

IRAQI EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN ERA

The Ottomans were following the Hanafi madhhab (school of Jurisprudence).⁽¹⁾ But they became patrons to the followers of all four Sunni schools granting them with financial support to build mosques and schools. By contrast, their relation to the Shi'a, who made a significant percentage of the population, was very complex, ranging from the extreme hostility of Sultans like Selim I to the relevant tolerance of Abdul Hamid II. The Ottomans generally did not extend their patronage to the Shi'a, leaving them dependent on Iranian financial support and the donations of their wealthy individuals and, obviously, the religiously mandated financial dues.⁽²⁾

The Shi'a religious leadership in Ottoman Iraq, following the long tradition of their predecessors, did not mind the severance of financial relations with the state because it came with a complete autonomy for their religious and education institutions. Being self financed allowed these institutions to escape the regulations that would have been imposed on them by a Sunni state or the possibility of linking them to the hierarchy of Ottoman Sunni religious authority.⁽³⁾ Being financially independent also granted the Shi'a religious leaders complete ownership of their institutions and the full freedom to shape the minds of their

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constituents by the dissemination of their religious thought, their autonomous religious services and rituals, and independently authored educational texts. Consequently, the state had one of two choices: allowing this situation to exist, or banning the Shi'a activities altogether. Both options were adopted,⁽⁴⁾ with the former being the norm.

There were two forms of schools during the Ottoman era: elementary children schools known as the Katatib (singular: kuttab), and seminaries, where advanced religious courses were taught. The kuttab was the continuation of the earliest form of teaching children, dating back to the seventh century. It mainly involves making children, starting at the age of six, memorize the Qur'an and teach them reading and writing. With all of the emphasis Islam put on knowledge and the reverence for religious scholars, it seems that those who taught little children did not enjoy much reverence, except for what they drilled in the minds of little children under the threat of corporal punishment.

The teacher of children (mu'allim al-sibyan) was often portrayed as an ignorant

fool whose mind is not significantly better than his pupils. A glaring example of this stereotypical treatment is found in a book authored by the eminent Hanbali scholar Ibn Al-Jawzi (d. 1201), titled Akhbar al-Hamqa wa al-Mughaffalin (The tales of Fools and the unsophisticated). Ibn Al-Jawzi starts the chapter devoted to the fools among teachers by saying: "mingling with children is a cause of being unsophisticated". He then attributes a statement to the Abbasid caliph, Al-Ma'mun (d. 833), that the teacher of children "spends his life giving us knowledge and acquiring our ignorance, therefore he is like the lamp's wick and the silkworm"⁽⁵⁾. This attitude toward the profession of teaching children is not found only in the entertainment literature, but also in prominent classic works of history and sociology. For instance, Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) writes in his celebrated Muqaddima:

"The engagement in [teaching] became the profession of the defenseless; therefore, the man who made it his profession became despised (muhtaqar) by the people of authority and power."⁽⁶⁾ Although Ibn Khaldun does not

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include Al-Hajjaj (d. 715), one of the worst tyrants in Iraq's history, in this category, referring to his tribal lineage, it seems that Al-Hajjaj's contemporaries would beg to differ, for his profession was the favorite reference of the satire poetry against him.⁽⁷⁾

In the absence of public primary schools with government finance, the kuttab in the Ottoman era became virtually the only venue for teaching children the basic skills of reading and writing in most parts of the empire until the nineteenth century. The only exceptions were the limited cases of private tutors who are paid to teach the children of wealthy families and high government officials. The kuttab consists of one teacher (mulla), who is based in a special place attached to the mosque or, in most cases, in a facility attached to his home⁽⁸⁾. Student accomplishment is measured by the number of Qur'an chapters he memorizes and the accuracy of his recitation. Memorizing the entire Qur'an is the ultimate accomplishment. It calls for a festive celebration to announce his feat to the entire neighborhood and, at the end, the family invited everyone to a banquet where the mulla was rewarded with a fine gift, according to the financial ability of the child's family.⁽⁹⁾ The teaching method was very simple and primitive: the students recite aloud a number of verses as many times as they need

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to memorize them, then move to the following part, and so on. Once the text is committed to memory, they continue to recite it periodically to keep it in their memory. The result of failure to perform at a satisfactory pace, or unruly conduct, was a painful corporal punishment – normally the teacher or a designated older student would strike the underachieving students feet multiple times with a cane.⁽¹⁰⁾

Females were also sent to a special kuttab that was run by a female teacher, the mullaya. They were taught in the same manner as their male counterparts and received lessons in chastity and social ethics. Some of them, particularly in the Shi'a cities where female kuttab was more available,⁽¹¹⁾ were trained to assume the dual role of the mullaya, whose

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primary job was to lead the female rituals of commemorating the special Shi'a religious events, to which teaching young girls is a secondary function. But female education was very limited because of the conservative nature of Iraqi society in Ottoman times.

Seminaries in Iraq continued to graduate intellectuals with traditional education. While the primary function of these schools was to prepare advanced religious leaders, students who terminate their studies earlier became teachers, journalists, bureaucrats, or assume mid-level religious leadership duties, such as leading prayers, managing mosques, or act as deputies of advance religious leaders. This diversity of seminary output can be attributed to the nature of its specialized and prerequisite curricula. The mastery of the specialized courses prepared the student to advance in the ranks of the clergy and ultimately qualify for more advanced independent studies, research and writing. With the right talent, the hard work and years of devoted independent

studies, often mixed with teaching junior students, the scholar is acknowledged by his established seniors for the task of issuing original religious proclamations, or fatwas (singular: fatwa). A scholar who reaches this level is called a mufti in the Sunni ranks, and a mujtahid in the Shi'a ranks.

