Higher Educational Systems in Islam and Europe:

A Comparative Study of the Ottoman Medrese and English University Systems in the XVIth – XVIIth Centuries

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By

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To my family and friends who always believed in me.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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This is to certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:

i) Turkish Educational History course during the graduate study

ii) Examination of several journal articles as well as professional books both in English and Turkish on this subject.

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ABSTRACT

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Higher Educational Systems in Islam and Europe: A Comparative Study of the Ottoman Medrese and English University Systems in the XVIth – XVIIth Centuries

This study focuses on the comparison of the educational systems in England and the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It consists of four main sections after the introduction that establishes the concepts and development of the English universities and colleges as well as the Imperial medreses of the Ottoman Empire. The first chapter deals with the endowments of these institutions as well as how they affect the curriculum and how they can be amended as well as containing a section on the relationship of the supporting schools with these larger institutions. The second chapter discusses the curricula of each institution as well as new developments and examinations during the covered era. The third chapter reviews some of the staff, both academic and non-academic, as well as relevant aspects of their work and salaries. The final fourth chapter examines the role of the students at these institutions in addition to their daily life and how their time at these institutions prepared them for their future studies and career.

The desire of this study is to make some relevant conclusions based on similarities and differences within and between the English and Ottoman systems of higher education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While these comparisons are hopefully of value in understanding these systems, the study is also designed to encourage the future research of these valid points in more detail.

Key words:

England, University, Oxford, Cambridge, Ottoman, Fatih, Suleymaniye, Madrasa, Curriculum, Foundation, Student, Professor

KISA ÖZET

Steven Kimball IDE **Eylül 2007**

İslam ve Avrupa'da Yüksek Öğretim Sistemleri: XVI ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Medrese ve İngiliz Üniversite Sistemlerinin Mukayeseli Tedkiki

Bu tez XVI ve XVII. yüzyıllarda İngiltere ve Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki eğitim sistemlerinin mukayesesi üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. İngiliz üniversiteleri ve kolejlerinin yanı sıra Osmanlı medreselerinin konseptlerini ve gelişimini ortaya koyan girişin ardından dört ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölüm bu kurumların vakıflarını, onların müfredatı nasıl etkilediklerini ve nasıl değiştirilebildiklerini incelemekte ve tetimme okullarının bu büyük kurumlarla irtibatlarını ele almaktadır. İkinci bölüm her kurumun müfredatınının yanı sıra ilgili dönem zarfındaki yeni gelişmeleri ve sınavları değerlendirmektedir. Üçüncü bölüm akademik kadronun ve diğer personelin bir kısmını ele almakta ve onların görev ve maaşlarıyla ilgili meseleleri incelemektedir. Dördüncü ve son bölüm bu kurumların öğrencilerinin rolünün yanı sıra günlük yaşantılarını ve bu kurumlardaki zamanlarının kendilerini müstakbel çalışmaları ve kariyerlerine nasıl hazırladığını araştırmaktadır.

Bu tezin amacı XVI ve XVII. yüzyıllarda İngiliz ve Osmanlı yüksek öğretim sistemlerinin kendi içlerindeki ve birbirleriyle aralarındaki benzerlik ve farklılıklara dayalı bazı sonuçlara ulaşmaktır. Bu çalışma, yapılan karşılaştırmaların o sistemlerin anlaşılmasında bir değeri olduğu ümidiyle bu tespitlere ilişkin daha ayrıntılı müstakbel araştırmaları özendirecek şekilde tasarlanmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler:

İngiltere, Üniversite, Oxford, Cambridge, Osmanlı, Fatih, Süleymaniye, Medrese, Müfredat, Vakıf, Öğrenci, Müderris.

LIST OF CONTENTS

LIST OF APPENDICES

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PREFACE

This study compares and contrasts some of the relevant points between the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, particularly the Arts and Theology Faculties, with the religious medreses of Fatih and Suleymaniye in the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

While a comparison of educational institutions is not a novel idea, this particular study has never been made for this time period. While the Middle Ages have been compared before and even some of the early foundations of the medrese and universities by George Makdisi, I chose to focus on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with some occasional overlap into the surrounding decades, because this period was an important formative period in both the Ottoman and English educational systems. Because both of these systems are closely linked to the government of their respective countries, I felt that some of the important political developments of the time might serve as useful period to define these developments within the education system. At the outset of the sixteenth century in England, the rule of Henry VIII which brought about a split with the Catholic Church and the formation of the Anglican Church to which these universities would become subservient as well as the introduction of the Reformation and Humanism into England caused major changes from the late fifteenth century. In the Ottoman Empire, the conquering of Istanbul and the founding of the Fatih medrese which resulted in a large number of scholarly and scientific activity in the new Ottoman capitol

in the second half of the fifteenth century accompanied by the founding of the Suleymaniye complex as the top medrese in the empire in the 1550's seemed a likely point of origin for that system. Likewise, the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz by the Ottomans in 1699 and the ascension of Sultan Ahmed III in 1703, who was to enact several important changes during his reign (1703-30), seemed a likely place to end our discussion, especially given the detailed study already undertaken by Madeline Zilfi. The death of Queen Anne on August 1, 1714 ended the Tutor monarchy that had covered the period between 1485 and 1714. In addition, the rise of the Scientific Revolution in the later half of the seventeenth century as well as the upcoming Enlightenment of the eighteenth century would lead to major shifts in the outlook of Oxford and Cambridge.

While this study may not be comprehensive of every nuance and aspect of the educational systems in these two countries, it will try to answer many questions in its limited scope. While some conclusions have been made, they are necessarily left up to the judgment of the reader to decide their value and effectiveness. I hope that this study will be an effective basis for more future studies in this area.

INTRODUCTION

DEFINITON OF MEDRESE AND UNIVERSITY/COLLEGE

Historical Development of the Medrese system and the University system

While neither of the two systems under study can be said to be truly original patterns of learning, they each developed and built upon the previous systems from which they came. The Ottoman medreses were built upon the philosophies of the earlier Seljuk and other Islamic medreses traditions, as the English Universities were built upon the continental traditions, particularly the French model.

In the case of both of the English Universities, their exact date of origin is a mystery to which many fictions and half-truths have been appended over time. Although stories exist claiming Oxford and Cambridge were established centers of learning since ancient times, we will focus on the proven facts about the first reliable events leading up to their establishments.

Oxford University is older than Cambridge University by at least 20 years. Oxford was a well-known center for learning by the end of the twelfth century. The earliest eye-witness account of an academic event in Oxford was written in Latin by Giraldus Cambrensis, a Norman-Welsh scholar and mystic. He mentions that he completed his text *The Topography of Ireland* in 1200 and "desiring not to hide his candle under a bushel, but to place it on a candlestick so that it might give light, he resolved to read his work at Oxford, where the clergy of England flourished and excelled in clerkship, before that great audience" (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera Ineditia* vol.1:72-3, cited by Rashdall, 1936:25). His lectures were in parts lasting over three days, on the second day of which the doctors and pupils of the different

faculties attended, and he says that the "ancient times of the poets were thus renewed, nor does the present or any past age recall anything like it in England." (Morris, 1978:5-6) Perhaps due to a large number of migrating scholars from Paris, around 1200 a *Studium Generale*, a fully-developed medieval university, existed there. The head of the university was the Chancellor, its headquarters were the church of St. Mary on High Street, its language of instruction was Latin, and its purpose was esentially to educate clerics. Its original course of studies was:

The Seven Liberal Arts

Grammar; Logic; Rhetoric; Music; Arithmetic; Geometry; Astronomy

The Three Philosophies

Moral; Metaphysical; Natural

The Two Tongues

Greek; Hebrew

Adapted from (Morris, 1978)

This seven-year course led to the degree of Master of Arts. The student could then proceed to the higher faculties of Law, Medicine, or Theology, the most prestigious of the studies, often spending a total of thirteen years at the university. While at first a loose conglomeration of students and scholars, the *studium generale* soon adopted some useful habits. Initially, most of the students lived where and how they wished; but in 1231 Henry III ordered that every student must have his name on a register with a master, and in 1410 it was proclaimed that all students must live in recognized halls of attendance. In addition, university chests were established to help poor students. These chests were actually strongboxes, often financed by benefactors, from which loans could be drawn in return for securities deposited. (Morris, 1978:9-10) While these chests were certainly well used, another common feature in the

Middle Ages was the Oxford student-beggar, who recited poetry at the doors of the wealthy for alms.

Under the sponsorship of Robert Grosseteste (1175-1253), the first chancellor of Oxford, the mendicant friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelite, and Augustine, set up house in Oxford and gained a strong presence. The friars came from many parts of Europe, including Spain, Italy, Poland, and Germany. They also included some of the greatest medieval scholars, including Roger Bacon. However, the friars' presence was often a point of friction with the University as well as the town, a presence that continued until the Reformation. In addition, the University often was despised by the townspeople and led to many riots, including the notorious St. Scholastica Day riot of February 1354. (Morris, 1978)

The medrese developed in Islam out of the mosque-centered tradition of learning. George Makdisi proposes the idea that the European university system has its roots in the Islamic tradition (Makdisi, 1981:224-25). While an interesting idea and one of many truths, I want to take some of that discussion and show how it affected both the medreses and university. While these events happened far before the time period under review, we can draw some conclusions. Since the Ottoman medreses developed out of the classic Seljuk medrese system, which itself was a derivative of the classic Islamic medreses first founded in Iraq, we can see that the Ottoman system has many of its roots in classical Islamic thought and education. Likewise, the British universities, themselves founded in the late 12th century, were based upon the continental European models as seen in France and elsewhere.

As compared to the older mosque tradition of teaching, the teaching of the law assumed the primary position in the medrese. The other subjects, such as grammar,

literature, Quranic studies, studies of the Prophet's sayings and life, etc., were studied as ancillary sciences to the study of law. The medrese-college consisted of a combination of the mosque-college and its nearby *hân* or hostel. While the mosque-college had been open to any subject, the medrese-college was dedicated to the study of law. The *müderris* was the professor of law, and usually the head of the college.

The *vakif* (foundation) of the medrese-college was distinct from the mosque-college in an important way. The mosque-college foundation was such that once the founder had signed the trust he was no longer able to control the foundation. He could not appoint himself as trustee-administrator of the college and likewise had no control over the funds produced by the income of the college. However, the medrese-college differed here in that the founder could appoint himself or his descendants as trustee-administrator, and control the future and income of the college endowment. While the mosque-college was placed under the protection of the *qadi* (judge), possibly subject to some unscrupulous practices, the medrese-college *vakif* made it possible for the founder to enjoy the income of the endowment and to place his wealth in a shelter far from the reach of greedy rulers. This type of *vakif* dates from the latter half of the fourth/tenth century and was fully developed by the fifth/eleventh century.

In Islam, all efforts were devoted to the study of law while other religious sciences and the supporting literary arts were subordinated to it. The medrese was instituted primarily for the study of law. In this and other *vakif* institutions it was against the law of *vakif* to teach anything contrary to the tenets of Islam, such as the "foreign sciences" of philosophy, logic, and rationalist theology (Makdisi, 1981:35-9).

The Seljuk medreses followed this system of medreses first found in the Nizamiye medrese in Baghdad. This process was the basis for the early medreses of the Ottoman principality in Anatolia, where the first medrese was established in Iznik in 1331.

The Medrese under Ottoman influence in the early modern period

Although the conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmet II in 1453 is technically before the early modern period designation, it was of such immense importance for the future of the Ottoman Empire that we will begin with this event in our discussion of the Ottoman period. Although the first Ottoman medrese was built in 1331 in Iznik, it was the foundation of the Fatih Medrese complex by the Sultan in the decade following the conquest of Constantinople that set the precedent for the new outlook of the distinctly 'Ottoman medrese'. This medrese was in fact a comprehensive complex that included an Imperial mosque, a public kitchen, hospital, and, of course, the eight lower medreses, known as *Tetimme* (Completing) or *Musile-i'Sahn* (Path to the Sahn), roughly the equivalent of undergraduate studies. On top of these were the eight medreses known as the *Sahn-i Semân* for higher religious studies. Each of these medreses was assigned to a *müderris* (professor) who was responsible for the fifteen *dânişmends* (advanced students) resident in the medrese. From these fifteen students, one was selected as the *muîd* (recapitulator) to review and tutor the other students in their lessons.

The *Sahn-i Semân* medreses became the highest ranked medreses in the Empire of the six ranks of the period and were responsible for teaching three main blocks of study – Islamic jurisprudence, Quranic exegesis, and scholastic theology, rhetoric, and related studies, including mathematics and philosophy (İnalcik,

1997:169). The graduates of this medrese became some of the leading jurists, scholars, and important government functionaries of the expanding Ottoman Empire. An interesting point is the insistence in the *vakfiye* (charter) that the *akliyyât* (rational) sciences, such as logic, philosophy, and mathematics, be taught alongside the traditional reported, *nakliyyât* (religiously-based) sciences like jurisprudence and theology. In addition, each *muîd* must be "experienced in teaching from the *muhtasarât* (abridged) texts as well as able to teach from the *mutevvelât* (comprehensive) texts according to his ability" (Unan, 2003:338). Furthermore, the *vakfiye* notes that the medrese was built upon the rules of *hikmet* (wisdom, often referring to philosophy) and was based upon the rules of geometry, thus further distinguishing this medrese from earlier institutions (İhsanoğlu, 2002:376).

While religious studies thrived under the patronage of Sultan Mehmet II in the medreses, the founding of the Suleymaniye medrese complex in 1556 by Sultan Suleyman I brought further distinction to the Ottoman medrese system. This complex consisted of an Imperial mosque, public kitchen, and four general medreses. It also included a specialized medrese for *Hadith* (Prophetic traditions) as well as a medical medrese. Sultan Suleyman also reclassified these medreses as the highest ranking ones in the realm, with the *Dârülhadis* (Hadith medrese) ranked highest.

Another related development in the Ottoman Empire was the classification of the *ulema* (religious scholars) into the *Ilmiye* (learned institution), designating them as the body responsible for the morals of society as well as the interpretation and implementation of the *şeriât* (Islamic laws) in public and government. The *müderrises* of the medreses were an important part of this hierarchy while the graduates themselves aspired to be müderrises or judges up to the highest positions in the *Ilmiye*

system. Therefore, the role of the medreses as a training ground for these future religious scholars was very important for the future and legitimacy of the Ottoman Empire as the leading Islamic empire of the period.

During the golden age of the Ottoman Empire under Suleyman, the medreses and Ilmiye members reached new heights. However, beginning in the late sixteenth century and increasing in the seventeenth, the medrese and Ilmiye system along with the entire Empire entered a period of decay. Disorder in the distant provinces in the empire brought an influx of people to Istanbul while stagnation in scholarship and the yearning for new immunities and rewards under the increasingly decadent Ilmiye system caused many unworthy people to enter the ranks of the ulema. The medreses were not spared from this problem as rich patrons, bribery, and the pretext of the Sultan's prerogative combined to promote many unfit candidates to high professorships in the medreses or exemption from some examinations for beneficiaries of the rampant corruption of the time.

Another factor which is often cited by the later writers calling for a return to the previous practice was the gradual elimination of the scholastic sciences and mathematics from the medrese curriculum of the Fatih period as a result of the accusations against them as unfit for the education of a religious scholar and an inducement to follow irreligious practices, such as magic and astrology. This is interesting because similar calls were being made in English universities in the later sixteenth century as well. In addition, some scholars mentioned that ulema no longer wished to spend long periods of study to become scholars and now sought reduced time periods to graduate as well as a preference for abridged texts or simpler

handbooks (İnalcik, 1997:179). Again, this was an interesting parallel with the calls from the English universities.

While many *Şeyhülislâms* (Grand Muftis) issued *fatwas* (religious rulings) and Sultans issued *fermâns* (royal decrees) forbidding these practices and urging return to the laws of the classic period, these rules were mostly ignored and the medrese system declined greatly in terms of scholarship and prestige. However, it wasn't until the end of the seventeenth century that this situation really began to reverse itself during a period of reforms and a gradual closing of the ranks of the ulema and Ilmiye system from outside interference.

The University in Britain in the early modern period.

By the advent of the early modern period, roughly corresponding to about 1500, the British university system, exemplified by Oxford and Cambridge universities, had developed from its original conception as *studium generales* (public schools) to become in effect a collection of individual colleges operating under the pretext of an incorporated university. Until the end of the fifteenth century, the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge were fairly small associations with mostly graduate students. However, during the course of the sixteenth century, students became increasingly concentrated in colleges and less in halls. At the outset of the early modern period in about 1500, there were only eight halls remaining in Oxford, with an average of 27 students, while there were thirteen colleges with an average of 34 people. Later in the century during the reign of Elizabeth I, the colleges were given the exclusive rights of boarding and educating undergraduates, which remained the case until the nineteenth century (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996:158). In other words, the majority of the original powers and responsibilities of the university proper had been

transferred or usurped by the individual colleges. This resulted in the peculiar position that the university's main role was reduced to essentially a general body for congregating the entire student body and degrees were conferred by the faculties.

While discussing the changes to the university in England during the early modern period, it is necessary to have a little background of some of the major changes and trends occurring in English society and government. This period includes some of the most important changes towards shaping British society as we now know it. Although Humanism had begun before this period in Italy, it wasn't until the late fifteenth and more particularly the outset of the sixteenth century that it began to have a major influence upon the English university system. None less then Erasmus himself, perhaps the most prominent figure in promoting humanism in northern Europe, resided at both Oxford and Cambridge at different times in the beginning of the sixteenth century. In roughly the same period, we find the beginnings of the Reformation, which was introduced into England by an act of state under Henry VIII, and Counter-Reformation's ideas sweeping through European religious circles. The Reformation was also linked to Henry VIII's (1505-43) divorce of his wife Queen Catherine, which was sanctioned by both Oxford and Cambridge, as a symbol of his break with Papal Roman authority and the establishment of the King as the head of the Anglican Church by the Act of Supremacy of 1534. Soon after, the university experienced much change due to the unstable forces between King Edward VI and the Catholic Queen Mary I's reigns followed by the reigns of the Protestant Elizabeth I and then James I. Furthermore, we find the seeds of Puritan thought arising in the universities. The English Civil War began in 1642 and the universities were caught in the crossfire alternating between Royalist and Parliamentarian support. As if this were

not enough, the Scientific Revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth century further polarized the universities in terms of traditional scholasticism versus the New Science. All of these events combined to leave the universities highly changed from their previous shapes.

These events also had a more direct influence upon the shape of the universities at this time. The late arrival of the Renaissance in England along with Erasmus's residence in both Oxford and later Cambridge produced a noticeable effect on the two universities. At Oxford, John Colet, William Grocyn, And Thomas Linacre were great Humanists. Meanwhile, at Cambridge, Bishop John Fisher, Sir John Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith were the main humanist proponents. In particular, the work of Erasmus at Cambridge that produced a new Latin version of the New Testament without the effects of the Catholic Vulgate was designed to provide a new guide to students and led to Cambridge's rise as a center for the Reformation in the early decades of the sixteenth century. In addition, the founding of Christ's College (1505) and St. John's College (1511), as a result of Fisher's influence on the Countess of Richmond, was a boon for the Reformation movement.

The Royal Injunctions of 1535, exemplifying the opinions and aims of Thomas Cromwell, signaled the end of the old scholastic methods of the Duns Scotus school that had been so popular in the Middle Ages at both universities. Cromwell's visitors swept through Oxford and Cambridge and eliminated scholastic and canon law studies in place of lectures in Greek, Latin, Hebrew and the civil law. In addition, Henry VIII dissolved and seized monastic properties whose annual income was less than £200 in March 1536, followed by the seizure of the greater monasteries during 1538-39, amounting to property worth about £140,000 being diverted to the royal

account, which was then passed on the lay subjects as an incentive to break from the Roman Church (Encyclopedia Britannica (vol.8), 1972:492).

The foundation of Trinity College in Cambridge in 1546 on the ground of several suppressed colleges and hostels by Henry VIII represented the earliest form of a college established and directed as a completely independent institution from the Roman Catholic tradition. Trinity and St. John's (both 1555) at Oxford serve as converse examples to Trinity, Cambridge since they were founded during the reactionary stages of Queen Mary's reign (Encyclopedia Britannica (vol.22), 1972:751).

Puritanism took a strong hold at Cambridge in the reign of Elizabeth, with St. John's and Queens' Colleges becoming the center of the movement led by Thomas Cartwright, Walter Travers, and others. The foundation of Emmanuel College in 1584 fortified the movement and became a known school of Puritanism. Most of the Puritans objected to the strict discipline imposed by the university and college statutes, particularly the wearing of the surplice and cap and the conferment of degrees in divinity. The Anglican Party which was led by Archbishops John Whitgift and Richard Bancroft, responded with a harsh policy, including adherence to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and the Elizabethan statutes of 1570, which led to stronger governmental control. At Oxford, there was a similar movement against the Puritans, who were led by Leicester, the Chancellor, to ensure strict discipline which culminated in the Laudian or Caroline statutes of 1636. In spite of the harsh discipline, admissions to the university increased and averaged about 400 a year in the period between 1610 and 1635 (di Simone, 1996:297-99).

During the English Civil War (1642-51), the universities were strongly royalist, causing them to be regarded suspiciously by the Puritan Party. In 1640, the Chancellor of Oxford, the illustrious Archbishop Laud of the 1636 statutes, was arrested by order of Parliament and impeached for treason. This led to his resignation of the Chancellorship by what was essentially the request of the Puritan backed Parliament and subsequent execution (Morris, 1978:82). In 1643, eleven heads of houses at Cambridge were removed by the Earl of Manchester by order of Parliament. In 1647, Parliament ordered a Visitation of Oxford to 'reform and regulate' Oxford University. The Visitation was met by strong protest and resulted in the removal of Samuel Fell from his Vice-Chancellorship of Oxford as well as his Deanery at Christ Church along with the eventual replacement of most heads of colleges and professors. On October 12, 1649, it was decreed that no person could take a degree or hold an office in the University of Cambridge without promising to be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without a King or House of Lords" (Fowler, 1984:91). This led to the further expulsion of three more heads of houses for refusing to sign. Oliver Cromwell himself became Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1651 to 1657 and enforced strong Puritanism (Morris, 1978:92). At Oxford, a school of mathematics began to thrive under the tutelage of John Wilkins, Seth Ward, and John Wallis. Under the Commonwealth, there was a general distrust of university education as encouraging contentiousness towards religious beliefs. William Dell, master of Caius College, Cambridge, proposed abolishing both universities as hopelessly dedicated to antiquated and obsolete methods and to establish schools of higher education throughout the country (Encyclopedia Britannica (vol.22), 1972:752). As a result of this strife, attendance at

the universities dropped considerably and did not rise again until almost two centuries later.

Charles II was restored to the monarchy in 1660, signaling the end of Puritan Oxford. In addition, eleven heads of houses were reinstated at Cambridge in 1660. This ushered in what might be considered the second phase of humanism, the study of natural sciences and mathematics. In 1663 the Lucasian professorship of mathematics was founded at Cambridge and Isaac Barrow became the first holder of that chair. In 1669, Barrow resigned in favor of Isaac Newton, then a young fellow of 27 years of age at Trinity College. Newton held the chair for over thirty years and was responsible for giving Cambridge its fame as a mathematical stronghold, although there are traces of this trend from at least the time of William Oughtred in 1592. In fact, according to Porter's research, the Scientific Revolution was clearly the product of the universities and he states: "Out of the sixty-five late seventeenth-century British scientists important enough to merit inclusion in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 75 per cent of them had been educated at Oxford and Cambridge" (Porter, 1996:542). In fact, during the seventeenth century, Oxford established chairs in geometry, astronomy, natural philosophy, and anatomy in only the short period of 1619-24 (Porter, 1996:545). These achievements underlined the importance and vitality of the Scientific Revolution in the English Universities of the seventeenth century.

One of the later trends to be of marked importance in that age of sweeping changes was the Platonist movement in Cambridge that developed from the influence of Cartesian philosophy. The Platonists leaders Henry More and Ralph Cudworth were both men of great standing, immense education and high character, although

they succumbed to their enthusiasm and followed speculation. The spread of Francis Bacon's philosophy and the personages of Isaac Barrow, master of Trinity (1673-77) and Isaac Newton (1669-1702) led to an increase in the study of the exact sciences as a main focus (Encyclopedia Britannica (vol.22), 1972:752). Moreover, for many the study of the classical philosophers, such as *Plato*, *Tully*, and *Plotin*, represented a middle path, being against the narrow creed of the Puritans and for a more liberal and enlightened spirit (Fowler, 1984:73)

Place of Medrese in Ottoman society.

The medrese was one of the most important institutions in the Ottoman system. This was the training ground for the higher members of the Ilmiye hierarchy, a group which included the *müderrises* (professors), *kadis* (judges), as well as the higher religious functionaries, such as the two *kazaskers* (Chief Justices) and the *Şeyhülislâm* (Grand Mufti). In addition, the other members of the *Ilmiye*, such as mosque preachers and even the Sufi leaders had close ties with the higher *Ilmiye* members. In a society that was closely regulated by the tenets of Islam, the place for the training of the learned interpreters of the religious law as well as the members of the judiciary and for much of the legislative branches of the government was a respected and mighty institution indeed. These scholars taught the future generations, construed and applied the holy law, supervised official ethics, guided the public morality, and generally directed the ritual life of the empire.

In addition to these features, the medreses were organized into degrees by the Imperial government. When originally founded, the Fatih Sultan Mehmet medrese was the top ranking medrese of the empire at 50 *akçes* (aspers) and only the Aya Sofya medrese paid more, at 60 *akçes*. It served at the time as the most important

religious endowment by the Sultan in the newly-conquered city and the largest anywhere in the Empire as well as a sign of the new government and religious outlook of the sultan. It also showed the new centralizing approach the Sultan was taking in all affairs and what he imagined for his subjects and their society. While this medrese remained important, it would eventually be reclassified to only the sixth of twelve medreses in the final Ilmiye hierarchy. Even so, the Sahn schools remained an important step through which all aspiring office-seekers must pass as well as the first of its kind in the new Imperial capitol (Repp, 1986:42).

