program for these students who did not

speak Turkish (Danso, 2012, p. 779). They can visit their families biyearly. In fact, they can be sent to their houses every year. Osman Ergin argues that it might be beneficial in terms of the state when their parents observe the care and caution of children (Ergin, 1977, p. 1188). When they graduate from school, they had two ways. One of them is going to enter the Mekteb-i Sultani and then they are sent to Mülkiye School. The other path for them was entering Harbiye School. After all this education, they sent to their regions as district governors, teachers, and bureaucratic people ranking third, fourth or fifth.

The expectation is from they go to unfavourable areas such as Mosul, Yemen, and Benghazi to serve the state as becoming loyal. However, when the students graduate, they did not prefer such areas; they wanted to stay in Istanbul or go to their regions. In this case, we can clearly say that showing the opportunities of Istanbul for them caused to opposite reaction because when they learn about those facilities, their desire to live a life in this country by working within the state body. Another approach might be that although many efforts of the state to teach them something about the terms such as loyalty, obedience, Islam, etc. It seems that such policies were not so successful as persuading students to do their state duty in these regions. Therefore, they caused many problems. These students did not feel a sense of belonging. If they feel, they will go to those areas without claiming any excuse. Eugene L. Rogan argues that there is a clear controversy between the old cultures of these students and their new cultures in modern Istanbul. He says that some students learned how to be modern in Istanbul; he bases his argument on photographs. In the first photograph,² we see the students like a desert Bedouin, in the second photograph, when they came to school and wore their school uniform, they look like a European man (Rogan, 1996, p. 25). All in all, when these students experienced such a modern life, naturally, they might not prefer going to Mosul, Yemen, and Benghazi. The state could think of educating them in Mecca, Damascus, or Baghdad, but the state aimed to make those students like an Ottoman man by educating and showing them the magnificence of Istanbul, which is the capital city. However, as we have seen, the effects of this idea caused some negative results and thus, they couldn't be persuaded to go to backward places. It seems that even the Sultan's attention to the education of these children was not effective. This school was so important to the Sultan that even the opening of the school coincided with the sultan's birthday (BOA. İ.MMS. 131-5641).

What is the Situation of These Students in the School?

Can we argue that all students completed their educations, and they go to their regions or stay in Istanbul as representative personnel of the state? In this

² The Ottoman Empire revealed in the Sultan Abdulhamid the Second's Photographic Albums, *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 12/6, 1988.

case, there are some different issues; we will continue with Rogan, who examines some students. One of them is Navf el-Salih, and his family lives in Aleppo. He took his education in Istanbul and became a captain in the military service. When his father was on the point of death, he wrote a letter to Abdulhamid II and wanted to permit him to turn his son into a leader of the tribe. Abdulhamid II accepted this willingly, and because of this reason, Navaf felt a sense of gratitude towards Abdulhamid II and Navaf protected his military degree up to 1918. He can feel such an emotion, but Muhammed Bercis is another student, and he did not feel such a feeling. His situations and ranks in military service are like Navaf, but he just said that “I did not feel a sense of belonging; I just have acquaintance with the Turks’ acts and traditions.” Rogan goes on with another interesting example: Abdul Muhsin comes from a strong tribe family, the family of El-Sadun, and he served the Ottoman from 1908 to 1918. He also became a representative in the Ottoman parliament. His brother Abdul Kerim also accepted the tribe school and when he turned his region, he knows land law and he embezzled a lot of lands in Basra. Therefore, this situation caused a rebellion in the region, with English attacks; it lost its power in the region around 1915 (Rogan, 1996, pp. 34-35). This example clarifies that all students look at the Ottoman from their windows. While some of them feel a sense of belonging and they identify themselves with the ideas and policies of the Ottoman, some of them benefited from its opportunities and when they turn their regions, they prefer to use their ranks or gain on the behalf of their families or themselves. It shows us although Abdulhamid II wants to prevent potential threats in the region; it seems that with this project some problems were born within those regions.

It might be useful to examine the background of these students in the school. We want to look at some special reasons why many of them did not feel a sense of belonging like Navaf. In the case of Navaf, he might feel a sense of belonging to the Sultan because he was permitted to turn his tribe. We wonder that if the Sultan did not accept this request, even so, was Navaf loyal to him? To answer this question, it can be reasonable to look at some other cases of students who graduate from the school, and then we will examine the lack of sense of belonging. In the book of Alişan Akpınar, we can see some of these students. For example, Hasan Sıddık is one of those students; he attended the Turkish war of independence and then became a representative from the region of Van. The other example is Halit Bey, who joined World War I and he took part in a rebellious organization called Azadi, then this movement led to the rebellion of Sheikh Said (Akpınar, 1997, pp. 120-122). Although some students serve the state after graduation, these examples prove that there is not a unique consonance towards Abdulhamid’s ideas because it seems that many of these students played a crucial role in rebellion movements both in the Arabian region and in the east of Turkey. It can be also added that their state ranks or duty increase their families’ reputation in the region, therefore with this policy Ottoman desired to please such families.