But, in order to be capable of studying the highly specialized materials that lead to this level of advanced religious scholarship, a number of prerequisite courses must be mastered first. Among these prerequisites are Arabic language sciences (grammar, syntax, philology, etc.), since the job of the mufti and the mujtahid is to interpret the original authoritative texts of Islam, the Qur'an and the statements attributed to the Prophet, which is a task that requires an excellent command of Arabic. Other prerequisites include logic, Qur'anic exegesis, hermeneutics, Islamic

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philosophy, and mathematics. Mastery of these subjects, which are the prerequisites for the study of religious sciences, qualified the student for many teaching, clerical, and mid-level religious leadership jobs in the Ottoman times. Students at this level of literacy were also accepted for higher education, in the case of Sunni seminaries.⁽¹²⁾

There were 133 religious seminaries in all Iraq during the Ottoman times, under the auspices of the Religious Endowments Administration (Idarat al-Awqaf), in addition to the schools of religious minorities and the Shi'a seminaries, where the Religious Endowments Administration had no jurisdiction and the government grants no financial assistance.⁽¹³⁾ In fact, it seems that the Shi'a notables and religious leaders preferred this arrangement to avoid government encroachment and meddling in their spiritual and educational affairs. The case of Shaykh Shukr School illustrates this mutual attitude perfectly. This was a Shi'a school that offered a curriculum comparable to its Sunni counterparts in Baghdad, which inspired one of its

students, a certain Sayyid Ja'far to petition the Ottoman Idarat al-Awqaf to accredit the school and extend government benefits to the students, such as exemption from military conscription and eligibility for employment, which were enjoyed by the graduates of the Sunni schools. Upon seeing the petition, a Shi'a notable, 'Abdul Majid Al-Mukhtar, shredded it into pieces. He was not only afraid of government meddling in the affairs of the school, but the possibility of the confiscation of the mosque, where the school was hosted, from the Shi'a control.⁽¹⁴⁾

Modern Education under the Ottoman Rule

The Ottomans fashioned their state after the classic Islamic model of state in its dynastic example. The sultans maintained an absolutist rule without any meaningful popular participation in politics and decision making. The first sense of Ottoman constitutionalism was introduced for the first time in 1876, when the members of Western-educated political elite

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imposed on Sultan Abdul Hamid II, as a condition for his enthronement, a pledge he upheld for two years, then he suspended all constitutional politics and continued to rule as a despot for thirty years.⁽¹⁵⁾

This constitutionalist framework followed a number of attempts at reforming the classical Ottoman state-society relations which were no longer tenable during the nineteenth century. Two decrees were issued earlier: the Gülhane Proclamation of 1839 and the Hatt-ı Hümayun of 1856.⁽¹⁶⁾ These two documents aimed at ending the sub-identities of the ethnically and religiously diverse populations living under Ottoman rule in favor of a secular Ottoman identity. The millet system was abandoned with all its social and political guarantees and restrictions and a newly ascribed primordial Ottoman citizenship was granted to everyone under the empire's jurisdiction along with the promise of equality of access to government positions and services and impartiality in taxation and other burdens.⁽¹⁷⁾ These partially implemented decrees were augmented by the Nationality Law of 1869, "which produced for the first time a juridical definition of the Ottoman citizen without an overt or implied reference to religion."⁽¹⁸⁾

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had a significant impact on the political, economic, and social structure of the Ottoman Empire, albeit not in a uniform fashion. Naturally, the capital of the empire and other major centers received more attention and benefited earlier than the periphery. Also, the highly centralized bureaucracy made it very difficult for local initiatives to launch reforms before receiving specific orders from Istanbul. But the constitutional reforms were undeniably a major step toward the upcoming political and social changes throughout the empire during the following decades.

In addition to the indirect benefits from the wave of constitutional reforms, education received specific attention in the Hatt-ı Hümayun of 1856. Among the newly granted privileges was that all Ottoman subjects, "without distinction, shall be received into the Civil and Military Schools of the Government... Moreover, every community is authorized

to establish Public Schools of Science, Art, and Industry.”⁽¹⁹⁾ Elsewhere in the decree, it stated that in the parts of the empire, “where the whole population is of the same religion, no obstacle shall be offered to the repair, according to their original plan, of buildings set apart for Religious Worship, for Schools, for Hospitals, and for Cemeteries.”⁽²⁰⁾ Moreover, the decree proclaimed that “it shall be lawful for foreigners to possess Landed Property in [the Ottoman] dominions.”⁽²¹⁾ This last provision allowed foreign missionaries to purchase buildings, or land, to establish their schools, which proliferated in the final decades of the Ottoman Empire’s rule.

The most important reform concerning education in the empire was the declaration of the first Ottoman law of general education, known as Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi of 2 September 1869.⁽²²⁾ This law mandated, inter alia, the establishment of academic councils in every Ottoman province (vilayet). Article 143 states, “Each vilayet capital city is to have an academic council as a branch of the

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High Council for Education at Istanbul, which will be presided over by an appointee to be known as the principal of the academy.” The council will consist of four general inspectors, two of them are non-Muslims; between four and ten honorary (unpaid) members, some of whom must be non-Muslims; in addition to three administrative staff members: a secretary, a controller and a treasurer. At the lower administrative level of each major city (sanjaq) within the provinces, the same article mandated the appointment of “one or two educational appointees in the capacity of inspectors, one of whom will be a Muslim, the other non-Muslim.” These inspectors report to the governor of their province (the vali). The responsibilities of these provincial academic councils are specified in Article 146, which also assigned to them some elaborate powers: they are charged with the “fulfillment of Ministry of Education instructions, for the exact execution of the prescriptions of the present law, for the management and disbursement of both state funds and the additional tax-returns to be levied

on the local populace for educational services,⁽²³⁾ as well as many other responsibilities concerning the oversight and inspection of the schools, libraries and

printing facilities. Among their other authorities, they were empowered to choose the teachers and instructors, set their salaries, recommend disciplinary measures, when needed, and weigh in on the process of examinations and awarding of certificates and diplomas.⁽²⁴⁾

Despite the far-reaching directives of this law, the Ottoman administration did not allocate sufficient resources for improving education in the Iraqi territories. Government-sponsored modern education did not exist in Ottoman Iraq until the era of Midhat Pasha (1869-1872),⁽²⁵⁾ who established a middle school (rushdiyya) in 1869 and two schools in 1870, one of them was a military school and the other one a vocational school. These were the first government institutions of modern education in Baghdad,⁽²⁶⁾ while the first modern schools in the other parts of the empire were established more than twenty years earlier when, in a drastic departure from

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the 'ulama-dominated schooling system, the Ottomans created in 1847 a Ministry of Education to oversee the schooling of the empire's youth.⁽²⁷⁾ Before the arrival of Midhat Pasha, there

was one government school in Iraq, the school of Mosul, which was a combined primary and middle school that was established in 1861 by the initiative of a local notable, Fahmi al-'Umari.⁽²⁸⁾