The Suleymaniye medreses were the final rungs in the medrese system and were stepping stones towards the higher judgeships. In fact, the *Dârülhadis* teacher, as the top-paid teaching position in the Empire, was able to option for a special *kadilik* (juridical-administrative district) known as the *mahreç mevleviyeti* where he could start off as a *kadi* at the 300 *akçe* level (Uzunçarşili, 1984:38). This also had implications for the provincial governments as well as the Istanbul polity, since he would then be the leading Ottoman judiciary in that province. He could also then be eligible to become a *kazasker*, the *Şeyhülislâm*, or the *Defterdar* or *Nisançi*, all leading administrative officials. This was surely another reason for the respect due these institutions. However, when the *ulema* acted as judges, they usually had a very limited interaction with the public, often with members of the public who were in violation of the law. The medrese *müderris*es were also limited since they dealt with only the top literary members of the society and lived in an "ivory tower", a charge that seems to be a universal charge against teachers in higher education.

While every medrese was a respected place of learning and was usually of some religious importance, the Imperial Medreses of first the Sultan Fatih and later

the huge edifice of the Suleymaniye compound were the epitome of the Ottoman medrese system and served to show the centralized approach to education and religion, as well as Imperial might and majesty, in real concrete forms. These buildings were not just schools of religion but comprehensive centers of religion, with the mosque, hospital, and public kitchens sharing the same compound. Therefore, the society in general benefited from these foundations and often supported them with their own donations and charity.

Place of university in British society.

The University and Colleges have had a troubled and unstable relationship within English society to say the least. With the Town and Gown riots of the Middle Ages as a beginning and the issues of the Reformation and the subsequent changes during the turbulent times of the sixteenth century and the Civil war in the middle seventeenth century, it is hard to believe that the university managed to survive at all. However, not only the survival but also the flourishing of the universities at times leads one to assume they were doing something right.

In order to talk about the place of the university in society, it may be useful to divide society into its local context as well as its national one. While the Ottoman Empire may have embraced the ideas of cultural and religious diversity, the case in England, as in most of Europe, called for a strict uniformity of thought and practice. As can be imagined, the natural cultural differences in a large university such as Oxford or Cambridge, which even in the seventeenth century boasted over 3000 students, was not the ideal place for uniformity. Add to that the fact that youth everywhere have differing views in society from the majority as well as the religious

bent of the university and its teachers, and we have a real powder keg of social mishap.

In the case of Oxford, the result of the town riots of the Middle Ages was a series of statutory privileges placing the university in an advantageous position over the town. From the statutes of c.1520, there are provisions for the right of the university court headed by the Chancellor to rule over the students, summon townsmen, banish impertinent women from the town, and punish 'obstinate' people of either the university or the town with incarceration or banishment (Morris, 1978:25). In Cambridge, similar rights are granted to the university over the town. In 1418, there was mention of 'many scholars' assembling to attack the mayor and his officers (Fowler, 1984:6). In fact, it was as a result of these town disturbances that most of the colleges eventually required their fellows to be members of the colleges and be in residence as well as restricting access to the town. However, it seems to have been a 'love and hate' relationship between town and gown as the university needed the town for its daily needs and laborers while the town depended on the university for much of the work and business within its environs.

While the towns may not have always been strong supporters of the universities, the general populace of the country seemed no different. As in the Ottoman system, the universities chief output was the religious clergy and civil students of the realm. During the early years of the Reformation, the universities gave some trouble but were eventually coaxed into line by the Tudor policy of centralizing the country through the church, which in turn became its own oligarchy. The statutes of 1570 and under Laud in 1636 quelled most of the dissent from the non-conformists

and papal supporters. For a period, the universities actually began to improve with the new ideas of Humanism and religious philosophy in place.

However, even under this 'polite scholarship' of the times, many people, both in the universities and outside, disagreed with the new autocratic powers of the university board and Crown-appointed 'Visiting' Chancellors. The non-conformists and papist parties were active in the faculties, especially the theology faculties. They were a constant cause of difficulty to the conformist attitudes of the monarchy. During the English Civil War as well as the plague epidemics, the universities emptied out and became mere shells of their former selves. Also, the restoration of the Stuart Monarchy brought even more constrictive controls, such as the Act of Uniformity, which outlawed all non-Anglicans form attending the universities and was the impetus for the foundation of many new schools elsewhere as well as the Puritan Diaspora to America. These factors together led to the unproductiveness of the university as well as the decline of students.

The result of these matters is that in general the universities were not looked upon so favorably during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a result of the social problems of the times. Many students chose to leave their studies and join the army or return to the countryside. Others were discouraged by the dull academic life of the colleges and decided to go into business. Additionally, many promising students were not allowed to attend due to the discriminatory policies of the times. In addition, many of the leading scholars of the times were not working under the aegis of the universities and instead pursued outside work and research. On top of that, the career choices for university graduates were still very limited and the cost in time and money was often not compensated for by the degree. Therefore, by the end of the

seventeenth century, most viewed the university as a ‘priests’ seminar’ and as removed from the intellectual life and direction of the country.

CHAPTER 1

INSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS AND CHARTERS

1.1 Common Themes and Styles in Medrese and University Foundations and Charters

It is worth noting that there are some distinct features of the two systems that may seem trivial but are actually very important on a fundamental level in distinguishing the Ottoman/Islamic medrese foundation from the English/European university/college foundation style. Of prime importance is the basic difference between the relationships of the founder to the course of the institution. In the Ottoman/Islamic system, the medrese was founded as a *vakif* (charitable foundation), which was essentially privately supported. Even in the cases of the two Imperial Ottoman medreses under study, both Sultan Mehmet II and Sultan Suleyman I, when establishing their respective institutions, were acting of their own free-will as private individuals, rather than as heads of state or government entities. This is because the basic rule of the *vakif* system is that the intended property must be the founder's own privately owned land intended for a public service. In the case of the medrese, that intention was the education of some element of the Muslim community in religious sciences. This will also prove important when discussing the decision of determining curriculum in an institution founded on the premise of disseminating education based on and in accordance with orthodox Islamic values.

The distinction appears when we compare the Ottoman model to the English/ European Christian model. In the case of the English system, the college foundation pattern closely resembled the *vakif* system as well as being distinct from the

continental college model. Like the *vakif*, the English college model developed as a perpetual trust, although other trusts were no longer allowed perpetuity. Also, the English college remained in effect the trust of an individual benefactor, like in the Islamic model. This was in contrast to the Continental European development of a foundation being attributed to a 'legal entity', such as a guild, city, or monastic bequest subject to the approval of the pope or sovereign. However, the break from the Islamic model came with the development of the incorporated trust. The first *incorporated* college in England was Merton College (1262) at Oxford (Makdisi, 1981: 225-29). Merton would continue to serve as a model for the development of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. The benefit of incorporating the colleges was mainly to act as a deterrent against abuses or usurpation of the college property by the sovereign or church. In addition, the college became a 'legal entity', much like a person, entitled to certain rights and privileges, as shall become apparent when we speak in more detail on that matter later. Makdisi proposes a relevant theory when discussing the reasons why the Islamic model remained static and eventually lagged behind while the European model was able to develop and meet the changing needs of society. He mentions as 'a most important factor' the difference of the provisions of perpetuity in each of the two legal systems. Islam had only the single form of the vakif or charitable trust whereas the Christian West had the dual forms of the corporation and the charitable trust, which in itself developed a proviso of the corporation. The Islamic model was limited by the conditions of the vakif while the Western model was able to take full advantage of the charitable trust while supplementing it with the rights of incorporation (Makdisi, 1981).

It is clear that the Seljuk and Ottoman medreses pre-dating Mehmet II followed the traditions of the Nizamiyye medreses. Their major goal was the teaching of religious studies, particularly fiqh. However, the fact that hospitals as well as sites for astronomical observations were established alongside the Seljuk mosques indicates there was an interest in medicine and astronomy in those medreses as well. Education in philosophy, mathematics and the natural sciences which did not fit in the category of religious studies was, during the Seljuk and early Ottoman period, given in the homes of scholars or at hospitals following a long tradition.

At both Oxford and Cambridge there were faculties of medicine were the main emphasis was on medicine instead of surgery since medicine was considered a science while surgery was considered a manual skill. In fact, all barbers, surgeons, and military surgeons in London were united into a single corporation or guild by an Act of Parliament in 1540 (Pederson, 1996:452-4). The teaching of philosophy, mathematics, natural sciences, and history were all taught in the Faculty of Arts, although the later seventeenth century saw the beginnings of the Scientific Revolution in which many scientists began to seek opportunities outside the universities, particularly in the more liberal setting of the Royal Court, a similarity shared with their Ottoman counterparts.

The medrese in general was an institution supported by a vakif, a foundation, and was usually one element in a complex consisting of a mosque, hospice and other charitable institutions. The *mütevelli* (overseer) of the complex entrusted to the *müderris* (professor) the monies designated to the medrese. In turn, the *müderris* was responsible for choosing the students, expending these funds on the students and servants, and for the general administration of the medrese. Thus, a medrese was a

self-governing unit within a *vakif*, itself an autonomous institution (Inalcik, 1997:169).

1.2. The Ottoman Medrese Foundations

The Ottoman medreses did not feature any new innovations in their foundations as compared to their Seljuk predecessors. The first Ottoman medrese was founded in Iznik in 1331 in a converted church building and the first *müderris* was Dâvûd of Kayseri. In this formative period of the Ottoman medrese system, most scholars came from either the cultural centers of the old Seljuk lands, such as Kayseri, Konya, and Aksaray, or from the older lands of the Islamic world, such as Egypt, Syria, Persia, or Turkistan. In fact, many of these Islamic lands produced scholars famous for certain subjects, such as jurisprudence in Egypt or mathematics in Samarqand (Inalcik, 1997:166-67). In fact, one of the main regrets of Sultan Mehmet after conquering Constantinople was the distinct lack of native scholars of a high caliber and the dependence on scholars from outside the Ottoman realm. It was with this in mind that he founded his famous medrese complex in Istanbul that was to have such a significant effect on the Ottoman medrese system and provide a model for all subsequent institutions.

1.2.1 The Charter and Foundation of the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Medrese.

The medrese of Mehmet Fatih was one of the earliest projects undertaken after the conquest of Constantinople, from 1463 to 1471. This complex was designed to turn the fallen city into a center of learning and monumental buildings (Necipoglu-Kafadar, 1985:96). This mosque was established by Sultan Mehmet II as the highest medrese in the Empire and was divided into eight higher medreses surrounding the mosque (*Semaniye*) with eight lesser schools behind them (*Tetimme*), as well as a

primary school and a soup kitchen, a hospital, and a library (İhsanoğlu, 2002:375-76). Its endowment deed clearly states that its various medreses were built "to repair and fill with light the house of knowledge and to convert the imperial capital to a realm of learning" (Necipoglu-Kafadar, 1985:96). In addition to that, the complex shows a tendency to impress state control over education by placing the ulema in institutions controlled by the state. While many parts of the Fatih *Külliye* (Complex) have precedents in earlier Ottoman institutions, one major point of difference is the inclusion of a stipulation for teachers to be knowledgeable in religious studies and in "rational" sciences, such as philosophy, logic and mathematics. Furthermore, the charter states that the medreses were based upon the rules of *hikmet* (wisdom, often used alternatively for philosophy) and they were built upon the rules of geometry (İhsanoğlu, 2002:375-76). The provision that rational sciences be taught alongside religious subjects was a new innovation in medrese education.

The eight higher medreses flanked the Fatih mosque with four on the Mediterranean side and four others on the Golden Horn side of the mosque with eight lesser medreses under the higher schools. Each of the higher schools was assigned a *müderris* (professor). The medreses were ranked according to the daily fees paid to the teachers in the institutions. Fatih Sahn schools each paid 50 *akçes*, equal to about one gold ducat, second only to the 60 *akçes* medrese at Aya Sofia. Each medrese had nineteen rooms and one classroom. Fifteen of those rooms were reserved for specialist students, known as *dânişmends*, roughly equivalent to graduate students, whom the *müderris* chose from the students who had completed a course of study at a lower medrese. Süheyl Ünver suggests that there were in fact only ten students although the original vakfiye called for fifteen (Ünver, 1946:82). These *dânişmends* received two

akçes daily from the endowment income and food from the school hospice twice daily. While these students lived in the dormitory, there were also an equal number of students who lived outside but attended lectures during the school hours. In addition, one of the *dânişmends* would be chosen as a *muîd* (recapitulator), who was responsible for repeating lessons as well as maintaining student discipline, for which he received five *akçes* daily. Additionally, each of the eight medreses had an endowed library in addition to a centrally-located general library (Inalcik, 1997:167). This was a very important contribution in a time when all books were hand copied and expensive.

While a list of all the personnel attached to the Fatih *Külliye* would take up extensive space, suffice it to say that each medrese had a *bevvab* (doorman) and *ferraş* (cleaner) attached at a rate of 2 *akçes* each daily as well as maintenance workers responsible for the entire complex. The entire complex was overseen by the *mütevelli* (overseer) and his supporting staff. In fact, one of the main contributions of the Fatih medrese to the Ottoman medrese system was in developing the centralized approach to learning with an all-inclusive complex consisting of public kitchens, baths, and a congregational mosque that was frequented by the public.

The foundation also determined many of the texts to be studied by the students. These included classical Islamic texts such as *Adut* and *Hidaye* in jurisprudence, *Keşşaf* in Quranic exegesis and *Telvihe* in the fundamentals of jurisprudence (Ünver, 1946:101). Classes were originally held five days a week with Tuesday and Friday off. There were classes in both the morning and the evening. The foundation called for a strict program of grueling hours of study for these advanced students.

1.2.2. The Charter and Foundation of the Suleymaniye Medrese

The medrese system remained essentially unchanged for approximately the next one hundred years until the founding of the Suleymaniye medreses in 1550-1557 by Sultan Suleyman I. This medrese became the foremost medrese of the Ottoman Empire until the fall of the Empire. The complex included a primary school and four medreses around the mosque as well as a library, a soup kitchen, a hospital, a convalescence home, and a pharmacy. The real specialty of the Suleymaniye medrese lay with the founding of the specialized schools, namely the *Dârülhadis* (Hadith studies medrese) and the *Darut'tib* (medical studies medrese). This was the first time that a special school for the teaching of Hadith was established in the Ottoman Empire, perhaps as a result of the recent inclusion of the old Islamic heartlands in the Ottoman realm during the reigns of Selim and Suleyman and the move towards a more orthodox understanding of Islam and a move away from the philosophical tendencies of Mehmet the Conqueror. The teachers in these new medreses all received 60 *akçes*, while the *Dârülhadis* teacher received 100 *akçes* daily, making the *Dârülhadis* teacher the highest ranking teacher in the Empire.

In general we can say that the Suleymaniye complex was conceived and built to serve as the epitome of Ottoman Islamic learning. In this regard, everything was done on a larger scale. While the Fatih medrese *müderrises* each received 50 *akçes*, the Suleymaniye received 60. While the personnel attached to the complex had similar responsibilities to their counterparts at the Fatih complex, the numbers were larger and their responsibilities helped to improve the image of the Ottoman sultan as the leader of Islam. This was even more apparent in the mosque personnel than the medreses and included the new positions as well as increases in established positions

such as the increase from twenty *juz'* (a thirtieth of the Quran) readers in the Fatih mosque to a hundred and twenty in the Suleymaniye (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985:98). In addition, a huge amount of revenue was assigned to the complex making it the wealthiest medrese in the Ottoman Empire.

While many of the positions and numbers of the students and personnel remained unchanged in the Suleymaniye medreses, this may be deceiving since there is some dispute about the authenticity of the earliest Fatih vakfiye and many believe it dates to the period of Suleyman. A new position mentioned expressly in the vakfiye is for the *siraci* (lamplighter) who received 2 *akçes* daily (Kürkçüoğlu, 1962:8). In addition, the müderris was required to be "highly knowledgeable and from the most respected scholars" in their field (Kürkçüoğlu, 1962:32).The Suleymaniye medreses would continue to be the highest ranking medreses until the end of the Ottoman Empire.

1.3. The English University/College Foundations

Although the names of Oxford and Cambridge universities are well known and invoke an image of a singular institution of administration, professors, and students, the truth of the matter is that both of these institutions fame and success were more tied to the individual success and benefactions of their individual colleges. That said, there was a university structure in place and the stated goal of each of the universities was to form a legal corporation of scholars and students to protect their rights and privileges. Both universities operated under common seals and had a government that was regulated by the university statutes. The university was divided into faculties and had the sole power to award degrees. The representative, legislative, and administrative authority of the university corporation belonged to the general

assembly, called the Great Congregation or Convocation at Oxford and the Senate at Cambridge, where it was a bicameral house split between regents and non-regents. However, from the sixteenth century onwards, power moved from the general assemblies to the hebdomadal meeting in the hands of the vice-chancellor (the de facto head of the university) and the heads of the houses (colleges) while a non-resident magnate was chosen as the chancellor, the idea being that he would defend the interests of the university at the royal court. Until 1677 (death of Archbishop Sheldon), a clergyman, generally an archbishop, and a layman were appointed, such as the Earl of Leicester under Elizabeth I. Afterwards, the chancellorship was only given to laymen (Ridder-Symoens, 1996).

When approaching a discussion of the charters and foundations of Oxford and Cambridge, it is imperative to remember that the general trend in the English universities, particularly by the time of the early modern period under discussion, was that the college system had more or less usurped most of the power and responsibilities of the original university system, in stark contrast to the general trend in the continental European universities. The colleges of both universities should be regarded in a double light: in the first place, they are charitable foundations for the maintenance of a number of students and resident graduates; in the next place, as houses of education where students desiring to obtain university degrees are lodged and placed under the supervision of tutors. In the first aspect, each college is an independent corporation, completely unconnected with the university at large, except that its members, individually, are subject to its statutes; governed by laws of its own, usually stipulated by the original founder, and subject to the inspection of its own visitor, appointed in its charter of foundation (McCulloch, 1854:333-34). However,

the colleges could not establish new statutes in defiance of the university's statutes and consequently, all members of the university had to register with a college and colleges were required by university statutes to conform to certain obligations, such as payment of an annual sum for university purposes. Because the colleges had now taken over the rights of deciding curriculum and most teaching was done in the individual colleges and halls, it may be more beneficial to investigate the charters and stipulations of some of the colleges, with a particular emphasis on any unique developments that came to be seen as precedents or models to be emulated in future college foundations, Therefore, I have chosen to focus on some of the main colleges and halls individually rather than the quickly diminishing power of the university corporation.

1.3.1 The Charter and Foundation of Oxford University and Its Colleges

While the origins of Oxford University are cloaked in mystery, it surely existed before 1209 when Cambridge was founded. The university developed from the Parisian model and was incorporated early to protect the rights of the students and scholars from usurpation by the authorities. As mentioned earlier, focus here will go to the individual colleges over the university although the university remained important as the body responsible for issuing degrees as well as a general body to represent the scholars as a body to the outside world.

1.3.1.1. Merton College (1264)

As a unique system, Merton College was the first college founded as an incorporated college at Oxford in at least 1264 by Walter de Merton, an ecclesiastical civil servant who had attained a high position in the Church and was former Chancellor to the King. He decided to allocate some of his private funds to benefit

future scholars, especially his own kin. The proposed chief object of the college was to enable eleven Bachelors of Arts to acquire the degree of M.A. and then pursue higher studies in the faculty of theology or remain as regents of arts. The first statutes were established in 1264 and Walter de Merton turned over his manor house and estate of Malden in Surrey to a community of scholars. In 1270 and again in 1274, the statutes were revised to include recently acquired property and holdings, in addition to other benefactions.

Among these new properties was St. John the Baptist's Church, bought in 1266 from the Abbey of Reading, and other houses. The new charter called for expenses to be paid from revenues of corn profits from any number of farms farmed by bailiffs (or Brethren or stewards depending on the context), any one of which might be audited for revenues. The scholars were to be allowed individually 'fifty shillings, and no more, annually, the payments to be at fitting seasons, yet so that they shall receive every week a certain proportion for their commons'(Morris, 1978:21). The eight original scholars were all nephews of the founder and the number could be increased to twenty (Rashdall, 1936:193).

The regulations and curriculum set down included a visitor or patron of the college; after 1276, the Archbishop of Canterbury. In addition, there was at least one member of the college who was a grammarian, at least three chaplains in orders, three bursars appointed from among the scholars to administer the revenues of the society (this was important to protect the revenues from outside embezzlement), a warden and his assistant deans, one for every ten scholars, to maintain discipline and the strict rule of only speaking Latin, and a yearly examination of the morals and progress of each of the scholars (Rashdall, 1936:195).

The total foundation in the later period provided for a warden, twenty-four fellows, fourteen *portionistae* (vulgò postmasters), four scholars, two chaplains, and two clerks. The postmasters correspond roughly to the scholars of other colleges. The fellows are elected by favor, and not on merit. In addition, there are generally between fifteen and twenty independent members, generally commoners (McCulloch, 1854:345).

1.3.1.2. All Souls College (1437)

All Souls was founded in 1437 by Henry Chicele, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his foundation remains unchanged. He provides for a warden, forty fellows, two chaplains, and a number of clerks. The election of fellows to this foundation is completely unrestricted: the only qualifications required by statute for a candidate being "good birth, good connections, and agreeable manners". In practice, the fellows are elected form the university at large, because of personal interest with the electors, and the qualifications of birth, connections, and manners has more clout than scholastic merit. This is the only college in Oxford which exists entirely as a society of graduate, admitting neither independent members nor students, except the few clerks connected with the establishment (McCulloch, 1854:347).

1.3.1.3. Corpus Christi College (1517)

This college was founded by the blind Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fox, as the first true Renaissance college in Oxford. Liberal Arts were of prime importance and included commissions for lecturers in Latin and Greek. There were three named teaching positions: a Reader or Professor of the Arts and Latin, a Reader of Greek and Philosophy, and a Reader in Divinity. In addition, there was a library of books in Latin, Greek, and English, a fact which impressed Erasmus (Morris, 1978:36-8). The

statutes appoint a "President, to hold authority over the rest, twenty Scholars, or Fellows, the same number of Disciples, three Lecturers to be therein employed, each in his office and order; and, moreover, six Ministers of the Chapel, of whom two must be Priests, two not Priests, but Clerks and Acolytes, or at least initiated by the primary tonsure, and the two remaining Choristers" (Morris, 1978:36). The fellows are elected from among the scholars. In addition, there were about six to eight undergraduate gentlemen commoners not on the foundation (McCulloch, 1854:347).

1.3.1.4. Christ Church (Cardinal's College) (1525 & 1546)

This college was founded in 1525 by Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal of York and Lord Chancellor to Henry VIII, as the thirteenth college of Oxford and was built by demolishing most of a monastery and all of a church and by partly financing the college with monies from suppressed religious houses. The college lasted for four years under his patronage; but at the time of his disgrace the foundation was still incomplete. It was discovered that many of the original scholars of the college were Lutherans and six members of the college were arrested for heresy. In 1529, Wolsey pleaded to the King to spare his foundation. Henry VIII first suspended, and finally reestablished, the college; and, in 1546, the Episcopal See having been at the same time fixed at Oxford, this institution received the double designation of a college and a cathedral.

The original foundation of Wolsey stipulated: a Dean, 60 Canons *primi ordinis* (first order), 40 Canons *secundi ordinis* (second order), 13 Chaplains, 12 Lay clerks, 16 Choristers, a Teacher of Music, 6 Professors, 4 Legal Officers, and 23 servants. In addition, it stipulated teaching in the faculties of Divinity, Canon and Civil Law,

Humanities and Physics and maintained perpetually the power to maintain the lands of the college (Morris, 1978:40).

However, the college was incomplete at the time of its suppression by Henry VIII and he reestablished the college as Christ Church in 1546. The new foundation used the same buildings but now stipulated: a Dean, 8 Canons, 8 Chaplains, and sixty students. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, 40 more students were added, and one more by a later benefactor, William Thurston. The canons of Christ Church have houses within the college and may marry. In fact, its first dean, Richard Cox, appointed the Italian Protestant Peter Martyr to be a Canon of Christ Church, and the two men caused outrage among Catholic thinking by marrying their wives, who became the first married women ever to live in an Oxford College (Morris, 1978:45). One canonry is permanently attached to the divinity professor and another to the Hebrew professor. Of the students, sixty-one are nominated by the canons since they are related to private patronage: they answer to both the scholars and fellows of other colleges, being elected as undergraduates, and keeping their studentships until death or promotion. Queen Elizabeth's forty students are elected from Westminster College. This college was the first in Oxford, and only succeeded by Trinity College, Cambridge, to also give instruction for a large number of members not on the foundation. Most of the noblemen attending the university learn here and the rest of the non-foundation students are gentlemen commoners (McCulloch, 1854:348).

1.3.1.5. Saint John's College (1555)

St. John's College was founded in 1555 by Sir Thomas White, alderman and merchant tailor. It consists of a president, fifty fellows and scholars, and other staff. From the fellowships: six are for the founder's kin, seven are designated for particular

endowed schools, and the remainder to the Merchant Tailor's school. The founder's kin are admitted as fellows on admission; the rest of the scholars (or probationary fellows) for three years. In addition, there are generally thirty or so undergraduate commoners in residence (McCulloch, 1854:348).

1.3.2. The Charter and Foundation of Cambridge University and Its Colleges

While the founding of Oxford may be impossible to determine, Cambridge was formed in 1209 by scholars migrating from Oxford and its further development upon Henry III's invitation to Parisian scholars in 1229 (Rashdall, 1936:278). While the statutes of Cambridge are almost exact copies of Oxford, there are a few important differences. Some of the most important differences are the right of a master to try a case in which one of his scholars (undergraduates) was a defendant, the right to voting in Congregation, a shorter time period for the Doctor of Divinity course than at Oxford, and the prominent position of mathematics in the university (Rashdall, 1936:285-89). While these are important differences, the majority of the university was modeled after Oxford and will be relegated less importance in this study like Oxford university in deference to the colleges.

