A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE HIJAZ
DURING THE PERIODS OF OTTOMAN AND
SHARIFIAN RULE BETWEEN 1869-1925

Being a thesis presented by

ABDULLATIF ABDULLAH DOHAISH

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This dissertation has never been submitted
to this or any other University
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"It is with the greatest difficulty that one obtains concrete information concerning educational activities in the past; especially any connected and tolerably complete account of the details of school life". This statement by Paul Monroe applies with special force to the history of education in Middle Eastern countries, such as the Hijaz, which came only late and partially into contact with the West and were thus little affected by that propensity to amass exact information which western contacts were apt to give rise to. There are indeed some works e.g. by A.S.Tritton, H.Gibb, H.Bowen and a few others, on the history of education in the Middle East in general, and on Egypt and certain other countries good studies have been carried out by several writers, amongst them A.Shalaby, J.Heyworth-Dunne, A.Sämi and A.L. Tibawi. However, in the case of the Hijaz, an inaccessible area at most periods, most books concentrate on political and military activities and pay little attention to social or educational matters. The concept of education and its history in the Hijaz

2 Material on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages, London, 1957.
4 History of Muslim Education, Beirut, 1954.
6 Tārīkh al-Ta'lim fī Mīrā, Cairo, 1917.
has to my knowledge never yet been treated comprehensively and on the basis of research relating to the state of affairs before the Saudi Arabian period; and a perusal of the voluminous works of a merely general character enables one to discover little or nothing that is relevant to this subject.

A study of the history of education in the Hijaz during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in particular has thus to be undertaken completely afresh from the sources, insofar as these are available. The very limited degree to which any official documentation of education in the Hijaz survives, or indeed has ever existed, creates a first major difficulty; the situation is therefore very different from the one which would confront a researcher dealing with a country where systematic records have been kept over a considerable period of time, such as Egypt in the Middle East not to mention a European country.

For the Turkish educational system in the Hijaz evidence would naturally be sought first of all in the Turkish Archives in Istanbul. Special permission however (which can and does take considerable time to be forthcoming) has always to be sought to use these; and, even so, a good knowledge of Ottoman Turkish and its script is needed to use what documentation may be made available. In spite of two resolute attempts, I did not succeed in obtaining access to these sources during the time when this thesis was being prepared, and it had thus to be based on what ever other information could be gleaned from other directions.

With regard first of all to Turkish official publications from the period here concerned, and dealing with education these
are likewise few though something can be gleaned from the Hijaz Villayyet Salnamah. Of this several volumes are preserved in the following libraries. The Middle East Centre, Oxford, the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Cambridge University Library and Shaikh Muḥammad Naṣīf Library in Jeddah, and reference has been made to them where relevant. Otherwise, however, recourse has had to be had to standard Turkish books on education, such as: Ergin, O. Maarif Tarihi, 3 vols, Istanbul: 1940-1; Yocel, H.A. Türkiyede Örta Öğretim, Devlet Busimevi, Istanbul: 1938; Sadrettin Celal Antel, Tanzimat Maarifi, Istanbul: 1940.

In the Hijaz, unhappily, no systematic archives were kept during the period of the Empire, and little, and even then at the best sporadic, information has survived. In Mecca there was a documentary centre (Maktab al-Wاثā'iq wa ʿl-Maḥfūzāt), but the few surviving files of this office were recently transferred to Riyadh and a recent enquiry has yielded nothing relevant to education among them. The Supreme Court in Mecca possesses a large collection of documents and records, which have been here consulted, and to which reference has been made, especially documents relating to the deeds of buildings (Awqāf) endowed for the purpose of schools. There are moreover files on education in the archives of the Ministry of Education in Riyadh, some of which by a happy chance, go back to Sharifian times. By kind permission of the authorities in the Ministry of Education, I have been enabled to make use of the information contained in documents there, and part of the present work is based on this. Other centres of documentation, which to a limited extent bear on our subject, exist in the Haram Libraries of Mecca and Medina, the Library of Makka
and the Ārif Hikmat library in Medina, besides the Library of the Arab American Company in Dharan. The University Libraries in Riyadh and Jeddah have kindly allowed examination of the collections in their possession. The materials contained in them furnish much documentary evidence, especially in manuscript form (such as diplomas (Ijāzas and Shahādahs) granted to students, which themselves contain valuable information regarding subjects taught, etc.).

Visits to certain private libraries have occasionally proved fruitful. In particular it has been possible to obtain from the Shaikh Muḥammad Naṣīf Library in Jeddah a photostat copy of the teaching syllabus of the Ḥaram in Mecca during the period 1913-1925. This library has now been acquired by King Abdul-Aziz University in Jeddah. A visit was also made to the Shaikh Ibrāhīm Ghazawi Library, and documents and newspapers have been consulted. Useful material, including diplomas and other documents, were consulted in the Šaulatīyyah School Library. Smallar collections in Mecca and Medina (Dr. Sulṭān Zamzamī, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Khūzāmī and Shaikh Aḥmad Abdul-Ghafūr 'Aṭār collections) were likewise consulted; in particular, again, I was kindly given, from the collection of Dr. Sulṭān Zamzamī, a copy of the Sharifian Schools' Syllabus. It may in general be said that the kind of documentation available in these libraries comprises individual items, such as school curricula, syllabuses, school leaving certificates, and occasional copies of government publications.

In addition to these local primary sources, there are two further outside sources of information of some importance. First, the reports sent by British consuls in Jeddah during the
years 1879-1925 contained, from time to time, despatches touching on, among other things, educational matters in the Hijaz. These careful and well informed reports from well placed observers, though few, are of absorbing interest, and these documents, now kept in the Public Record Office in London (ref., Nos. F.O. 195 and 78), have here been fully consulted. Unofficial documents, such as these British Consular reports, may sometimes be superior to official records, on account of the intelligent and unprejudiced observations made by these well trained and shrewd observers. Similarly, reports by former pupils or teachers in the Hijazi schools are sometimes of capital value as sources of detailed information. Secondly, there are the accounts contained in books or articles written by foreign visitors to the Hijaz: Ali Bey al-Abbāsī (who visited the Hijaz in 1807), Burckhardt, J.L. (1814), R.Burton, (1853), J.F.Keane, (1877), C.Snouck-Hurgronje, (1880), S.M.Zwemer, (1890), A.J.B.Wavell, (1908), E.Gobèe, (1917) and an anonymous Indian writer (1920). These contain between them some useful information and impressions, though they do not and cannot, of course, amount to a systematic body of data.

Another source, still available, but to a rapidly diminishing extent, is the oral testimony of the still surviving teachers and headmasters from the Ottoman and Sharifian periods. These gentlemen were accordingly systematically contacted as far as possible, and questioned. The replies elicited from them form a substantial part of the evidence on which this thesis is based, and some excerpts are presented among the appendices. Many of the transcripts of these oral accounts
are now preserved in the files of the Ministry of Education Office of Educational Documents in Riyadh.

A further source of some significance, particularly where the texts of otherwise lost Government announcements and the several public attitudes to education in the Hijaz are concerned, is the contemporary press. The following journals were therefore closely and methodically studied: Hijāz (Mecca, 1908-1915), Shams al-Ḥaqīqah (Mecca, 1909), Al-Ḥijāz (Medina, 1916-1917), Al-Qiblah (Mecca, 1916-1924), Al-Falāḥ (Mecca, 1920-1924), Majallat Madrasat Jarwal al-Zirāʾīyyah (Mecca, 1920), Barīd al-Ḥijāz (Mecca, 1924-1925). Copies of these journals are now extremely rare. The following institutions have preserved some of them: the Library of the Haram, the Library of Makka, the Library of Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Ghazāwī (all in Mecca), the Library of Shaikh Abdul-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī, the Library of Shaikh Muḥammad Naṣīf (both in Jeddah), the Library of Riyadh University, the Library of the Institution of Public Administration (both in Riyadh) and the Library of the Arabian-American Oil Company (in Dhahran). Other copies can sometimes be found outside Saudi Arabia, particularly in the Library of Leiden University in Holland, which possesses numbers 126 to 132 and 148 to 151 of the newspaper "Hijāz". The University of California in Los Angeles also has in its possession some of these newspapers. The Ḥakī Tāriq Library in Istanbul, again holds some of the above, while the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London possesses copies of "al-Qiblah" from Year 1 (43) to year 4 (301), covering A.H. 1335-37 (1917-1919 A.D.) and The Bodleian Library, Oxford, has the following numbers of al-Qiblah: Year 1, Nos. 48-57,
year 1 No. 9, and 823 (microfilm). In addition to these, articles from a number of Saudi journals have been consulted, and these are listed individually under the names of their authors in the Bibliography. School textbooks, be it noted have not been entered in the Bibliography, but are listed under the individual school curricula, where they are discussed in appropriate cases.

Finally, the memoirs of persons who lived in the Hijaz during our period (1800-1925) should be no means be overlooked or neglected: the Late King Abdullah of Transjordan (Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan, London: 1951); Naṣīf M.H. "Ba'd Dhikraṭī Qabl Rub' Qarn", Al-Manhal, May, 1950; Naqshabandī, A. "Min Dhākarāṭī Qabl Nuṣf Qarn", Al-Manhal, October: 1962. Similarly, certain works, dealing with the history and culture of the Hijaz during the time with which the present study is concerned, are valuable for the facts or comments they contain. Among those of particular interest are: Sībā‘Ī, Āḥmad, Ťārīkh Makka, 2 vols., Mecca, 1962; Ḥāfīz, A. Fusūl Min Tārīkh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah, Jeddah, n.d.; al-Anṣārī, A. Tārīkh Madīnat Jaddah, Jeddah, 1963.

In addition to the foregoing primary sources, certain secondary sources have been consulted and are listed in the bibliography. Here and elsewhere, as regards the spelling of Arabic words, we have, as far as possible, generally followed the transcription used in the Cambridge History of Islam, edited by P.M. Holt, Ann K.S.Lambton and Bernard Lewis (2 vols, University Press, Cambridge: 1970), except in the case of direct quotation from various sources and of proper names such as Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, Taif, Hijaz, Riyadh and Dhahran.
I should like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to my supervisor Dr. B. S. J. Isserlin, Head of the Department of Semitic Studies, for the help which he extended to me during the preparation of this thesis, as well as his encouragement. I am also indebted to Dr. M. J. L. Young, of the Department of Semitic Studies, Leeds University, for his help with a number of references and other valuable suggestions. I should also like to acknowledge the valuable advice and suggestions given by Dr. W. B. Stephens of the Department of Education University of Leeds; his advice on the proper treatment of the history of education in general has proved invaluable. In Oxford, Mr. A. Hourani generously gave my work the benefit of his advice and criticism; I wish to thank him in particular for helping me with matters connected with the general cultural development in the Near East. In London, Dr. A. L. Tibawi was good enough to see me and to discuss my work with me.