But there were private schools for some time before there was any public education. These were schools established by indigenous Iraqi religious minorities (Christians and Jews) as well as ones established by foreign missionaries and international organizations. Among the first to establish a private school were the Catholic Assyrians, whose first school was opened in Mosul in 1800, followed by the Catholic Chaldeans in 1805 and, in 1814, Orthodox Assyrians began to have their own schools.⁽²⁹⁾ All these schools were in Mosul, because of the large concentration of Iraqi Christians in this province. They did not establish schools in Baghdad until the 1840s, with the exception of the Orthodox

Armenian School that was established in 1790 and operated at irregular intervals before its classes were taught regularly in 1853.⁽³⁰⁾

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Also contributing to private education in Iraq were the Carmelite missionaries who were among the first to arrive in Iraq in 1922, but their work was not relevant to education until 1734, when Father Emmanuel Baillet established the first school. But the strong sectarian opposition from Orthodox Armenians caused the school to suffer many setbacks until Father Baillet was appointed to a French diplomatic post in 1742, which allowed him a better status to defend the school against the local opposition.⁽³¹⁾ Dominican missionaries, who arrived in Mosul around 1750, did not open a school until 1854. They also established a printing facility in 1860, where various books, including school books, were published in Arabic, Chaldean and French. The Dominican school served both Christian and Muslim

pupils, who learned various subjects as well as French.⁽³²⁾

Also preceding modern public education was the Alliance Israelite School which began, in 1864, teaching a curriculum based on the European primary education. It was accredited by the government as a middle school.⁽³³⁾ Naturally, this school received local support from the Jewish community in Iraq, but its work did not proceed without conflict. Among the most important challenges was the objection to its focus on French language, whereas the Zionist Organization was demanding that the school adopts Hebrew. This dispute was adjudicated by a German Jewish organization, which suggested the use of German as the language of instruction.⁽³⁴⁾ Be that as it may, this school, along with other Jewish and Christian schools contributed a great deal to the education of Iraqis, from all religions and sects, before there was a government-funded education.

Female education was another endeavor of private schools before the government

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expressed interest in it. The first school to educate Iraqi girls was a primary school established in Baghdad by the Orthodox Armenians in 1853,⁽³⁵⁾ followed by a Carmelite primary school in the same city established by Henri Altmayer in 1868.⁽³⁶⁾ There were also several schools that educated boys and girls together, especially the Assyrian schools.⁽³⁷⁾

The focus of private schools, whether they were indigenous or foreign, was on providing modern education based on European curricula. One of the main features of these schools was their emphasis on languages. In addition to the language of majority in Iraq (Arabic), Christian schools taught the native language of their Christian students (Assyrian, Chaldean or Armenian). They also taught Turkish, the official language of the Ottoman Empire and Persian was taught, especially in the Armenian schools. Jewish schools taught Hebrew in addition to the other languages.⁽³⁸⁾ Among the European languages, French received the lion's share, especially in the foreign missionary schools that taught all subjects in French and devoted more weekly units to teaching various aspects of French language and literature. English was also taught as a secondary language in many schools.

The reason for the emphasis on French

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was that most of the missions were French or they were connected to the government of France. As noted by a leading Iraqi historian:

“France concentrated its activity on missionary work, as the self-appointed protector of Iraqi Catholics. [Its government] sent priests and missionary expeditions to [Iraq] and asked the Papal representative to reside in Mosul. This activity had remarkable influence on the Christian community of that time...

The French made effective efforts, through such missions, to spread the French language in Iraq, until it became widely used, especially in Mosul. It can be said that the cultural environment in Mosul had French characteristics because of the books and pamphlets they published.”⁽³⁹⁾

The arrival of Midhat Pasha ushered in a new era of administrative reform in Iraq. In addition to the establishment of Iraq's first form of government education, he also established the first government press. He brought the printing equipment – a manual printing machine – upon his arrival and had it installed in the basement of a government

building. This step represents the beginning of an era of mass communication in Iraq, with the establishment of the first newspaper, Al-Zawra', on 15 June 1869. This bilingual paper – Arabic and Turkish – continued to circulate as a weekly official publication until the British occupation of Baghdad in 1917.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In the following year, Midhat Pasha imported two new and more efficient printing machines and established a separate printing facility for the newspaper and the production of various government pamphlets and other publications.⁽⁴¹⁾

This pioneering work in government reform was also not unprecedented in Iraq. An Iranian businessman founded a printing facility Karbala' in 1856, thirteen years before Midhat Pasha's arrival in Iraq, using it mainly to print certain supplications for shrine visitors and some commercial papers. He also published a literary book titled, Maqamat Abi al-Thana' al-Alusi.⁽⁴²⁾ We saw that the Dominican missionaries established a printing facility in Mosul in 1860.

⁽⁴³⁾ There were also three Jewish printing facilities in Baghdad, established in 1855, 1863 and 1868. They also had their paper,

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Ha Dober, just before the establishing of Al-Zawra'.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Midhat Pasha's arrival coincided with the declaration of the first Ottoman law of general education, known as Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi of 2 September 1869. Although the law of general education of 1869 ordered the establishment of a primary school in every town quarter and every village (Article 3), schools were not established in most Iraqi cities, much less in remote villages, for decades. The first primary schools were established in the Baghdad province in 1886, four schools opened in that year and two in the following year, all of them outside the capital of the province, which continued to populate its rushdiya schools with graduates from the katatib. The city of Baghdad had its first primary schools 1889 – four of them opened in various quarters of Baghdad. Between 1891 and 1908, twenty-three primary schools were established throughout the province.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The maximum number of primary schools by 1913

was approximately 32 schools in the Province of Baghdad,⁽⁴⁶⁾ merely a partial accomplishment of the required schools according to Article 3 of the law of general

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education.

The Mosul province had a primary school before Baghdad, a school established by private efforts a notable named Fahmi al-'Umari, but no other government schools were established in the following thirty years. Five primary schools were established in 1890 and five others in 1892, and another school opened in 1893, all outside the city of Mosul. In 1898, fourteen primary schools opened in the province, five of them in the city of Mosul.⁽⁴⁷⁾ By 1914, the province had approximately 30 primary schools, ten of them in the Mosul and its vicinity.⁽⁴⁸⁾

As to the Province of Basra, official education was non-existent before the 1883, when a middle school (rushdiyya) was established with one teacher, who arrived from Istanbul for this purpose and, by 1905,

there were only four rushdiyya schools in the whole province.⁽⁴⁹⁾ After the separation of Basra administratively from Baghdad in 1884, the Ottoman authorities began planning for establishing a number of elementary schools in the city of Basra and the surrounding towns. Ten elementary schools were opened in 1887, seven of them where in Basra and the others in the vicinity. By 1897, nine other schools were established throughout the province.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Female education was controversial in the conservative Iraqi society of the nineteenth century. It was going against a social and intellectual trend very hostile to female literacy. This hostility is best illustrated by what one religious leader wrote concerning female education:

“As to teaching women to read and write, I seek refuge from Allah, for I see nothing more harmful to them. Since they are naturally prone to treachery, their acquisition of this skill becomes one of the greatest means of evil and corruption. As soon as the woman is able to compose a written text, it would be a letter to Zaid, a note to 'Amr,⁽⁵¹⁾ and a line of poetry to a single man, and so on.