1.3.2.1. Peterhouse (St. Peter's College) (1284)

St. Peter's College (later Peterhouse) was founded in 1284 by Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, and was modeled after Merton College in Oxford. Two hostels and an adjoining church were invested in a master and a body of fourteen scholars and three poor grammar-boys who were to sing in the college church and serve the scholars in hall or chamber. The fellows entered on a level of at least B.A. on election and had to make an oath to attend lectures and disputations in their faculty and in the house and to be in priestly orders in the University (Rashdall, 1936:297).

In its first statutes in 1338, it is ordained that the scholars are to engage in the "study of letters, shall be bound to devote themselves entirely to the study of arts, Aristotle, canon law, or theology". There were also provisions for two scholars, and no more at the same time, to study in canon and civil law and one scholar to pursue medicine, to be decided upon by the master and scholars and given a dispensation (Fowler, 1984:12).

1.3.2.2. King's College (1441)

King's College was founded in 1441 by Henry VI, by whom it was connected to his foundation at Eton College. This college was founded as a rival to New College, Oxford (1379) and followed many of the same concepts that the Oxford school did. In addition, as Rashdall notes, the choice of Cambridge rather than Oxford may have been due to a reaction against the ingrained teachings of Wyclif at Oxford. In fact, every scholar on his admission to a fellowship was required by the statutes of the college to swear that he would denounce the 'damnable errors' of Wyclif and Pecock (Rashdall, 1936:316). This set a trend towards the move away from scholasticism in the later Middle ages.

The institution comprises a provost and seventy fellows and scholars elected from the seventy scholars at Eton, by seniority, according to the system detailed by the head of Eton. They become fellows at the end of three years from their admission (McCulloch, 1854:355). By special agreement with the university and a Papal Bull, the members of this house are exempt from university examinations and exercises, and from the authority of university officers, including the chancellor, within the confines of the college. By statute the college only stipulates two civilians and four canonists as well as six clerks assigned to the chapel. The provost is assigned a staff

consisting of: one attendant of good birth, three valets, and two pages. In addition, the provost was assigned an annual salary of £100 and a horse allowance of £10 (Rashdall, 1936:317).

1.3.2.3. Queen's College (1448)

Queen's College was issued a charter as the College of St. Bernard by Henry VI in 1446 and then re-founded on a separate site in the following year. The next year, 1448, the charter was again cancelled and a new one issued by Queen Margaret of Anjou. This college was yet again re-founded in 1475 by another queen, Elizabeth Woodville, consort of Edward IV, who became the patroness and co-foundress of the society. However, the actual financial endowments for the college came from less illustrious people, particularly Richard Andrew, burgess of Cambridge, and the gradual enlargement of the foundation by the first master Andrew Doket.

The earliest available statutes are revised copies dating from the time of Henry VIII in 1529. The statutes mandate: a President, eighteen fellows (fourteen of whom are to be in priest's orders), four poor scholars, two president's servants, and two cooks. Fellows were to be at least 'Questionists', a term denoting a fourth-year student, at the time of election. All fellows, upon completion of the regency in arts, were to study theology, except two, who were to study civil law and medicine respectively. Also, not more than two fellows were to be of the same diocese and moreover no more than one from the same county; thus intending to reduce partiality to certain locales. Lastly, certain powers of visitation, such as deposition of the president, were given to the vice-chancellor and another doctor or head of a college (Rashdall, 1936:321-2).

1.3.2.4. St. John's College (1511)

St. John's College was founded in 1511 by John Fisher, executor for Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of King Henry VII, and founder of Christ's College in 1505 on the site of King Henry VI's God's House College. It had a master and sixty scholars, including thirty-two foundation fellowships, available by royal letters patent to all natives of England and Wales, as well as twenty-one appropriated fellowships of different foundations. The electors of fellowships are the master and eight senior resident fellows. This college has a distinction of high mathematical qualifications required for its fellows, to which it contends with its rival Trinity College (McCulloch, 1854:355).

1.3.2.5. Trinity College (1546)

Trinity College is the largest college in Cambridge and was established in 1546 by King Henry VIII on the land of Michael-house and King's Hall as well as the Physic Hostel, all of which had been suppressed and dissolved by an Act of Parliament in 1544 (Fowler, 1984:20). Its original charter provides for 'a Dean, 8 canons, "eight peti-canons", four students in divinity, 24 scholars to be taught grammar, six aged men decayed in the King's wars or service' as well as staff to manage the estates and choir members (Blakeman, 1990:21). It later had one master and sixty fellows, elected from the scholars, and scholars, graduates below the degree of M.A., numbering up to sixty-nine. The fellows (except two) must go into orders on the expiration of seven years from the degree of M.A. The government of the college is under the control of the master, who is appointed by the crown, and eight senior fellows. Due to the huge endowments of the college and strict competition, a

fellowship at Trinity came to be considered the top collegiate honor in England (McCulloch, 1854:356).

1.4. Amendments to the Charters

While the original charters of the schools often provided for sufficient support and curriculum, the ever-changing demands of an educational system required updates to the original university/college or medrese statutes. Whether it was an increase in staff, students, or an update of the classical curriculum, the foundations of the schools must be taken into consideration and then either amended or occasionally nullified and reestablished in the English system, or changed in the *muhasebe defters* (accounts ledger) in the Ottoman system.

In the English colleges, the dynamic changes sweeping through them in the sixteenth century, whether they were religious or legal ones, required a new approach to the old statutes. After the abolition of the monasteries, the threat moved to the universities unless they were willing to make changes. Since the universities had traditionally been linked to the Catholic Church and the Papacy, they now found themselves in a precarious situation under Henry VIII's rule. Much of their old wealth was in jeopardy with the seizing of papal properties by the crown. The King threatened to close them down and ordered a royal commission to report on the college revenues. While the commission's report, perhaps tainted by the Cambridge members who made up the majority of the commisioners, dissuaded the King from closing the universities, the trouble was not over yet. Many of the original statutes called for provisions related to the Catholic Church that were no longer acceptable under the Anglican Church.

One of the biggest challenges came about in Cambridge on June 29, 1570 when Thomas Cartwright, holder of the Lady Margaret chair of Divinity and a strong Puritan, was refused the Doctorate of Divinity by the Vice-Chancellor. This event led to the eventual implementation of the Code of Statutes of 12 Elizabeth in 1570 which were to rule the campus for the next three hundred years (Morison, 1968:47). These established new powers for the Vice-Chancellor and the heads of the houses that were not original to the charters. This was possible because after the Reformation, the monarch became the established head of both Church and State. This meant that the universities were now subjected to the royal prerogative of the monarch to establish new laws and demands when deemed necessary for the welfare of the country. These new statutes governed every detail of the university in terms of lectures, degrees, disputations, dress, and general affairs, except for curriculum. Many of these statutes were taken from already obsolete ancient ones but the only way to repeal them was through a completely new university constitution. However, they could be added to as in the case of the Three Articles ordered under James I. These three articles further embedded the power of the King and basically called for all members of the university to support the King, use the Book of Common Prayer, and to acknowledge the Thirty-Nine Articles of Henry VIII (Morison, 1968:47).

The basic curriculum of most colleges was set down by the charters. However, this did not mean that new books could not be taught but only that the established books must continue. Again, with the rise of humanism from Erasmus's time on, the old scholastic books were disregarded in favor of the New Learning. In fact, the Royal Injunctions of 1535 not only called for fealty to the Church of England, but also for a ban on the teaching of canon law and the teaching of Peter Lombard and Duns Scotus,

traditionally considered as the backbone of the classical scholasticism and religious teaching. In addition, each college must establish 'two daily lectures, one of Greek, the other of Latin' as well as abolishing 'all ceremonies, constitutions, and observances that hinder *polite learning*' (Morison, 1968:53).

However, the real situation tended to be a compromise between the new rules of the monarch and the classical statutes. Richard Holdsworth, the famous tutor and fellow of St. John's from 1613-1637, gave his pupils morning lectures in logic and the three philosophies of the old learning in order to satisfy the university statutes while the afternoons were devoted for the Rhetoric, History, Poetry, and Oratory of the New Learning (Morison, 1968:65). This was especially the case in the Arts faculty since most of the curriculum was up to the individual tutors' discretion and there were few books specified by the statutes or in conflict with royal edicts.

In the Ottoman system, all changes contrary to the *vakfiye* statutes were subject to approval from the *kadi* (judge) as well as ultimate approval of the Sultan. As mentioned before, the *vakfiye* could not be changed but new staff or salaries were made in practice and entered into the account books. This necessarily links the changes with the demands of the ruling system much like the situation in England. In addition, the curriculum was often fairly specific in many subjects yet completely open to the müderris's discretion in other subjects. For example, in the case of the Sahn-Semaniye's curriculum, there were stipulations that the appointed müderris must be knowledgeable in both religious studies as well as the "rational" subjects, such as logic, philosophy, and mathematics. The charter also mentions that the institution is based on the laws of *hikmet* (wisdom), which was often coterminous with philosophy, and that the rational sciences were to be taught alongside the religious subjects

(İhsanoğlu, 2002:376). For example, the books *Şerhü'l-Mevâkif* and *Şerhü'l-Makasid* were specified by name in the stipulations of the Sahn schools while texts in *Ahlâk* (Ethics), *Sarf* (Etymology), and *Edibiyet* (Literature) were unspecified (Özyilmaz, 2002:25).

However, we see that in the sixteenth century, the political climate in the Ottoman Empire was less open to these rational sciences. The fight against the Shiite Safavid Dynasty caused the Ottoman ulema to be wary of texts that might be loosely interpreted, especially the science of astronomy, which might be regarded as irreligious. In addition, there was a move to return to the scholastic trends of the past in place of the rational thinking. While specified texts in the vakfiye could not be omitted, the could be relegated a low level of importance and only a superficial study of the material as an effort to reduce the importance of the books while staying within the guidelines of the *vakfiye*. Kâtib Çelebi mentions the decline of the scholarly attitudes as a result of the elimination of the mathematical and rational sciences from the curriculum in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (İhsanoğlu, 2002:387). This was accomplished by the joint efforts of the Sultan's new attitudes as well as the ulema's changing views towards the sciences and came to a concrete form with the founding of the Suleymaniye medrese, which did not include scientific subjects in the curriculum.

1.5. Relationships with Supporting Schools

Both of the respective institutions represented the highest level of education in their countries. Therefore, it is necessary to briefly discuss some of the institutions that were responsible for training students in some of the basic sciences acquired by aspiring students before entering in to one of these higher education institutes.

1.5.1. Relationship of the medreses with supporting schools

The Ottoman medrese system presents an interesting case in terms of relationships as there were the necessary relationships with the other schools leading up to the medrese level education as well as official rankings of medreses within the Ottoman system. The average student applying for acceptance into the Ottoman medrese would usually have completed his basic education at a *sibyan mektepleri* (primary school). These schools were known as *kuttab* in earlier Islamic societies and were also alternatively referred to as *daruttalim*, *darulhuffaz*, *taş mektep*, or simply *mektep* (school).

These schools were generally available in most towns of the empire and were often attached to other religious edifices. In addition, many of these schools offered educational opportunities to girls in addition to boys, although in separate classrooms. The teachers and courses were specified by the foundation charters but generally consisted of literate *imams* (prayer leaders), *muezzins* (callers to prayer), *kayyum* (mosque caretakers) or people who had completed some medrese education. The curriculum was usually based upon the precepts of teaching reading and writing to children as well as to teach the basics of Islamic education. Some schools gave instruction in Quranic memorization as well as penmanship and the four basic arithmetical procedures known as *kara cümle*. In addition, most sources agree that the language of instruction was the native language of the students. Moreover, although no age for graduation was given, there was a general requirement that every student should read the Qur'an from beginning to end at least once in order to graduate. (Ihsanoglu, 2002:367)

In addition, the ranking of the Shan and Suleymaniye medreses presupposed the completion of some basic education at some of the lower-ranked medreses. The Ottoman medreses fell into two main groups. The *hâriç* (exterior) medreses gave basic education in the 'fundamentals of knowledge', such as Arabic and the intellectual sciences. This group consisted of three levels: the *ibtidâ-yi hâriç* schools which taught the *Tajrid* as the main textbook and the müderris received 20 *akçes* daily, the next rank was the *Miftah* medreses for 30 *akçes*, and the final medrese in this class was the 'medreses of forty or fifty' which gave instruction in the *Miftah* on rhetoric, scholastic theology from *Mawakif*, and a course in jurisprudence from *Hidaye*. The second group was the *dâhil* (interior) medreses which imparted 'higher knowledge' in the religious sciences. This group was also divided into levels starting with the *ibtidâ-yi dâhil* medreses at 50 *akçes* teaching the *Hidaye* in jurisprudence at the elementary level, the *Telwih* in foundations of jurisprudence at the intermediate level, and at an advanced level the *Kaşşaf* in Quranic exegesis. Immediately following this was the *Musile-Sahn* or *Tetimme* medreses attached to the Fatih complex and then the Fatih Sahn schools (Inalcik, 1997:168-69). In addition, students going on to the Suleymaniye had to pass through the Fatih medreses as preparation.

1.5.2. Relationship of the university colleges with their preparatory schools.

In Europe, the English universities were the first to link grammar schools to university colleges beginning in the fourteenth century. There was no mixing of the separate schools, such as lower grammar instruction with the secondary level or liberal arts teaching at the university level. However, there was some recourse to review previous subjects, such as the stipulation in the 1264 statutes of Merton College in Oxford that there shall be one member of the academic staff responsible

for Latin grammar; ‘’…let him have the care of the students in grammar, and to him also *let the more advanced have recourse without a blush, when doubts arise in their faculty*’’ (Morris, 1978:20). That said, the primary objective of the English grammar schools was, as the name implies, to provide basic training in Latin grammar, including reading, writing, and general comprehension. Moreover, as Rashdall points out, contact between students from other countries, or even different regions of the same country, would have had serious difficulty in understanding one another without the medium of Latin. In addition, most college statutes included provisions to ensure the speaking of Latin among the student population, even in leisure time (Rashdall, 1936:342).

The graduates of an English grammar school would then enter a college at a later date than their continental peers, usually about sixteen years of age. This helped the college of liberal arts to maintain a more prestigious environment by ensuring that its incoming class had at least a rudimentary knowledge of Latin, which was the scholarly language of all studies, including lectures and texts, until almost the end of the period under consideration. In addition, there was a trend in the sixteenth century under the new humanist ideals to create a separation of the levels of education between lower, medium, and upper studies. This caused the grammar schools to take over much of the responsibility for the introductory classes to the ‘liberal arts’ so that the faculties of liberal arts could develop into higher faculties of philosophy and letters (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996:157).

In the grammar school, the basics of a classical education were taught. Donatus and Alexander of Villedieu were the normal grammar texts. After some of the psalms were learned (this was a major subject in the majority of grammar

schools), Cato served for Delectus, after which the pupil might go on to Ovid and possibly Virgil. In the absence of dictionaries, the masters usually 'read' the book to the students, i.e. interpret the meaning to them and then have them do the same. In England, books were often translated to both French and English. Questions were then asked and exercises were done in both prose and verse. Disputations in grammar were a favorite exercise and prepared the student for this practice in the university. After the student entered the university, the interpretation of classical books ceased and 'grammar lectures' then meant formal lectures on the grammatical treatises of Priscian and Donatus, or the popular Alexander of Villedieu (Rashdall, 1936:352).

Some of the most well-known examples of grammar school connections include New College with Winchester College, Magdalen College with Magdalen College School and Wainfleet School (Lincolnshire) in Oxford, and in Cambridge are King's College with Eton College (Buckinghamshire) and St. John's College with Sedbergh School (Yorkshire) (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996:158). In some cases, the grammar school was founded by the patron of a university college to which it was connected, such as the case of Winchester College founded by the founder of New College at Oxford (1379) (di Simone, 1996:290). From the Middle Ages, at Cambridge the grammar schools were under the direct control of an official known as the '*magister glomeriae*' (grammar-student master) who was appointed by and reported to the Archdeacon of Ely (Rashdall, 1936:288). At Oxford, as Rashdall notes, the archdeacon may have been responsible for grammar school jurisdiction at an early date; but by the fourteenth century the university chancellor was legislating for the grammar schools and two masters from its own graduates were appointed to superintend them. These 'superintendents' were paid from taxes on the ordinary

grammar masters and later became endowed positions in 1322. Upon a statute change on 18 May 1492, this office was combined with that of the '*magistri scolarum Augustiniensium*', and the salary was transferred to them. These grammar masters then presided over the disputations of the bachelors at the Austin convent. In addition, in the fifteenth century there began regular examinations for the degree of master of arts and in the sixteenth century, there was a bachelor's degree as well as a master's degree in arts for grammarians, although the last instance of a separate master's of grammar seems to be in 1568, after which it was included in the arts degree (Rashdall, 1936:345-7).

In addition to the grammar schools in the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge, which seem to be mostly attended by boys of the immediate vicinity of the universities, the majority of the future university students would have learned grammar closer to their place of origin. It seems that the majority of grammar schools outside university towns were of the older style of attachment to a monastery or other church edifice. Of note is that even the schools attached to monasteries were staffed by secular teachers. If these schools were in close proximity to universities, the curriculum was probably limited to the study of grammar, and possibly the basics of logic. However, in schools in more distant locales, they probably taught a full course of logic as well as grammar and in some instances perhaps the full range of a university arts course (Rashdall, 1936:348-9).

After the Reformation of 1547, there was a sudden jump in the number of foundations of grammar schools in England. Rogers theorizes that it was these grammar schools which were traditionally attached to monasteries that had been closed during the religious strife of the preceding decade that caused a gap in

grammar instruction which opened the door to the establishment of the new schools (Rogers, 1884:i.165, cited by Rashdall, 1936:348)). This is supported by the statement of the Speaker in 1562, who told the Queen 'that at least an hundred (Schools) were wanting in England which before this time had been' (Strype, 1824:i.437, cited by Rashdall, 1936:348).

In concluding this section on grammar schools, it may be useful to note that attendance of a grammar school was not a prerequisite for attendance of a college but merely a formal course of preparation. In addition to grammar schools, there was recourse to private tutors as well as lessons from parish priests. Many noble families hired grammar masters to live in the manor house and educate members of the family. In addition, there were still cases of pupils registering without the basic requirements. Therefore, grammar schools and a solid grounding in the basics of his course of education were not determining factors in acceptance to a college as much as other factors, particularly confessional fealty, would become throughout most of the early modern period.

We can notice many similarities between Ottoman *sibyan mekteb* schools and the English grammar schools. Both were widely available and were often the only formal education the majority of the populace ever received. Both taught the rudiments of language and religion. However, in the Ottoman system a student aspiring to study at the Fatih or Suleymaniye medreses must also pass through a series of lower medreses beforehand while an English student could enter directly into the arts faculty from the grammar school. An Ottoman student would complete different training at various medreses, gradually increasing his level, while the English student

would learn in the arts faculty and then move on to the higher faculties, such as the theology faculty in the same university for an extended period of time.

CHAPTER 2

CURRICULA

2.1. Two systems of study: Medrese – University

The Ottoman medreses followed the classical Islamic model of incorporating a comprehensive education in one faculty with an emphasis on the study of Islamic law. While other subjects were studied such as rhetoric, language, mathematics and even natural science, they were taught as supporting subjects to a deeper understanding of the Islamic law and generally held only a secondary role to the main subjects of jurisprudence, Quranic exegesis, and the study of the Prophet's sayings and traditions. Moreover, their was one *müderris* responsible for imparting all this knowledge on the students and it was through him that a student received his diploma rather than the medrese issuing a diploma in its name.

The British universities were organized around four main faculties: arts, theology, law, and medicine. The faculty of arts included the traditional study of philosophy (including natural sciences) as well as various additional subjects, including mathematics, history, geography, and languages. All undergraduates were in the faculty of arts until achieving the M.A. degree. The idea was that the philosophy learned in the Arts faculty would be a useful background for every mode of study afterwards and mostly focused on the teaching of philosophy as a proof for religion as well as teaching the methods of disputation and logic that would be necessary for future studies as well as professional life. After the M.A. was taken, students wishing to continue could go on to their respective higher faculties of law, medicine, or theology.

Now that the outline of the core curriculum of the medrese and university is established, we can look at how some of Makdisi's arguments apply to the early modern period. One of his major points is that the scholastic method, one of the crowning achievements of the medieval Western period, was actually based upon a similar method which developed in the Islamic East at least a century beforehand. Alfred North Whitehead (Makdisi, 1977:288) claimed that the age of scholasticism laid the foundations for the scientific achievements of the West. As Christopher Dawson shows, it gave us "that confidence in the power of reason and that faith in the rationality of the universe without which science would be impossible. It destroyed the old magic view of nature which our ancestors shared with every other primitive people and which still lingers on, not only in remote corners of Europe, but under the surface of our modern urban civilization" (Dawson, The Formation of Christianity, 1967:230, cited by Makdisi, 1977:288). While it is well known that certain parts of Islamic knowledge influenced the West, especially philosophy, science, and technology, the spread of the scholastic method may have been one of the most important parts still unrecognized by scholars.

If we look at the situation of both Islam and Christianity in the Middle Ages, we can see they both faced a common problem: monotheistic faith facing the problem of pagan thought and how to deal with it. Early Christianity dealt with the problem by assuming a harsh traditionalism which could not be reconciled with the pagan ideas. This reconciliation only came about in the time of scholasticism in the Middle Ages, an attempt to reunite reason and revelation. Likewise, when the Muslim ulema first came in contact with Greek thought, there were some who accommodated the Greek rationalism and others who took a hard line traditional approach, banning the study of

philosophy and its offshoots. However, there was a third group of ulema who took a middle approach from which the scholastic approach developed first with the Muslims and then later in the West. With the thoughts of Ibn Aqil (d. 1119) and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) the attitude towards this became that reason and revelation belonged to two distinct orders which derived from the same divine source, and so could not be in conflict with each other: accurate reason could not conflict revelation and revelation could not contradict right reason.

The three basic elements of the scholastic method were; (1) *hilaf*, later called the *sic-et-non* in the Latin West; (2) *munazara*, later the Latin *disputatio*; and (3) *jadal*, dialectic. The first two components already existed in Islam before contact with Greek thought but the third one, *jadal*, came as a result of combining Aristotle's Organon, especially the Topics which was in effect translated into Arabic as jadal, the term which came to be applied to dialectic. Dialectic helped to turn the disorganized method of argumentation into the fine art of disputation, or *munazara*.

For the Muslim intellectuals, dialectic, not logic, held the most interest as they developed the art of dialectic and used it to strengthen the munazara. From that point, the birth of the scholastic method, *tariqat al-nazar*, in Islam, when applied to the Islamic science of *usul al-fiqh* (foundations of jurisprudence), was consciously developed and put to use for students of law as early as the eleventh century in Ibn Aqil's text "The Clear Book on the Sources and Methodology of the Law"(*Al-Wadih fi Usul al-Fiqh*).

This *Usul al-Fiqh* was the answer of the Islamic jurists to the Greek derived philosophy. It became the philosophy of Islam and took a primary role in religion. The effect of this was immense. The adaptation of the Greek works into Arabic and its

application to the needs of Islam completely absorbed the majority of the Muslim scholars' energies (Makdisi, 1981).

The medrese student would be required to read an extensive number of texts during his education. The first three texts he would read would be *sarf* (morphology), *nahiw* (syntax), and *mantik* (logic) in that order, and the last two texts would be *hadith* (prophetic traditions) and *tefsir* (Quranic commentary). Between the first three and the final two subjects, a student would study subjects such as *adab-I Bahth* (elocution), *waaz* (preaching), *belagat* (rhetoric), study of *kelam* (philosophical theology), *hikmet* (philosophy), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *feraid* (inheritance), *akaid* (tenets of faith), and *usul-I fiqh* (legal theory and methodology) (İhsanoğlu, 2002:384).

In addition to these subjects, there is evidence that mathematical sciences, such as arithmetic, geometry, algebra, and astronomy as well as natural sciences such as classical physics, were taught at Ottoman medreses. Most evidence seems to show that these subjects were studied after *hikmet* (divine philosophy) and prior to the most esteemed subject of *tefsir* (Quranic exegesis). However, the book *Kevakib-I Seb'a* (Seven Planets), which was written in the eighteenth century at the request of the French ambassador to Istanbul, Marquis de Villeneuve, indicates that these subjects were taught in a less formal manner as part of the *kalam* (Quranic theology) class in the process of discussing such books as *Sherhu'l Mevakif* and *Sherhu'l Makasid*:

> As much as books such as Sherhu'l- Mevakif and Sherhu'l-Makasid pertain to *kelam* (theology) they contain all of the auxiliary sciences, divine philosophy, astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic. Geometry and arithmetic are easily apprehendable subjects, and because they do not require much deep thought are not studied as separate subjects. They are taken up with the above-mentioned sciences. There is a book

> titled *Eshkal-I Te'sis* in geometry at the *iktisar* level which they would read. Following that, they would read *Euclid* with its proofs at the *istiksa* level. For arithmetic at the *iktisar* level there is *Bahaiyye* which they would read. Subsequently, they would report on Ramazan Efendi and Culli which were close to the *iktisad* level. Because astronomy involves the use of the imaginative powers and supposition and is therefore more difficult than geometry, they study it later as a separate subject. It is offered at the appropriate level. It is common knowledge that scholars do not weary of the temperament of students and always give Tuesdays and Fridays off from classes in order to encourage them in their studies. Students use those two days for the preparation of materials they need and during summertime they go off on trips and picnics. Even there they do not remain idle, but undertake discussions of arithmetic, geometry, astrolabes, *rub'* (quarter), land surveying, Indian quarter, Coptic and Ethiopian arithmetic, *parmak hisabi* (counting on the fingers) mechanics and other such sciences which do not require independent lessons. During the winter, they engage in conversation, devote themselves to solving *muamma'* (puzzles) and riddles, to *mukadarat* (measuring and comparing), to history, poetry, prosody, and to classical divan poetry. Some of them are occupied with the occult sciences, but the teachers do not allow them to follow such pursuits because such subjects occupy too much of their time (de Villeneuve, 1741, cited by İhsanoğlu, 2002:385-6).