I should also like to record my thanks to the Public Record Office, the British Library, the Directors and Staff of the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds, the Director and staff of the Library of the Department of Education, the Bodleian Library, the Oriental Institute and the Middle East Centre of Oxford University, Mr. P. B. Morgan, Assistant Library Officer of Cambridge University, the Oriental Section of Durham University and the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyyah in Cairo.

My thanks are also due to the Ministry of Education and the King Abdul-Aziz University in Saudi Arabia for their help and encouragement and for providing me with a scholarship, and the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau in London for their
help and support.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the Librarians and Staff at the Library of the Haram and the Library of Makkah, in Mecca; the ‘Ārif Hikmat Library in Medina, the Librarian and Staff of the Libraries of King Abdul-Aziz University and Riyadh University, the Directors and Staff of the Manuscript Library of Riyadh University; the Office of Educational Documents of the Ministry of Education in Riyadh; the present Directors of the surviving Private Schools, who allowed me to examine their records; the Library of the Institute of Public Administration in Riyadh.

Finally, I should like to record my thanks to the following, for assistance of various kinds: Dr. Abdullah al-Wihabi, Dr. Muhammad al-Shamikh, both of Riyadh University, Dr. Rashid Rajih al-Sharif, the Dean of the Faculty of Shari'a and Islamic Studies in Mecca, Dr. Sultan Zamzami, Muhammad Ahmad Hilmi, Othman Hafiz, Ishaq ‘Azwz, Ibrahîm Khuzami, Muhammad Abdul-Rahîm Sadiqi, Aḥmad Sibā‘î, Abdul-Ghafîr Atţâr, Muṣṭafā al-Jawâdî, Aḥmad ‘Alî al-Kâzîmî and all others who gave assistance in the course of preparation of this thesis.
INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis, then, is the history of education in the Hijaz during the later Turkish and the Sharifian periods (1869-1925). But in order to understand aright the processes which led to the growth of education in the Hijaz, its development, and the problems which it faced, a preliminary survey of the country as it then was is unquestionably required.

The Hijaz extends along the Red Sea coast from the head of the Gulf of Akaba (29° 30 N.) to the south of Taif (20° N). It is bounded to the North by Greater Syria, to the Eastern side by the Nafud desert and Najd and to the South by Asir. Its length is about 750 miles and its greatest breadth from the Harra east of Khaibar to the coast is 200 miles. The name Hijaz (which signifies "separating"), as applied to the whole province, is strictly speaking a misnomer, since the country customarily included under this name is composed of the Hijaz proper, or the highlands, and Tihama, or the lowlands (i.e. coastal district), but most authorities, both Arab and European, define it in this wider sense. Physically the most desolate and uninviting province of Arabia, apart from the Rub' al-Khali, its only true importance is a religious one, as it contains the two sacred cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina, which are visited yearly by very large numbers of Muslim pilgrims from all parts of the world.

Medina (in the north) and Mecca (in the south), along with Yambu and Rabigh, the seaports of Medina, and Jeddah the sea port of Mecca, are the most notable places; while Taif, the
summer resort of the Hijaz, owes its present importance to its high elevation and the consequent coolness of its climate. This has made it a resort for well-to-do Arabs, the Government authorities and their staffs during the summer months.

Communications within the country, during the period here under study (i.e. the latter part of the 19th and the early part of the 20th century), were very poor, consisting mainly of the primitive roads used by pilgrims entering from the north or from Jeddah. Not only so, but harbours connecting the country with other lands, except for Jeddah and Yanbu, were insignificant. As regards the economy, agriculture, except at the limited number of oases (like those of Medina, or those in the vicinity of Mecca, such as Wadi Fatimah, or in the Taif region) was quite unimportant. Industry hardly existed, except for the basic crafts practised in the towns, and, for all practical purposes, the main source of income was the pilgrim trade, apart from some Turkish and other foreign subsidies.

Only at Mecca, Medina and Jeddah, where there were noble families (the Sharifians) and rich merchants, could one properly talk of a middle or upper class, among whom interests of an intellectual or cultural kind existed. These were preponderantly influenced by the decisive and all prevailing authority of these cities in the religious life of Islam, as well as the pressing need to defend and preserve their religious establishments, the Haramain, and the traditions cultivated there, with all that this might entail for good or ill. Illiteracy was general, and a knowledge of reading and writing was closely confined to the small classes of persons mentioned above, together with the 'Ulama and the various religious functionaries of the region.
An appreciation of the general situation briefly outlined above—poverty, lack of development, poor internal communications, the massive influx of pilgrims, which led to the establishment of colonies of foreign residents (particularly Indians and Indonesians)—is of course of fundamental importance when we wish to examine the growth of education in the country throughout our period.

We must also not forget that the Hijaz was not one of those provinces of the Turkish Empire which were shown official favour, or given the services of the best officials. It was always regarded as being undesirable as a place of residence, and was thus apt to be used as a convenient place of virtual exile for those functionaries who were not in favour at home. This policy tended to foster a lack of intelligent effort on the part of the bureaucracy in the Hijaz.

The historical background is likewise essential to our subject. The Hijaz became, as a result of the conquest of Egypt in 1517, a dependency of the Ottoman Empire. However, beyond assuming the title of Caliph, neither Salim I nor most of his successors interfered very much in the affairs of the country, which was in fact pretty effectively under the control of the Sharif of Mecca. In the late 18th century the country had passed temporarily under the control of the first Saudi rulers. In 1811 Muhammad 'Ali, the viceroy of Egypt, was therefore entrusted by the Sultan with the task of firmly re-establishing order in the Hijaz. He spent about three years (1811-1813) in fighting not only in the Hijaz but also in other parts of Arabia; and in consequence the Ottoman Government allowed the Hijaz to remain substantially under his control.
for about twenty years (1813-1833). From 1833 to 1845 Muhammad 'Ali ruled the Hijaz directly.

In 1845 the Hijazi administration, except for some coastal towns in the north, was taken over directly by Istanbul, and it was at the same time constituted as a Vilayat under a Vali, or governor-general. Ottoman power was, however, then and later, to some extent counter balanced by the influence of the Sharif of Mecca, who at times was even the effective ruler of the country. Generally speaking, the Hijaz shared with the rest of the Empire in the introduction of reforms on Western lines, and she was further exposed, after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, to increasing outside contacts by sea. Later on, the opening of the Hijaz railway (1908) facilitated further fruitful contacts with the north. Nevertheless, most of the foreign visitors continued to be pilgrims (mostly from India and Indonesia), who did much to influence cultural development. A movement leading towards closer ties and closer integration with the rest of the Turkish Empire was envisaged by the Young Turks after the successful Revolution of 1908: this was clearly meant to involve both further modernisation and also Turkification. World War I however was shortly to bring any such projects to a standstill. The Sharifian power superseded the Ottoman in 1916 and the Hijaz became for some years (1916-1925) an independent Arab state.

Two basic points bearing on the subject of this thesis require discussion at this point: firstly, the question of the size of the population which immediately or eventually might be given schooling and which comprised very varied elements with very different educational needs; and secondly, the
question of the expectations and desires (if any) of the local people regarding the form and content of such education, and of their success in making their wishes felt. The debates as to traditional as against modern schooling, and as to State versus Private Schools, have all to be seen against this general back-ground, and the subsequent achievements and failures have in all fairness to be measured by it.

Various (estimated) figures for the population of the Hijaz are available from the year 1853 to 1925. These estimates differ considerably, and to a large extent they are based in fact on the guess-work of observers possessed of very varying amounts of information and critical judgement. One of their main limitations is that they confined their studies essentially to the major cities, particularly Mecca and Medina, both of which cities were possessed of a floating population. When we consult their sources we find only slight evidence that documents were really consulted, and certainly no house-to-house census was even attempted.

We propose, then, to deal with the question of population in three sections: firstly, the population of the Hijaz as a whole, secondly, that of the main towns, and lastly, the floating population, consisting as it did of groups of foreigners who for various reasons had taken up residence in the country. The statistics are discussed chronologically. The earliest set of statistics which it has been possible to obtain concerning the whole of the Hijaz is given in the Hijaz Villayyet Salnamah of the year A.H. 1306 (1888-1889), in which it is recorded that the estimated population of the Hijaz is 2,500,000,\(^1\) which is most certainly an exageration.

\(^1\) pp. 90 and 135.
A generation later, the Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1910 estimated that "the population of the Hijaz was three hundred thousand, about half of which were inhabitants of the towns, and the remainder were Bedouins".¹ The last set of statistics which are relevant to our period of study and concern the whole of the Hijaz are given by Rutter, who visited the Hijaz in 1925; he states, "The population of the Hijaz is probably less than a million souls. The people are divided into two classes: townsmen and Bedouins".²

Some writers in giving the population figures for the whole of the Hijaz, try to estimate also the population figures for the main towns. The following is a selection of some of these estimates:

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<tr>
<td>Burton (1853)</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>16,000-</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>6,000-</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādiq (1885)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>(800 houses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Report (1903)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴ Which he think is too low.
⁵ Dalīl al-Ḥajj, Cairo: 1896 (A.H. 1313), pp.
Discrepancies between the figures may be due to some extent to the floating population, which of course included many pilgrims.

A few writers give more detailed descriptions of the population of some towns, amongst whom is al-Batnūnī, who in 1910 categorized the population of Mecca into the following groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natives</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijazi, Yemenis, Hadaramis</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukhariots</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javanese</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghans</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrians</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moroccans</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various Nationalities</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including Turks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In commenting on the population of Medina, which he visited during the same year he stated that "a large number of the inhabitants were from India, Turkey, Syria, Morocco and Egypt", and again in speaking of Jeddah, he claimed that "there were 50,000 inhabitants, of whom 10,000 were from various Muslim countries, such as India, Persia, Hadramut and of central Asian origin. There were about one hundred non-Muslim foreigners, most of whom were Armenians".