Women and books and writing resemble a thoughtless and evil person given a sword, or a drunkard given a bottle of alcohol. The prudent among men is the one who keeps his wife in a state of ignorance and blindness, for that is better and more useful for them.”⁽⁵²⁾

But nevertheless an increasing number of girls were lucky to receive some form of

In 1868, the Carmelites established the first missionary school for girls, a primary school established by the head of the Carmelite mission in Baghdad, Monsieur Henri Almayr, and they established another primary school for girls in the same city in 1877, which was highly attended – from 300 – 490 students – including Muslim girls

education because their families were more enlightened than the rest of society, especially non-Muslim families. The Orthodox Armenians were the only indigenous Iraqi community to open a school for girls, their primary school opened in Baghdad in 1853.⁽⁵³⁾ It had 40 students in 1893 and this number rose to 70 in 1909.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Other Christian communities, the Assyrians and the Chaldeans, accepted girls and boys in their schools in the Mosul province, where, in 1901, one Assyrian rushdiyya school had 350 female students and 225 male students.⁽⁵⁵⁾

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against the strong social resistance and pressure on them and their families. This social negativity notwithstanding, the number of students rose to 137 by 1905. In Basra, the Ottomans established two primary schools, one opened in the city center in 1898 and another in the 'Ashshar quarter in 1902.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Meanwhile, missionary schools were educating Iraqi Non-Muslim and, in some cases, Muslim girls in all three provinces since the 1850s. The initially established schools for male and female students, such as the Dominican rushdiyya school which was opened in Mosul in 1854. Although most of its students were Christian, the school accepted a number of Muslim students over the years.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In 1868, the Carmelites established the first missionary school for girls, a primary school established by the head of the Carmelite mission in Baghdad, Monsieur Henri Almayr, and they established another primary school for girls in the same city in 1877, which was highly attended – from 300 – 490 students – including Muslim girls.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Another missionary school for girls was established in Mosul in 1873 and accepted a large number of Muslim girls (up to 8% of the students).⁽⁵⁹⁾ In the Basra province, there were at least three schools for girls by 1902.⁽⁶⁰⁾

These diverse systems of education

From the examination of school curricula in the late nineteenth century, it is obvious that government schools have not deviated significantly from the traditional religious education of the pre-modern era

presented Iraqis with a diversity of educational goals, teaching methods, and curricular content. Each school, or school system, emphasized different subjects and favored different languages and, it goes without saying, each one pursued a different ideological agenda. But in both Ottoman and missionary schools, Arabic was often neglected, or relegated to a secondary role, and Iraqi identity was not emphasized. As government schools were characterized by incompetence and general disorganization, not to mention the stifling censorship of free thinking, missionary schools captured the hearts and minds of students and their families. But they also had their downside. Here is how an eyewitness from the last decade of Ottoman times described the era's state of education:

As for foreign schools, they enjoyed freedom that was forbidden to others. Students from all religions and sects rushed to them like a thirsty man rushing to pure water. They disseminated the light of knowledge among a massive population of our youth. But, despite our acknowledging their usefulness, we

cannot suppress our scream that they have a growing gap, which cannot be filled by any means other than the replacement of [the current] regulations. For, who among the owners of these schools, notwithstanding their virtues, would care to propagate the spirit of patriotism among his pupils? Indeed, who among them, being from competing nations, would not exhaust all his energy on luring his pupils to his nation or state? That is how students grew up with divergent thoughts and preferences, and that is who foreigners worked, through education, on dividing our minds among themselves, as they divided our land through politics.⁽⁶¹⁾

From the examination of school curricula in the late nineteenth century, it is obvious that government schools have not deviated significantly from the traditional religious education of the pre-modern era. In addition to reading and simple arithmetic, theology, religious ethics and Qur'anic studies occupy much of the time students spend in the primary schools. The only additions were introductory classes in geography and Ottoman history.

⁽⁶²⁾ The same can be said about the rushdiyya

the curricula of missionary schools followed European standards and, with a few exceptions, they focused on French as the primary language of thought and instruction. Their curricula included modern sciences and mathematics. They also included music classes alongside other fine arts

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schools, with the exception of more emphasis on languages, namely, Turkish, Arabic, Farsi, and French. The only arts taught in the government schools were drawing and calligraphy.⁽⁶³⁾

Beyond the rushdiyya schools, there were two secondary schools in all Iraq, one opened in Baghdad 1890 and the other in Mosul in 1895, while the Basra province remained without a secondary school until September, 1914, just months before the British occupation.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Secondary schools enjoyed more attention and a larger number of teachers (8-13 teachers per school), many of whom were Ottoman military officers. They had an elaborate curriculum consisting of up to 28 subjects, including religious sciences, languages (Turkish, French, Arabic, and Farsi), official writing and correspondence, law, economics, history, geography, philosophy, logic, mathematics and geometry, accounting, sciences (biology, mechanics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, agricultural sciences, and arts (drawing and calligraphy)).⁽⁶⁵⁾ Unlike primary and rushdiyya

schools, secondary schools were allowed to accept both Muslim and non-Muslim students.⁽⁶⁶⁾

By contrast, the curricula of missionary schools followed European standards and, with a few exceptions, they focused on French as the primary language of thought and instruction. Their curricula included modern sciences and mathematics. They also included music classes alongside other fine arts. However, the most important difference between these schools and others is the quality of education. Government schools announced elaborate curricula that included many subjects, but they employed one to three teachers per primary school, some of them were barely qualified to teach in the institutions of modern education.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The situation in the government rushdiyya schools was not significantly better, with five

teachers per school in the maximum, and many of them had one or two teachers only.⁽⁶⁸⁾ As for the missionary schools, the advantage was attributable to the high qualification of their teachers, who were educated in the West, and the number