The main course of study in the English universities was based upon the traditional trivium and quadrivium. The study of the trivium (Latin grammar, rhetoric, and logic) lasted for a period of four years and culminated in the degree of Bachelor of Arts; the study of the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy) lasted three years and led to the degree of Master of Arts. Degrees in law, divinity, and medicine were attained upon further study (Encyclopedia Britannica (vol.4), 1972:692).

Due to its all-inclusive nature as the default faculty for subjects not related directly to the other three faculties, I would like to spend some effort in defining the nature of the faculty of arts. As mentioned before, the faculty of

arts consisted of its traditional subject of philosophy, which included the study of the natural sciences, as well as other subjects, particularly languages, history, geography, and mathematics.

During the Middle Ages, the study of language was synonymous with the study of Latin, However, during the course of the Renaissance, Latin was displaced by local languages in many parts of daily life. However, the language of educated circles as well as publications was to remain Latin well into the eighteenth century. As such, Latin was the language of instruction as well as examination, thus necessitating a student's command of both written and oral skills in Latin. (İhsanoğlu, 2002:570).

Although the early modern period continued the practice of offering instruction in Latin, the offering of other languages in the faculty was a new development. One of the earliest languages offered was Greek and Hebrew. These languages were institutionalized in Italy between 1450 and 1500, and spread throughout Europe, beginning in England with the founding of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, which specialized in language instruction. Moreover, in an effort to aid biblical studies, the study of other oriental languages was offered at both Cambridge and Oxford. At the outset of the eighteenth century, these two universities had at least two chairs in Arabic, known as the Lord Almoner Professorship in Arabic (Brockliss, 1996:570). As a final step, by the end of the eighteenth century, the foundations of teaching the native language had been established. However, the study of English was usually taught only privately, such as the case of Adam Smith (1723-90) at Oxford.

After describing these institutions, we can draw some interesting conclusions. First, both the English and Ottoman institutions depended heavily upon the study of logic and disputation as a manner of learning and improving the retention of the student as well as serving as useful practice for a future in teaching and explanation. The predominance of dialectic as a manner of organizing an argument around basic principles was very important for both systems. While both systems followed many of the same points, one major point of divergence was in the faculties in the English universities. The Ottoman medrese had only one faculty where theology reigned supreme. Science and philosophy were taught as subservient to theology. However, in the English universities, the faculties separated knowledge in to the arts faculty, where philosophy and the key subjects of the trivium and quadrivium were studied, and the higher faculties where students specialized in theology or law.

2.2. Methods of Teaching

One important method of teaching found in the Ottoman medrese is the use of stages of learning. This means that a student would first read an introductory text on a subject and then later an intermediate one and then a more advanced text rather than be responsible for an advanced text at the outset of his studies. The book *Kevakib-I Seb'a* (Seven Planets), written in the eighteenth century, indicates that students would study the sciences in an established tradition, beginning with *iktisar* (abridgement), *iktisad* (moderation), and *istiksa* (detailed deliberation), with each stage further divided into three sub-categories. The text continues:

> In other words, a text without any proof would be referred to as *iktisar*, if there was some degree of proof, it would be called *iktisad*, and if the text was thoroughly examined, bringing in the required proof to criticize and disprove those with opposing views, it would be called *istiksa*. Books in all fields of study could be viewed in relation to each other as *iktisar*, *iktisad*, and *istiksa*. However, when one examines most of these books, one can think of every field of study as having these three stages or degrees with the ones close to *iktisar* considered as part of the category *iktisar*; those close to *iktisad* to be considered in the category of *iktisad*; and the elaborated texts would be considered within the *istiksa*. The reason for this introduction being that there is no end to the books in every area of study. However, to make it easy for students, three levels of books are given to them to read for each of the three levels in each of the fields of study mentioned. Making use of those three levels the students would develop skills in the particular field of concern. If the student is especially bright it might suffice for him just to do the highest level. If he is less qualified then he could suffice with the second level and if even less capable than that, then he would make do with the third level. Each field of study has many branches or sub-fields. But because life is short it is best that books of short length be selected for each discipline and read in the proper order. Ata later time one should on occasion also read lengthier books to develop one's mind. Without first examining fundamental principles, studying lengthy books will only confuse a person. As a result, there may for the three levels in each branch of study be a total of nine levels' if each of the levels has in turn been divided into lower, middle, and upper ones. In some cases the materials are completed with attention given to all nine, at other times by only examining a portion of the nine (İhsanoğlu, 2002:385).

This is an interesting development in the Ottoman system of compartmentalizing knowledge according to the levels of achievement of the students and led to a thorough grounding in the basics of knowledge. As mentioned earlier, the students had to attend lectures and then would review and memorize their lessons with the *muîd* after the professor departed.

This same practice was common in the English colleges where the tutor often had the responsibility of teaching the students and engaging them

in debate as a means of preparing for the degree. The university was similar in that there was a lecture and than a disputation with the professor and later with the tutor. Certain courses of lectures were developed by the sixteenth century and the dates for reading the individual books were strictly kept (Müller, 1996:344). The main form of teaching in the universities, like the medreses, was very formal and stylistic. The lecture was usually of three parts. In the first part, the professor would read from a text and the students would have a copy as well and read along. Next, the professor would provide a detailed explanation of the selected topic, here presenting the pros and cons of the argument and arriving at a conclusion. This would take up the majority of the lecture. Finally, the lecture ended with a question-and-answer session where the professor would test the students on their understanding of his gloss (Brockliss, 1996:565-67). Like their Ottoman equivalents an English student was responsible for reading a huge amount of material over the course of studies, starting at a basic level and working with his tutor to achieve competence then moving to a higher level of difficulty. Also, a student would also be responsible for some basic recapitulation of the material at certain times. The student's main achievement was to take class notes and then come up with solutions to the problems presented and then hopefully develop this into a summa to be used as his guide throughout his future teaching career. This was similar to the Islamic tradition and was often the sign of success of a student in much the same manner the modern graduate thesis is a concrete sign of achievement in the scholastic field.

2.3. New developments in Curricula in the Early Modern Period

Mehmet II's reign brought many new changes to the Ottoman system of education. One of the most important and well-documented changes was the establishment of rules regarding the ulema and ilmiye class in his famous *Kanunname*. He is also responsible for setting the groundwork for distinguishing between the *Ilmiye*, *Seyfiye*, and *Kalemiye* classes as well as providing the rules regarding the necessary background, education, and prerequisite training for the candidates.

In terms of curricula, one of the changes that occurred at this time was the inclusion of philosophy in the subjects taught at the medrese. While previous medreses had generally limited philosophy in the classroom and usually taught it privately outside the medrese, Mehmet II's love of the subject may have been the driving force for his inclusion of the subject in his medrese. He made the study of *Haşiye –I Tecrid* and the *Şerh-I Mevakif* compulsory in the Sahn-I Seman schools. This tradition continued with his successors up until roughly the end of Suleyman's reign, when these philosophy courses slowly began to disappear, perhaps in response to some charges by opposing ulema that these subjects were "philosophical".

In fact, the disappearance of the philosophy courses coincided with a general decline in Ottoman scholarly life. The reasons for this decline are manifold. Among the most important was the trend among Ottoman ulema of the time to focus on writing treatises about earlier texts rather than produce new, original contributions to Islamic knowledge. A member of the contemporary *ulema* community, Taşköprülüzâde Ahmed Efendi (d.1561) writes as early as the 1540s that the earlier interest in theology and mathematics had declined and there was a general lack of

scientific inquiry among the scholars. He also complains that earlier theoretical texts had been neglected in favor of simpler handbooks, and that upon only cursory study of these handbooks, members of the ulema considered themselves well trained.(Ipsirli, 2001:280) One of the most well-known critics was Katib Çelebi, the famous scholar of the seventeenth century, who complains in his book *Keşfü'z-zünûn* about the lack of physics and philosophy courses in the medreses (Katib Çelebi, Keşfü'z-Zünûn, 1941:680, cited by Ipsirli, 2001:282).

In the English universities, the rise of humanism during the start of the sixteenth century had a significant effect on the curriculum taught in the arts faculty and then overlapped into the theology faculty. The primary goal of humanism was the revival of rhetoric after falling into disregard during the previous few centuries. This came as a natural companion to the literary texts that were at the heart of humanism. Humanism taught that the achievements of mankind were worthy of study in themselves and was also connected with a move towards secularization in society.

One of the main aids to the spread of this new knowledge was the role of the printing press in mass producing cheaply and quickly various texts in the vulgar languages that were popular among the public. The new focus on the classical works of antiquity allowed the arts faculty to become centers for philosophical and language teaching and allowed the theology faculty becoming the area for abstract ideas about theology. In the first half of the sixteenth century, endowed lectureships were establish in England for Greek and Latin as well as Hebrew, leading to a new prestige for these core subjects of humanism on par with the established sciences of law and theology.

The new approaches of humanism slowly supplanted the established ideas of scholasticism in the English universities that had dominated theology with its emphasis on Aristotelian logic and metaphysics. The new emphasis on philology and etymology along with the new approach to the absolute character of the Bible Scriptures led to the Protestant understanding of theology as separate from scholasticism. Magdalen College, Oxford was on of the first, in 1480, to make the study of humanistic texts a prerequisite, although the trend only really caught on in the following century (Rüegg, 1992:463).

In conclusion, we can note that the early modern period was a time of the development of the teaching systems that would form the basis of the final mature forms of the education systems ion the Ottoman and English states.

2.4. Examinations

In both the Ottoman and British systems, officially-organized regular exams developed rather late in the history of the respective institutions. In both systems, there had existed localized exams since early times but exams as a measure of competence and as a determining factor in graduation came about much later.

In the Ottoman system, one of the first regular examinations was called the *müderrislik* exam beginning in the sixteenth century as a result of increased competition for teaching positions in the Empire. As the number of graduates increased, there was a large influx of candidates for a limited number of positions at the important, and better-paying, medreses. The *müderrislik* examinations were seen as a solution to this problem and these competitive exams were held in a large mosque, generally the mosque of the Fatih medrese complex, in the presence of the Rumelian and Anatolian *kazaskers*. The candidates were assigned a topic to work on

and were also required to deliver a lecture; at the completion of the trials, the most successful one was chosen, in general a success rate of one in four (İpşirli, 2001:266).

Although there had been a few large-scale diploma examinations in the seventeenth century, it wasn't until the expansion of the numbers of novices in the eighteenth century that mass examinations were instituted at regular intervals. Also, as a result of changes in the official hierarchy of medreses, the examination for the Haric-grade professorship essentially became "the" diploma examination, key to the candidate's entire career. As the *rüus* diploma gained importance, examinations for higher grades were held more infrequently. While these examinations were ostensibly begun under the auspices of curtailing abuses and sorting out suitable scholars to receive the diploma, the reality of the matter was somewhat different. In the eighteenth century, the children of Ilmiye-class members gained a near carte blanche in regards to their activities. Known as Mollazades, when one of these ulema offspring failed an examination or simply did not take the trouble of taking it at all, he was allowed to exercise the Mollazade quota and was awarded a diploma irregardless of his competence. After the examination of 1754, four diplomas were awarded without examination to members of the Dürrizade and Damadzade families. According to Sidki Mustafa's diary entry of January 1749, twelve men passed the examination f 1749, but seven others, all famous "sons", received diplomas by imperial decree, invoking the Mollazade option.(Zilfi: 63)

In the English universities, the exam system for choosing competent individuals was held almost exclusively by the university and not the colleges; King's College, Cambridge and New College, Oxford being notable exceptions. However, in the cases of King's and New Colleges, their exemption from university exams was

supplanted by the stipulation of examination of undergraduate candidates by members of their own colleges. As Rashdall points out, in the period before Laud's Code of 1636 instituted formal examinations for the entire university, the majority of the university students were merely responsible for 'supplications', which were regarded as essential for all candidates of degrees (Rashdall, 1936:223). In addition, the new exams under the Laud Code were not very stringent and soon developed into a mere sham. In Oxford and Cambridge, the main factor determining a student's aptitude came only in the final term when the candidate was to graduate. This took the form of several public lectures - known as Wall lectures at Oxford because the candidate normally spoke to an empty room (Frijhoff, 1996:361). The subjects of these lectures were often traditional, foreseeable, and easy to prepare as they were limited to only part of the curriculum. This was especially true in the seventeenth century, when the university took the stance of indoctrinating students rather than challenging them to come up with original scholarship.

In fact, until the Laudian statutes, there was no mention of the word examination in the statutes. When a candidate wished to gain the B.A. degree from the chancellor, he had to swear that he had read certain books, and nine regent masters, in addition to his own master who presented him, were required to testify or 'depose' to their 'knowledge' of his sufficiency (*de scientia*) and five others to their 'belief' therein (*de credulitate*). In the faculty of theology, all the masters were required to depose *de scientia*, a single objection vote nullifying the degree. At Cambridge there is mention that 'All the Determiners do sit in the New Chapel within the schools from one o'clock till five upon Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in the week before Shrove Sunday, abiding the examination of so many

Masters as will repair for cause hither. And from three to four all they have apportion of figs, raisins, and almonds, buns and beer, at the charge of the said Determiners,…and upon Thursday they be only examined in song and writing.' (Abdy Williams, Historical Account of Degrees in Music, 1891:62, cited by Rashdall, 1936:142)

Often, a student's aptitude was only determined after leaving the university and perhaps upon applying for employment, and then the qualities of birth, competence, and experience were more valuable than a degree. In England, the majority employers for the university graduates were the Church and State, which began to develop their own entrance exams for candidates for office. These exams typically tested a person's practical knowledge as well as served to limit the number of candidates admitted to office. Although the Church of England had strong ties with the university and students were forced to confess allegiance to the Anglican Church, it was the ecclesiastical authorities who began to examine the capacity of the candidates for the pastoral ministry beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century (Frijhoff, 1996:371-2).

CHAPTER 3

STAFF

3.1. Types of Teachers and Teaching Systems

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the education system was developing into its most mature form in both of these countries. While the Ottoman *müderris* was always the key educator in the medrese system, such was not the case in the British system with the ranks of professors as ordinary and extraordinary professors, roughly corresponding to the modern equivalent of a full professor and an assistant professor, the former responsible for the core lectures and often teaching at prime times while the latter was responsible for less essential subjects and often taught in the afternoons.

During the Middle Ages, there was not a huge distinction between many of the teachers and the taught at the universities. However, certain events occurred in the early modern period that altered this system and led to a more formal teaching system in the British universities. These events reflected not only a change in the teachers themselves but also a shift in teaching styles and systems.

During the Middles Ages, when a student completed his bachelor studies, he was required to give lectures. Every candidate had to give lectures in the years following his promotion to master or doctor – a system which was known as necessary regency. The reasoning behind this system was to ensure that the courses of lectures were continuously available through apprentice or recently graduated students (regent masters).

While necessary regency had the advantages of a dynamically changing body of lecturers who caused no financial strain on the university, the system had many

flaws. Of these flaws, the drastically increased length of the student's residence at the university was one of the most severe. Another flaw was the lack of highly qualified lecturers; a fact that stemmed from the fact that it was a requirement of graduation as well as an unpaid position. This of course led to gaping differences in the consistent quality of the lectures at a regular level.

Due to these flaws, the system of necessary regency was modified and enhanced in the sixteenth century. An important modification began at Oxford by the late 1550's when we find mention of masters 'deputed to lecture'. This shows that the earlier requirement that all students must lecture after acquiring their degrees had by then fallen by the wayside. At Oxford, the faculty of arts chose for nine masters to lecture in the arts course. However, in the faculty of theology, the most conservative and arguably most important faculty there, many lectures continued to be given by bachelors working towards their doctorate.

Meanwhile, the system of regency was enhanced by the trend of creating several permanent and endowed positions for lecturers (*lectores* or *professores* – terms that were synonymous until the seventeenth century), a trend which had first begun in Italian universities in the fourteenth century. The first functional example of this in Britain was the foundation and endowment of lectureships in theology at both Cambridge and Oxford in the period between 1497 and 1502 by Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII. This was followed by Sir Robert Rede, Chief Justice of Common Pleas from 1506 to 1519, who left provision in his will for the salaries of lectures in philosophy, rhetoric and logic at Cambridge. The first royal patronage came from Henry VIII when he established the regius professorships of divinity, law, medicine, Hebrew and Greek at Cambridge. Oxford University was not excluded

from this trend either when Thomas Linacre, a graduate of Padua in Northern Italy, founded a position in medicine at Oxford, noting the decay of regency and the lack of any 'substanciall or perpetual lecture' there. Likewise, Sir Henry Savile, warden of Merton College, established two lectureships in 1619 at Oxford in geometry and astronomy. These were followed by the Lucasian mathematics chair (1663) and the Plumian chairs of astronomy and experimental philosophy (1704) at Cambridge (Vandermeersch, 1996).There were even chairs in history at both Oxford and Cambridge in 1622 and 1627 (Brockliss, 1996:575)

Along with this process, there was a movement on the part of the colleges to provide their own teaching; a point that coincides with the coming of the 'modern' undergraduate. The statutes of Magdalen College (1479) stipulate that the college shall supply lecturers and lectures, which the fellows of the college are required to attend. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, every new college established at Oxford and Cambridge contained provisions for college lectures and most of the older colleges made new arrangements for them as well.

These two trends – the search for permanent lecturers and the move towards college-centered instruction – met and united: at Magdalen College, at Corpus Christi College, and at Christ Church, the colleges supplied lecturers whose lectures were open to the whole university (Vandermeersch, 1996:212).

Another unique attribute of Oxford and Cambridge universities is worthy of note here, namely individual teaching by tutors. This had occurred for centuries at these institutions, although specific knowledge of the system is a bit sketchy in the sixteenth century. However, their successors in the seventeenth century have left some records. One man, Richard Holdsworth, fellow of St. John's College in

Cambridge, devised a detailed system of instruction for his pupils. It is clear from this that college instruction left little for the university lecturers to do. The studies which Holdsworth prescribed for his students are much more thorough and rich than those offered by the universities and public schools.

In summary, the system of teaching provided by halls and colleges at Oxford and Cambridge as well as the tutorial system was well established in the period 1450-1550. Moreover, the tutorial system continued to gain importance in the period 1550-1650. However, public lectures at the university existed well until the middle of the seventeenth century and were not altogether supplanted by the new system until the eighteenth century, when the colleges and tutors achieved a monopoly on instruction.

In contrast, the Ottoman system was more straightforward. At the Fatih and Suleymaniye complexes, each of the individual medreses was under the control of the one müderris. He was assisted by the *muîd* (recapitulator) in teaching but he remained the main teacher while the *muîd's* job was more one of support and reinforcement rather than new teaching. The *müderris* was responsible for teaching his curriculum which was often set down by the foundation or by custom and his students would have studied the prerequisite texts in an earlier course. Upon completion of his course, he would often engage them in a disputation or other exam and then he would personally give them their diploma from him attesting to their competence in the subjects the müderris taught. In addition, the foundation for each of the classes at the Fatih and Suleymaniye medreses limited the size of the classes to fifteen students. Therefore, the system of teaching was a much more personal one than the English system and the students generally learned in stages, each stage taught by a competent professional in their field. In fact, a contemporary European visitor to the medreses,

the Italian Comte de Marsigli, who lived in Istanbul in 1679-80 states, "Education and instruction among the Turks in general takes place in a practical way based on doing exercises."(L.F. Marsigli, *Stato Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano* (The Military State of the Ottoman Empire), 1732:vol. I, 39, cited by İhsanoğlu, 2002:388).

Another aspect of the Ottoman teaching system was the organization of the Ottoman medreses after the founding of the Fatih medrese and its revisal upon the foundation of the Suleymaniye a century later. In this eleven-level system, the medreses were ranked according to the daily income of the *müderrises*. This placed the Fatih medreses high at 50 *akçes*, the müderrises of the four Suleymaniye medreses higher at 60 *akçes*, and the *Dârülhadis* teacher at the Suleymaniye the highest paid teaching official in the Ottoman Empire at 100 *akçes* daily (İhsanoğlu, 2002:378) Therefore, the *müderrises* at these institutions represented the top teaching posts in the land.

When comparing the two systems, we can note that the Ottoman system was a lot more straightforward. The English system was more complicated due to its various levels of teaching, particularly the regency system where a higher faculty student might also consecutively teach in the faculty of arts, similar to the *muîd* or *dânişmend* teaching in a lower medrese, in addition to the complication and irregularity of the tutorial system. While both systems developed from their respective roots over time, the Ottoman/Islamic system of more personalized and compartmentalized teaching tended to produce a stronger student as long as the curriculum was sufficient, while the English system of college lectures and tutors developed to meet the needs of a changing system from the university to a corporation of colleges. However, due to the fact that the universities maintained the right to confer diplomas while the medrese

system was the complete opposite, with the individual müderrises giving personal diplomas, the university system tended to be less involved with the knowledge of a student and there were many problems associated with lax lecture policies and no distinct system of measuring competence until a later period.

3.2. Appointment to a Teaching Position.

In order to better understand who the professors or *müderrises* were, it is useful to examine the requirements candidates to the professorate had to fulfill as well as which qualities were deciding factors when choosing a new teacher.

In the English system, the doctoral promotion, which was traditionally only a formalistic but very expensive and somber ceremony, signified the reception of the newly created doctor into the camaraderie of teachers. However, the doctorate was not the universal condition for an appointment. This seems to be more presumably the case with the faculty of arts. In the arts faculty, most instructors were licentiates or masters who, while teaching in this faculty, were simultaneously studying in a higher faculty, particularly the faculty of theology. In other faculties not all teachers held degrees as well. Therefore, the doctorate can be ruled out as the universal requisite to become a professor.

We can divide these appointments into three systems. The first was the appointment of the professor by the faculty board which decided the merits of each candidate and his appointment. The second method involved the appointment not by the faculty but by all members of the university. The final method was to leave the appointment up to the local, provincial or national government. These forms often emerge in mixed forms. At Oxford, the six regius professors were appointed by the crown; a few professors were elected by large university assemblies (the Lady

Margaret Chair in Theology by all who had taken divinity degrees at the university, the Poetry Professorship by all Masters of Arts who kept their names on the books of their colleges). Most professors, however, were chosen by smaller boards generally made up of the heads of select colleges together with some important public officials. Teaching within the college was performed by several fellows, selected either by the head or by co-optation (Vandermeersch, 1996).

In the Ottoman medreses, a unique system developed for appointing graduates to teaching positions known as the *mülâzemet* system. The word *mülâzemet* comes from the root *le-ze-me*, meaning to be attached to someone or to some place, regularly attending activities. In relation to the *Ilmiye* system, the word has a dual meaning. The first one denotes a training period after graduation form the medrese and before being appointed to the posts of either *müderrislik* (professorship) or *kadilik* (judgeship). The second refers to the waiting period for a member of the *Ilmiye* class who had already worked as a *müderris* or a *kadi* before being reappointed for a similar position, a sort of interim period between jobs. (Ipsirli, 262)

This system developed in the Ottoman system over time as the number of candidates for positions increased and in fact a surplus of medrese graduates developed, necessitating the need for a period of waiting and practice training until a post became available. While in earlier times the *mülâzemet* system was subjected to some regulations, the relatively small numbers of graduates meant that there was never a large waiting period for new posts and the rules were not applied forcefully. However, in the sixteenth century the situation began to change. In the 1540's, as the number of medrese graduates increased sharply, some received unjust treatment and brought forth a complaint to Sultan Suleyman directly. As a result, the sultan

commissioned the Rumelian Kazasker Ebussuud Efendi to resolve this matter. Ebussuud Efendi established the founding principles of a system to regulate which, when, and how many graduates would be presented as *mülâzems* (candidates) to the ulema, which was also dependent upon the rank of the ulema member. Upon review, Sultan Suleyman I ordered these new rules put into action immediately. In later periods, other sultans would issue *fermâns* (edicts) stressing the need to follow the stipulations of the *mülâzemet* policy strictly.

Under the new system established by Ebussuud Efendi, certain quotas were established for holders of high positions in the Ilmiye class. Therefore, the *Şeyhulislam* (Grand Mufti), the sultan's teachers, *kazaskers* (Chief Justices), *nakibulesraf* (Leaders of the Descendents of the Prophet), *kadis* and *muftis* of the large cities, and the *müderrises* of important medreses would change the medrese graduates into *mülâzems*, in effect beginning their training period towards becoming *müderrises* or *kadis*, according to the quotas given to each of these *ulema*. In addition, the *mülâzemet* was granted on certain occasions. The most important of these occasions occurred during certain customary intervals, ascensions to the throne, the appointment of a member of the ulema to a higher post, the death of a leading member of the *ulema*, in addition to various other times (İpşirli, 1983:224). The number of positions granted at one time also varied. In the *mülâzemet* registers of the sixteenth century, it seems that the average number of appointments was between 150-200 dânişmends (advanced students from the higher medreses) (İpşirli, 2001:262-3).

This system remained essentially unchanged until the decree of 1715 under Sultan Ahmed III (1703-30), which was written to address many of the abuses of this

system. While more of this decree will be discussed under the chapter on students, the main benefit for appointments was the restriction of novices, as advanced medrese students for the degree, to be of suitable age and to have studied with appropriate masters. A second decree issued by the Sultan in the same year also reduced the overall number of candidates allotted to each granter. Also, he deprived the professors of Edirne and Bursa of their traditional right to select candidates, in effect limiting appointments by professors to only those based in Istanbul. This decree reduced the number of candidates allotted by quota. The *Şeyhulislam's* novices were reduced from sixteen to three per turn (nöbet); the Rumelia Justice's eight and the Anatolia Justice's six became two each; professors rising from the fifth to the sixth medrese teaching rank could name one novice, as could professors receiving promotion from one of the remaining teaching grades to the next higher. As a final note on the second decree, the exercise of quotas was limited solely to occasions of promotion. (Zilfi:57-9)

Additionally in the Ottoman system, the *müderrislik* exam was used as a means of determining suitable candidates for the teaching positions in the higher medreses beginning in the sixteenth century as a result of increased competition due to increased numbers of graduates and a more qualified cadre of potential teachers for these limited and highly-coveted teaching positions. The *müderrislik* examinations were held in a large mosque, generally the mosque of the Fatih medrese complex, in the presence of the Rumelian and Anatolian *kazaskers*. The candidates were assigned a topic to work on and were also required to deliver a lecture; at the completion of the trials, the most successful one was chosen (İpşirli, 2001:266).