However, some of them seem that used this power to make legitimize their power in the region and increase their lands or reputation. In this context, it can be claimed that these students were not enough to realize the dreams of Abdulhamid II.

What Are the Missions of Those Students and Were They Successful to Realize the Main Policies of Abdulhamid II?

It should be assessed why many of them did not embrace the Ottoman. Firstly, when we look at the background of these students, they came from nomadic life, and they had not a state idea in their minds. In tribe life, they might think only of their tribes' benefits because they copy these behaviours from their parents and other neighbouring tribes. Therefore, they could lack the capability to understand the policy of the state. Apart from this reason, there are some visible factors for the absence of belonging; these students have some difficulties in school. They were not permitted to go outside when they were punished when they did not complete their tasks in the school. They are in close control of both the school directory and Ottoman governors (Akin, 2020, s.92). Because of this, some of them tried to be truant from school. Moreover, they were not familiar with Turkish, but they were imposed to learn it. They were also under the rough discipline of the Sultan, teachers as well as some other officers. Although there were some rewards for students in return for their success, punishments were badly impressive.

The tribe school was at the level of primitive or Ottoman junior high school, but anyway, these students had difficulty understanding courses because they don't know Turkish. For this reason, it was emphasized that the first and second-year courses proceeded to the lower level (Akpınar, 1997, p. 109). When they adapted the courses, the grades of almost all of them will become better. We can see them from the table of students' school report cards (Akpınar, 1996, pp. 90-94). Though the first year and second years, the total point of the first-ranking student was 69 out of 100, however, in the third year there are six or seven students who are the first rank of students, and their points were 100 out of 100.

They had also difficulties adapting to the weather of Istanbul. Many of them became ill in their first years. They were missing their houses. Furthermore, it is a crucial point that when they went to their regions for holiday, they were communicating with the chief of tribes who were rebellious people. For instance, Yahiya b. Ahmed was arrested due to his visiting rebellious man, Ibn-i Hamidüddin (Balci, 2010, p. 119). As it seems that some of them were under the control and guidance of some illegal tribe groups. Therefore, some of these students served the aim of these powers rather than Abdulhamid II. Visiting their children's own houses was the order of the Sultan, but he hope that when they went to their houses, they showed what they learned, so this will expand among other families and thus, their tendency increased to educate their children (Sivrikaya,

1972, p. 18). Such kinds of reasons exhibit that they cannot develop a sense of belonging to the state.

Looking from the perspective of the state, we can observe some problems which triggered the students to feel like this. We can start with the place of the school. It was in the house of Esma Sultan, but this place was not turned into a school place. While this school project is very important in terms of Abdulhamid II, it seems that the education service was not enough to provide a suitable place for these students. We can say that the state body which was interested in education issues was not enough to complete its duty. Although Abdulhamid II wanted to open this school, it seems that there was a problem in terms of money and thus, this limited the opportunities of the school. While Ottoman was not affording its tribe and tribe school well, some of the other nations were spending money on those areas in terms of missionary activities; as a result, we will have seen the results of it at the end of World War I (Sivrikaya, 1972, p. 22).

When the tribe school was opened, some of the students were on holiday. When they came to Istanbul, they saw that their schools were closed, so they tried to record themselves for other schools in Istanbul. They applied to military school and the director of the school rejected them by claiming that these students were not coming from the military family; therefore, we cannot accept them. As a result, they had to return to their houses. In this case, when we look at all these reasons, we cannot request these students to become loyal to the state. As it seems in the last example, they have suffered. Thus, they cannot develop an idea towards the state for its policies and they cannot become a better example person in their regions.

As A Result, Is It a Successful Project? And Are There Any Contributions of It in Terms of Keeping Both Kurds and Arabs Nations Together as A Loyal to the Ottoman?