It appears that the CUP was able to attract Iraqis from all religious and cultural backgrounds, making it truly representative of the early promises of the constitutionalist era. Its membership included Arabs, Kurds and Turcomans and, in terms of religious affiliations, there were Jews and Christians, in addition to the Muslims

of teachers per school, up to eight teachers per school in some cases.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The schools of local religious minorities stood between government schools and those established by missionaries, having borrowed their characteristics from both. They tried to adopt European curricula and teaching standards, including the focus on French and English and the introduction of modern sciences, but they also emphasized their respective religious doctrines and practices and taught the languages of their communities. In certain cases, students in the middle school level were expected to study seven languages, in addition to, and perhaps at the expense of, the other subjects in the curriculum.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Turkish cultural hegemony was very manifest in the field of education. Since the main purpose of education in the Ottoman schools was the preparation of bureaucrats to work in the Ottoman administration, where all correspondence and official business was conducted in Turkish, this language was adopted as the language of instruction throughout the secondary education

Education after the Restoration of the Constitution in 1908

Public education continued to expand, albeit at a slow pace, after the restoration of the Ottoman constitution in 1908.⁽⁷¹⁾ The constitutionalists, led by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), initiated many positive changes, including the expansion of education as well as social and political rights. They lifted the restrictions on journalism and the formation of parties and associations and expanded social and political equality throughout the Empire. The CUP had among its rank and file some Iraqi notables, such as Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa'dun, Yasin al-Hashimi and Talib al-Naqib, all of whom became prominent in the Iraqi political life during the 1920s and 1930s.⁽⁷²⁾ When the CUP assumed a leading role in the Ottoman Empire, several branches of the organization were established in various Iraqi cities, including Baghdad, Mosul, Basra, Najaf and Hilla. It appears that the CUP was able to attract Iraqis from all religious and cultural backgrounds, making it truly representative of the early promises of the constitutionalist era. Its membership included Arabs, Kurds and Turcomans and, in terms of religious affiliations, there were Jews and Christians, in addition to the Muslims. In the Shi'a cities, prominent clerics also became

The Law College in Baghdad was the first institution of secular higher education in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Although its establishment was contemplated before the restoration of the constitution in 1908, the college was not opened officially until the autumn of 1908

CUP members, such as Ayatollah Muhammad al-Qazwini and a few other clerics from Najaf. It also attracted two of Iraq's leading poets, Ma'ruf al-Rusafi and Jamil Sidqi al-Zahawi.⁽⁷³⁾

But these pro-Ottoman sentiments among Iraqis were undermined by the Turkish discrimination against them and the betrayal of the promises of equality that were declared during the constitutionalist revolution. The following spontaneous statement of one Iraqi, who lived during these formative years of Arab Nationalism, illustrates this soul searching among his contemporaries:

"I used to love the Turks, and still do, especially since my mother is a Circassian Turk. Turks, then, are my uncles, and there are other reasons, both religious and historical, that prevent me from discriminating between Arabs and Turks. But if the Turks regard us like they regard their Armenian and other enemies, what can be done? I began to feel that I am an Arab, my father is an Arab, and my ancestors are Arabs, and that we must cling to Arabism before the Islamic unity and other slogans."⁽⁷⁴⁾

Prominent among the reasons of this and similar Iraqi resentments of the empire was the Turkification and centralization that became the cornerstones of CPU governance shortly after the restoration of the constitution. Instead of integrating the non-Turkish elements in the empire and granting them their political and social rights, including the right of preserving and expressing their ethnic and cultural identities, the CUP put in place policies and programs designed to ensure the assimilation of all ethnic groups into a Turcocentric polity. Turkish cultural hegemony was very manifest in the field of education. Since the main purpose of education in the Ottoman schools was the preparation of bureaucrats to work in the Ottoman administration, where all correspondence and official business was conducted in Turkish, this language was adopted as the language of instruction throughout the secondary education. Protest of the hegemony of Turkish in education finally led to the April 1913 decree that "sanctioned the use of Arabic in law courts and as the main medium of instruction in schools (except in the higher sultaniye schools, which existed in some provincial centers) and provided for the drafting of petitions and official communications in Arabic."⁽⁷⁵⁾ The decree was partially implemented in the provinces, but its

implementation in the field of education had to be postponed because “textbooks could not be re-written overnight.”⁽⁷⁶⁾ This meant that no real use of Arabic as a medium of instruction in public schools ever took place in many parts of Iraq until the British occupation.

Their Turcocentric tendencies notwithstanding, CUP politicians encouraged the establishment of more schools in the provinces, particularly in the field of primary education. When the constitution was reactivated in 1908, Iraqi provinces had 81 public schools. By 1915, this number increased more than two-fold to become 160 public primary schools, 78 in Baghdad, 51 in Mosul and 31 in Basra with an average of two teachers per school and a student population of 6,655 males and 756 females.⁽⁷⁷⁾

But attention for secondary education was significantly less than primary education both in number of schools and curriculum development. The government built 16

rushdiyya schools only, in all three provinces after 1908, to bring the number of rushdiyya schools to 40, while schools after the rushdiyya level were five only, and the Basra province did not have a school of this level until September 1914, a month before the British occupation of Basra.⁽⁷⁸⁾

The Law school of Baghdad: the foundation of Iraqi higher education

The Law College in Baghdad was the first institution of secular higher education in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Although its establishment was contemplated before the restoration of the constitution in 1908,⁽⁷⁹⁾ the college was not opened officially until the autumn of 1908. The school owed its existence to Nazim Pasha, an Ottoman administrator who led a committee to investigate the kind of administrative, economic, and cultural reforms Iraq needs and present their recommendations to the central government. One of the committee’s recommendations was the need to establish a law college in Baghdad.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Although the recommendation was accepted and a permission was granted by Sultan Abdul Hamid II, no action was taken until Nazim Pasha himself was appointed acting governor in Baghdad, ten days before

Among the teachers in the Law College was the prominent Iraqi poet Jamil ʿIḍqī al-Zahawī, as well as three teachers who became later prime ministers during the monarchy: Hamdi Al-Pachachi, Hikmat Sulaiman and Rashid Ali Al-Gailani

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the restoration of the constitution. He gave the orders to renovate the building of the first public school in Baghdad, the one Midhat Pasha established in 1896, to become the Law College of Baghdad. Upon its opening ceremony on 1 September 1908, the college began to accept the graduates of secondary education (high school). Others with lower education were allowed to audit the classes and take the first year's exams and, if they pass, continue to the second year. Otherwise, they had to stop attending the classes.⁽⁸¹⁾