In the earlier period of Ottoman medreses, most appointments were for life. However, due to the rising competition and limited places, this was changed to a

restricted period, occasionally on a rotating basis. In fact, the medrese *vakfiye* often contained stipulations regarding the appointment of professors. In addition, there is evidence of various types of appointments, such as: appointment without a time limit (*ber-vech-i te'bid*), appointment with an affixed fatwa responsibility (*muftilik*), appointment with the purpose of promotion (*terfi'an*), and appointment for a named time period (*tevkit*) (İpşirli, 2001:267). Originally the *kazaskers* were responsible for appointments. However, beginning towards the end of the sixteenth century, the *kazaskers* retained the duty of assigning candidates to the lower level positions while the *Şeyhülislâm* gained the responsibility of assigning new instructors to the higher level medreses, including the Fatih and Suleymaniye medreses. After attaching any necessary documentation, the grand vizier would submit a request regarding a particular appointment sent by either the *kazasker* or *Şeyhülislâm* to the sultan in the form of a *telhîs* (a resume or report). This appointment would then become official following the *hatt-i hümâyûn* (Sultan's Imperial mandate) acquiescing to the appointment. Afterwards, the *Ruûs Kalemi* (Department of Appointment) would issue a certificate for the applicant and finally a *berât* would be prepared for the appointment. Appointment of the new müderrises could be an individual or a group occasion (İpşirli, 2001:266).

In analyzing these two distinct systems, we can note some similarities. The first similarity is between the selection of the Ottoman *müderris* and the regius professorships. If we keep in mind that both of these positions were originally established by the sovereign of the country in addition to the fact that they were both highly sought after positions, we can see that they are alike. Also, both the professor and the *müderris* were often chosen for their positions by a jury of their peers, be they

other professors or at least other members of the learned religious society. Another factor is that the top professors might become a chancellor and then have an opportunity at a high ranking ministry or archbishopric while a top müderris could conceivably go on to be the *Şeyhülislâm*, a position that was in competition with the grand vizier in rank. Additionally, at least in respect to the majority of the higher faculty professors and the upper *müderrises*, they were usually degree holders and highly respected members of their societies.

In contrast, there are many striking differences in the manner in which a teaching member of each system was chosen. One of the more obvious is the more structured manner in which the Ottoman müderrises were chosen. There was one set system which was generally adhered to while the English system left many ambiguities and loopholes. Also, the degree requirements were generally higher for the Ottoman *müderrises* at the Fatih and Suleymaniye level than those of the English colleges. In fact, due to their holding of a high teaching rank and the primacy of their lectures in theology and jurisprudence, the typical Ottoman müderris in the Fatih and Suleymaniye medreses would be roughly equivalent to a professor *ordinaire* in the English system, while the majority of teaching in the English schools was undertaken by less qualified instructors, especially in the colleges. Also, many of the *müderrises* in these schools would be promoted to higher ranks within the *ilmiye* system as the ilmiye gained importance in the overall Ottoman system while the job opportunities for the English teachers became more restricted over time. In conclusion, there seems to be more of a difference between the two systems than similarities with a preference towards the Ottoman system in terms of organization and regularity.

3.3. Rising Role of Outside Influences upon Professorial Appointments

As mentioned before, some appointments of professors were decided upon by non-university officials. This was either as a part of the deciding board, made up of university officials as well as government one, or outright left up to the civil government authorities. At Oxford and Cambridge, the crown used its considerable influence and power over the appointment of heads of colleges to ensure that only acceptable candidates were selected. Moreover, by founding regius chairs, endowed and appointed by the crown, the civil authorities were able to strengthen their positions in the university infrastructure.

In the Ottoman system, the early part of the period in discussion, from roughly the time of Mehmet II's rule to the end of Suleyman the Magnificent's reign, most candidates for the teaching posts of the medreses were decided upon by personal merit and knowledge. While the patronage of a high official has always been of value in the Ottoman system, the actual knowledge and ability of the *müderris* candidate was the deciding factor in this earlier period. Indeed, the founding centuries of the *ilmiye* class was an age of great men. Many of these men began as professors and eventually worked their way up to the position of *Şeyhülislâm*, which was basically the monitoring office of the hierarchy of scholars in state service. However, if the early *ilmiye* class developed upon the individual merits of the scholars, its seventeenth and eighteenth-century equivalent was strongly based in the ulema family (Faroghi, 1973:206).

In the writings of d'Ohsson, a French traveler in the late eighteenth century, he mentions that most of the ulema offices that carried any worth – both major judgeships and professorships – were essentially "the patrimony of the great

families". The children of important ulema were brought up with the knowledge that they would take their positions alongside relatives and social peers. They were initiated into the association of professors "while they were still, so to speak, in the cradle." (Mouradgea D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, (1788-1824), cited by Zilfi, 1988:45).

3.4. General Characteristics of the Professoriate

One of the most glaring differences of the English universities compared to their continental counterparts was the requirement of all university instructors to be members of the clergy. We have already discussed some of the increased government role in university life. The professoriate lost some of its broad freedom to determine its own affairs it had enjoyed in the medieval period. State commissioners were sent to the university to ensure professorial orthodoxy and thoroughness. Some early examples include William Cecil (Cambridge 1559-98) and William Laud (Oxford 1630-45), who involved themselves in the daily management of the academic and religious life of both senior and junior members of the universities. Moreover, the subjects to be taught were mandated by the government and the publications of the professors were submitted to a governmental body for review. In effect, this meant that the professors teaching liberties were both guaranteed and diminished by the state.

Another important aspect of the professoriate in the early modern period was the importance of religious confession. Oxford and Cambridge were Anglican institutions where all members – students, fellows, heads, tutors, and public professors together – had to pledge to the Act of Supremacy, recognizing the monarch as the head of the Church of England, and to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of

the Church of England. In effect, this meant that, from the sixteenth century, openly professing Catholics and, from 1662, openly professing nonconformists were prevented from membership at these universities.

In this manner, the Ottoman teaching ulema shared many of these same characteristics. For example, all Ottoman medrese teachers were members of the ulema, or clergy. In addition, all members of the Ottoman ulema belonged to the Sunni, or Orthodox, branch of Islam, and most belonged particularly to the Hanafi school of thought. In fact, one of the unstated credos of the Ottoman ulema was to prepare worthy Muslim students to defend the Orthodoxy of the Ottoman State against the Safavid/Shiite threat posed by the rise of the Safavid dynasty in Iran at the time. As for government regulation of the Ottoman medreses and teaching staff, it is well known that the Ottoman ulema were salaried members of the Ottoman state and were therefore dependent to at least some degree upon the good graces of the state and its policies.

In his book, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, Colin Imber makes some mention of two 'Law Books of Scholars', which he attributed to the first half of the sixteenth century. In one of these books, mention is made of maintaining some of the orthodoxy of the earlier Islamic scholars, requiring students to continue to study some of the older texts and then to receive a certificate from the professor stating how much of the book he had read. The book finishes with a warning that any professor or student in defiance of these rules would be subject to a severe punishment. The second book, which apparently went to the Inner Colleges of the Empire, restates the same ideas and adds that the colleges "would be under surveillance, and that any professor who disobeyed the command would be dismissed." Professor Imber

concludes by mentioning that Mehmet III (1595-1606) issued a decree repeating these same edicts (Imber, 2002:153).

3.5. Non-Teaching Roles of the Teachers

Although ostensibly the role of a teacher was to teach, in fact many teachers in both the Ottoman and English systems had responsibilities outside of their regular teaching roles. In both systems, the teachers of the religious subjects were both considered part of the religious institution of their respective countries and often a teaching post held other responsibilities. These might include various roles in other religious institutions, as well as government or private employment.

In England, following the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy in 1534 and 1570, the university and its members had to be loyal members of the Anglican Church headed by the monarch. There was also a move to regulate many of the students' activities so that many of the colleges of doctors began to function as faculty councils. In the universities, every residing master and doctor with an Oxford or Cambridge degree was a member of the Great Congregation or Convocation (Oxford) or the Senate (Cambridge), which was responsible for the representative, legislative, and administrative authority of the university corporation. However, from the late sixteenth century onwards, the power of the assembly was reduced in favor of the vice-chancellor and the heads of houses (colleges). Many tasks fell within the circle of the assembly, such as the designation of librarians, archivists, and accounts auditors. However, for the daily running of the university, a reduced Senate was established. In Oxford this committee, named the Congregation, was made up of all the regent masters, which was the entire teaching staff, and the young masters of arts, who were required to do a 'necessary regency' of from one to two years upon completion of

their bachelors degrees. However, in a move to restrict the impetuous young masters, the trend was for the decisions to be taken by the vice-chancellor and the heads of colleges. In Cambridge, this reduced council was known as the *Caput Senatus* or *Caput*. It was composed of the vice-chancellor, a representative of the faculties of theology, law and arts (music), and two representatives of the Senate (one regent and one non-regent). First in Cambridge and then at Oxford, the vice-chancellor and the heads of houses, along with the proctors and some professors, began to meet weekly. These Hebdomadal Councils became the real government of the university.

In addition to those of the university, the faculties also had their own assemblies. These usually were made up of the dean, often chosen from among them, and members of the faculty. The dean was also assisted by a secretary (notary) and a treasurer. The members of the faculty were responsible for the running of the faculty and for appointing members.

In England, the office of rector/vice-chancellor was at first chosen from amongst the fellows by Convocation or the Senate. However, he was chosen from amongst the heads of houses and deputed by the chancellor, himself a non-resident magnate who had connections at the royal court, from 1569 onwards at Oxford and by the Senate at Cambridge from 1586 on. The vice-chancellor, the de facto head of the university, was assisted by secretaries (registrar), notaries, syndics (lawyers), and beadles (officers responsible for securing the appearance of defendants at a legal suit). These officers were often masters of Arts, and occasionally bachelors of law, especially among the syndics. In addition, the two annually chosen proctors were the key administrative officials. They were responsible for organizing the disputations, the examinations, and the public ceremonies as well as supervising the town markets.

One of their other key duties was to maintain order among the students. Until 1628, the proctors in Oxford were chosen by the university councils but afterwards they were chosen by the colleges.

Another important position held by university members was the role of the financial/economic official, known as a bursar. There were several bursars, each responsible for different aspects, such as estate auditor, financial matters, or domestic affairs. The bursars were also supported by collectors. In addition, the printers of the Cambridge and Oxford printing presses were university officials (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996). It is clear from all these examples that teachers, as members of the university, whether they were regents, tutor, or professors, had many responsibilities that were not directly related to imparting knowledge to the students.

The Ottoman system shares many similarities with the English one, not the least of which is the strong connection of the ulema with the state system. In fact, the müderrises, as middle members of the ilmiye class, helped to legitimize the rulers by maintaining the Islamic character of the society. Like the English system, the 'chancellor' of the medrese was actually the *kazaskers* (chief justices), and from the sixteenth century, the *Şeyhülislâm* was responsible for appointments of new müderrises to the upper tier medreses. The *kazaskers* kept *rûznâmes* (daybooks) detailing the daily duties of the Ilmiye members. In Suleyman I's law code, it is stated that the professors of the Suleymaniye medreses and the *Dârülhadis müderris*, as their leader, had to consult with the grand vizier after every Friday prayer and with the *Şeyhülislâm* every Thursday (Necipoglu-Kafadar, 1985:97). On the more functional level though, the *müderris* was in charge of the academic activities of the medrese. Since there was usually only one müderris appointed per medrese (here note that there

were more than one medrese in each of the Fatih and Suleymaniye complexes), that *müderris* was similar to the head of a college in the English system while also being the chief instructor. However, in addition to their normal teaching duties, the *müderrises* were responsible for choosing the students, distributing the funds to students and servants, and for the general administration of his medrese (Inalcik, 1997:169). The *müderrises* also held many other temporary duties, such as registration and inspection of *vakifs*; investigations into alleged cases of corruption; and investigations concerning *örfî* (customary) and *şer'î* (religious) officials (İpşirli, 2001). Also, many *müderrises* gave private lessons or legal opinions for pay outside of their regular teaching functions, although this was dependent upon the conditions set forth in the medrese's foundation.

In general, we can say that both systems offered many opportunities and duties outside of the normal education role of the teachers. Private lessons and other religious duties were the normal extra-curricular activities, although state involvement and private matters were also common. However, due to their more limited roles and restrictive conditions, as well as their more centralized role in their medrese college, the Ottoman müderrises tended to have fewer extra duties outside of the role of a teacher when compared with their English counterparts. On the contrary, if they wished to move outside of their teaching roles and be promoted, the Ottoman system clearly had more opportunities than the more limited opportunities than the English clergy outside of their religious duties. However, this notion will be discussed elsewhere in this study.

3.6. Supporting Staff

Although the non-teaching roles of the teachers have already been discussed, we will now focus on some of the non-academic staff of the two teaching systems. To begin with, both institutions had large numbers of staff who generally had either an administrative or a financial role at the school.

Let us examine the Ottoman system first. In the Fatih medrese, the *vakif* statutes provide for a *bevvab* (doorman), a *kennâs-i helâ* (toilet cleaner) and a *ferraş* (sweeper) assigned to each of the eight Semaniye medreses at 2 *akçes* each daily. In each of the eight *Tetimme* (Preparatory) medreses of the Fatih compound, there is also a doorman, a toilet cleaner, and a sweeper at 2 *akçes*, a *Hafizi Kütüb* (Librarian) at 6 *akçes*, and a *Katibi Kütüb* (Scribe) at 4 *akçes* (Ünver, 1946). In the Suleymaniye complex, the *Dârülhadis* medrese as well as the other four medreses had provisions for a doorman, a sweeper, a toilet cleaner, and a lamplighter (*Sirâci*), each for a daily wage of 2 *akçes*. Each of the medrese complexes had an administrative staff consisting of an *Umum Evkafa mütevelli* (general foundation administrator) receiving 100 *akçes* daily, originally 50 *akçes* in the Fatih vakfiye but raised to 100 in 1621,and a *mütevelli katibi* (administrative secretary) at 10 akçes daily. The *mütevelli*'s main role was to entrust the allocated funds to the müderris; the müderris was then responsible for choosing the students, distributing the funds to students and servants, and for the general administration of his medrese (Inalcik, 1997:169). In addition, there were approximately thirty *cabis* (collectors) for 6 akçes each daily, a *nâzir-i cüdrân* (building [wall] inspector) for 3 akçes, an *ibrikçi* (water-carrier) for 3 akçes, a *bağbân* (gardener) for 4 akçes, and multiple workers for the general complex and kitchens (Kürkçüoğlu, 1962:8-9). In the Fatih complex, there is also mention of four

Mu'temeds (Account managers), six *Tâhsilatçis* (tax collectors) for 4 *akçes* each, which was increased to 15 for the fiscal year 1489-90 (Barkan, 1963:323-24), although the number later increased to as many as thirty two, between eleven and seventeen Râh-âbîs (water conduits maintenance worker) at between 1 to 10 *akçes* each, and approximately fifteen *Meremmetîs* (handymen) for about 3 to 7 *akçes* each, although this last class was not mentioned in the original *vakfiye* (Unan, 2003). In addition, the *mütevelli* was also responsible to the *nazar* (inspector) would come for inspections of the medrese foundations. He was the Grand Vezir for the Fatih medreses and the *Daru-s Sa'adet Ağasi* (Chief White Eunuch) for the Suleymaniye medreses and received 50 *akçes* daily for that service in addition to his regular salary from his other office.

In England, there were many officials also tied to either the university or the colleges. The statutes of Cambridge drafted by John Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, in 1570 as well as Bishop Laud's Code of Statutes of 1636 for Oxford, which were inspired by the Cambridge system, covered every branch of academic administration down to the minutest details. While the role of the academicians in the administration has already been discussed, we will now turn to the other officials in the English system. The most important non-academician was the chancellor of the universities. In England, until 1677, with the death of Archbishop Sheldon, a clergyman, generally an archbishop, and a layman were appointed as pro-chancellor. After 1677, the chancellorship was restricted to only laymen. The messenger of the university (*nuntius*) was an important position in earlier times but assumed a less important role as the communications system improved. When they are still mentioned, this position seems to be an honorary one for one of the town burghers.

Often, the collectors, similar to the Ottoman *cabis*, were non-academicians as was often the case with the bursars (treasurers). There were also professional librarians and archivists attached to the universities. In addition, each college had its butlers and supporting staff as well as sanitation and food preparation personnel. From the seventeenth century onwards, in response to the popularity of the Grand Tour students, there were also language, dance, and music instructors, fencing and riding masters, and military engineers attached to the universities often on an *ad hoc* basis. There was also a master of ceremonies and a public orator attached to some statutes (Ridder-Symoens, 1996).

In the Laud Code of 1636, there is a stipulation for a Clerk of the University, whose duty was to:

> 'call the members together by ringing the usual bell, to see that the places, schools churches, houses, chairs, and cushions are clean, and to garnish them with their ornaments. To look after the University clock; but if he is slovenly in his attention, or else on purpose retards its going, and then makes it too fast, the Vice-Chancellor is to set a fine of ten shillings upon him. At the command of the Vice-Chancellor or Proctors, to give the boys a public flogging, if any there be who deserves blows' (Morris, 1978:80).

Another Laudian stipulation is for the office of the '*Tintinnabulary'*, whose job is, upon the death of one of the doctors, masters, scholars, and other privileged people, to put on the clothes of the deceased and give notice of their burial by ringing the bell which he carries in his hand (Morris, 1978:80). We also note the role of the university in town affairs, such as the right of the 'clerks of the market' to inspect the markets and regulate the quality and prices of food and lodging at Oxford and have academic courts (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996:182).

3.7. Student Participation and Training in the Teaching Field

Another common point that can be observed between the two systems is in the involvement of students in the teaching process. In both systems, there were provisions for class assistants: the *muîd* (recapitulator) in the Ottoman system or the tutor in the English context. The *muîd* was a *dânişmend* (upper-level student) who was chosen by the *müderris* from among his peers (Inalcik, 1997:167). His main duties were to repeat the lessons of the *müderris* in the mornings and in the afternoons to ensure that the points were memorized, engage the other students in mock disputes and discussions on occasion, and to supervise student attendance and discipline. The students were bound to attend both sessions with the *muîd* (Makdisi, 1981:94). He was rewarded for this with a daily wage of 5 *akçes*, while the regular *dânişmends* only received 2 *akçes* each. His term of tenure was usually not less than two years. Additionally, a *muîd* in one of the Fatih *Sahn-Semaniye* medreses was often also responsible for giving lectures in the *Tetimme* level medreses of the same compound. Moreover, in the levels below 50 *akçes*, a *muîd* would occasionally be appointed as a *müderris* (Baltaci, 2005:113-4).

In the English system, tutors had a significant role in the teaching process. The tutorial system really developed between 1550 and 1650 as a result of the increasing supremacy of the college halls over the university in the previous century, although the universities still offered public lectures until the middle of the seventeenth century. The tutorial system originally developed as a means of providing wealthy young gentlemen with a means of moral and academic supervision while they gained their education in one of the faculties while gaining practical training towards a future teaching career. The tutors were originally responsible for the *repetito* (memorization)

in the colleges as a supplement to the professor's main lecture (*lectio*) (Müller, 1996:345). However, with the shrinking role of the professors' lectures many tutors took the role of providing their charges with a more innovative, albeit anarchic, form of teaching.

In addition to the regular curriculum, many tutors offered their students courses in alternative studies that were either new or obsolete subjects not commonly taught in regular lectures. For instance, the teaching of Plato was maintained at Cambridge in the mid-seventeenth century by a group of tutors led by Ralph Cudworth (1617-88) and Henry More (1614-87) (Brockliss, 1996:579). In the early eighteenth century, the tenacious tutors of Cambridge left the old Aristotelian scholasticism in favor of their own amalgamation of popular Newtonian logic based on Locke's empiricism and a mix of mathematics and Euclidian geometry, perhaps leading the way to Cambridge's mathematical fame (Porter, 1996:557).

In conclusion, we can see that students played a significant part in the actual teaching of their lower level peers in both systems. Often, the students were responsible for the actual teaching and practice of the students more than the professors.

3.8. Careers and Mobility

In the Ottoman Empire, the *ilmiye* class, made up of the medrese-trained *ulema*, held a special position in the empire and society. Particularly in Istanbul, while other classes contained members of every rank, the ulema in Istanbul were at the apogee of their career, the highest religious posts anywhere in the Empire. The wealth and position of the entire official religious institution culminated in the positions and ranks of the bearers of the title "*ulema*". They rarely participated as a group in

rebellious actions as well as rarely instigating such actions in the open. Their position was consultative, mediating, persuasive of individuals and generally reactive.

There was little movement between major occupational groups. Youth who enrolled in the scribal bureaus or military would usually remain in that service. Likewise, a young man studying at a medrese was usually making a career choice. Medrese training, rather than providing a mere general education, began increasingly to restrict its members to life in the ilmiye class (Zilfi, 1988:84-86).

One of the other factors affecting mobility was the *mülâzemet* system that allowed certain high *Ilmiye* officials to name novices to positions on certain occasions as discussed previously. However, many of these high officials chose candidates form their own personal entourage. This established a strong link between the patron and the future of the aspiring *mülâzem.* In fact the *rüus* candidates typically spent at least seven years training for the *rüus* exam. Therefore, there was a great desire to begin preparations early as possible to be enrolled on the waiting list for the exam so that a candidate could enter service at a reasonably young age and then provide patronage for his own group in the future (Zilfi, 1983:338). In fact, Faroghi notes that Gibb and Bowen concluded that patronage was the single most important factor contributing to advancement in the ulema hierarchy in the late sixteenth century and afterwards (H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, Volume I, in the Eighteenth Century, 1957:150, cited by Faroghi, 1973:208).

Meanwhile, in the English universities the trend was towards a specialization of sciences. Until the seventeenth century, it was not uncommon for one professor to teach multiple subjects, such as Hebrew, law, and theology. However, as the sciences developed under humanism, the professors were forced to specialize in one science or

even portion of a science (Vandermeersch, 1996:239). That said, it was not unheard of for a professor to switch chairs for more lucrative positions, even across disciplines. In the past, professorships and fellowships had been for life tenures although this came under criticism in the seventeenth century. As mentioned previously, many regents taught in the arts faculty while pursuing higher studies in the theology or law faculties. Obviously, if a position opened in one of these more prestigious faculties, there was great competition among the regents for this position.

Another related feature was the attitude of the professor towards his career. While many were quite content to teach for life tenures, many teachers preferred to use their positions as a stepping stone to a career elsewhere, generally in a clerical or secular office (Vandermeersch, 1996:242).

We can conclude here that both systems shared some common threads in using the teaching and education career as a stepping stone to higher offices. This could be either through a series of moving to higher positions inside the educational institution or perhaps outside in the clergy or *ilmiye* fields or even in the legal and administrative capacities.

3.9. Typical Salary of a Teacher

In the Ottoman system, the teachers were part of the highly-structured *ilmiye* class and were thus subject to the laws and conditions of the *ilmiye* hierarchy. Since the Fatih and Suleymaniye medreses were the highest ranking institutes in the Empire, the salary of the teachers was subsequently higher than most. In fact, these schools were ranked according to the salaries of the müderrises. A müderris at one of the eight Fatih Sahn medreses was paid 50 akçes daily, about equal to one gold ducat, while a müderris at one of the four Suleymaniye medreses was paid 60 akçes daily and the

medical school (Daru-t-tibb) teacher was allocated 20 akçes, the optician (kehhâl) and the surgeon (cerrâh) each received 10 akçes daily. While the stipulated salary in the Suleymaniye Dârülhadis medrese was 50 akçes daily, this was actually raised to 100 akçes daily upon the appointment of the first Dârülhadis teacher, making him the highest paid teacher in the Ottoman hierarchy and subsequently, the Dârülhadis became the highest ranking medrese in the Ottoman system (İhsanoğlu, 2002:378).

The Ottoman system also controlled the salaries such that if the qualifications of a müderris were more than those required by his assigned medrese, they would not receive a higher payment for their services. On the contrary, if an inexperienced müderris were appointed to a high ranking medrese, he would only receive the money allocated to his pay bracket and the remainder would revert back to the *vakif*.

In addition to the base salaries, many müderrises received extra pay from the stipends (*arpalik*) they were granted or from the other temporary duties they were assigned, such as registration and inspection of vakifs; investigations into alleged cases of corruption; and investigations concerning customary law (*örfî*) and religious law (*şer'î*)officials. Also, they were allowed to eat in the public kitchens (*imâret*) free of charge (İpşirli, 2001:266-7).

In Oxford and Cambridge, the system was more disorganized and it is difficult to give a definite figure for a typical professor. This was due to many factors. In the Middle Ages, when a student became a bachelor of a faculty, he had to give lectures. He was obliged to continue teaching while pursuing his masters or doctorate – a process known as necessary regency. However, by the sixteenth century, this system was effectively replaced by appointing teachers. Most of these fellows received stipends from their own colleges, rather than the university. Even so, many teachers

did not receive stipends, forcing them to resort to charging class fees from students. As Adam Smith mentioned in *Wealth of Nations*, it would be undesirable to increase the salaries of teachers and move them away from the class fee system since it may 'render them less attentive to the instruction of their students, or independent of the emolument arising from a diligent performance of their duty'(Vandermeersch, 1996:234). The result of this system was that many professors only lectured when they wanted to or they were in need of money.