At this point, when we will look at why tribe schools were closed and then try to explain our outcomes by benefiting from the approaches of whether this project became successful, or it just caused to waste of time and money. There are some scenarios about the closing reasons for this school. Derya Baş claims that this school was closed due to heavy costs and managing badly. Officially, its closing date is 1908 (BOA. MF.MKT. 1040-41). It was closed after a food protest (Baş, 2010, p. 18). However, this reason seems so simple and unreasonable. We learn from an official document that clarifies that this school was closed at the order of the Sultan himself (Sivrikaya, 1972, p. 23). According to this document, the yearly budget of the tribe school was around 618.325 kurus, which means a heavy burden on the budget. Therefore, Padishah approved this idea, and the remaining students were distributed to other schools. We can say that although Abdulhamid II gives much more importance to this project, he was defeated by the budget. We know that the Ottoman budget has already not been enough to afford this school.

Because of this, reason they could not adjust a school building for those students, and they had to prefer the house of Esma Sultan.

The foreign press was closely interested in this project, and it demonstrates the school as a nest of anarchy. For example, Kölnische Zeitung newspaper made news about an event that happened in the school, and it caused the death and injury of someone owing to attacks on military officers in 1903. These events also expanded Austria and Italy. Therefore, according to Balcı, to prevent new sedition, the state closed this school silently (Balcı, 2010, p. 120). Another claim is that in 1903, the correspondent of the Armenian newspaper, Ginthak (Çan) wrote: *“These young people understood very well the bad and unfair policy of the sultan. They had very good relations with the revolutionary associations in Istanbul. They were saying yes to a free and independent Kurdistan. Seen as an impossible dream until recently, it turned into a program for young Kurds.”* Finally, in 1907, the Sultan decided to close these schools (Abdulla, 2009, p. 274).

Hasan Sıddık was a student at the school and his representative from the region of Van. When he tells his memoirs, he was mentioning about such events which caused the death or injury of some people. He says that “one day when a Kurd student was reading Koran, the Arabian student said that you were not reading the right words, so they discussed, and this turned into a fight. The soldiers especially strike the Arabian student with a rifle butt. Therefore, some of them were injured and some of them went to Yıldız palace to complain about the situation, this event reached Padishah and he listened and sent them again to the school. He investigated this event.”³ We can interpret that both economic reasons (Demirel & Turan, 2013, p. 292) and such anarchic issues might discomfort the Sultan. Therefore, he might reach an agreement to close this school. Although the minister wrote a report about this event and he argued that there is not a big problem, we can say that both Kurds and Arabian students did not learn how to be siblings to each other. Thereby, it is so obvious that this project could also give rise to an ethnic conflict between them. Deringil also argues that the real reason for the closing of this school might be the burgeoning Arabian nationalism and the effect of Young Turk nationalism (Deringil, 2014, p. 111). As a supporting point of Deringil’s idea, Ergin says that if this school continued its education, it will be closed after 14 months after the Young Turk revolution (Ergin, 1977, p. 1188).

At this point, we will continue with the perspective of Rogan. There are some loyal students to Sultan, they came from Lebanon, and they will not prefer to live under the colony of Italy, they want to live in Turkey. However, there are some students like Faysal Huseyin who graduated from the tribe school and then he came to Damascus to communicate with national group leaders. Thus, he joined the

³ Journal of Our Recent History, Tribal School and Tribal Regiments tells the memories of former Van Deputy Hasan Sıddık Hayderani Bey, p. 147.

organization of el-fatat and though he feels like an Ottoman, he became an eager member of Arabian nationalism (Çankaya, 1969, pp. 753-756). We can infer two different results from this event, some people became loyal to the Ottoman due to desperation like Lebanon students and some of them change their ideas and advocate for their nations.

Lastly, we want to mention the approaches of Akpınar for the closing reasons of the school. He also rejected that food protest might be just a pretext because there were some sample events of this before, but it was not closed. Let alone food protests, these students fought with each other previously. All these events did not cause the closing of the school. He says that it cannot be closed due to one reason, but there was a closing idea in the mind of the Sultan, and this became clear with this last event (Akpınar, 1997, p. 126).

To conclude, we can examine whether this is a successful project or not. Kurdish and Arab children who graduated from Tribal Schools and similar colleges established during the reign of Abdulhamid II formed a kind of stratum, albeit weakly, as civil servants, officers, and doctors. An important part of them knows the cultures, histories, and languages of their people (Örs, 2018, p. 302). An average of 600 students were admitted to the tribal school in fifteen years, and 400 of them graduated. The majority will be lieutenants, civil servants, district governors, population directors, police officers, and police commissioners. Two students became pashas and five of them were elected as members of the Ottoman parliament (Biçer, 2016, p. 82). Although the project passed the stage of creating elite Kurdish and Arab citizens, it was unsuccessful in terms of its results (Deringil, 2013, p. 14). According to our claims, this project was not successful; we can understand its unsuccessfulness by looking at its first aims. Although it was said that the state will open the tribe schools in the areas of all tribes, it was not realized. We can infer this situation from the last document about the closing reason of the school and the place of the school. This project might be reasonable, but when we look at the budget and control of the state cannot be affordable. It also could not open a new school place for these students due to lack of enough budget. Within this context, it cannot be expected from the tribe school project to provide a strong relationship between tribes and the Ottomans.