The curriculum was covered in four years and included "civil and criminal law, economics, principles of jurisprudence, principles of finance, commercial law, administrative law, international law, and Majallah."⁽⁸²⁾ The school also focused on teaching the shari'a-based aspects of personal status law, such as the laws of marriage, divorce, wills and inheritance, and diyyat.⁽⁸³⁾ After a short period of being administered by the Director General of education in the Baghdad province, as an acting dean, the Law College had its first actual dean in 1910.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Musa Kadhim Al-Pachachi, an Iraqi lawyer and a graduate of the Istanbul Law School, was selected to administer the College of Law and a number of teachers were appointed to the faculty, most of them were Iraqis and they consisted of graduates

of Istanbul colleges, who taught secular laws, and religious scholars, who taught the shari'a part of the curriculum.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Among the teachers in the Law College was the prominent Iraqi poet Jamil Sidqi al-Zahawi, as well as three teachers who became later prime ministers during the monarchy: Hamdi Al-Pachachi, Hikmat Sulaiman and Rashid Ali Al-Gailani.⁽⁸⁶⁾

This college remained the only institution of higher education in Iraq until the end of Ottoman rule, graduating hundreds of Iraqis with degrees qualifying them to hold various government positions as well as the ability to establish private practice for those who prefer to become lawyers. The texts and the language of instruction were in Turkish, same as those of the law college in the capital, but a decree was announced in 1913 to convert the texts to Arabic and make it the language of instruction. There is no evidence of implementing this decree before the college was closed shortly thereafter.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Only oral examinations were administered, involving

Given the complete lack of sufficiently educated cadre in Iraq, the graduates of the Law College became prominent members of Iraqi society in the first decades of the twentieth century

By 1912, War College in Istanbul graduated 1,200 commissioned officers who served in the Ottoman military. Many of these officers became later the nucleus for the Iraqi military established in 1921, while others dominated the top political positions in the Hashemite monarchy

the instructor of the subject and a committee of two or three specialists – prominent administrators or judges – designated by the administration of the college.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Given the complete lack of sufficiently educated cadre in Iraq, the graduates of the Law College became prominent members of Iraqi society in the first decades of the twentieth century. The capacity of the college continued to expand over the years to reach 250 students in 1913.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The college was closed in 1914, shortly after the beginning of WWI. The last dean to lead the college was Hikmat Sulaiman, who played important role during the Hashemite monarchy (1921-1958), including his role in the 1936 military coup d'état that made him prime minister.⁽⁹⁰⁾

The Law College became one of the incubators of early sentiments of Arab nationalism in Iraq, which led the governor of Baghdad, Jamal Pasha, in 1912 to suggest the closing of the college as a punishment

for the students who expressed support for the Iraqi nationalist party, Al-Hurriyya wa Al-I'tilaf, a political party that opposed the CUP Turcocentric policies. But the protest of students and community notables, including the Iraqi deputies in the Ottoman parliament, saved the college.⁽⁹¹⁾ In a telegram from the Al-Hurriyya wa Al-I'tilaf Party, the Istanbul government was warned that “if the government insisted on closing the school, the Party will construe this act as a malevolent intention on the part of the government toward Arabs and the Arab provinces. Therefore, we urge the government to spare the school to prove its good will [toward the Arabs] and to maintain its strong relations with them.”⁽⁹²⁾

Other opportunities for Iraqis to receive higher education existed in a limited number during the Ottoman era. The largest number of such opportunities was available at the military institutions of higher education. By 1912, War College in Istanbul graduated 1,200 commissioned officers who served in the Ottoman military.⁽⁹³⁾ Many of these officers became later the nucleus for the Iraqi military established in 1921, while others dominated the top political positions in the Hashemite monarchy.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Scholarship on Ottoman Iraq attributes this disproportionately high number of military

graduates, in comparison to the small civilian lot of opportunities, to the logistical hardship of traveling to Istanbul to attend college and the high financial burden of the studying at civilian colleges and the cost of living in the Ottoman capital, unlike the military education whose entire cost – tuition, travel, and living expenses – was paid by the government.⁽⁹⁵⁾ It can be also attributed to the encouragement and incentives students received from Ottoman authorities whose military stature was steadily weakened throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, because of the setbacks it suffered in Eastern Europe. The eastern provinces became an alternate pool for recruits during the era of Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

In addition to the military graduates, students from affluent families traveled to Istanbul and other cities to pursue higher degrees. Between 1900 and 1917, sixty students received higher degrees, including “27 in medicine, 25 in law, 5 in civil administration and 3 in engineering.”⁽⁹⁶⁾ Between 1903 and 1916, the University of Beirut granted six high degrees to Iraqis, 2 in pharmacology and 4 in medicine, while five Iraqis went to Paris to receive their high degrees, 3 in law and 2 in medicine.⁽⁹⁷⁾ These statistics reflect the social interest in the type of education as much as

The professions of medicine and law dominated the distribution of obtained degrees, while civil administration and engineering were the least pursued types of education abroad. No other fields were considered by the students

the need for expertise. The professions of medicine and law dominated the distribution of obtained degrees, while civil administration and engineering were the least pursued types of education abroad. No other fields were considered by the students. Although many students were sent to Europe to study in various fields of education at the expense of the Ottoman government, no Iraqis were chosen for these missions during the Ottoman rule.⁽⁹⁸⁾ The first student missions to study abroad were sent during the British Mandate.