At the same time, many permanent and endowed chairs were established for teaching. The first examples were founded by Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII when she established lectureships in theology in 1497-1502 at Cambridge and Oxford. These were soon followed by chairs in philosophy, logic, rhetoric, law, medicine, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, geometry, and astronomy, to name a few. However, even with these professorships there was little uniformity. For example, the Linacre lectureship in medicine (founded 1524) provided a sum of £6-12 a year. However, by the end of the seventeenth century, inflation had reduced the value of this sum to a mere pittance such that the electors considered the lectureships as objects to be distributed among the fellows. Meanwhile, at Oxford the Savilian professors (geometry and astronomy, founded 1619) received £160 yearly and at Cambridge, the Lucasian (mathematics, 1663) and Plumian (astronomy, experimental philosophy, 1704) chairs received £100 a year. Consequently, there was intense competition and a series of distinguished incumbents these chairs (Vandermeersch, 1996:235).

Therefore, it is difficult to speak in concrete terms for the English professors. However, we can say that in general the ordinary professor, that is the chair holders

and professors of important subjects, had a good income. In addition to a regular teaching income, we must also consider that many professors had extra income as lawyers, preachers, presidents of colleges, members of a university or faculty board, librarians, private teachers, *et cetera* (Vandermeersch, 1996:236). On the other hand, there are still many cases of teachers, especially at lower levels, leaving their positions for other more lucrative work due to the small salaries and other stipulations, such as marriage, family, and private work, particularly among the lay teachers of the later early modern period.

In conclusion, we can note that the two systems shared many similarities. In both systems, the teachers occupying the highest positions received very good base salaries. In addition, these base salaries were often augmented by salaries from other duties so that the combined earnings of an advanced teacher could be quite considerable. This was one of the reasons why ulema or professors were such respected members of their respective societies. However, the Ottoman system, especially after the reforms of Mehmet II and Suleyman I, seems to offer more stability for the general teaching population by ranking them according to certain pay scales, whereas the English system still required many of the lower tier teachers to depend on their own ingenuity to gain their livelihood. Despite these differences, we can note that professors or ulema were generally considered to be of at least a middle class status or upwards in their societies and there was still a general desire among students to pursue studies in the hopes of becoming members of the teaching body in the future.

CHAPTER 4

STUDENTS

4.1. Common Themes and Grievances of Students

In the English universities and colleges, the students were classified into various ranks, generally depending on student fees more than actual social rank or family wealth. The head of the college, alternatively known as Master, President or Provost, was the top person in the college. The student ranking begin under his post, the first and most powerful rank being fellow. These ranged from six at St. Catherine's, Cambridge to sixty at Trinity, but the average was between twelve and twenty. The Master and the fellows were the ruling body for most of the colleges. Fellows received a small income, a free chamber in the dormitory, an allowance for commons (food), and in some colleges, a share of the dividends if the college had any profits from the year end. Many fellows were also tutors and were entitled to their pupil's tutoring fees, a trend which began at New College, Oxford (1379) (Morison, 1968:37). Fellows must take holy orders and were often eligible to retain their fellowships for life, even if they found more promising work and left the university vicinity. However, marriage was a firm cause for annulment of the fellowship.

After the fellows came the scholars or 'students on the foundation', who got free lodging, about half of a fellow's commons allowance, and a small salary. Following these students were the paying students. The first group was called the fellow-commoners because they dined at the high table with the fellows in the dining hall. They paid double fees for everything but were rewarded by ranking above the scholars and even the B.A. holders. In addition, these students had many privileges but seldom devoted their time to taking degrees, usually attending the university

simply since it was deemed fashionable. In Oxford, this class was known as gentlemen-commoners or upper-commoners since some colleges had a separate class for 'noblemen'. At Sidney Sussex College, the 1627 statutes stipulate 'noblemen' should pay quadruple the normal pensioners' fees (Morison, 1968:83).

The next class of students was the pensioners or the commoners who paid the standard fees, which was about £40 a year in 1627. Magdalen College at Oxford was the first college to invite these undergraduate students to become *commensales* (commoners, boarders) for a fee in exchange for receiving most of their instruction from the college teaching staff. The term commoner bore no social connotation but simply meant 'boarder' or 'table-fellow'; this group was also known as pensioner at Cambridge (Morison, 1968:37).

The final class of students was the *sizars* or *battelers*, terms which came from the word for snacks and extras for food and drink – the idea being that a sizar paid for his sizings, but not for his commons, and they paid reduced fees. Sizars were originally students in a medieval variant of the work/study program of the modern university. They performed menial labor at their colleges in exchange for free education. However, by the sixteenth century, most of these jobs were taken by professional servants. A seventeenth-century sizar at Cambridge may no longer have done menial labor but was now responsible for waiting on the fellows' and scholars' tables in the hall. Most fellows had a sizar who acted as his butler and secretary in return for free tuition, partial board, and often a clothing allowance. The Master of the college was also allowed two or more sizars to act as his secretary and do his errands. In addition to this class, at Trinity and St. John's Colleges there were *subsizars* who had similar agreements with the fellow-commoners. Often, there were sizars who

worked while others were simply classed that way to pay half the normal pensioners fees.

It is interesting to note that at that time there was no social stigma connected with this rank and, since a sizar had a fair shot with a pensioner of obtaining a scholarship or fellowship, many students from good families were likely to enter as sizars merely to enjoy the reduced cost. Anthony Wood, the famous Oxford historian of the seventeenth century, notes the case of the Davenport brothers at Oxford. They came from an established family and their father was an alderman in Coventry, yet they were entered as battelers, the Oxford equivalent of a sizar, at Merton College, and dined in the kitchen. When the Warden, Sir Henry Savile, found out who they were, he gave them the choice to either become commoners, which entailed paying the new fees, or to leave; their father chose for them to leave, and they were subsequently entered into Magdalen Hall (Anthony Wood, Athenœ Oxon., 1721:II. 460-62, cited by Morison, 1968:84-85).

In the Ottoman system, there were fewer ranks since the medrese education was free for all students. Also, following Islamic tradition, the medrese students were divided into three main subgroups: *mubtadi'* (beginner); *mutawassit* (intermediate); and *muntahin* (terminal) (Makdisi, 1981:171). However, we can still distinguish some striking similarities with the English system. Like the English college, each individual medrese was headed by the müderris, who was responsible for the main teaching in the medrese. In the higher classes of the Sahn at the Fatih and Suleymaniye medreses, each medrese consisted of fifteen students that were known as dânişmends, the approximate equivalent of a fellow in the English college and were advanced students of theology. They also received a stipend of two akçes daily as well as two free meals

at the public kitchen and free board. From these fifteen students, the professor would choose one to act as muîd, acting in roughly the capacity of the English tutor, who received a higher salary of 5 akçes daily (Inalcik, 1997:167). As mentioned in the previous chapter, this muîd might also teach at a lower-level medrese to students roughly equivalent to undergraduate students in the English system.

4.2. Diversity Among Students

Like all large academic institutions, the universities as well as the medreses were attended by many diverse groups of students. In order to discuss diversity in a more systematic manner, we will approach diversity from means of social ranking, religious profession, and the make up of the students from their areas of origin. While it is impossible to provide definite figures for so many factors in such large numbers of students, we will limit our discussion to trends and generalizations.

In terms of social ranking of students, we can find in both systems a noticeable change in our time period towards an increase in the number of powerful family connections. In the English system, we can notice a trend among aristocratic families to attend universities in our time period due to a change in the overall role of the university/colleges in general. Before 1500, few English nobles attended the universities since their main education revolved around music, dancing, and polite manners, which did not mesh well with the monastic views of the majority student population. However, with the advent of Humanism in then universities as well as the new needs of the ruling class, by Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603), most members of the leading class were graduates. Maria Rosa di Simone gives some interesting statistics concerning the English universities of the period. She mentions that graduates accounted for only sixty-three members of Parliament in 1563, while that number had

doubled by 1584, and by 1593, there were 161 graduates in Parliament. In addition, by the second half of the sixteenth century, for every five persons of commoner stock, there were three registered at both Cambridge and Oxford as sons of gentlemen, and this increased to a ratio of six nobles to every five commoners by the beginning of the seventeenth century (di Simone, 1996:312). Another trend seems to be the influx of the 'commoners' sons at the universities. They seemed to focus on the Arts and Theology courses, perhaps in hopes of becoming ministers or teachers in the increasing number of grammar schools of the time. Stone gives figures of over fifty percent of the registrations at the end of the sixteenth century, but a decrease to 42 per cent by 1601 as the richer classes began to take over the universities (Lawrence Stone, The University in Society, 1974:93, cited by di Simone, 1996:313).

In the Ottoman medreses, we can also note the beginning of a trend in the rise of the sons of the leading *Ilmiye* class members. While the real rise of the 'aristocratic' *ulema* would not occur until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the process started in the seventeenth century. All over the Ottoman Empire, sons followed in the footsteps of their fathers' careers. As mentioned before, the students of the medreses came from all over the empire and included sons of slaves and free Muslims of all sorts as well as the children of the *Ilmiye* officials. Although the Sultan began to confer certain rights on the children of some of the famous scholars as a sign of respect for them, he also gave homage to the sons of other grandees from outside the learned community, such as the Bostancis (Palace Groundskeepers) and the merchant classes. Study in a medrese was the normal entryway into the mülâzemet system, which was the first step into the elites. However, in this period, patronage and sponsorship was officially sanctioned and was the cause of the new influx of "new

men", as Zilfi says, who were mostly from the "basest sorts of men", such as peddlers and peasants, into the Ilmiye ranks (Zilfi, 1988:93). It was these students who were able to rise to high positions from bribery and patronage rather than merit and study and were to cause the degradation of the Ilmiye class in the seventeenth century, until the Ilmiye was able to curtail this practice by institutionalizing a manner of selecting its new members from its own class and offspring. Therefore, while the sixteenth century may have caused the top students to succeed in the medreses, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the new medrese students were infiltrated by unworthy students seeking a manner to secure their social standing and tax exemptions rather than to command the faithful.

The next point to be discussed is the religious profession of the students. The first obvious point in both systems, especially given that the schools were mainly interested in the religious upbringing of the students, is that the students were all from their same religion: that is, there were no non-Christians in the English colleges, just as there were no non-Muslims in the Ottoman medreses. Rather, let us examine the changing role of the sectarian adherence among the student body.

In the Ottoman system, we know that the official sect was the Hanafi school of thought. All the law texts taught at the Imperial medreses, including the Fatih and Suleymaniye complexes, belonged to the Hanafi tradition. That said, with the inclusion of the Arab countries under Selim I as well as the increasing size of the Ottomans in North Africa and elsewhere, much of the Muslim population of the Empire were non-Hanafi Sunni Muslims. While certainly the majority of the potential medrese students from those populations studied at local, established medreses in their own areas, the rising eminence of Istanbul as *the* training ground for the

Ottoman elite surely attracted many students to its flourishing medrese system. Given our focus on two of the largest medreses in the capital city, we know that many students from the other parts of the Empire came to Istanbul to rub shoulders with the elite of the Ottoman education system.

An interesting point here when compared to its English, or even European, counterpart during the sixteenth and seventeenth century was that the medreses had no conditions of swearing an oath or any other stipulation about the adherence of the student to any Islamic school. While the curriculum of these two medreses was Hanafi-inspired, especially when taken into consideration their role as training grounds for the future professors and judges as well as leaders of the Ottoman Islamic scholarly profession, it was still possible for a non-Hanafi student to study there. In fact, there were many students who came from the Arab lands for example, where most were either Shafi or Maliki school Muslims. They studied in Istanbul medreses and then returned to their homelands to continue there. This was in fact a continuation of the earlier Islamic habit of scholarly travel among students. In fact, before the establishment of the large medreses in Istanbul, it was common practice to send Ottoman scholars to other traditional lands for Islamic learning, such as Syria, Egypt, or Samarkand. Some of the main factors helping this system were the fact that the Ottoman Empire covered such a large part of the Islamic homelands as well as the fact that the diplomas (icazet) were issued in the name of the teacher, rather than the name of the institution which meant that the fame of the teacher and text were more important than where the student studied. Surely, this was another big advantage to the high Imperial medreses, where the cream of the crop of the Ottoman scholars taught.

While the individual sectarian adherence of the student was not very important in the Ottoman medrese system, quite the opposite was the case in the English colleges. As mentioned before, the Reformation and formulation of the Anglican Church and the Thirty-Nine Articles as well as the statutes of Elizabeth and Archbishop Laud made it at first difficult and later impossible for non-Anglican students to study at Oxford or Cambridge. Most Catholics or non-conformists went to the European continent or America rather than suffer under the English system. However, for a short time at least, many non-conformists, especially the Puritans, continued to study in England. Emmanuel College in Cambridge was the most illustrious of these colleges, although there were many Puritans at Oxford as well. During the Civil War, the king actually lived at Christ Church, Oxford and the Queen at Merton, Oxford, while Cromwell's Parliamentarian opposition was based around Cambridge, facts surely leading to the polarizing effects of each university.

It was the Act of Conformity of 1662 after the restoration of the Stuart monarchy that really sealed the fate of any non-Anglicans in the universities. These stipulations now polarized the opinions of many people who would normally have paid no heed to religious convictions as determinants of who could study at a university by making it mandatory to swear oaths to the supremacy of the English monarch as head of the Church. As a result, this new freedom from opposition discouraged many universities, especially the aspiring student population, from actively pursuing independent research and looking for innovative solutions to new knowledge. The result was the intellectual emptiness of the universities in the eighteenth century and a focus on the mere reproduction of traditional ideas.

The final point to be discussed in this section was the geographical origins of the student body. Although this point was touched upon earlier, many students came from various locations. In fact, in the English colleges, some of the college statutes stipulate where a resident student should come from. As we saw in the section on foundations, some colleges called for most students to be from one main location, usually the area the founder was from, such as St. John's College, Oxford, while other colleges called for mandatory diversity of the student population by restricting the number of residents from one locale, such as Queen's College, Cambridge.

In the Ottoman system, we also find a large number of students from different locations in the medreses. While I have not come across any definite figures, if we take the biographies of the leading Ilmiye members as examples for the general student population, then it becomes clear that students came from all over the Empire. While most of these ulema were from traditional Ottoman areas, the earlier ulema were certainly from all over the Muslim world. This was especially true in the nascent period of the Ottoman state when the medreses were unable to produce quality scholars of their own. As mentioned previously, the change of Istanbul into the Imperial capitol as well as the social dynamic of the general Ottoman hierarchy surely leads to the conclusion that perhaps the majority of the students came from multiple areas. In addition, the "Istanbulization" of the medrese system resulted in the impoverishment of the traditional medreses outside the capitol (Zilfi, 1993:119). In biographies into the seventeenth century, we can often find reference to scholars coming to Istanbul for study and then assignment to the mülâzemet system afterwards. In fact, one of the conditions of the mülâzemet system was that candidates should remain in Istanbul.

In conclusion, we can see that the English and the Ottoman student populations were both complex slices of their respective societies. The centralizing approach of both systems led many future office-seekers to attend institutions of higher learning. In addition, the rise of the aristocracy of both systems led to increases in the sons of notable people in the education system. Often, these students came from different locations throughout the country to the centralized college/medreses for training. This was in no doubt an opportunity to make future connections with people from all over the country. However, while the trend in England was towards a single cohesive student sectarian background, the plurality of religious sects continued in the Ottoman medreses. This led to big changes in the eighteenth century for both Empires.

4.3. Effect of Secularization and Religious Reform upon the Student Body

During the earlier portion of the sixteenth century, the roles of the learned 'clerical' class changed and many of the functions which were formerly held by religious officials or more importantly, those trained in religiously-based schools, were taken over by officials who were members of the secular class. If we define this as secularization so that it will be acceptable to the situations in our two social models, then this process not only led to a loss of career opportunities for graduates of the religious schools but also to a refocusing and reformulation of the objectives of the institutions of learning.

Given that condition, the effects of this change must have had some real consequences for the student body, both in terms of the subjects they learned as well as their future career choices. With the rise of secular government positions in England following the Reformation as well as the linking of the hitherto independent

Church to the Crown, the universities changed almost overnight. Meanwhile, in the Ottoman Empire, the basic restructuring of the careers forced the medrese trained into more rigid career lines that used to be open to lateral moves from an *Ilmiye* position into a career in the *Kalemiye* (Scribal) service, perhaps even to a high degree as Grand Vizier. In particular, the forming of alternative education institutions for more secular training caused a big strain on the institutions and an exodus of many of the students who had previously attended the religious schools as training for a bureaucratic career. After the banning of teaching the canon law in British universities, the Inns of Court in London were created to fill a gap in the legal training of the now marginalized law students in the university. Likewise, the trend of depending on students of slave origin for grooming in the administrative branch of the Ottoman government coincided with the establishment of the Palace School (Endurûn Mektebi) at Topkapi Palace for training the children of the devşirme process to become members of the administrative elite. Each of these schools had a similar effect on the traditional education of the country by either reducing the student body for the law or arts faculty or blocking entrance of the religious students into the administrative fields, both different forms of secularization.

Another common thread between the two institutions was the effect of the 'outside' aristocrats or non-religious students upon the make-up of the student body. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the aristocrats in English universities were mostly interested in the education there from a secular viewpoint, to teach manners and letter writing that would be useful for positions in the government. In fact, many of them did not graduate and used there time there to make contacts or to simply have fun. This problem was especially exacerbated during the seventeenth

century when the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge served as stopping points for many of these young nobles on the Grand Tour so popular at the time as a means of gaining refinement as well as training for their futures in the secular world (Ridder-Symoens, 1996:433). Likewise, the influx of students with strong secular patrons into the medreses in hopes of gaining lucrative posts was done more as a way of securing certain privileges, such as tax exemption or immunities reserved for the Ilmiye elites. Many of these students had no intention of following a path as a religious leader but were instead seeking some stability and compensation in the unstable atmosphere of the time. In fact, many of these 'students' were in Istanbul either because they were fleeing from the dangers of life in the countryside as a result of the brigandage of roving gangs or they had been dismissed from the army after being drafted but were left without the benefits of booty or glory (Zilfi, 1988:91). In other words, they were looking for a niche in the Imperial government that was seen as one of the sole remaining careers with security and wealth in those uncertain times.

The religious reforms that ensued as a result of the loss of the legal students caused both the university and the medrese to become most suited for those pursuing careers in the religious establishment. This led to a process of unifying the feelings of the majority of the students since they were seeking a similar path of entering the religious establishment or becoming a professor/*müderris* in one of these institutes of higher learning. This seemed to be the trend as both the university and the medrese adopted into more of a religious training ground that was restricted to members of the religious class in the seventeenth century following the experiences of the previous century.

In conclusion, we can note that the secularization of the administration of the central government had the effect of reducing the main body of students at the university/medrese to those in pursuit of religious training. In fact, we could say this was a 'return to basics' since that was the original aim of both of these universities from their earliest times. Also, while these institutions attracted many non-religious powerful students for a time in the seventeenth century, by the advent of the eighteenth century, most of these students had disappeared, having found new channels for their aims and leaving the schools for the religious scholar majority.

4.4. The Academic Day

The academic day in the early modern period was much longer than what we are used to today in higher studies. In general, classes started not long after dawn and continued with breaks throughout the morning and early afternoon. In the afternoon, time was reserved for review and exercises on material learned. In addition to the long hours of study, discipline was strictly enforced in the institutions.

In the English colleges of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the classes and coursework continued through most of the day, beginning at dawn and lasting until after dusk. Even the meals were structured so as to be directed towards the acquisition of religious knowledge. The tutor also served to keep an extra tight rein on the impetuous undergraduates. Müller mentions the notes of a member of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge:

> There were three lectures daily: a 6 a.m. lecture on Aristotle's *Philosophy*, Aristotle's *Organon* and *Seton*; a 12 o'clock lecture on Greek, with covered constructions as shown in 'Homer or Demosthenes or Hesoid or Isocrates' and grammar; and a 3 p.m. lecture on rhetoric, using 'some part of Tully'. This steady diet was supplemented by an early morning exposition of a passage in Scripture on Wednesday and Fridays

> by one of the fellows ‘in his order’, and by a number of regular exercises in the afternoon (Müller, 1996:340).

In addition, the English academic day continued to be based around the classical monastic day common elsewhere in Europe. At 5 a.m. there was a Bible reading and a prayer in the college chapel, which was followed two or three times a week by commonplaces, ten- or fifteen-minute sermons given by candidates for the BA or MA degrees. Afterwards, there was ‘morning bever’, a breakfast of bread and beer, followed by the first lesson at 6 o’clock (Morison, 1968:64). John Strype was a student at St. Catherine’s at Cambridge in the seventeenth century and notes that he had chapel twice daily; in the morning at 7 a.m., and again at 5 p.m. There was breakfast at about eight a.m. (Fowler, 1984:96). Lunch was at 11 a.m. and seems to be followed by an hour for recreation and then review for two or three hours unless attending public disputations in the faculties. At 3 or 4 was a snack and then dinner was served around five or six p.m. After dinner, the students could enjoy themselves in approved activities in the common room of their college, usually the only heated room in winter or walks outside in the garden in summer. There was no reading after that due to the poor lighting in the halls. The tutor then held a conversation for his pupils in his chamber from seven or eight o’clock followed by an evening prayer and they slept around 9 p.m. (Morison, 1968:64). The students had little time for leisure activities, usually consisting of walks, trips to public houses, and games, although the occasional fight or drinking was known. The only day off was a free afternoon on Sundays and holidays and feast days (Müller, 1996).

The Ottoman medrese day did not differ much from the English system. Also following the classical medrese system, the day began with the Morning Prayer. There

was then some time for review. The first class began soon afterwards and was usually broken up into section that covered about eight hours a day. During class, the student was expected to study certain lines of text before class to be expounded upon and then discussed and memorized. Each student would take turns reading the passages to the teacher. The teacher would then give his interpretation of these lines and then ask each student to give his perspective on the passage, and this was followed up by a class discussion. After this, the students would return to their rooms or study with the muîd of the class to prepare for the following day. The student would also partake of two daily meals from the hospice kitchen as part of his schooling. At least in the seventeenth century, there were no classes on Tuesdays and Fridays as well as a vacation period in Ramadan. Even during these days off, most students would use these days for preparation for the next class and perhaps go on trips during the summertime. In the winter, the students usually talked, played games, or read poetry or history (İhsanoğlu, 2002:386).

Therefore, we can see that the two systems were very similar to each other in this respect. In both systems, the student was under strict supervision of the professor/müderris during the class time as well as the tutor/muîd during his review period. Students were expected to study a large number of texts in theology but also in related subjects such as Latin/Arabic for the scriptures, poetry, mathematics, and philosophy. In both systems, most students lived in the dormitory and ate their meals at the dining hall. The day started early and ended late and had little time for breaks and recreation.

This does not however mean that curriculum was chosen at random with no regard to a systematic education. The Ottoman administration determined many

aspects of education, especially in the official Ottoman state medreses. In the legal code (*kanunname*) dated 944/1538, prepared during the reign of Suleyman I, there is a section related to education. This code states that the role of education was 'to understand the creation of the universe, establish a state that operates in an orderly fashion, and to reveal the reveal the realities of the world in order to ensure the perpetuity of order in the world and the well-being of humanity.'(İhsanoğlu, 2002:383). The same document gives a general opinion about the relative importance of various subjects, namely 'The pursuit of science and wisdom, and then an explication of virtue, talent, religion, and the *şar'a* in that order, as well as the development of human faculties and capacities' (İhsanoğlu, 2002:383). We can also look at the writings of Hajji Khalifa, who organized a curriculum based on the level of importance. His basic precept is that prerequisite courses should be studied before the main subjects. Also, literature should be studied before logic which should be studied before the principles of jurisprudence, which should also be studied before disputed questions (Makdisi, 1981:81). This would lead to a strong grounding in the basic of a subject and would minimize any confusion by skipping the fundamentals, a problem which did appear later as the period of study was reduced and handbooks were used instead of the classical reference texts.

Another source of information about medreses can be found in the biographies of students and teachers, as well as their diplomas and endowments and regulations related to the particular schools. The actual curriculum studied varied over time. We can note some of these changes by comparing the education of Taşköprülüzâde Ahmad b. Isameddin during the sixteenth century and the classes he later taught to the education of Katib Çelebi in the seventeenth century.

A typical medrese student would study many books during his scholastic career, generally starting at the basics and prerequisites and then continuing until reaching the higher levels. Generally, the first three subjects to be studied were morphology (*sarf*), syntax (*nahw*), and logic (*mantiq*) in that order. After reaching proficiency in those subjects, a student would study various subjects, such as elocution (*adab al-bahth*), preaching (*waaz*), rhetoric (*belagha*), study of philosophical theology (*kelam*), philosophy (*hikmet*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), inheritance (*feraid*), tenets of faith (*akaid*) and legal theory and methodology (*usul al-fiqh*), with some difference among the order of the subjects studied. The final stage for a medrese student would be the study of hadith and Quranic commentary (*tefsir*). The reason for that was that these subjects were seen as the pinnacle of education and required a firm basis in the other subjects in order to be understood correctly (Makdisi, 1981:81). It is worth noting that the majority of these classes were held in Arabic, which was the language of religious studies throughout the Ottoman Empire.

4.5. Board and Lodging

Board and lodging is an interesting topic because it provides us with a chance to look at how the students of the time lived. In order to better compare the two systems, let us confine ourselves to the students who lived in the colleges or medreses. In both systems, we have to keep in mind that those were simpler times and the furnishings and necessities of the times were more basic. There certainly weren't any DVD players or big screen televisions in the dorm rooms at that time. Austere furnishings were the order of the day, especially given that these lodgings were originally designed for religious students and not for playboys.

The eight *Sahn* medreses of the Fatih complex were divided into nineteen rooms and one classroom with a central courtyard. Fifteen of the rooms were designated for the fifteen *dânişmends* and each medrese had a small endowed library. The students not only lived there for free but were even paid two *akçes* daily as well as receiving two meals a day from the hospice kitchen (Inalcik, 1997:167). Because all of the students in the medrese were in the same level, the lessons were given by the müderris to all students. There were also attendants in each medrese as well as a toilet. There was a public bath included in the greater mosque complex as well. In these regards, the Suleymaniye medreses were the same. The students performed the five daily prayers in congregation without exception. All students were residents of the medrese and were not allowed to spend the night outside unless there was a valid excuse from the professor or if the student was married, in which situation he must attend the courses in the morning and the evening (Makdisi, 1981:94).