As we have seen, the conjectural figures for the whole population of the Hijaz vary between a minimum estimate of 300,000 and a maximum of 2,500,000. Taking all the pertinent factors into account, perhaps a figure of 300,000 to 600,000 may be near the mark, but no evidence exists for the age structure of the community. With all due caution, we may perhaps say that, if the population was anything like that of contemporary Europe in its composition, then perhaps about a sixth of the population may have been children between five and fifteen years of age, possibly an higher proportion. In Great Britain, the official Census for England and Wales in 1861 lists, out of a population of 20,066,224, 2,344,066 children between five and ten, and 2,105,176 children aged ten to fifteen - more than one fifth of the total population; in Arabia a higher infant mortality may well have reduced the proportion of children to the figure we suggest. In Egypt in 1897, one seventh, and in 1915 not quite one fifth of the population was of school age: see below, pp. 140 and 142.

1 Al-Rihlah al-Hijaziyyah, p. 259.
2 However, see also Rif'at, (Rif'at al-Haramain, vol. I, p. 23) who estimate its population at half this figure.
3 Al-Batnuni, op. cit., p. 9.
4 British Parliamentary Papers, (Census, 1861) p. xii.
Children of school age in the Hijaz would include those born to parents forming part of the Turkish ruling class - a small minority, but especially apt to attract the attention and resources of the State as well as those belonging to the local Arab population, (and, to a marginal extent those born to the foreign residents who had come as pilgrims or traders to Mecca and Medina). The Arabic speaking children can be broadly divided into three categories:

1. The children of the large towns, such as Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, Yanbu and Taif, (figures for this category can be estimated from population figures given above, if we except the children of pilgrims who spent a protracted stay in the Hijaz).

2. The children of the small country towns, such as Wajh and Lith and the villages, for which figures are only rarely available.

3. The children of the Bedouin, for whom educational plans were made by the Turkish Government, but which however were never put into effect. The Sharifian Government evinced no interest in the education of the Bedouin.

Comparisons between the broad estimates of the school age population given above and the actual numbers of children falling within the preceding three categories are the subject of detailed discussion in the appropriate places.

Our second basic point bearing on the subject of this thesis is the "intellectual climate" in the Hijaz at the time in question. Education development in such a country may take place in two ways: it may either be enforced by the Government, or it may be envolved from the special needs of
the people. In the Hijaz modern schools were first imposed by the Ottoman Government in the late nineteenth century, the first school being opened in Jeddah in 1874. Up to this point education was very largely traditional and of a conservative nature. In spite of the unique religious associations of Mecca and Medina, the Hijaz as a whole was curiously inactive where cultural and political innovations were concerned.¹

The Hijazis, sometimes under Indian influences, were however willing to bring up-to-date and to adapt to modern circumstances the kind of traditional teaching which had so long flourished in the country, as of course elsewhere in the Islamic world. In this context a threefold approach to the question suggests itself: in the first part of the present thesis, we describe the traditional teaching carried on in the early nineteenth century, in the Kuttabs, in the Mosques, particularly in the two "Harams" (the Great Mosque of Mecca and the Prophet Mosque of Medina) and the Madrasas - giving an outline of developments from 622 onwards. In the second part, we study the introduction of the new Turkish State Educational System into the country, which was to provide the stimulus for the setting up of Private Schools as a reaction against the

¹ This fact can be realized and appreciated from a perusal of such standard works as: Hourani, A. Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939, (London; 1970); Zeine, Z. N. The Emergence of Arab Nationalism (Beirut; 1966) Berger, M. The Arab World Today (London; 1962); Haywood, J.A. Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970 (London; 1971) and Tibawi, A.L. Islamic Education, (London; 1972) Among the many people cited here as the leaders of modern Arabic thought and society, there is not one original thinker or author from the Hijaz during the period which here concerns us.
Turkish educational innovations. The third part then deals with education in the Hijaz, both public and private, within the Sharifian State.

An important aspect which has to be kept firmly in mind in a study of this kind is the comparative one. In each part we have therefore set the educational achievements of the Hijaz during our period over against the contemporary achievements of countries such as Egypt, Turkey and Syria. This enables just conclusions to be drawn as to the extent to which the educational problems of the Hijaz were successfully solved.
PART ONE

LEARNING AND SCHOOLS IN THE HIJAZ BEFORE 1869
CHAPTER ONE

THE RISE OF TRADITIONAL MUSLIM EDUCATION IN THE HIJAZ
(CENTRES OF EDUCATION, METHODS OF TEACHING, AND SUBJECTS TAUGHT)

The rise of teaching and learning throughout Islam, and therefore in the Hijaz, is inherently bound up with the beginnings of Islam, and indeed its very nature. Islam is a religion necessarily centering around a Holy Book, the Qur'ān, and hence the capacity to read, copy and expound this book had inevitably to be developed and preserved amongst the faithful. Accordingly, two institutions of learning became everywhere observable from the very outset of the Islamic period, the Kuttāb, or Primary School, and the Mosque. According to al-Balādhurī, the Kuttāb was in fact in embryonic existence even prior to the advent of Islam, since Mecca, like other cities in the Hijaz, already in pre-Islamic days had a small number of people who were able to read and write for commercial reasons, both of them skills which had to be taught and learnt. The Kuttāb's main emphasis was indeed on the teaching of these basic skills of reading and writing, and later, under Islam also of course, on the memorizing of passages from the Qur'ān; whereas the Mosque always concentrated on higher study and specialized learning, particularly in relation to the Qur'ān and Hadīth, which were minutely studied.

1 al-Balādhurī, Ahmad Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān, Cairo, 1956, pp. 579-583; see also al-Balādhurī, A. The Origins of Islamic State, translated by Francis Clark Murgotten, Part II. New York, 1924, pp. 270-4.
and commented on. 1

In the twelfth century (A.H. 7th century) another type of institution appeared in the Hijaz: the Madrasa, which had evolved outside Arabia a century or two before, and which also taught advanced subjects; but which unlike the Mosque, which was primarily a place of worship and other Islamic functions and had been founded as such, was a place for teaching certain specialized subjects. To be precise, each Madrasa had been specifically founded for the purpose of providing teaching in strict accordance with one or more of the various schools of religious thought, or of the various rites in Islam. 2

We shall now give a brief history of these various institutions from their foundation in the Hijaz until the coming of modernization to the country in 1870, and shall also discuss the growth or decay traceable in them during this period of study.

Education in the Hijaz, particularly in Mecca and Medina during early Islam and the Middle Ages was not essentially different from that pursued in other parts of the Islamic world during these periods. Since there are of course several well known studies dealing with Islamic education in general, we shall speak only about its general features referring the reader to the specialist works for further details. 3

1 For details see Shalaby, A. History of Muslim Education, Beirut, 1954, pp. 16-18.
in fact concentrate only on those essentials which one has to be aware of, in order to understand what was going on in the field of education in early Islam, the Middle Ages and thereafter. Where, on the other hand, there are significant facts regarding early education in the Hijaz itself, we shall give them appropriate attention in this chapter, thus providing a succinct introduction to the state of education in that country in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which forms the proper subject of our enquiry.

1. The Kuttābs:

The Kuttāb was as we have seen in existence in germ prior to the rise of Islam. At that time its purpose was solely the teaching of reading and writing, as its teachers were clearly not yet Muslims, and studies relating to the Qur'ān had not yet made their appearance. Such Kuttābs were generally founded, conducted and managed by the teachers themselves in their own houses. Hence they were entirely autonomous.

With the advent of a new religious and social order, it was widely felt, in accordance with the spirit of Islam, that the cause of literacy should be promoted; but radical changes could not yet be introduced. Balādhurī states that the number of educated people in the early days of Islam was very low. To improve the provisions for education, certain measures were undertaken, such as the setting free of educated prisoners, on the clear understanding that they taught a specified number of

3 For full details see al-Balādhurī, A. op.cit. pp.582-3.
illiterate people. Thus, after the battle of Badr, several captives are known to have been set free on condition that they agreed to teach a certain number of illiterate people to read and write, and this service was counted as their ransom.¹

Later on, a new type of Kuttāb appeared, having now a wider range of teaching programmes. Hence arose the need for better arrangements, and the venue now became not only the private house but also the Mosque. However, it was soon recommended that children should not be educated in the Mosque, as they understandably enough, were not always careful about keeping the Mosque clean and quiet;² but in practice this recommendation was frequently disregarded, and evidence shows that Kuttābs continued to exist in or adjoining the Mosque, as well as in private premises.³

These Kuttābs, then, provided a ready means for acquiring literacy, elementary proficiency in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, with sprinklings of arithmetic, poetry and history.⁴ Early on the art of writing was associated with and was even responsible for the name given to this kind of Primary School.⁵ But as

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the curriculum was mainly based upon the Qur'ān, the Kuttāb's very existence naturally entirely depended upon the existence of teachers who had mastered the whole of the sacred text. It is interesting to note the fact that the memorization of the whole Qur'ān by any one person was very rare in the very early period of Islam. However, within a comparatively few years, this situation was remedied by the emergence of a large number of men who were both able and competent to teach the Holy Book. This continued for many centuries, and throughout all the vicissitudes of Islamic history. Moreover, with the steady advance of Islam, this practice of teaching the Qur'ān in the Kuttābs was adopted in other Muslim lands, and indeed grew quite spontaneously and without compulsion; and in the later centuries we find Kuttābs in every small village, and attached to every Mosque, and not only in Arabia but in all the Muslim countries.

The Kuttāb remained constant and steadfast down the centuries in its main purpose of teaching the Qur'ān, "to enable Muslims to fulfil religious duties according to the direction of that book. They learnt, indeed, to read it-more capable ones learnt individual Suras by heart - and many learnt the entire text". There may of course have been, and almost certainly were, slight changes in the teaching methods employed, as a result of changing circumstances, social or political.

2 Bukhsh, S. Khuda, op. cit., p.443.
3 Ibid., p.444.
We must at all times see this educational institution and its functions, against the much wider and ever present background of the pattern of the accepted social education and training in Islamic societies, "which was, of course, carried out in the home, where, despite differences of rank and class, discipline and respect for elders were universally inculcated. The social foundation of education in the narrower sense must not be overlooked, for it predetermined the whole attitude of the pupil towards his teacher and the subjects of his study, and gave his mind that bent towards acceptance of authority which characterized all branches of Islamic learning. In well-to-do houses, the beginnings of formal education were also at home by a tutor, or by visiting, but this instruction can seldom have differed in any way from the type of instruction given in the Kuttābs".1

2. The Mosques:

From time immemorial the site of the Great Mosque of Mecca had attracted countless pilgrims, and wielded a massive religious and moral influence. It early attained educational significance from the fact that it was used by the Prophet Muhammad himself to impart religious knowledge to his Muslims. Later, in early Islam, it was rivalled only by the Great Mosque of Medina, which similarly became a famous centre of learning. Both these Mosques naturally came to figure prominently in the educational life of the Hijaz, and later on, of other Muslim states. Even so, the Mosque of Mecca was

indisputably the first in order of establishment as well as in quality of teaching.