Notes

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- 1 There are four major schools of jurisprudence in Sunni Islam named after the founders of their methods and characteristic tenets: the Hanafi School, named after Abu Hanifa (d. 767), the Maliki School, named after Malik ibn Anas (d. 795), the Shafi'i School, Named after Muhammad ibn Idris Al-Shafi'i (d. 820), and the Hanbali School, named after Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855).
 - 2 See Meir Litvak, *Shi'i Scholars of nineteenth-century Iraq*, pp. 35-38.
 - 3 In my visit to Najaf (Iraq), I met separately with Grand Ayatollah Ali Al-Sistani and Grand Ayatollah Ishaq Al-Fayyadh. In both meetings, the independence of Shi'a institutions and scholars were mentioned with a sense of pride and cited as a source of credible authority of the Shi'a religious leadership.
 - 4 Meir Litvak, *Shi'i Scholars of nineteenth-century Iraq*, pp. 59, 135, 150-151.
 - 5 Ibn Al-Jawzi, *Akhbar al-Hamqa wa al-Mughaffalin*, p. 149.
 - 6 Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldun*, p. 30.
 - 7 For a few examples of poetry mocking Al-Hajjaj's teaching profession, see Omar Farroukh, *Al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf Al-Thaqafi: his biography, his political, administrative, and military personality, and a selection of his speeches*, p. 3.
 - 8 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani, 1638-1917*, p. 47.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51.
 - 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
 - 12 The Ottomans never accredited the Shi'a seminaries. But students in Shi'a seminaries often arranged to have a nominal enrollment in Sunni seminaries to receive government acknowledgment and become entitled to the benefits of their counterparts. This is considered as evidence of Shi'a-Sunni cooperation and tolerance in defiance of the official policy that often encouraged discrimination against the Shi'a. See Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani, 1638-1917*, pp. 80-81.
 - 13 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani, 1638-1917*, pp. 89-90, 101-103.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, p. 82. The mosque in question was called Jami' al-Maslub, which was built by 'Abdul Majid Al-Mukhtar.

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- 15 William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, p. 86.
- 16 For a text of these decrees, see Marvin E. Gettleman and Stuart Schaar (eds.), *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*, pp. 81-84.
- 17 The millet system helped the Ottomans to rule over a religiously diverse society with a maximum level of accommodation. Non-Muslim communities were organized into three communities (singular: millet): Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Jews. Each Christian community was placed under the authority of their leading church official, and the Jews under the authority of the Grand Rabbi. The officials were selected to these posts with the approval of the sultan and they were based in Istanbul. Each millet retained great levels of freedom concerning their religious practices, education, the adjudication of civil disputes and personal status (matters relating to inheritance, marriage, divorce, child custody, etc.). For a detailed description of the millet system, see William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, pp. 48-49.
- 18 Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," p. 778.
- 19 Marvin E. Gettleman and Stuart Schaar (eds.), *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*, p. 83.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid., p. 84.
- 22 An English translation of the text can be found in John Joseph Diskin's dissertation titled, *The "Genesis" of Government Educational System in 'Iraq*, pp. 420-39.
- 23 Article 4 of the law made the "expense of constructing and repairing the primary schools, as well as the payment of teachers and other salaries [...] the responsibility of local communities." See Diskin, *The "Genesis" of Government Educational System in 'Iraq*, p. 421.
- 24 See Diskin, *The "Genesis" of Government Educational System in 'Iraq*, pp. 429-30.
- 25 For a detailed account on the accomplishments of Midhat Pasha in Iraq, see Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Idara al-'Uthmaniyya fi Wilayat Baghdad min 'Ahd al-Wali Midhat Pasha ila Nihayat al-Hukm al-'Uthmani 1869-1917*.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 418-19 and Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani, 1638-1917*, pp. 137, 150. Al-Hilali gives 1870 as the beginning of modern education in Iraq.
- 27 William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, p. 84.
- 28 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 177 and Ali al-Wardi, *Lamahat Ijtima'iyya min Tarikj al-Iraq al-Hadith*, vol. 3, p. 259.
- 29 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918 (Education in Iraq during the Late Ottoman Times, 1869-1918)*, p. 251.
- 30 Ibid., p. 238.
- 31 Ibid., p. 255.
- 32 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 199.
- 33 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918*, p. 293.

- 34 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, pp. 205-206.
- 35 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918*, p. 242.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 271.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 247.
- 38 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, pp. 193ff. and Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918*, pp. 238ff.
- 39 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 197.
- 40 Butti, Rafa'il, *al-Sahafa fi al-'Iraq*, p. 9.
- 41 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Idara al-'Uthmaniyya fi Wilayat Baghdad min 'Ahd al-Wali Midhat Pasha ila Nihayat al-Hukm al-'Uthmani 1869-1917*, pp. 426-27.
- 42 Ali Al-Wardi, *Lamahat Ijtima'iyya min Tarikh al-Iraq al-Hadith (Social Glimpses of Modern Iraqi History)*, vol. 3, pp. 245-46.
- 43 Al-Wardi (*ibid.*, p. 245) said that the Dominican printing facility was established in 1856. Other authors gave 1860 as the date of establishment. See Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 199 and Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918*, p. 265.
- 44 'Isam Jum'a al-Ma'a'didi, *al-Sahafa al-Yahudiyya fi al-'Iraq*, p. 31.
- 45 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918*, pp. 129-131.
- 46 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 153.
- 47 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918*, pp. 133-134.
- 48 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 177-178.
- 49 *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.
- 50 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918*, pp. 135-136.
- 51 Zaid and 'Amr are fictitious names used in Arabic speech to make reference to unidentified individual, like the use of "X" and "Y" in English. The first to use these particular names were Arab grammarians to illustrate the syntactical elements of Arabic sentences.
- 52 Khayr Al-Din Al-Alusi, *Al-Isabah fi man' al-Nisa' min al-Kitabah (The Right Thought about Prohibiting Women from Writing)*, quoted in Abdul-Razzak al-Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 59.
- 53 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918*, p. 242.
- 54 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 196.
- 55 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918*, pp. 245-252.
- 56 *Ibid.*, pp. 162-165. See also: Abdul-Razzak al-Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 158. The two authors present different dates and chronologies. Al Najjar seems to have more accurate account than Al-Hilali, whose information