The English colleges are again a little more difficult to describe since they were built separately at different times and under different conditions so let us speak in generalities. The main form of the college at Oxford was a closed quadrangle, similar to the Ottoman medreses, while Caius College's construction at Cambridge in 1565 introduced the concept of an open quadrangle that left one side open to let in fresh air and sunlight. The colleges all had kitchens, larders[1], and butteries[2]. The public room or 'Great Hall' was the heart of the college and was where all college exercises took place, public prayers were preformed, and served as the dining hall during mealtimes (Morison, 1968). The master and fellows usually ate on a raised

[1] A larder was the storage pantry for meats and other provisions (Morison, 1968:280).
[2] A room which stored the cheeses, butter, loaves of bread, and the barrels of beer, and was the place where the morning and afternoon 'bevers' (snacks) were served (Morison, 1968:278).

dais that also served as a podium for the lecturer during lessons and a stage during plays. It also contained the fireplace and was usually the only heated room in the college.

The Masters room usually overlooked the front entrance so that he could be aware of who enters and leaves the college. The student rooms were organized in pairs on floors with a shared staircase between two rooms. Each room was usually shared between three or more students, usually two per bed, with a trundle bed underneath for the junior student. One of these students was either a fellow or senior student responsible for maintaining discipline and enforcing the rule of Latin only. In addition, in each corner of the room, usually near a window, was a cubicle study, about the size of a closet, where a student kept his books and other personal effects, and did his studying (Morison, 1968). In addition to the bed, there was a chest (trunk/cupboard), as well as a table and chair (Müller, 1996:345). There was also a college garden where students could go for recreation and occasionally a partitioned fellows' garden as well. Of course, no married student could stay on campus and most fellows would lose their fellowship in the event of their marriage.

In general, the housing of the students was very similar in these two institutions. While the Ottoman system of Imperial medreses shows a more systematized approach in design, with the dining area and baths common between the medreses in a separate building in the complex, the English systems were more self-contained as they developed individually rather than as a conscientious design of the university as a whole. In addition, the medrese seemed to offer the student a bit more privacy, with a private room for each, while the college assumed more of a communal design with 'bed-fellows'. In both systems, the residents were provided with meals as

well as having the lessons in the halls, both in the case of the professor/müderris and the tutor/muîd. In addition, the courtyard/quadrangle was another common feature among the classic designs.

4.6. Degrees as Preparation for Professional Practice

At Oxford, there are a series of degrees that the student will face throughout their academic careers. These include: Responsions (preliminary examinations), from the sixth to the ninth terms, General Sophist (only a formal title), after two years, Degree of B.A., after sixteen terms complete; of which only twelve are necessary in residence, Degree of M.A., twelve terms from that of B.A.; of which actual residence is required in only one (A Master of Arts becomes a regent after the act subsequent to his degree: and thus acquires the privilege of voting in convocation. This act is on the first Tuesday of July.), Degree of Bachelor in Civil Law, three years from the regency, Degree of Bachelor in Civil Law, without passing through arts, twenty-eight terms; seventeen of which must be in residence, Degree of Doctor in Civil Law, five years from B.C.L.,; shortened to four for those who intend to practice at Doctor's Commons, Degree of Bachelor in Medicine, one year from regency; doctor in medicine, three years more, Degree in Bachelor in Divinity, seven years from regency; doctor in divinity, four years more, Degrees in Music are merely honorary: but the performance of some piece of music is required by way of exercise. (McCullough, 1854:336)

In the Ottoman system, graduates of the higher medreses like the Fatih and Suleymaniye ones had many career opportunities within the Ilmiye hierarchy. If we keep in mind that the ulema were recruited from the medreses, a graduate of one of these prestigious medreses had many opportunities available to him in a society where

every detail of life fell, at least theoretically, under the umbrella of Islam as well as the concrete fact that the ilmiye class was constantly gaining more political clout. One of the most likely early positions available for a graduate was a judgeship (kadilik) of a small town. Another likely position was to become a teacher in a medrese.

As discussed previously, the Ottoman/Islamic system awarded separate degrees in the name of each individual müderris, rather than as a separate degree from an institution. In other words, a graduate of the Fatih or Suleymaniye medreses benefited more from the fame of the top teachers there than from the mere prestige of the institution. That said, the processes involved in becoming a müderris at one of these top institutions ensured that only the best and most famous müderrises taught there. This dependence upon the fame and standing of the professors along with the rising number of graduates is one of the primary reasons why the müderrislik examinations were instituted in the sixteenth century as a way of controlling the quality of the incoming ulema.

Another important feature in the Ottoman education infrastructure was the mülâzemet system. As mentioned before, the *mülâzemet* system served as an interim rank between that of a *muîd* and a full *müderris*. The Damascene biographer Muhammad al-Muhibbi (d.1111/1699) described the system as: 'This post of assistantship [*mülâzemet*] is a technical conventional one which puts its holder on the track for the professorship of law or the kadiship.' In another passage, al-Muhibbi makes reference to the fact that the *mülâzemet* post comes after that of *muîd* in the hierarchy: 'he was his *muîd* (recapitulator), then became his *mülâzem* (assistant)' (Muhammad al-Amin al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat al-Athar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar*, 1867:vol.I, 17, 189, cited by Makdisi, 1981:192-3). This in fact is one of the

important components of the *mülâzemet* system that designated certain quotas of the medrese graduates under certain members of the high office-holders of the *Ilmiye* system for training towards becoming either a judge or a professor. According to the mülâzemet registers of the sixteenth century, an average of 150-200 dânişmends (advanced students) were granted positions in the *mülâzemet*[3], a period in which they were directed to remain in Istanbul until their training was completed (İpşirli, 2001:263-4).

In the English universities, the situation was not so clear cut. In the sixteenth century, the majority of students in the universities came from the upper classes and often pursued their studies in order to prepare themselves for their future role in society by studying law, administration, and diplomacy. Their situation was quite different from the students who continued to study theology in order to join the clergy. To further confuse the point, in the early modern period, there was no formal means of promotion as a result of exams apart from the initiative of the tutors in the colleges. In fact, the only real exam consisted of a series of disputations before the degree was conferred. These topics were usually very limited and standardized such that they were easily surmounted by reviewing the topics of the preceding years even after more formal exams were instituted in the Laud Code of 1636. In reality, a degree tended to signify the end of the student portion of life and the entrance into the professional world more than a sanction of a student's ability and fitness for professional practice.

[3] For a details of a early seventeenth century example of the mülâzemet quotas, see İpşirli, Mehmet, (1983), "Osmanli İlmiye Teşkilatinda Mülâzemet Sisteminin Önemi ve Rumeli Kazaskeri Mehmet Efendi Zamanina Ait Mülâzemet Kayitlari" (Ottoman Learned Institution's Candidacy System Features and the Rumeli Chief Judge Mehmet Efendi Period Candidacy Documents) , *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştirmalari Dergisi*, 10-11, (Istanbul, 1983):221-231.

As mentioned previously, often a student's capacity was only determined after leaving the university and perhaps upon applying for employment, and then the qualities of birth, competence, and experience were more valuable than a degree. In England, the main employers for the university graduates were the Church and State, which began to develop their own entrance exams for candidates for office. These exams typically tested a person's practical knowledge as well as served to limit the number of candidates admitted to office. In fact, it was the ecclesiastical authorities who began to examine the capacity of the candidates for the religious ministry beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century (Frijhoff, 1996:371-2). However, until the end of the seventeenth century, university training was not formally required; on-the-job training was sufficient in most cases. This led to a serious decline in the number of theology degrees except for very determined scholars or as an honorary degree for professors (Frijhoff, 1996:362).

After the Reformation, the schools of canon law were outlawed in Oxford and Cambridge and moved to the Inns of Court in London. However, Roman law was still taught at the law faculties in Oxford and Cambridge. This led to an exodus of students wishing to become practicing lawyers from these universities since now the actual laws governing the country were no longer a part of the curriculum. The obvious question is what was the role of the faculty of law if it was no longer preparing students for the practice of law? The answer is that the Roman law as taught in the faculties was seen as a way of boosting the centralizing claims of the monarch while the common law often had varying conditions based on the local rules. The national judicial system of the time was mostly concerned with difficult claims and violent crimes that could not be satisfied in the manorial courts. Also, many graduates

became members of the states judicial and financial entities, where most claims involved conflicts of business and land ownership that was deemed to be violated by their neighbors or the state. Therefore, training in Roman law, which was seen as a rational and encyclopedic system, was a valuable tool for helping lawyers manage a confusing mesh of customs or give a ruling which was not found in the customary laws (Brockliss, 1996). However, as time moved on, the usefulness of Roman law was doubted and the benefits of a solid grounding in the common law and national laws became more beneficial, leading to the primacy of the Inns of Court at the expense of Oxford and Cambridge as a training ground for the young diplomats and adjudicators of England.

Therefore, we can see that the usefulness of a university degree in England was of dubious value for the majority of the early modern period. On-the-job training was of more importance for most positions and a degree was basically reserved for those graduates wishing to become professors in a faculty.

However, there was another problem common to both systems, particularly in the later part of the seventeenth century onwards: the awarding of degrees to undeserving students. At Oxford, a Master of Arts degree could be granted by decree to 'noblemen' and to 'gentlemen-commoners' who could attest to being in residence for a certain time. The regular period of studies was quite long. In the Laud Code of 1636, an Oxford master of arts required seven years, then three years for the doctorate in medicine or law and ***seven*** years for a doctorate of theology. In the Ottoman system, Taşköprülüzâde Ahmed Efendi (d. 1561) complains that the theoretical books are no longer studied and members of the ulema consider themselves well trained after only reading simple handbooks. In a later period, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali

mentions in the second half of the sixteenth century that the Ilmiye profession had been taken over by nepotism and the mülâzemet system had been corrupted. Most *müderrislik* and *kadilik* positions had been bought and there was great damage caused by the privileges granted to the Ilmiye families and their rapid rise to high positions due to special connections (İpşirli, 2001:280). Also, in England many aristocrats began to tour other countries and a system of degree-giving universities was established so that the degrees could be bought easily (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996:433).

In summation, the basis for guaranteeing the usefulness of a degree as a preparation for professional practice seems to have been more systematized in the Ottoman system, especially since the examination and training periods were well-established and respected institutions for most of the early modern period. Even the Hapsburg ambassador to Suleyman I's (1520-66) court, Ogier de Busbecq admired the Ottoman apathy towards familial ties: 'Among the Turks, therefore, honors, high posts and judgeships are the rewards of great ability and good service.'(Busbecq, 1927:155). The corruption did not really become widespread until the outset of the eighteenth century when the Ilmiye families were able to consolidate their powers to influence others. In the English system, we can observe almost the opposite in that the corruption and uselessness of the degree existed since the earlier part of the sixteenth century and was not effectively corrected until later in the eighteenth century. In addition, the trend in the Ottoman Empire was towards establishing more opportunities for Ilmiye religiously trained graduates in the government including supporting positions in the Scribal and Military branches of government while the English system served rather to restrict the usefulness of theology degrees to high

clerical positions or for professors of theology. Therefore, the Ottoman system, while not perfect, seemed to offer a more secure system of determining the usefulness of a graduate for his role in his intended profession than the majority of his English counterparts.

4.7. Careers and Social Mobility

The Ottoman Ilmiye learned institution, which included most medrese graduates and all the müderrises, always maintained a high level of respect in the empire. Seen as the legitimizing force behind his continued role as leader of the Muslim community, the Ilmiye members also received high praise and honors from the Sultan himself. By the sixteenth century, the institutions of the *Ilmiye* (Learned), *Seyfiye* (Military), and *Kalemiye* (Scribal) had become separate branches, each with its own background. The Ilmiye members were responsible for the fields of education and the judiciary (İpşirli, 2001:251). In fact, the Ilmiye itself developed a hierarchy headed by the Şeyhulislam and followed subsequently by the two chief justices, then the graded judgeships of Istanbul, Mecca, Cairo, and Damascus among other important cities. In the rank just below these came the professors (müderrises) of the important medreses, mostly in the vicinity of Istanbul. These professors would succeed to ever more prestigious professorships over time. This group represented the established religious foundation of medrese graduates of the entire Ottoman Empire (Zilfi, 1988:24). A müderris at the Semaniye or a higher medrese could become a *molla*, a senior judge earning over 300 akçes, which in turn could become *kadi* of Istanbul and then one of the kazaskers. Also, a senior kadi could go on to become the *defterdâr* in the imperial divan or even the *nişancĭ* of the divan, both top bureaucratic positions. Moreover, many ulema even became viziers as well and other positions of

high power, particularly after the increase of influence of the restructuring of the Şeyhülislâmate in the sixteenth century (Inalcik, 1997:171).

The seventeenth century was a troubled time for the Ottomans and the ulema were not excluded. The ulema were drawn into politics along with the military as a series of child rulers required their assistance in the administration of the Empire. The factions often sought the sanction of the ulema for their actions. In addition, during the later half of the sixteenth century, the ilmiye became a more aristocratic group as they gained more and more privileges throughout time.

In addition to their increasing career opportunities, the higher ranking *Ilmiye* members often enjoyed other privileges, such as extensive tax exemptions, reduced fees, and a general amnesty on severe punishments in comparison with their military counterparts, the most extreme being either dismissal or exile. Other privileges arose too; beginning with those accorded by Sultan Murad II to Molla Fenari's (d. 1431) sons and grandsons, who were appointed as *müderrises* at the 40 *akçes* level, and later extended to the other *Ilmiye* members. (İpşirli, 2001:260). During the seventeenth century, the ilmiye was still unable to choose their own successors. As Zilfi mentions, many in the *ilmiye* system were clients of the non-*ulema* elites. According to her research, in the second half of the seventeenth century, at least eleven of the office holders of the top four *Ilmiye* offices were sons of merchants, Sufi elders, and the Palace Corp of Gardeners (*Bostancı Ocağı*). In addition, in the period of 1600-1703, out of the 26 holders of the top Ilmiye position of *Şeyhulislam*, only five were the sons of former *Seyhülislâms* and accounted for 29% of the tenures that century. Moreover, four of the five were from the same family of Hoca Sadeddin (d.1599)

(Zilfi, 1988). While a significant amount nonetheless it paled in comparison to the near monopoly in the following century of the Seyhülislâmate.

Zilfi again provides some insight into this trend. In her opinion, the sudden rise of the aristocratic movement in the eighteenth century has its roots in three areas in the seventeenth century. During the 1600s, the ulema organized the rewards that they would receive as compared to meritorious rewards for individuals. Second, the ulema pushed to establish these rewards as due to any possessor of the designated ulema ranks. Lastly, the ulema helped institute the new aristocracy by almost guaranteeing these new ranks and rewards to the sons of the major ulema families (Zilfi, 1988:55).

We have already mentioned the *mülâzemet* system and the *müderrislik* examinations as two means of ensuring regularized social mobility among the Ilmiye class. In addition to new graduates being classed under the *mülâzemet* system, professional *müderrises* and judges waiting for reassignment after completion of their assigned work period also fell under the *mülâzemet* regulations. Normally, half of the typical thirty year professional life of a scholar was spent working while the other half was spent in these interim periods. Like the new graduates, the professionals were also expected to return to and remain in Istanbul until reassignment except for pressing needs otherwise. During this interim, these professionals were also expected to attend the *kazasker's* council. At the council, they would have the opportunity to work on projects and discuss with colleagues about new events in the dynamic capital of Istanbul. They would also benefit from the continuous parade of scholars returning with knowledge from all parts of the Ottoman realm and gain knowledge about the

whole nation. While of course having obvious value, the main drawback was the limited salary of the *arpalik* (interim salary) during this period (İpşirli, 2001:264).

In theory, the müderrislik exams and mülâzemet system should have been enough to guarantee the quality of the incoming Ottoman ulema and maintain the integrity of the graduates. In fact, for a long period this system helped to guarantee equality between the new graduates, whether they were from rich established Ilmiye families or humble slave origins. However, another trend that became more widespread in the later seventeenth century was for the offspring of the leading ulema (*mollâzade*) to use their family ties to insist on certain positions. While this nepotism was nothing new and offspring of the ulema had followed in the 'family career' for centuries, the late seventeenth century began the process that would culminate in the following century in the sheer prevalence of nepotism combined with many exceptions claimed as hereditary rights caused the breakdown of the system. While ostensibly being a son of a scholar should have provided a chance for intimate knowledge from a young age and access to books at a time before widespread printing, this instead became an excuse to rest on the laurels of the family heritage and often resulted in ignorant children. On top of that, many of the children of these ulema were able to evade difficult questions or checks that would normally have weeded them out as unfit candidates.

In the English system, the move towards professionalization came a bit later than in the Ottoman system. However, after the Reformation period when the Church was incorporated into the state system, the offices of the clergy became more and more intertwined with politics. In addition, from the later sixteenth century onwards for at least a century attracted large amounts of noblemen to the universities seeking

either cultural refinement or the rudiments of the knowledge required for state service. In this way, the trend was very similar to the Ottoman case in that there was a real feeling of the aristocratization of the universities. In addition to a need for more civil servants, the rise of Humanism in the universities attracted many noblemen. As a result of these new needs, the rate of noblemen and gentlemen-commoners in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge swelled to new records, as much as a quarter of the student demographic by the eighteenth century. To quote Frijhoff, "The noble did not particularly seek the function but the function created the noble" (Frijhoff, 1996:388). In addition, many of these nobles did not attain a degree and returned to their towns to continue in their secure positions.

We can observe another parallel with the Ottoman Empire in roughly the same period. Due to the large increase of students in general in the English universities in the seventeenth century as well as the increased diversity of the student backgrounds led to a large number of theology degrees being conferred at this time, perhaps due to a simultaneous increase in the number of scholarships available to these students. The Ottoman parallel is that many of the students who sought theology degrees were recruited from among a limited group of candidates of modest origins. This led to the development of a hereditary clergy with a dynasty of clerical families. Whereas in the period around 1580 only three percent of the student body were of religious clergy background, by the eighteenth century this number had swelled to over a quarter of the entire student population (Frijhoff, 1996:389) Perhaps another reason for this was the permissibility of Anglican clerics to marry, increasing the progeny of the ecclesiasticals over the period of Catholicism.

The fact that many of these new theology students came from either the lower or middle classes of a township or the wealthy farmers would send their children to university. However, many of these graduates were headed for a life in the countryside as rural pastors, often the only college educated person in the village. According to a study of the yearly average of English students in the early 1600s of about 1,280 students matriculating at Oxford, Cambridge, and the London Inns of Court, 430 were going to assume an ecclesiastical career, while 160 would pursue law and 30 would go into medicine. The remaining 660 did not use their degree immediately or did not take a degree at all (L. Stone, The Educational Revolution of England 1560-1640, 1964:41-80, cited by Frijhoff, 1996:411). It seems that many of these graduates would eventually live in a rural population. In addition, there is evidence that many of the non-elected officials in the urban administration (lawyer, secretary, etc.) were recruited from university graduates, even if their familial ties or patronage were the main cause of their office holding.

In conclusion, we can note that the two systems shared many similarities in the development of the degree as a key to a career and upward social mobility in the seventeenth century. In both the Ottoman and English worlds, changes in the state infrastructure opened new possibilities to university/medrese graduates that had not existed in the past. In both systems, there was an ever increasing demand for educated professionals to work in both religious callings as well as the new clerical and judicial areas. Also, patronage and the rise of an aristocratic elite held a prominent role in determining the future success and access to higher posts in both countries. Moreover, in both countries, the rising influence of the elites in the seventeenth century was responsible for the widespread nepotism and exclusion of others that was so

prominent in the eighteenth century. However, in terms of the legal careers of law students, we must note that in the Ottoman Empire, there continued to be only the kadi court responsible for all criminal and civil, religious as well as secular rulings, staffed by graduates of the medrese religious schools while the English system developed separate ecclesiastical courts staffed by theology majors from Oxford and Cambridge in addition to the lay courts mostly staffed by lawyers trained at the Inns of Court.

CONCLUSION

Now that some of the relevant aspects of the foundation charters, curricula, staff, and students have been discussed in detail, we can draw some conclusions about the similarities and differences between the Ottoman and English educational systems. While it is not possible to give a definite answer whether the two systems are the same or different, we can safely say that some aspects are very similar or even the same while other aspects are either different or unique to only one system due to various factors in the educational system itself or outside pressures from government or society.

In general, we can say that the Ottoman medrese system, as a representative and training ground of the Ottoman learned religious hierarchy, was more stable during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than its English counterpart due to several factors. Among these factors are: relationship of the religious scholars and class in a supporting and legitimizing role to the Sultan and Imperial government; freedom from strong destructive forces such as civil unrest or changes in responsibilities to the integrity of the Ilmiye class as a whole; and relative uniformity of the scholarly class in terms of dogma and societal roles as interpreters of the faith and implementers of the laws as well as the development of a systematic examination and promotion organization early on in the müderrislik exams and the mülâzemet system.

As an example of the difference of the relationship of the religious scholars as supporting and legitimizing the sovereignty of the ruler in the Ottoman and English systems we can look at the fact that the double deposition of Sultan Mustafa I (1617-18, 1622-23) had to be approved by the ulema the same as his choice as Sultan was

dependent upon them. Meanwhile, the turbulent rule of Henry VIII resulted in his declaration of independence from Rome, self-appointment as the new head of the Anglican Church, dissolving of the pious properties of the monasteries and acquisition of their wealth for his personal benefit, as well as the drawing up of the 39 Articles that every student and scholar must subscribe to in order to study or be ordained in England. In the Ottoman system, at least in theory, the sovereign was subservient to the rule of the ulema while in the English system the clergy were subservient to the Crown. This obviously had major effects on the choices of students to pursue religious studies as a career, the independence and status of professors in society, and the opportunities for non-conformists to the ruling sect.

An obvious example of the destructive forces changing the role of the learning institutions was the English Civil War. This war split the country into two main factions of the Anglican supporters of royal authority and the Puritan-backed supporters of Parliamentary rule, with Oxford siding with the Royalists and Cambridge with the Parliamentarians. During this time, the students non-loyal to the presiding cause of their university fled and the effective studies at the university came to a halt until after the war. Meanwhile the Ottoman medreses remained open and scholarship continued even though there were some defeats of the Ottoman forces outside of the Empire. In addition, the medrese students increased sharply as the positions for the medrese-trained ulema increased and became more lucrative.

In terms of uniformity of the scholarly class in terms of dogma, the dizzying number of sects within Protestant Christianity at that time and the subscription of some members of the religious clergy at the universities to these sects serve as a clear reminder of the fragmentation of the clergy in England at the time. While Oxford and

Cambridge had been mostly a uniform body of Catholic scholars and students at the outset of the sixteenth century, Henry VIII's introduction of the Reformation and forming of the Anglican Church to the exclusion of non-Anglicans caused a huge division of the clergy and clerical students which resulted in the exodus of Catholic and later Puritan scholars to the European continent as well as the persecution of any suspected adherents to non-Anglican views remaining at the universities and the eventual barring of them from attendance at Oxford and Cambridge after the implementation of the Act of Supremacy and Articles of Religion. However, in the Ottoman Empire, the ulema remained more or less unified in terms of dogma towards Sunni Islam and the support of the Sultan as the representative of Sunnis as well as presenting a uniform condemnation of the forces of Shiite Islam as enemies of the faith and issuing fatwas declaring Shiites as non-believers and apostates legal to execute. The main dispute of the religious scholars seemed to be in regards of followers of Sufi trends; however, even here, the majority of the medrese-trained ulema tended to represent and follow more orthodox values while it was the lower-ranked non-medrese trained religious members, such as the mosque preachers (vaizin) or callers to the prayer (muezzin), who were more supportive of the non-orthodox practices of some of the Sufi contingent.

That said, there were many similarities between the English and Ottoman education systems. Among these were the typical daily practices of the student body and lesson plans as well as the make-up of the non-academic staff of the medreses and the colleges. In both systems, the student's day began at about dawn with a common prayer followed by a lesson. In addition, the classes consisted of the teacher giving a lecture on some passages from the textbook which was copied down by the students

and then perhaps an extemporaneous explanation of the passages, or for less experienced teachers the use of a famous commentary by another scholar, followed by a quizzing of the students on their understanding of the material by the professor. Memorization of the passages was a very important part of the educational methodology and the students spent many hours daily memorizing and reviewing their lessons. The role of the tutor/muîd in assisting the students in their comprehension and memorization of the students as well as their engagement of their pupils in debates as practice were also very similar.

In respect to the variety and roles of the non-academic staff, both systems had increasingly larger numbers of hired supporting staff to assist in the institutions. Many officials were responsible for the running of the financial aspects and upkeep of the colleges and medreses. Both systems had foundation managers and secretaries responsible for the adherence to the conditions of the foundation as well as the employment of the staff. Both systems shared the role of collectors attached to the foundation sent to collect taxes and revenue from the various properties attached to the foundation. In addition, both institutions had many servants and food preparation and sanitation personnel for the running and upkeep of the kitchen and the dormitories.

While we focused on the English universities and Ottoman medreses in the sixteenth century and seventeen centuries in this research, the conditions surrounding each one developed separately in the centuries following this period. While Oxford and Cambridge entered a period of stagnation in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the advent of the Enlightenment in England along with the rise of the Industrial Revolution led to major changes and an injection of scientific and scholarly

activity into these two universities in the later half of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries that even continues until today. In addition, the strength of the English government and economy improved dramatically in this time to further reinforce the universities. The foundations of this revival have their origin in the trends and activities of the sixteenth and seventeen centuries. Meanwhile, the medreses of Fatih and Suleymaniye continued to operate until the beginning of the twentieth century but experienced many changes to the curriculum and prestige of the two institutions as the reform period of the eighteenth century resulted in a near monopoly of the Ilmiye system, both as students and müderrises, by certain learned families at the expense of many outsiders and resulted in most scholars being more concerned with the status and trappings of office than producing new scholarship and effective teaching. This was followed by the reforms of the nineteenth century calling for Westernization of the Ottoman education system with the citing of the medrese system as outdated and in need of reform and the establishment of institutions based on Western models. The weakening of the Ottoman state apparatus and the eventual technological lagging behind of the Ottoman Empire in relations to the European powers caused serious changes for the education system which were identified and attempted to reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but the end of the Empire was imminent. The medrese system came to an end under the Unified Education Code (Tevhîd-I Tedrisât Kanunu) Number 430 on March 3, 1924 before these changes could really take effect.