Certain features of the teaching and learning so typical of the Mosque palpably go back to the very beginning of Islam. The learning by heart and the understanding of the Qurʾān always formed the starting-point, and next came the study of Ḥadīth.¹ The Prophet himself made the Mosque a place of worship and an educational centre by sitting therein, surrounded by a circle of people (Ḥalqah), and by carefully instructing his listeners, who would repeat his words three times in order to memorise them, according to Bukhari.² This system of teaching in groups (Ḥalqa) and by word of mouth, and, where needful by repetition, remained in use ever after. Ḥadīth, again, remained a central and crucial topic of scholarly research and teaching in the Mosque. It is further stated that "people came and asked him about this or that Ḥadīth, and the Prophet was often questioned on matters of belief and conduct inside or outside the Mosques".³ These practices developed with time. As might be expected, as emphasised by Tritton "Interest in the life and doctrine of the Prophet led people to learn reports of what he said and did, reports which were authenticated by the names of those who heard or saw what was reported".⁴ And, of course, this task of teaching and

³ Ibn Ḥajar, A. op. cit., p. 163.
⁴ Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages, London, 1957, p. 27.
learning the events of the Prophet's life was accomplished in the Mosques.

A second stage began when opportunities for education opened out in the wake of the Arab Conquest of the lands which in due course came to form part of the domain of Islam. Teachers of Qur'ān and Traditions were sent from Mecca and Medina to tribal and other areas. Thus, when a deputation of 'Abd al-Qais had concluded their visit to Medina, the Prophet frankly directed them to go back to their people and to teach them ('allamahum).¹ Mu'adh b. Jabal, one of the foremost reciters of the Qur'ān, was sent by Muhammad to Yemen as a preacher (mu'allim) and collector of alms;² and he sent other prominent companions on similar missions elsewhere in Arabia.³ 'Umar sent 'Ubādah ibn as-Samit, and Abū 'Ubaidah ibn al-Jarāh to Syria⁴ and 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ūd was we know, in Kufa. These emissaries were primarily preachers and judges, but some members of their class combined the collection of alms with teaching. Even high-ranking State servants, including the 'Amīr (Governor), were, according to 'Umar, "to teach the people their religion and the Sunnah of their Prophet", in addition to dispensing justice and dividing the spoils of war among them.⁶ So we know that in the Hijaz education was

progressing on these lines in the latter part of Prophet's life, and, immediately after his death, under the Caliphs.

Instruction in the two Great Mosques of Mecca and Medina, as well as in other Mosques, was likewise continued after the Prophet's death by the Caliphs, the Wāfiz, the 'Ulamā' and the Qussās; unprepared lectures of this kind were called Mawā'iz. Indeed, a special class of students, Ahlu al-'Ilm, was gradually developed, who sought to spread Islamic knowledge throughout Muslim lands. We are amply justified in saying that, although there were many Mosques in the Muslim lands, the Mosque of Mecca and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina held places of high distinction in the early period. The studies were not only theological and legal, for other subjects were also pursued, notably the disciplines of the Arabic language, logic etc. We hear of a majlis for studies in the Medina Mosque in the first century A.H., and certainly Arabic philological studies were assiduously carried out in the Mosque. The native interest of the early Arabs, and indeed of all Semites, in rhetoric survived, and even increased, under Islam. Thus the Faqih Sa'id b. al-Musa'yyab (d. 95/713) discussed Arabic poetry in his majlis in the Mosque of Medina, but it was nevertheless thought remarkable that poems should be dealt with in a Mosque.

2 Ibn Khaldūn, A. Muqaddimah, Beirut, 1879, pp.430 ff.
3. **The Rise of the Madrasas:**

As we have seen, the second half of the twelfth century (A.H. 7th century) saw the introduction of the Madrasa\(^1\) to the Hijaz — a type of school developed earlier outside Arabia located in rooms attached to the Mosques or in private houses. This type of educational centre was in fact then becoming widely spread in all Muslim countries, and was invariably founded by a Muslim ruler or by a wealthy person for promoting the religious beliefs which he himself held.\(^2\) In 1175 (A.H. 571) the first Madrasah was established in Mecca near the Great Mosque, and was named al-Madrasah al-Arsufiyyah.\(^3\) From the twelfth century (A.H. 7th century) to the beginning of the nineteenth century (A.H. 13th century) twenty-one such schools or Madrasahs were founded in Mecca. The following data show the names of these Madrasahs, their locations, the year of their establishment and the names of their founders.

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1. 'Madrasah' simply indicates the place where the Mudaris (teacher) is involved in Tadris (teaching).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date of foundation A.D. / A.H.</th>
<th>Founder</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Al-Madrasa al-'Arsüfyya (1)</td>
<td>South side of the Mosque of Mecca close to the gate of al-‘Umar‘</td>
<td>1175 / 571</td>
<td>'Abdallah Muhammad al-‘Arsüf. (2) (d. A.D. 1196)</td>
<td>It had a hostel called &quot;Ribāṭ Abū Ruqaiabah.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Al-Madrasa al-Nahawand-İyya. (5)</td>
<td>South of the Mosque, near to the gate of al-Duraibah (one of the Mosque gates).</td>
<td>Beginning of the 13th cent. A.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) He founded another one in Cairo in 1174 (A.H. 570), one year before this. See Sāmī, A. al-Ta‘līn fi Mīr, Cairo, 1917, Section 5, p.10.
(3) Wüstenfeld, F. op.cit., p.104.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., p.107.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date of foundation A.D. / A.H.</th>
<th>Founder</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Al-Madrasa al-Sharābīyya (1)</td>
<td>Near the gate as-Salām of the great Mosque of Mecca.</td>
<td>1233 / 631</td>
<td>al-Mustanṣir 'Abbāsid Caliph. (Sharaf al-Dīn Iqbal al-Sharābī)</td>
<td>It possessed an important library, now dispersed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Ibid., p.104.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date of foundation A.D. / A.H.</th>
<th>Founder</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Madrasat al-Mujāhidīyyah (2)</td>
<td>South of the Mosque.</td>
<td>1339 (739 A.H.)</td>
<td>Al-Mujāhid King of Yaman at that time</td>
<td>Ūshaif. It had a well inside it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Madrasat al-Sharīf ʻAjlān (4)</td>
<td>South of the Mosque.</td>
<td>Between 1360 and 1375 (762 and 777 A.H.)</td>
<td>Ūsherīf ʻAjlān Governor of Mecca at that time.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date of foundation A.D. / A.H.</th>
<th>Founder</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Al-Madrasah al-Chiaṭīyyah or Aʿẓam Shāh Madrasah. (1)</td>
<td>South of the Mosque.</td>
<td>1411 / 844</td>
<td>King Chiaṭ al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh</td>
<td>Taught the doctrines of the four madhhab. It had two gardens, a fountain, a hostel, a big house and large income.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Al-Madrasah al-Qait Bey (3)</td>
<td>East of the Mosque fronting the street al-Masʿūfī.</td>
<td>1477 / 882 Instruction started in 1483 (898 A.H.)</td>
<td>Qait Bey, (Kail) Sultan of Egypt.</td>
<td>Taught the doctrines of the four madhhab. It had 72 rooms for the students, a hall, and a library with 300 vols.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(2) Ibid., pp.212-214.


From the very outset a lack of systematic educational control in the Mosque and later in the Madrasah is manifest; while modern schools are governed by a set course of studies controlled by regulations and often guarded by severe state supervision, such control was totally absent. At an earlier period the State did not trouble itself at all with making regulations, and even fairly recently did not exert a strict control. Thus the entire system is built upon purely voluntary efforts, and we are bound to acknowledge that in the Muslim educational system there stands before us a noteworthy experiment, revealing freedom of teaching and freedom of studies carried to the farthest possible point with all its concomitant advantages and disadvantages.

The main thing to note regarding education in the Mosque and in the Madrasah was that the student was at liberty to choose his teacher as well as his subject. It was therefore in the hands of the students themselves to decide what they wanted to study and whom they wanted to teach them. Eventually they could pursue their careers according to the subjects of their specialisation. For instance, a person who had completed his education in Islamic law could be appointed a judge in the law courts.

The scholars who joined the Halqas (circle of people round their teacher) in Mosques or Madrasahs received in them their intermediate and higher education, and spent several years attaining the required degree of proficiency in Islamic and Arabic subjects.

The syllabus of the advanced level of education began essentially with the teaching of Arabic grammar, prosody,
morphology, traditions (Hadith), commentary on the Qur'an, theology, Islamic Law (Fiqh) and sometimes logic, from the standard authorities such as: Sahih of al-Bukhari, the Sahih of Muslim etc., in tradition (Hadith), and the Tafsir of Ibn Kathir, the Tafsir of al-Baidawi etc., in Qur'anic commentary. The duration of the courses at this stage was not limited to any specific period of time and students could spend several years at the places of study.

Completion of the advanced stage meant that the scholar had finished his course of education and was entitled to be called a 'learned man' or 'Alim. Only a few people could afford to spend such a long period over their studies; a large number of students left as soon as they had acquired sufficient education to enable them to enter their respective professions.

When a student completed his course of study he usually received an Ijaza (a traditional form of Certificate or licence to teach) which permitted him to teach the subject or subjects he had formerly studied. The form of the Ijaza seldom varied. A teacher, after writing the traditional invocation would declare the aptness of his pupil, and then continue to write out his own 'pedigree' of learning, giving the name of his own teacher, and that teacher's teacher and so on - by a reliable chain of transmitters - until he had reached the original transmitter of the knowledge contained in the subject or sometimes going back even further in time and establishing a lineage with teachers who taught at the time of the Prophet, thus proving his own ability to grant such authorization as was contained in the 'Ijaza.
In addition to the Kuttāb, the Mosque, and the Madrasa, teaching was undertaken by some of the Tarīqa's which had founded zawiyahs in the Hijaz. Zawiyahs were founded in a number of towns in the Hijaz, while in Mecca itself there were several, such as the zawiyah of the Rahmāniyyah, founded by M. ibn. M. ibn Mas'ūd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fāsī the zawiyah of the Rashidiyyali, founded by Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd and the important zawiyah of Muhammad ibn 'Abī al-Sanūsī on Abū Qubays.