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- on this topic is contradictory at times. For example, he states that the girls school in Baghdad was the first not only in Baghdad, but in Iraq as a whole (p. 58), but he later states that the first girls school in Iraq was the one established by Ottoman authorities in Basra (p. 185).
- 57 For instance, Muslim students constituted 5% of the total student population of the school in 1882. See Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir*, 1869-1918, pp. 286-287.
- 58 See *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275. Al-Najjar noted that despite of the Ottoman's ban on Muslim students from attending missionary schools, this school had a Muslim girl among its students in 1905.
- 59 *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 284.
- 61 Suleiman Al-Bustani, *Al-Dawla Al-'Uthmaniyya qabl Al-Dustur wa Ba'dah*, p. 38.
- 62 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir*, 1869-1918, p. 141.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 154.
- 64 *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 351.
- 65 *Ibid.*, p. 157.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 159. As articulated in Articles 3, 18, and 33 of the Ottoman law of general education of 1869, Ottoman authorities did not allow Muslim and non-Muslim students to go to the same school at the primary and *rushdiyya* grades, but allowed them to study together in the secondary education. See *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* in Joseph John Diskin, *The "Genesis" of Government Educational System in 'Iraq*, pp. 421, 424 and 426.
- 67 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir*, 1869-1918, p. 139.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 152.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p. 278.
- 70 An example of such linguistic chaos was in the curriculum of the Eastern Catholic Accord School (1878-1893), where students were taught Turkish, Arabic, French, English, Chaldean, Assyrian, and Armenian. See Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, *Al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir*, 1869-1918, p. 243.
- 71 Responding to the demands of officers in the Third Army, then based in Salonika, who threatened to "march on Istanbul and restore the constitution themselves," Sultan Abdul Hamid declared the reinstatement of the 1876 constitution on 24 July 1908. In the following year, a counterrevolution was launched under the banner of restoring the Shari'a. The Third Army marched on Istanbul and deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid, replacing him with his younger brother, Mehmet V, who remained in office until the collapse of the empire in 1918. See William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, pp. 135-136.
- 72 Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa'dun was appointed prime minister four times, Yasin al-Hashimi held the same position twice, and Talib al-Naqib held the post of minister of the interior. See Hanna Batau, pp. 180-181 and Al-Wardi, vol. 6, pp. 25ff.
- 73 Ali Al-Wardi, vol. 3, pp. 164-167.

- 74 Musa Al-Shabandar, Dhikrayat Baghdadiyya, p. 39.
- 75 Hasan Kayali, Arabs and Young Turks, p. 135.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Sati' Al-Husari, Mudhakkirati fi al-'Iraq, vol. 1, pp. 118. There were 13 girl schools in the three Iraqi provinces.
- 78 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, Al-Ta'lim fi al-'Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918, pp. 349-351.
- 79 John J. Diskin, The "Genesis" of Government Educational System in 'Iraq, p. 134.
- 80 Hassan Al-Dujaili, Taqaddum al-Ta'lim al-Ali fi al-'Iraq, pp. 22.
- 81 Ibid., pp. 23-24 and 28.
- 82 Al-Qaysi, "The Impact of Modernization on Iraqi Society during the Ottoman Era: A Study of Intellectual Development in Iraq, 1869-1917," p. 89. The Majallah (also Mejelle and Mecelle) was one of the accomplishments of the Tanzimat era. Completed in 1876, it became the new legal code for the Ottoman Empire. It was based on the Islamic shari'a, to ensure that an Islamic framework for the empire's legal system, but its organization and procedural administration was informed by modern European legal systems. To make this departure from past customs noticeable, the administration of the Majallah was assigned to the Ministry of Justice, another institution that owed its existence to the Tanzimat era. See William Cleveland, A History of the Modern Middle East, p. 84. The Majallah "represents represents the first attempt by any Islamic state to codify part of the shari'a," See John Esposito, The Oxford Dictionary of Islam, p. 199.
- 83 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-'Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani, p. 216. The law of diyyat refers to the the compensation given, according to the shari'a, to victims of wrongful death and non-fatal injuries.
- 84 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, Al-Ta'lim fi al-'Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918, p. 379.
- 85 Al-Qaysi, "The Impact of Modernization on Iraqi Society during the Ottoman Era: A Study of Intellectual Development in Iraq, 1869-1917," p. 89.
- 86 Abdul Jalil Al-Asadi, Kulliyat al-Huquq fi Baghdad: Dawruha fi Bina' al-Dawla al-Iraqiyya al-Haditha (The Law College in Baghdad: Its Role in Building the Modern State), re-printed in "Dhakira Iraqiyya, Al-Mada, No. 2015, 17 January 2011.
- 87 Jamil Musa Al-Najjar, Al-Ta'lim fi al-'Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani al-Akhir, 1869-1918, p. 381. Also see Hassan Al-Dujaili, Taqaddum al-Ta'lim al-Ali fi al-'Iraq, p. 27.
- 88 Hassan Al-Dujaili, Taqaddum al-Ta'lim al-Ali fi al-'Iraq, p. 28.
- 89 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-'Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani, p. 216. See pp. 217-218 for a partial list of the graduates of this college.
- 90 Hikmat Sulaiman (1885-1964) was educated at the Imperial Civil School in Istanbul. His father was an Ottoman district governor and his brother was General Mahmud Shawkat, leader of the 1909 coup that deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Among Sulaiman's other positions during the Ottoman era was Director of Education for the Baghdad province

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- in 1908. See Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq*, pp. 182-183.
- 91 John J. Diskin, *The "Genesis" of Government Educational System in 'Iraq*, pp. 168-169, and Hassan Al-Dujaili, *Taqaddum al-Ta'lim al-Ali fi al-Iraq*, pp. 31. See also, Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, pp. 216-217. He noted that Jamal Pasha called for closing the Law College citing the weakness of its instruction and curricula. Jamal Pasha's legacy was particularly associated with his actions as the Commander of the Ottoman Fourth Army that was based in Damascus during the WWI and later being the governor of Greater Syria. There, he was known as al-Saffah, the Blood Shedder, for his repressive measures. Among his victims were thirty two Arab notables who were accused of treason, tried before military tribunals and hanged in 1915 and 1916. The executions claimed for Arab members of the Ottoman parliament, a senator and three deputies, and a number of leading journalists and community leaders. See William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, p. 154.
- 92 Hassan Al-Dujaili, *Taqaddum al-Ta'lim al-Ali fi al-Iraq*, pp. 31.
- 93 Al-Qaysi, "The Impact of Modernization on Iraqi Society during the Ottoman Era: A Study of Intellectual Development in Iraq, 1869-1917," p. 86. The Imperial War College was founded in 1834, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839), and was fashioned after the French officers' training academy even in the adoption of French as the language of instruction. See William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, p. 78.
- 94 Abdul-Razzak al- Hilali, *Tarikh al-Ta'lim fi al-Iraq fi al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, p. 220-226. Al-Hilali presents a partial list of the Istanbul graduates including some 250 officers ranking from Colonel to First Lieutenant.
- 95 *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.
- 96 Al-Qaysi, "The Impact of Modernization on Iraqi Society during the Ottoman Era: A Study of Intellectual Development in Iraq, 1869-1917," p. 87.
- 97 *Ibid.* , pp. 87-88.
- 98 The first missions to study in Europe were sent by Muhammad Ali of Egypt in the early 1820s. This inspired the Ottoman administration in Istanbul to do the same. See William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, pp. 78, 93.