Rogan claims that the state failed in bringing the children of powerful tribes; it did not make full the capacity of the school (Rogan, 1996, pp. 89-91). Thus, we can argue that difficulties appeared event during the first time. As an alternative approach, he also says that the need for a tribal school could be met by other schools because he says that there are some schools in Arabia and their numbers were increasing gradually (Rogan, 1996, p. 39). However, the main aim of the state makes loyal the leaders of the tribes. We mentioned the loyalty issue of those students by examining their situations when they graduate.

Rogan also says that the state expects that these tribes will adopt the state values and we can realize it by the way of education, however, neither the life of empire nor the tribe school had not had a long time to realize this experience (Rogan, 1996, p. 42). It might be beneficial to ensure this project because, with education, the state might consolidate its power and set up a strong link among these tribes. In this project, we know that educational opportunities and career paths were together, drawing the attention of those tribes into the state might be useful to solve the problem and potential threat of these nomadic groups. When we look from this perspective, it seems that this solution method is like the methods of modern states (Örs, 2018, p. 302).

According to Ramazan Balçı, this project was successful because he says that we can meet many people in the Muslim world who express their good feelings towards Abdulhamid II. He continues that though some of the students took part in rebellious movements, we should look at other students. He also adds that there are 500 graduated students, almost all loyal to the Ottoman State. Balçı ends his argument by showing the western world, especially England, as a reason for the closing of the school (Balçı, 2010, p. 121). However, some outcomes refute the claims of Balçı, some people who were educated at the school, on the other hand, engaged in separatist activities against the Ottomans. Like Sharif Hussein's son Faisal, Azadi movement leader Halit Gibranli, and İhsan Nuri Pasha (Biçer, 2016, p. 83). Therefore, it cannot be said that all of them are loyal to the Sultan.

Selim Deringil says that not only Ottoman Empire, but also other empires were trying to make a strong sense of belonging in the 19th century such as Russia, Japan, Austria, and Germany. Ottoman was trying to realize this project with education during the reign of Abdulhamid II; it was ideological because Deringil says that the Ottoman was under the threat of other big powers like England (Deringil, 2014, p. 116). According to him, the Ottoman had to protect its legitimization in the eye of its public and at the same time, it had to provide their participation. However, although education is an important project for the policy of the state, it did not have enough budget to afford this.

As a result, although the state tried to implement this project, it seems that due to the above-mentioned points it could not reach success with the tribe school. In this case, we can say that these small successes could be realized by another school, so opening this school spent the time and money of the empire. The idea of opening such a school might be professional, but it was not implemented as professional in the arena. Therefore, this was not enough to reach the loyalty of those tribes in the region, especially, in Arabian areas. Although there have been positive effects, these are minor outcomes in terms of loyalty to the Sultan.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we tried to touch on the loyalty policy of the Ottoman State by education way on both the Arab and Kurd tribes. We also attempted to give information about this policy of the Ottoman and questioned some important issues within the context of tribe and tribe schools. We also tried to discuss the approaches of some different authors and benefited from our primary and secondary sources. We found that nationalism factors that was going around the world taken into consideration, are influential. However, these factors and states' ideologies are not independent. Deepening the issue by stating methods of drawing the attention of nomadic tribe leaders into the state by examining tribe schools, which can help to make clear this picture.

We focused on the tribe school because it was important for us to show the relations of the state with far away and nomadic groups. To make the issue more specific, we wanted to look at the selected student profile. For this reason, we chose the primary sources which tell the tribal background of these students. Then we attempted to look at whether the state reached its aim by choosing the children of sheiks or chiefs. We also tried to examine the sense of belonging and we numerated its unsuccessfulness not only from the perspective of the students but also from the eyes of the state. All in all, we witnessed from both the primary and secondary sources, the state did not reach its targeted project exactly with the tribe school students.

Yazar Katkı Oranı ve Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı: Yazarlar makaleye eşit oranda katkı sunmuştur. Herhangi bir çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.

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