These zawiyahs were centres of instruction for the teachings of the order concerned, and in the nineteenth century became great diffusion centres for their doctrines. The fact that formal courses of instruction were given in these centres is shown by their granting of Ijāzāt to students who had reached the required standard. Instruction was confined to the four main branches of theological study, i.e. fiqh, tawhīd, tafsīr and hadīth. Among the tarīqa's represented in the Hijaz

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1 Lit. 'way, path'. For the most recent study of the Islamic religious orders and their organization. see J.S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, Oxford, 1971. For the history of the tarīqa's and their zawiyahs in the Hijaz see A. le Chatelier, Les Confréries musulmanes de Hedjaz, Paris, 1887; see also Snouck-Hurgronje, C. "Les confréries religieuses, La Mecque et le Panislamisme", Verspreide geschriften, Leipzig, iii (1923), 189-206.

2 Lit. 'corner' i.e. a place of withdrawal from the world. These were usually corners in the Mosques used by the religious confraternities, but were sometimes separate buildings used as the headquarters of an order.

3 See Trimingham, op.cit., p.122.

4 Ibid., p.113.

5 Ibid., p.121.

6 Ibid., p.122.

7 Ibid., p.122.

8 For details see ijāzah granted by a shaykh of the Naqshabandīyyah order, Appendix 1.
were the Sanusiyya, Rahmaniyya, Madaniyyah, Idrisiyyah, 
Salihiyyah, Rashidiyyah, Naqshabandiyyah, Qadiriyyah and the 
Shadhiliyyah.\footnote{For details see Trimingham, \textit{op.cit.}, and Snouck-
Hurgronje, C. Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th 
Century, translated by J.H.Monahan, London, 1931, 
pp.55-56, 177-178, 202-209, 240-241, 251-253, 280-290.}
CHAPTER TWO

TEACHING IN THE HIJAZ (ESPECIALLY IN MECCA AND MEDINA) DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

In the early Islamic period Mecca and Medina as centres of learning were virtually unchallenged. However later on owing to the wide spread of Islam and the accompanying shifts of political and economic power, particularly during the Ommayid' and Abbasid periods, this situation was changed. Though still eminent, they tended to be over-shadowed by the political preponderance of the new centres of power, and still later in the Middle Ages they did in effective influence take second place to such institutions as Al-Azhar in Cairo so far as learning was concerned. While no longer of the very first rank, they continued to command respect for learning, and this fact can be seen e.g. from the account by Ibn Jubayr who visited Mecca and Medina in A.H. 579 (A.D. 1183), and who mentions the names of several learned men holding teaching positions there.\(^1\) The position was still very similar even later, as can be seen from the account by Ibn Battutah, who visited these cities in A.H. 727-8 (A.D. 1326-7) and who gives the names of many learned people as well as information about their academic positions, and the educational facilities provided there.\(^2\)


2. Ibn Battutah, A. Rihlat Ibn Battutah, Cairo: 1928, pp.69-112; See also Depremery C. and Sanguinetti, Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah (Arabic text with French translation) Paris: 1926 pp.261
Decay of Learning and Teaching in the Hijaz During the Period from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries:

Nevertheless, the importance of these two cities slowly decreased. Not by any means the least of the reasons for this decrease was certainly the discovery of the new sea route round Africa, leading to the dwindling of the age-old economic function of the Near East, as a zone of transit between the Indian Ocean and Europe, from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards. The general and almost endemic stagnation which prevailed in Arabia in the Turkish period is clearly not unconnected with this economic factor, even in the world of learning itself,¹ for by about 1800, Arabia was from all points of view at a low ebb intellectually.

The State of Education in the Hijaz During the Early and Middle Nineteenth Century, as Observed by Foreign Observers:

During the period 1800-1874 several eminent travellers visited the Hijaz, and it is instructive to note their considered opinions on the state of education prevailing at that time. Amongst the first of these visitors was 'Ali Bey el-Abbāsī, who visited Hijaz in 1807. He noted that the sciences in Hijaz were in a state of abandonment, as were the

According to him, the entire knowledge of the inhabitants was limited to reading the Qur'an, together with some aptness in writing, and that even Mecca had no regular schools except for those few where reading and writing were taught. Apart from these sources of knowledge there were only some doctors, who from caprice or vanity, or attracted by the prospect of reward, were wont to sit down under the porticos or galleries of the Haram, where they began reading in loud voices in order to attract the hearers who generally came, one after the other, to sit in a circle round such doctors. These latter expounded, read or preached, and went off and came back as they pleased. Such were the only means of instruction to be found in the Holy City. Every evening two or three of these doctors betook themselves to the galleries of the temple, and 'Alî Bey affirms that he never saw any doctor who had more than a dozen hearers. Altogether, 'Alî Bey was deeply sceptical about the very possibility of learning ever flourishing in the Hijaz.

In 1814, a European, Burckhardt, likewise commented tersely on the state of educational decay in Mecca. He declared "I think I have sufficient reason for affirming that Mecca is at present much inferior even in Islamic learning to any town of equal population in Syria or Egypt". He also informs us that he observed the Madrasah around the Great Mosque and that it would appear that these "are now converted into private lodgings for pilgrims. There is not a single Madrasah or public school in the town where lectures are given, as in other parts of Turkey". It seems certain, however, that

2 Travels in Arabia, London, 1829, p. 211.
3 Ibid., p. 211.
these Madrasah had in fact been transferred to the Great Mosque, which had now become the main place for imparting advanced education, "where teachers of Eastern learning are found. In these schools the students are taught by some learned 'Ulamā', after prayer, chiefly in the afternoon, a few books on religious studies. The audience is very thin, consisting principally of Indians, Malays, Negroes and a few natives of Hadramut and Yemen. They remain here a few years until they think themselves sufficiently instructed to pass at home for learned men. The Meccans themselves, who wish to improve in science, go to Damascus or to Cairo. At the latter many of them are constantly found studying in the Mosque El-Azhar". Burckhardt gives no details or names of such students. He continues:

"Lectures are also delivered in the Great Mosque and resemble those of other Eastern towns. They are delivered gratis; each lecture occupies one hour or two; and any person may lecture who thinks himself competent to the task, whether he belongs to the Mosque or not. This happens also in the Azhar at Cairo, where I have seen more than forty different persons occupied at the same time in delivering their lecture. The subjects of the lectures in the Great Mosque are, as usual, dissertations on the Law, commentaries on the Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet. There were none, during my residence (September 7th 1814 to January 15th 1815 = Hajj season A.H. 1230) on grammar, logic, rhetoric or the sciences, nor even on the Tawḥīd, or theology. I understood, however,
that sometimes Arabic syntax is explained, and the Alfiyyat Ibn Malik on grammar. But Meccans who have acquired an intimate knowledge of the whole structure of their language owe it to their residence at Cairo".  

He further gives a short description of the imparting of lower education in the Kuttābs, some of them held in parts in the Great Mosque. "In several parts of the colonnade preparatory schools are held where young children are taught to spell and read; they form most noisy groups and the schoolmaster's stick is in constant action".  

This unmistakably indicates that Mecca still adhered almost exclusively to the traditional systems of Kuttāb, Mosque and Madrasah during the period from 1800 onwards.

Burckhardt does not furnish any more details on this subject, and his tart comments on the poor quality of education in Mecca were later on, in 1885, severely and ably criticised by Snouck-Hurgronje, who visited Mecca at this date and resided there for a longer period than Burckhardt who himself resided there only for the Hajj season A.H. 1230 (7th September 1814 to 15th January 1815). However deficient the standard of education may then have been and a general apathy can hardly be denied it was certainly not as lax as it was depicted by Burckhardt in his time. This we can affirm in the light of available evidence.

1 Burckhardt, J. op.cit., p.212.
2 Ibid., pp.150-151.
After Burckhardt's visit, the Hijaz was subjected to Egyptian occupation under Muhammad 'Alî.¹ One might have expected that under such a modern-minded reformer significant educational reforms would have been enforced; unhappily this was not the case, and throughout the occupation not only were no new schools built but even the traditional educational establishments in the Hijaz were ignored. This is in striking contrast to Syria which was then also under Egyptian domination, for there not only were some new schools opened (though of a purely military character), but the schools as a whole received generous allocations of books on various subjects.² In support of the accepted assertion that no substantial changes took place in the educational system of Mecca before 1874, even during the occupation by Muhammad 'Alî, we may cite al-Sibâ'î's remarks: "No change worth mentioning came in the state of education in Mecca during the period of Muhammad 'Alî's rule over the Hijaz, which was really very short. He had hardly enough time to pay attention to education here and to introduce any change. In fact, he spent about three years (1811-1813) fighting, not only in the Hijaz but also in a large part of Arabia;³ then the Ottoman Government put the rule of the Hijaz under his patronage for about twenty years.

3 Burckhardt says, "In 1811, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha commenced his operations in Arabia by sending a body of troops under the command of his son Tousoun Bey, who was defeated in the passes between Yenbo and Medina. A second, in 1812, was more successful; while Tousoun, in September of that year, took Medina, Mustafa Bey, the Pasha's brother-in-law, proceeded directly with the cavalry under his command to Djidda, Mekka, and Tayf; all which surrendered, almost without bloodshed". Travels in Arabia, London: 1829, p.47.
(1813-1833). From 1833 up to 1841 Muḥammad ʿAlī ruled over the Ḥijāz directly, in accordance with the terms and conditions of the Kutahia Treaty, but in the beginning of 1841 Ḥijāz went back to the Ottoman Government. In Sibāʿī's opinion and mine, this period of time was not sufficient for introducing any major changes in the system of education. 1 Al-Sibāʿī winds up his remarks by saying that "the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt was regarded as the beginning of a dawn without a sun, a sun which did not rise until the Ḥijāz had already reverted to the fold of Ottoman rule. Thus the state of education during this period (Muḥammad ʿAlī's period) in the Hijaz remained unchanged". 2

Burton, 3 who visited the Hijāz in 1853, had little to say about the educational facilities either of Mecca or Medina. When he wrote his frank account of Mecca and the Pilgrimage, he had found nothing to add to, or to improve on, in Burckhardt, and simply quoted his great predecessor's report. In Medina he observed that "two Madrasahs or Schools, the Mahmūdiyah, so called from Sūltān Mahmūd, and that of Bashīr Aghā" abounded in large stores of books, theological and otherwise. "The burial-place of the Prophet, therefore, no longer lies open to the charge of utter ignorance brought against it by my predecessor" (Burckhardt), he went on, and "The people now praise their Olema for learning, and boast a superiority in respect of science over Meccah". Yet he does not fail to note that "many students leave the place for Damascus and Cairo, where the Riwak al-Haramayn (College of the Two Shrines) in the Azhar Mosque University is always crowded" ... and that "none of my informants claimed for

2 Ibid., p.155.
Al-Madinah any facilities of studying other than the purely religious sciences. Philosophy, medicine, arithmetic, mathematics and algebra cannot be learnt here.