CRITICAL REVIEW

The comparison and contrast of these two systems hopefully produced some new contributions to the understanding of both systems. Although this is not the first time such a comparison has been made, it is hopefully the first time that these two systems during this formative period have singularly been compared in detail. While the systems would inherently seem completely different, the research identified some very close similarities between the Ottoman upper medreses and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. While many points were discussed, the constraints of time and space as well as lack of appropriate source at the time of this writing did not allow the discussion of many important points. This research focused mostly on the roles of the Arts and Theology faculties as preparation for religious clergy in the English system due to the close correspondence of these faculties with the religious training of the Ottoman medreses. Unfortunately, the faculties of Law and Medicine have been omitted due to space concerns as well as the complexity of the comparisons with the Ottoman system. In addition, the comparison of scientific developments in each system would be of particular benefit in the future. Finally, while many archives and firsthand accounts exist, they have not been implemented at this time due to my inability to understand the original Ottoman Turkish and Latin sources so common to this time period.

That said, I feel this research is of significant value as a primer to the subject and a possible point of departure for more detailed research on these topics in the future. I have generally kept to the principle of presenting each point by systematically explaining the main aspects of the individual English and Ottoman systems and then tried to draw some conclusions based on the evidence presented.

This has generally led to effectively identifying the important similarities and differences of the systems while occasionally uncovering some of the unique differences between each of the two institutions with each of the separate national systems. In the case of the English universities, this has also shown some of the uniqueness of some colleges in respect to other colleges within the same university.

I have enjoyed performing this research and have benefited greatly form the experience, especially as this topic was not always related to my past experience. However, certain questions have developed from the research which I have been unable to solve. The relationship of the individual medreses within the complex, particularly at the Fatih complex, to each other has not been firmly established as a system of linear progress from a lower level to consistently higher levels or subject groups ending at the highest medrese with the complex or were the medreses simply acting more or less in the same capacity to each other. While the grading of the medrese would tend to show that each medrese was the same and the next level of scholarship occurred when the student completed his studies there, the fact that within the Fatih complex, some teachers were making more money than others by special arrangement and naturally some teachers specialized in subjects while others were less qualified as well as the fact that a student collected his diploma (icazet) individually from his teacher and not from the institution tends to reinforce the hypothesis that each of the medreses within the complex was a grade in itself.

Another unsolved question is the exact curriculum taught at the universities and colleges in England as well as the individual medreses in the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. While sources exist stating what certain graduates had studied with their teachers as well as what recommendations were made

by educational authorities and instructors at the time, there are still no definite answers for a common curriculum at this time. It would seem from the existent sources that certain texts had to be studied according to the foundation statutes of the institution but other subjects were left to the individual discretion of the teacher. However, the general trend of the sources on the topic seems to point to a lack of a quality general curriculum and suggest personal beliefs on reforms to be made to accomplish that.

A final unanswered question is the role the fame of these institutions had on attracting scholars and what happened to the alienated scholars, particularly the scientists at this time. In addition, what was the efficacy of the curricula as training for the graduates if they decided to pursue degrees not related to their subjects, particularly those not related to religion? I hope that these questions can be answered in more detailed research into these topics in the future.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY

Ottoman Turkish Terms

This glossary is based on the meanings of the New Redhouse Turkish/English Lexicon first edition 1968 (Istanbul: Redhouse Press).

Cabi – Collector of the revenue of a religious foundation.

Dânişmend – 1) learned man, learned in the law. 2) assistant functionary in a court.

Medrese – Muslim theological school; high school; college of a university.

Muîd – Tutor; supervisor (in a school).

Müderris – 1) university professor. 2) a grade in the hierarchy of the Ulema

Mülâzemet – A serving as an unpaid beginner in an official post, noviate

Nazır – Superintendent.

Şeyhülislâm – dignitary responsible for all religious matters connected with canon law, religious schools, etc., and coming next to the Grand Vizier in precedence.

Ulema – doctors of Muslim theology, ulema.

English Technical Terms

This glossary is based on the Webster's Twentieth-Century Dictionary 1940 (New York: Publisher's Guild Inc.) as well as the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language third Edition 1992 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin).

Assize – 1) A statute of regulation; an ordinance regulating the weight, measure, and price of articles sold in market; and hence the word came to signify the weight, measure, or price itself; as the assize of bread. 2) An ordinance fixing the standard of weights and measures; and, therefore, the standard weights and measures themselves; as, the custody of the assize.

Beadle (M,E, bedel) – 1) An officer in a university whose chief business is to walk with a mace in public processions. 2) A parish officer whose business is to punish petty offenders; a church officer with various subordinate duties, as waiting on the clergymen, keeping order in church, attending meetings of vestry or session, etc.

Bever – A collation or small repast between meals, snack.

College – A self-governing society of scholars for study or instruction, incorporated within a university.

Commoner – A student of the second rank in the University of Oxford (corresponding to a pensioner at Cambridge), who is not dependent on the foundation for support, but pays for his board or commons, together with all other charges,

Commons – Foods provided at a common table, as in colleges, where many persons eat at the same table or in the same hall; food or fare in general.

Pensioner - A student of the second rank in the University of Cambridge (corresponding to a commoner at Cambridge), who is not dependent on the foundation for support, but pays for his board or commons, together with all other charges,

Sizar – In the University of Cambridge, a student who, being of limited means, is pecuniarily assisted from the funds of the college to which he is attached, generally getting commons free also.

Surplice – A white garment worn by the clergy of the Anglican and Roman Catholic clergy over the cassock or gown during the performances of religious services; also worn by choristers in various churches.

Syndic – In law, one chosen to transact business for others; an assignee or an advocate; also the representative of a corporation, often chosen to manage properties.

APPENDIX B: DATA TABLES

Oxford University Colleges before 1700	
College Name	**Year Founded**
Balliol	1261-6
University College	c. 1280
Merton College	1263-4
Exeter College	1314-16
Oriel College	1326
Queen's College	1340
New College	1379
Lincoln College	1427
All Soul's College	1438
Magdalen College	1458
Brasenose College	1509
Corpus Christi College	1517
Christ Church College	1525, 1546
St. John's College	1555
Trinity College	1555
Jesus College	1571
Wadham College	1612
Pembroke College	1624

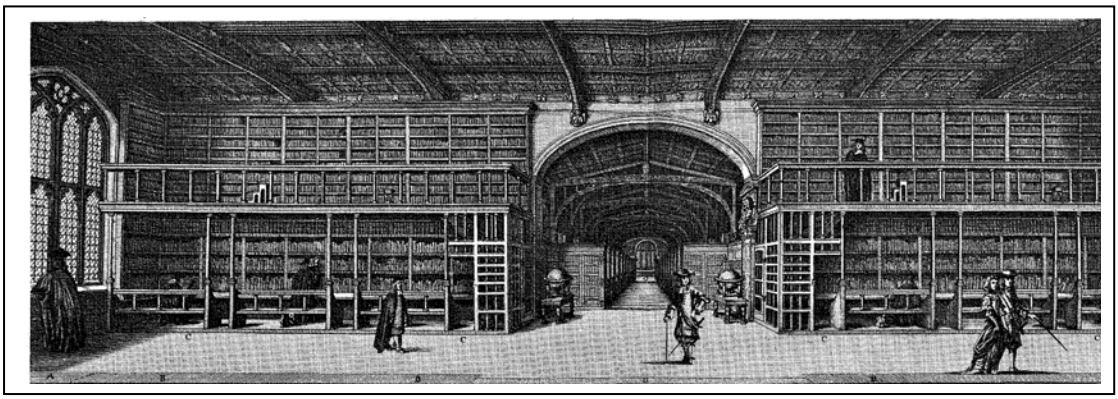
Cambridge University Colleges before 1700	
College Name	**Year Founded**
Peterhouse	1284
Clare College	1326
Pembroke College	1347
Gonville and Caius College	1348
Trinity Hall	1350
Corpus Christi College	1352
King's College	1441
Queen's College	1448
St. Catherine's College	1473
Jesus College	1496
Christ's College	1505
St. John's College	1511
Magdalene College	1542
Trinity College	1546
Emmanuel College	1584
Sidney Sussex College	1596

The Curriculum mentioned in the poem ***Manzumat Tertib Ulum*** by Ishak b. Hasan al-Tokadi (d. 1100/1688)	
Lessons	**Books**
Tecvid	Satibi, Durr-I yetim
Kelam	Savali, Fikih-Ekber, Makasid, Serh-I Mevakif
Tasavvuf	No title mentioned
Ahlak	
Usul-I Hadis	Serh-I Nuhbe
Tefsir	Tefsir- Kadi, Huseyn-I Va'iz, Medarik
Tip Ilmi	
Lugat ve Tarih	
Sarf	No title mentioned
Nahiv	Hind, 'Isam, Cami, Mugni'I Lebib
Mantik	Tehzibul'l-Mantik ve'l-Kelam
Adab	No title mentioned
Fikih	Kuduri, Kenz,Muhtar, Vikaye, Esbah, Hidaye, Mahzen, Multeka'l-Ebhur, Kuhistani, Keydani, Durer, Sadr-I Seria, Nihaye, 'Inaye, Serh-I Ekmel, Mufassal, Durretu'l-Hakk
Me'ani	Hasa-I, Mutavvel, Muhtasar
Hisab	Hulasa
Hendese	Eskat'u't-Tesis
Ilahi ve Tabii Hikmet Hey'et	Isarat, Sifa, Hikmetu'l-Ayn
Usturlab, Zic, Takvim, Rub'	El-Fethiyye/Risale der 'Ilm-I Hey'e, hasiye 'ala Risaleder 'ilm-I Hey'e; Serhu'l Mulahhas fi'l Hey'e; Hasiye 'ala Serhi'l Mulahhas fi'l-Hey'e
Muretteb Olmayan Dersler	Tib: Tibb-I Nebevi; Tesavvuf ve ahlak; Birgili Risalesi, Tarikat-I Muhammadiyye; Lugat ve Tevarih: Kamus, Halimi; Remel; Kimya; Aruz; Mu'amma; Haşş; Karzu's-Şi'r; Inşa; Eş'ar

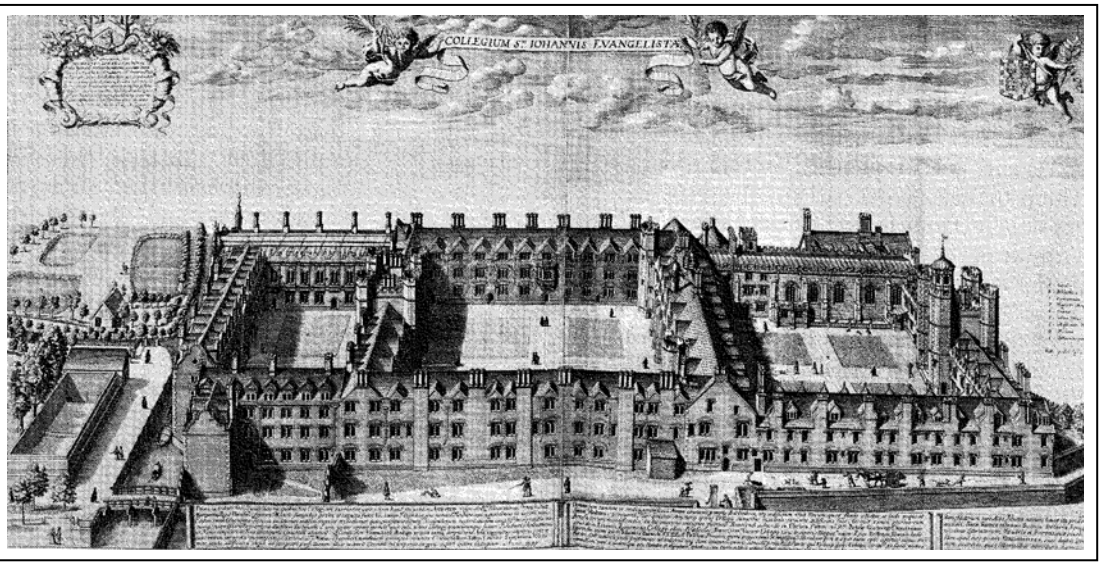
Adapted from: Özyilmaz, Ömer (2002), Osmanli Medreselerin Eğitim Programlari (Education Programs in Ottoman Colleges), Ankara: Kültür Bakanliği.

Medrasa Hierarchy after 1731 (Diploma-holding Professors)	
Grade	***Constituent Medreses***
Dârülhadis-i Suleymaniye	Suleymaniye's Dârülhadis only
Suleymaniye	Four Suleymaniye medreses only
Hamis-I Suleymaniye	Various
Musile -I Suleymaniye	Various
Hareket-I Altmisli	Various
Ibtida-I Altmisli	Various
Sahn-I Seman	Eight Fatih medreses only
Musile -I Sahn	Various
Hareket-I Dahil	Various
Ibtida-I Dahil	Various
Hareket-I Haric	Various
Reprinted from Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p.25	

APPENDIX C: IMAGES

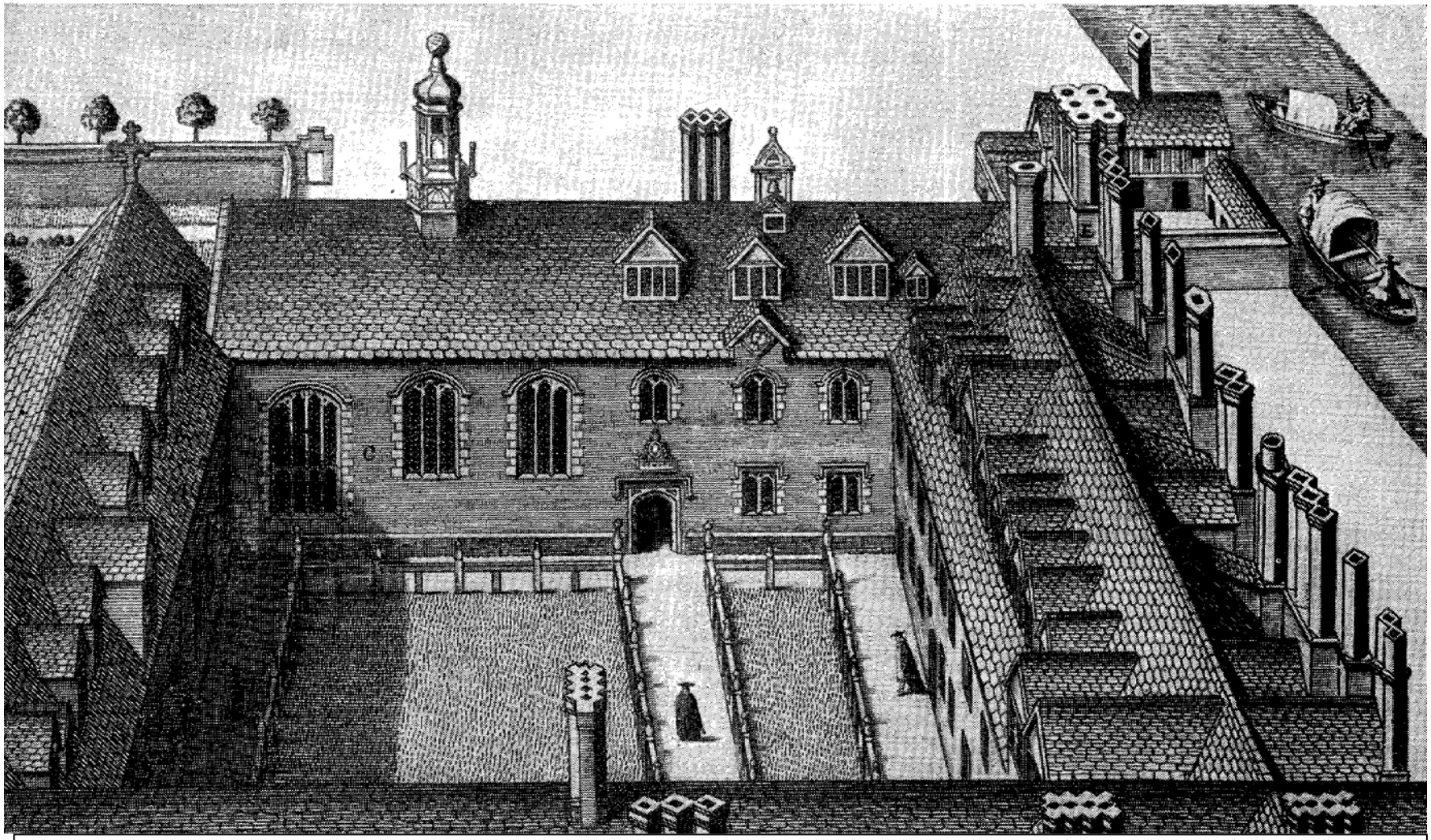


Oxford in the 17th Century
(top) Interior of the Divinity School
(bottom) Interior of the Bodleian Library
Engravings from D. Loggan *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675

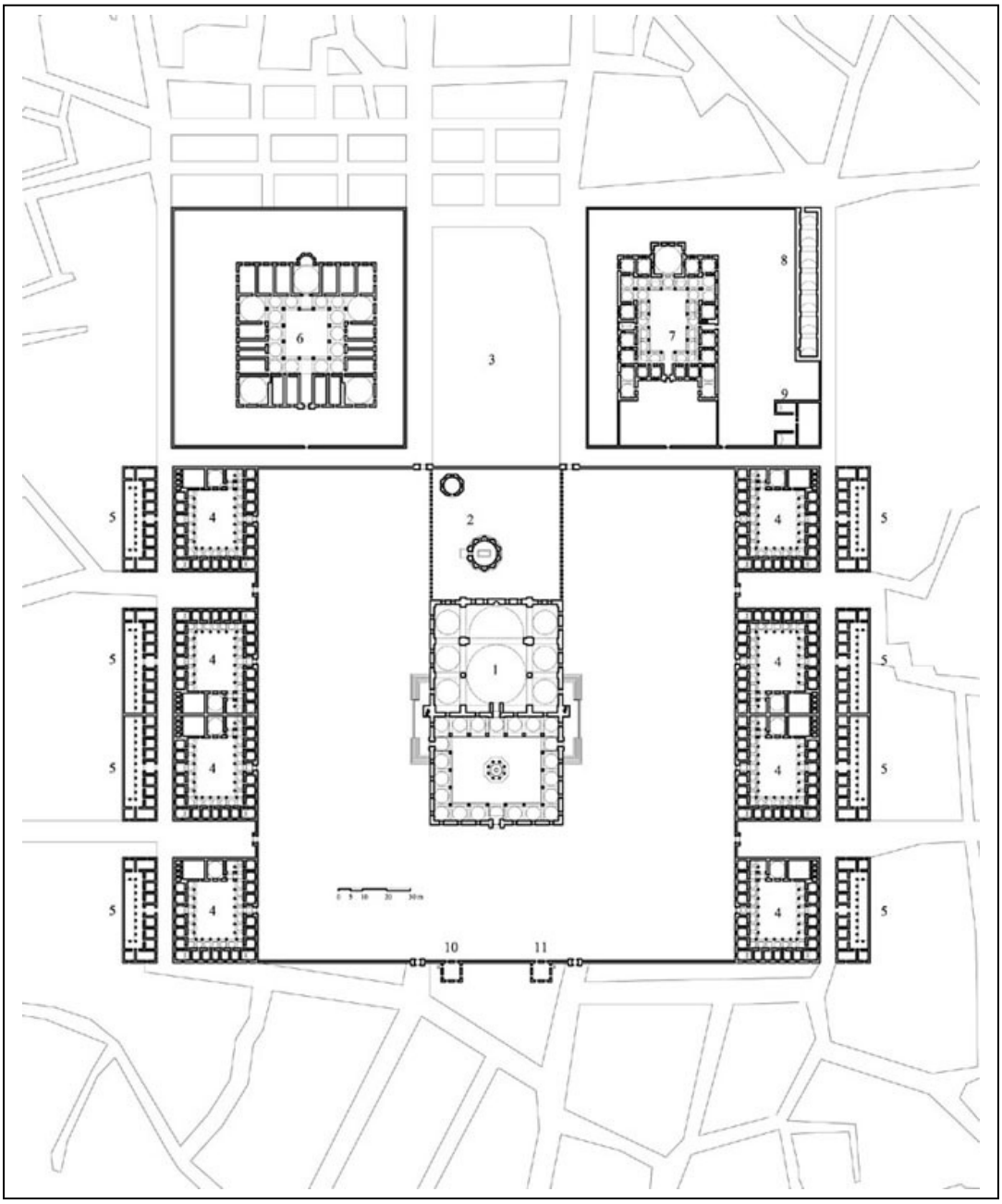


Cambridge in the 17th Century
(top) St. John's College
(bottom, left to right) undergraduate, doctor of laws, master of arts
Engravings from D. Loggan *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, 1670

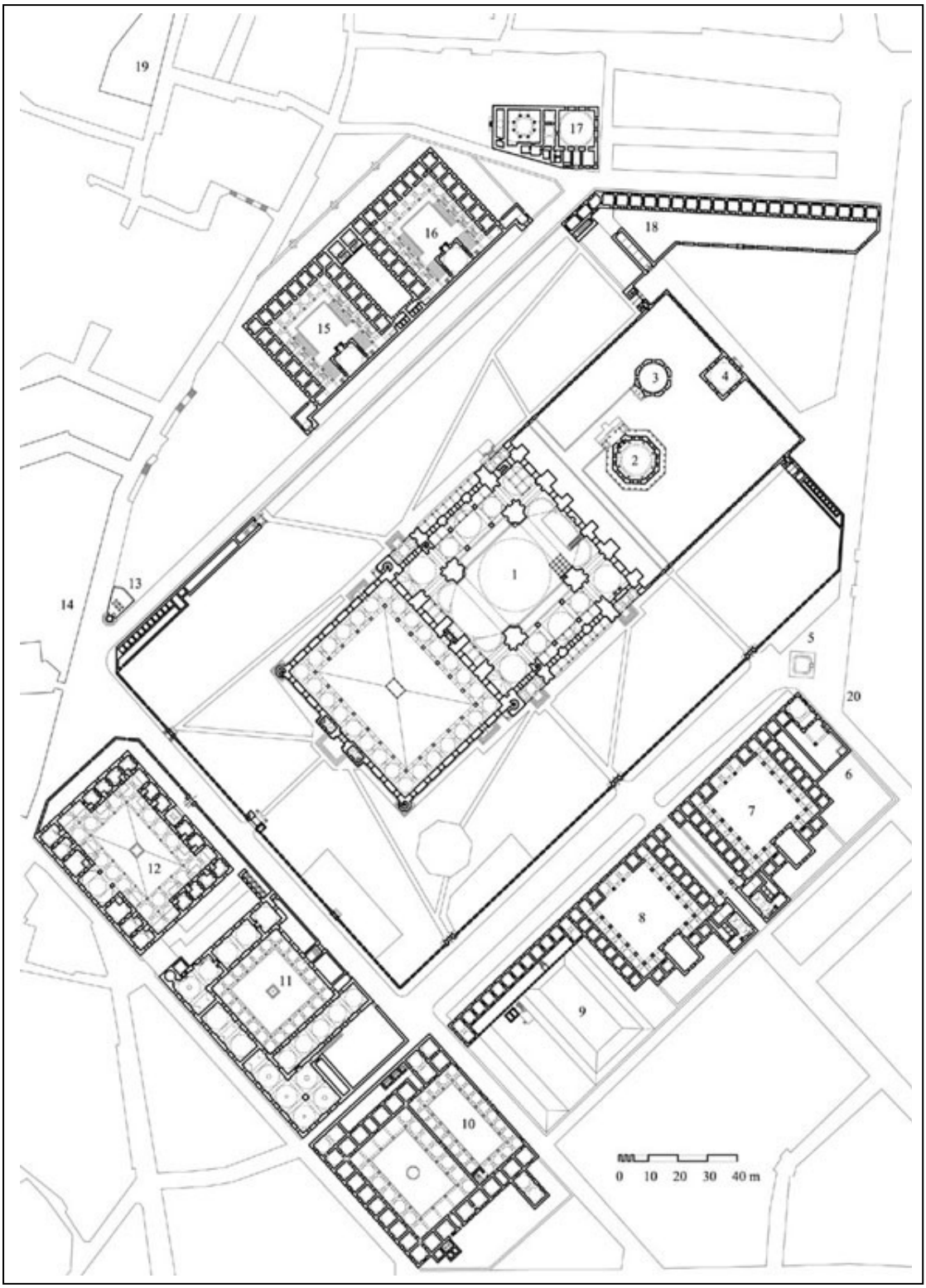
An Oxford undergraduate disputing in the schools in June 1617.
Reproduced from Samuel Elliot Morison (1968), *The Founding of Harvard College*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.



Quadrangle of Magdalene College, Cambridge @ c.1600.
In the center, entrance to the through passage; to the left, the hall; to the right, the Kitchen and the Butteries.
Reproduced from Samuel Elliot Morison (1968), *The Founding of Harvard College*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.



The Fatih Medrese Complex (Istanbul)
The buildings numbered (4) are the eight *Sahn* medreses and (5) are the *Tetimme*
Plan from Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi(1973), *Osmanli Mimarsinde Fatih Devri (855-886/1451-1481)*, vol. III., Istanbul.



The Suleymaniye Medrese Complex (Istanbul)
Plan from Wolfgang Müller-Weiner (1977), *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen.

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