Over and above all this, Burton did however pay careful attention to documenting the extensive libraries he came to hear of; apart from the collections at al-Mahmūdīyyah and Bashīr Aghā, he "heard of extensive private collections, particularly of one belonging to the Najīb al-Ashraf ... a certain Mohammad Jamal al-Layl, whose father is well-known in India. Besides which, there is a large Wakf, or bequest of books, presented to the Mosque or entailed upon particular families. The celebrated Mohammed Ibn Abdullah al-Sannusi has removed his collection, amounting, it is said, to eight thousand volumes, from al-Madinah to his house in Jabal Kubays in Meccah". 1

We can add to this testimony of outside observers, such as Burton, some incontrovertible documentary evidence, originating from the traditional institutions of the period in which we are interested. We refer to the diplomas issued to the students on completion of their courses of studies in the important Mosques of the Hijāz, and from which we can derive some authentic information about the subjects studied etc. A fair number of such certificates as issued by learned men and educationalists of that time, survives, and such documents do of course throw some clear light on various aspects of education. Several of these certificates are now in the Manuscript Library of Riyadh University. As an example, we shall here refer to one of these certificates, issued in A.H. 1278 (1861) to Shaikh Bāshīr Aḥmad al-Muḥājir by his teacher Shaikh Abdul-Ghani Muhammad Effendi al-Nahwī. This

type of diploma as presented in the traditional way, comprises four main parts. Firstly, there is the chain of authorities purporting to reach back from the teacher himself through a series of former teachers to the Prophet himself. Secondly, there is the authorization to teach certain subjects, and in this particular diploma only two subjects are mentioned: the commentary of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth; other diplomas however often mention more than two subjects, but all are concerned with Arabic Grammar and Syntax and Islamic Studies and History, by implication at least. Thirdly, it is made incumbent on the student that he shall propagate the subjects he has studied. Lastly, a number of moral obligations are enjoined on the student, and the certificate lists such moral qualities as kindness, truthfulness, forgiveness, loyalty to family and others, humility and a reposing of ones trust in God,¹ as things to be sought and cherished above all.

¹ For more details see the diploma in Appendix I. See also the Manuscript Library, (diplomas section) Riyadh University, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia No. 966 and other numbers in this serial.
CHAPTER THREE

THE INTRODUCTION OF MODERNIZATION INTO TRADITIONAL TEACHING IN TURKEY AND EGYPT DURING THE EARLY PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. **Turkey:**

While Mecca was still stubbornly clinging to the traditional system of education, innovations, stimulated by growing foreign influences, were taking root during this period in other Near Eastern countries, particularly in Turkey, and even more in Egypt. The main impulse came quite certainly from military, and not from genuinely educational needs. The first steps were taken in the Imperial capital Istanbul as early as the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when in fact two Military Schools employing up-to-date Western methods were opened, one for naval officers in 1773 and the other for army engineers in 1793.¹ Understandably enough, French and Swedish instructors were employed to train Turkish cadets in gunnery, fortifications and navigation, through the medium of French. But even this somewhat limited innovation was highly unpopular, and soon met with a powerful reaction which resulted in the deposition of the sultan and the shelving of his modernisation plans, which thus remained to be taken up more vigorously by one of his successors.²

Sultan Mahmūd II (1808-1839) from the first, in fact devoted increasing attention to educational matters. In 1827, in the teeth of strong opposition, he took the revolutionary step of sending Student Missions to various European countries. This step, like so many of Mahmūd's other reforms, followed a precedent set by Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt, (about whom we shall speak shortly) who had sent a large batch of students to Paris in 1826, and individuals in previous years. Mahmūd himself began with a batch of military and naval cadets, for whom suitable places were found in the colleges of various European capitals. They proved to be the first outriders of a great procession of Turkish students to Europe, who on their return played a role of incalculable importance in the transformation of their country.¹

In the same year, 1827, a Medical School was opened in Istanbul (this was less than a month after the opening of the Muḥammad ʿAlī Medical School at the Abū Zaʿbal Hospital in Cairo). Its avowed purpose was to train physicians for the new army. Physicians for work among the civil population were still being trained at the more traditional establishments, such as the medical division of the Sulaiymānīyyah Madrasah, where the syllabus was still based substantially on the time honoured writings of Galen and Avicenna. The new Medical School embraced, apart from its specialised course, a Preparatory Section, which provided an approximation to a primary and secondary secular education - the first of its

¹ Lewis, B. op. cit., p.82.
kind in Turkey. This school was in fact several times reorganised, the most notable reorganisation being that of 1838, when it was transferred to Galatasaray, the seat of the old Palace School for Pages, and a famous educational centre dating back to the reign of Bayazid II (1481-1512). The instruction was now given partly in Turkish, partly in French, and the instructors again included several Europeans.

From 1831-4 two further schools were opened, both directly military in purpose. One was the Imperial Music School (Muzika-i Humayun Mektebi), the function of which was frankly to provide the new army with drummers and trumpeters rigged out in uniforms to match the tunics and breeches of the soldiers. More important by far, from the practical standpoint was the School of Military Science (Mekteb-i Ulum-i Harbiye). This school, some years before its official inauguration in 1834, had been closely and faithfully modelled on its French original at St. Cyr. Here too foreigners played a dominant role both in the military instruction and in the teaching of the necessary foreign language, for here as a rule French was the precondition and prerequisite of all studies. As in the Medical School, there was here too a preparatory division for children.

So far Mahmūd's educational measures had been essentially concerned with the army. In 1838, however, he seriously took up the question of primary and secondary education for purely civilian purposes, and planned the creation of what he named Rushdīyyah Schools (from Rushd, self-awareness or adolescence). Little palpable progress was made during Mahmūd's lifetime, but it is significant that two new Mosque Grammar Schools were
set up, one at the Sultan Ahmad Mosque, and the other at the Sulaimanîyyah Mosque, both intended for boys up to the age of about eighteen. Their common syllabus was traditional and mainly grammatical and literary, their central purpose being to prepare candidates for the Civil Service. As with the Military and Medical Schools, their pupils were supported out of public or endowment funds.

In 1839 Sultan 'Abdul-Majid (1839-1861) succeeded Mahmud, and it was through his encouragement that in March, 1845, a Committee of seven men well-versed in judicial military and civil lore, was appointed to study and report on the existing schools and select sites for new ones. Among its members were 'Ali Effendi, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Director of the Chancery of the Divan, the Fuad Effendi, Chief Dragoman of the Divan. The Committee reported in August 1846. Its report, as was usual at this time, was elaborate but lamentably unrealistic, attempting to provide for an Ottoman State University, a system of primary and secondary school and a permanent Council of Public Instruction. The creation of a University and of a network of schools proved in fact a long and arduous task, the full accomplishment of which was to stretch over many years and to encounter many obstacles. The foundations of the University were indeed laid, and a medal struck depicting the appearance of the completed building; but work on the building was abandoned when the walls stood only a few feet high. A modern elementary education was however provided in the Rushdiyyah schools, the first of which had been opened in Istanbul in 1847.

1 Lewis, B. op. cit., p. 82-3; Ergin, O. op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 315 ff.
40.

passed which separated religious and civil instruction: the Madrasah's remained under the control of the Shaikh al 'Ulamā’ but the Maktabs passed under State Administration.¹ The Rushdīyyah Schools increased in number slowly, and by the mid-century there were already six of them, with 870 pupils; a poor effort in relation to the ambitious programme, but a creditable one in relation to reality. The projected Council of Public Instruction was created immediately (1845) and in 1847 became a Ministry.²

The year 1868 saw the opening of the Imperial Ottoman Lycee at Galatasaray.³ In this First Secondary School the language of instruction was French (except for purely Turkish Subjects), and a serious attempt was made to organize a modern Western curriculum of secondary education. A few such schools had already been established by foreign missions, notably the American Protestant Robert College (1863). This Lycee was, however, indisputably the first serious attempt by the Ottoman Government to provide a modern education at secondary level in a Western language. Another new and auspicious feature was the teaching of Muslim and Christian pupils side by side a not unimportant step towards religious de-segregation.

The influence of the Galatasaray School on the rise of modern Turkey has been nothing short of enormous. As the need for administrators, diplomats and others with a Western

3 Davison, R.H. Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876, Princeton: 1963, p.246.
education and a capacity to handle the Western administrative and managerial apparatus became more and more pressing, the graduates of Galatasaray came to play an unmistakably preponderant role in the political and administrative life of the Ottoman Empire and, afterwards, of the Turkish Republic, whose thoroughgoing modernization has often been called the modern miracle.

At this point it seems desirable to sum up and review the Turkish educational achievement which we have outlined so far. We saw that the beginnings had been made, during the period from the late 18th to the mid-19th Century, of a system of schools, similar in character to and modelled on, European prototypes, independent of and possibly to be regarded as opposed to, traditional religious schooling. However, this achievement was in fact very limited in scope. It hardly, if at all, extended beyond the capital. It was largely military or bureaucratic in scope or intention; it relied heavily on foreign teachers and teaching, without there being as yet a proper organized system for producing Turkish teachers or teaching materials. Most of all, it essentially left the overwhelming majority of children in the Empire, outside very limited circles in the capital, without access to learning of an approved modern type, or even any learning at all, beyond perhaps the most elementary knowledge of reading, writing and reciting and understanding the Qur'an. The beginning of the very limited number of Rushdiyyah schools after 1845, while of interest for the future, cannot be said to have affected the

1 Lewis, B. op.cit., pp.112, 120; Davison, R.H. Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876, Princeton: 1963, pp.246-8.
situation significantly as yet. That, however, more could have been done in a Near Eastern country at this time where the creation of a modern system of education is concerned, is proved by the example of Egypt during the same period. To this we must now turn.

2. **Egypt:**

As for Egypt, the French occupation in 1798 was incontestably the decisive turning-point in the history of that country. This event quite suddenly brought the Egyptians into contact not only with a disciplined western military organisation with all its up-to-date equipment,¹ but also with the justly renowned French learning and the fruits of French technology. Jabarti, well known as a historian and who was then a shaikh of the Azhar, gave generous credit to French learning, as seen in "the Institute with its pictures, maps and books, its scientific collections and experiments; the French savants with their enthusiasm for learning, and the warmth of their welcome to Muslim visitors who shared a genuine interest in science. But he was always conscious of the danger to religion and morality inherent in non-Muslim rule".²

For the most part, French ventures in the cultural field, such as the setting up of the first printing press in Egypt and the publication of the first newspapers there,³ were undertaken largely, to be sure, for their own benefit, and the efforts of the team of savants and specialists who accompanied

Napoleon were directed towards the advancement of European knowledge, about Egypt rather than towards the education of the Egyptians; nevertheless, the cultural and technological impact of the French on Egypt was very profound. However, it was not before the first quarter of the nineteenth century that any spirited attempts were made for educational modernization in Egypt.

More to the point, out of the turmoil following the end of the French Occupation there emerged the figure of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha as the semi-independent Governor of Egypt, under whom new methods and ideas were gradually being introduced into Egypt. These were later to be assudously noted and copied by Turkey. Reform and change were now becoming dominant features in a part at least of the intellectual life of the Near East, and beginning to oust the more familiar and deeply entrenched traditional systems.

Less generally, and in order to understand how these new approaches affected education and other spheres of the intellectual life of this country, it is necessary to have a summary of the changes which took place there between 1800-1869. In April 1806 Muḥammad 'Ali became the Governor of Egypt, but he had succeeded in fully establishing his position only by the early years of the second decade. He quickly realised the

2 Tibawi, A. L. op. cit., p. 50.
4 'Abdul-Karīm, A.. Tārikh al-Ta'lim fī Miṣr fī 'Arṣ Muḥammad 'Ali, Cairo, 1938, p. 27 and p. 82.
the urgent need for developing the country economically and socially and also that, for this purpose, he would require a large number of professional men, who clearly could only be produced by a radical change in the existing educational system.\footnote{Ibid., p. 557.} To accomplish this, two courses lay open to him; either he could abolish the existing, entirely unplanned and unregulated, system of education progressively, and introduce a completely new one; or he could try to improve the old and untidy system and at the same time supplement it extensively by establishing new institutions on modern lines. Wisely, he decided to act on the second alternative; that is, to make certain improvements in some of the existing schools and to concentrate at the same time on establishing modern schools where necessary, throughout Egypt.\footnote{Ibid., see also Sāmī, A. Taqwim 11/413, order dated May 1833 (Muharram 1249 A.H.).} He proceeded in the ways now to be described.

**Primary Education**

It is perhaps in many ways remarkable that Muḥammad ʿAlī was able to find students for his special schools without any real system of Primary or Lower Grade Schools up to as late as 1833. The first modern Primary School was in fact established in Cairo in 1820, but parallel to the new system gradually being introduced; the old system of Kuttābs continued to serve the needs of primary education.\footnote{Ibid., p.155-166.}

In May of 1833, we find Muḥammad ʿAlī issuing an order for the creation of ten Primary Schools in Egypt.\footnote{Ibid., see also Sāmī, A. Taqwim 11/413, order dated May 1833 (Muharram 1249 A.H.)} That these

1. 'Abdul-Karīm, A. Tārīkh al-Taʿlīm fī Misr fī 'Asr Muḥammad ʿAlī, Cairo, 1938, pp.555-593.
2. Ibid., p.557.
3. Ibid., p.155-166.
schools were primarily intended for the purpose of equipping and recruiting fresh talent for the Military Schools can hardly be denied, for in the very next month (Safar) of the same year, Muḥammad ʻAlī issued an order for the requisition of eighty youths from these schools, specifying that they were to know how to read and write, were to be between the ages of thirteen and twenty and, above all, were to be of sound and strong physique. They were admittedly destined for his Military Schools,¹ though he may well have entertained other purposes for other youths. Not content with this, on the 19th Shawwal, 1249 A.H. (2nd March, 1834) Muḥammad ʻAlī issued another order to the Director of the Sharqiyyah for the building and establishment of four more Primary Schools² at al-ʻAzīzīyyah, Kufur Nigm, az-Zaqāצīq and al-Wadī.³

Muḥammad ʻAlī's orders for the establishment of provincial Primary Schools did not fail to produce encouraging results,⁴ and by the end of 1836 there were 67 such Primary Schools⁵ spread over most of the provinces, except Cairo, where the pupils continued to receive their Primary Education in Qasr al-ʻAīnī School and other Special Schools.⁶ In view of the comparatively early date when these schools were set up in

1 Sāmī, A. Taqwīm, 11/413.
2 ʻAbdul-Karīm, A.I. op. cit., p.155 (from Letter No.58, Register No.504).
3 Sāmī, A. Taqwīm, 11/418.
5 ʻAbdul-Karīm, A. op.cit., p.159.
6 Ibid.
Egypt — at a time when modernisation was an unheard of thing in other parts of the Islamic world — it is worthwhile to study these schools in some more detail. The Provincial Primary Schools were administered by the local municipal authorities,¹ their staff being recruited from suitable persons in the provinces, and the power of appointment or dismissal being invariably in the hands of these municipal authorities. Similarly, the arrangements for the board and lodging of the pupils, the salaries of the teachers, and all the other needs of the schools were made by them.² It is perhaps worth noticing that the pupils of these Primary Schools were treated in the same way as those of the Higher and Special Schools in the matter of rations of food, clothing and other allowances.³

The course of study covered three years. No reference is here made to the syllabus of these Primary Schools. It was undoubtedly limited to reading and writing and the recitation of the Qur'ān; all the regulations concerning pupils in the provinces demanded was a knowledge of reading and writing.⁴ The schools were visited from time to time by the Inspectors, who as a rule tested the pupils' knowledge, and reported to the authorities on their progress in their studies, their health, the school building, stores, furniture and equipment.⁵ Of some consequence is the fact that each school had full freedom of organization, as there were no set

regulations, and very naturally, each school developed its own separate character. Hassan Fagi opines, and with reason, that this absence of set regulations for enforcing some uniformity was responsible for the lowering of the standards of education and administration.

Almost the first reform attempted by the Council of Public Instruction, established in 1837, was precisely the streamlining of the primary schools, and to this end the number of Primary Schools was reduced from 67 to 50, 4 of them were established, for the first time, in Cairo, 1 in Alexandria and 45 in the provinces. The course of instruction however remained one of three years. Furthermore, the organization of all Primary Schools was now more uniform, and the total number of pupils was limited by the Council to 5,000.

On taking a look at the internal organization, we discover that the staff of each school consisted of two teachers, a steward, a clerk, a cook, a tailor, two washers, two servants, two water-carriers, a porter, a surgeon-barber and his assistant.

The syllabus was now enlarged to include Arabic Reading and Writing, Arabic Grammar, Elementary Morphology, Arithmetic, Basic Islamic Knowledge and Duties, as decided by the Council.

Some useful reports by European observers are available to use for the years immediately following these reforms.

2 Ibid.,
In particular, in 1840 Bowring stated that he had personally examined the students at Girdga, and "found that they read and wrote Arabic tolerably well." Again, in 1837 Rochfort Scott visited the Qīna School, but, beyond stating that education "extends only to reading and writing in Arabic and arithmetic", had no other observation to offer. Similar testimony comes from Poujoulat (1838) who reported that the Qur'ān was taught in all the Primary Schools. Of these observers, be it noted, Bowring was the only one who seriously tried to throw some light on the question of what books were used in these schools, reporting that "there was a total lack of elementary books", which he recognized as a "great defect", and he surmised, "until they are provided, the means afforded by the State must fail of producing the end in view". It was further provided a delegate from the Council of Public Instruction should inspect each Primary School every quarter and report to the Council. A record of the progress of all the pupils was to be conveyed yearly to the Council, which was then to decide on their progress and their possible transfer to a superior school. As an aid to such assessment, an Annual Examination was also held by each Primary School under the superintendence of a member of the Council. For all these Primary Schools the ages of the pupils were between

2 Rambles in Egypt and Candia. vol. II. London, 1837, p.185.
3 Heyworth-Dunne, J. An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt, p.214; from Poujoulat, Voyage dans l'Asie Mineure, vol. II, Paris: 1941, p.517. Heyworth-Dunne is of the opinion that "The instruction given was limited to reading and writing, the Qur'ān being the book universally used for instruction". pp214.
4 Bowing, J. op.cit., p.126.
5 Ibid., pp.25-26.
The whole field of education in Egypt was placed under the control of a Council of Public Instruction, which was established in 1837 with the declared aim of vigourously promoting the cause of education, and which did, in fact, in the course of time, introduce many and far reaching reforms and improvements. The Council was charged, not only with the responsibility of general superintendence, but also with the detailed inspection of all the schools, with the nomination of teachers for the approval of the Minister, the appointment of all subordinate functionaries and punitive and retributive principles, and with all the necessary correspondence connected with the administration of education. One of its members was required to visit the schools, and to report every quarter; monthly reports were required to be made to the Council by the Nāzirs (Chief Education Officers) and directors of schools, and one of its members was to preside over the annual examination of the scholars. As for the constitution of the Council, it comprised a President, three permanent and six consulting members and a Secretary, without voting powers but attached to the Council. Various codes were promulgated from time to time for the regulation of the schools; they were prepared in French and subsequently printed in Arabic.

1 Ibid., p.126 see also 'Abdul-Karīm, op.cit., p.173.
Secondary Education.

On completing the Primary Stage, the pupils were then entitled to go on to the Secondary Schools; the name given to this type of school was al-Tajhīzīyyah. During the reign of Muhammad 'Ali, there were two Secondary Schools the one in Cairo, open in 1820 and the other in Alexandria, opened in 1844. The ages of the pupils accepted in these schools ranged between 10 and 15, and they had full board and personal allowance.

The Cairo Secondary School was located at first in the al-‘Aīnī palace (Qasr al-‘Aīnī), but was later transferred to the Abū Za‘bal in October, 1836. Beginning at a figure of about 500 students, the number had increased to 1,200 by 1833. At its commencement it had Primary Classes. From the year of its establishment up to 1836, this school remained under the direct supervision of the Military Committee but in that year the Council of Public Instruction took charge of it. It was this latter body which itself established: the Secondary School at Alexandria in 1844.

The Secondary Course of Instruction lasted four years, but it could be extended in special circumstance to five years.
There were four departments, corresponding to the several degrees of progress achieved by the pupils as they passed after examination from one to another. Evidence of careful planning can be seen in the fact that the two Secondary Schools were broadly alike in organization. Thus the Cairo School had one director, one sub-director, three study-prefects, twelve masters, twelve professors of Arabic, Turkish and Persian, one professor of History, one professor of Geography, three Drawing masters, two instructors in thuluth (calligraphic script) and two for riq'ah (Cursive Hand Writing).  

Let us take a brief glance at their various duties:—

The director was enjoined to communicate about all that regarded the school, with the Council of Public Instruction. The prefects exercised a supervisory authority over the masters, and were specifically charged with the general policy of the school. The masters were to be in constant communication with them, and to receive their day to day instructions from them. These masters had special charge of the scholars out of school-hours; thus they accompanied them on their walks, and superintended their dormitories. The professors on the other hand, were under the immediate direction of the director and sub-director. The other active participants were a näẓīr (Chief Educational Officer), a scribe for the accounts, a second scribe, a steward, a storekeeper for the linen, a storekeeper for other articles, first, second and assistant cooks, a weigher, tailors, shoemakers, washers, barbers, one head servant with his assistants, one water-carrier with his

assistants, cleaners, lamp-lighters, drummers and fifers, porters and wood-cutters. Apart from all these, a Medical Board existed, consisting of a physician, an assistant and sub-assistant, an apothecary and his assistants, a superintendent and a scribe, a hospital orderly, two washers, a tailor, an apothecary's boy, a storehouse boy, a barber, a water-carrier and a porter.\(^1\)

It is significant to note that the Secondary Schools had a military personality which indicated the strong relationship between these Schools and the military attitudes which inspired their foundation. The Schools were subjected to a quasi-military discipline and the scholars were housed in barracks; at Cairo they formed three battalions, each battalion of four companies, each company of 125 scholars. The superior ranks of officer were held by the pupils; the study prefects commanded the battalions, the masters commanding the companies.\(^2\)

A Council of Instruction and Discipline was established in each Secondary School to meet monthly and report faithfully to the Council of Public Instruction. At Cairo this School Council consisted of the director (President), the sub-director, one study prefect, two professors and a secretary to be chosen from among the masters, but without the right of voting. No pupil might be expelled without a judgement of the School Council, nor without having been heard; the expulsion had to be expressly sanctioned by the Council of Public Instruction, and the pupil had to be sent to some inferior public employment. The members of the School Council were changed yearly, each active participants taking his place in turn moreover, a

\(^1\) Bowring, J. \textit{op.cit.}, pp.127-8.
\(^2\) Ibid.,
quarterly inspection of the Secondary Schools was to take place in the presence of a member of delegate of the Council of Public Instruction, who was then to apprise that Council of the state and prospects of the school and of the effective means of improving it.¹

At its commencement, as our sources bear out, the School at Cairo followed the usual type of primary grade syllabus, the only the subjects taught being the Qur'ān, the Reading and Writing or Turkish, and the Arabic and Persian Language. At a later date, and as facilities improved, subjects such as Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Drawing, and Italian were added.² At first, too, (and this must have been a severe disadvantage) the medium of instruction was exclusively Turkish.³ Not only were the teachers by no means always competent or qualified, but the admission requirements for the pupils were not high either, and the result was that the level of education in this school was in general of a deplorably low standard. A little later on, in 1837, a fuller curriculum was devised and put into operation.⁴

An annual examination was to provide a criterion for the promotion of the pupils and their transfer to the Special Schools, and the particulars of every case were to be reported to the Council of Public Instruction, provision having been made for Rejected pupils to be transferred to subordinate Government employment. The Director and Sub-director were invariably to be appointed by the Viceroy on the nomination

¹ Ibid., pp.127-8.
³ Ibid., p.222.
of the Council of Public Instruction. All the above regulations were in general to apply to the School of Alexandria, but the latter was to comprise only 500 scholars and hence a proportionately smaller staff.\(^1\) This ambitious programme could, however, only partially be put into effect; in such a short period the Secondary Schools could indeed hardly be expected to furnish really promising material for the professional schools.\(^2\)

Medical School and Military Schools.

In addition to the above, a Medical School and a Veterinary School were founded during this period, and there were also, naturally enough, two Military Schools, one for Cavalry and one for Infantry. They were for the most part arranged on lines somewhat similar to the ones laid down for the institutions we have discussed above. In view of the obviously very specialised nature of these schools, which places them outside the field of immediate interest for our main study, we forbear to give details about them, and would simply refer our readers for fuller information, to J. Bowring, (Report on Egypt and Candia, London 1840).

We have already seen that in Egypt the personality of Muhammad 'Ali was the real driving-force and inspiration behind the early educational reforms. In his reign the quality of education without a doubt had substantially improved and more schools had been opened. His successors Abbās Hilmi and Sa'īd lacked the ability, or even the will, to carry on this

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mission after him, and consequently the standard of education deteriorated during this ensuing period.

It was on the 23rd of September, 1848 (24th Shawwal 1264 A.H.) that Muḥammad ʿAlī abdicated in favour of Ibrāhīm Pasha, who died prematurely in Jeddah on the 10th November 1848 (14th Dhū al-Ḥidja 1264 A.H.) a few months before the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī himself. During his short rule there was of course no progress in education in the country.1 He was followed by Abbās Ḥilmī, who ruled from the 10th November, 1848, till the 16th of July 1854 (20th Shawwal 1270). Under his rule a strong reaction set in; he was not in favour not in any way of the new and powerful European influences, and did not in any way patronise any institutions which were being run on the European style. Far from patronising them, he actively discouraged them, and the same is true of his successor, Saʿīd Pasha, the uncle of Abbās Ḥilmī, who succeeded Abbās on 16th July, 1854, and whose weak rule came to an end and not too soon, on 19th January, 1863, (27th Rajjab 1279 A.H.). Education remained in a sad state of stagnation and neglect throughout his rule. It will be instructive here to quote Barnett's report on the condition of the Government Institutions during the reign of Abbās and Saʿīd.

From 1848 to 1863, until Ismaʿīl came into power, little seems to have been effected in the way of progress. Indeed, most of the institutions gradually disappeared. Nassau Senior once asked Hekekyan Bey what had become of the Council of Public Instruction established with such a flourish. "Abolished by Saʿīd", was the reply. Of the Primary Schools which were

1 For details see Carbites, P. Ibrahim of Egypt, London, 1935.
spread over all Egypt? "Abolished by Abbās and Saʿīd". Of the Secondary Schools? "One exists, the other was abolished by Abbās". Of Polytechnic School? "Abolished by Saʿīd". Of the School of Languages? "Abolished by Abbās. Shepheard's Hotel in the Esbekeeyeh was built to replace it. Mr. Shepheard and his waiters are the successors of the Professors of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, French and English". Of the Cavalry School? "Abolished by Abbās". Of the Infantry School? "Abolished by Abbās. Of the Artillery School? "Abolished by Abbās". Of the Veterinary School? "Abolished by Abbās". Of the Medical School? "Reduced by Abbās".

The pupils that remained at Saʿīd's accession (about 100, instead of the 150 whom Muḥammad ʿAlī left there) were taken by Saʿīd, and all sent by Saʿīd to serve as privates in the Army; young men who had given five or six years to the study of medicine or surgery, everyone of whom would have diffused, not only health, but knowledge over the country". What then remains of the great provision made by Muḥammad ʿAlī for public instruction? "Nothing except one Secondary School. Abbās and Saʿīd, though they differ in every other question, agree in their hatred and their contempt of knowledge".

While, then, Senior visited the public library at Cairo and there found the shelves empty, and the rooms occupied by the clerks of the War Offices it is abundantly clear that during the reigns of Abbās and Saʿīd a general attitude of neglect and contempt on the part of the government prevailed,

nevertheless, at the end of Sa'id's rule, the following three State Educational Institutions remained still in existence.

i) The Citadel Secondary School with 300 scholars in eight groups.

ii) The Engineering School with 116 students.

iii) The Medical School with 69 scholars of both sexes.¹

It goes without saying that with the decline in the number of schools, the number of students must have likewise gone down very drastically.

Another aspect of the history of education during this period must not be overlooked, and that is the establishment of Missionary Schools. In 1845 a Catholic Girls' School was set up in Cairo² and in 1854 (the last year of Abbās's rule) an American mission arrived in Egypt for the first time, and opened a Private Girls' School in the al-Esbekeeyeh quarter of Cairo, and, subsequently, two more missionary schools for boys were founded in al-Muski Street in the same city. Still later, in the reign of Sa'id, nine missionary schools came to be opened by the American, Italian and other European missions in Egypt, mostly intended for girls.³

Apart from their special religious character and aims, such schools brought to Egypt a modicum of European staff with their ideas on teaching, thus furnishing a private sector of schools to some extent dependent on European practices in teaching.

1 Sāmī, A. al-Ta'lim ff Misr, Cairo, 1917, p.16.
2 For details see Heyworth-Dunne, J. An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt, London, 1968, pp.87-90, 275-278.
3 Sāmī, A. op.cit., p.16.
Nor was this all, a Copt movement derived from the Eastern Orthodox Church, came into being during Sa'id's rule, and the Copts were successful in establishing two private educational institutions namely,

a) The Coptic Faculty (1855), for Girls;
b) The Coptic School (1857), for Boys

Otherwise, in Egypt the traditional institutions (Maktabas, Madrasachs and Mosque Schools) continued to function during this period, much as before. No significant improvement was made in any direction. Although Abbâs Ûlmî frequented al Azhar, where he distributed silver coins, and although Sa'id similarly favoured the Mosque, their patronage accomplished nothing of importance in so far as the teaching was concerned.

Looking back with hindsight over the period from Muhammad 'Ali to Sa'id allows us to sum up the educational achievements in Egypt as a whole and note where they have fallen short of their original aims. Muhammad 'Ali, as we have already noted, established a network of secular education throughout the most part of Egypt modelled along European lines, and in addition to this was responsible for the founding of specialized schools, both Medical and Technical. He organized also a Council of Public Instruction to supervise these establishments, who were at the same time to adapt existing schools into the general framework of modernization. During this

1 Sămf, A. op.cit., p.16.
period foreign teachers were introduced and a few teacher training classes were established; with this focus on education a number of private and missionary schools were also founded.

Under the Council of Public Instruction primary schools were limited to fifty, with only two secondary schools. Schools in fact were extended to a small section of the population and were confined to the main cities or large towns. The educational programme was impressive but proved all too often to exist only on paper. Yet, when all points are considered and accepting the obvious and the sometimes unrealistic approach of the programme with its glaring deficiencies, it was an important departure and the most impressive educational programme at that time in the Middle East. Now it should be remembered that Muḥammad ʿAlī held the Ḥijāz for years, but failed to include the province in his educational reforms or in the distribution of printed books, as he did with Syria. While it can be said that he was exclusively preoccupied with his military affairs and concerned with his tenuous position in the area, yet it is also probable that he felt the conservative elements in the Ḥijāz would firmly reject interference in their purely traditional mode of life. Such traditionalism in turn was probably partly conditioned by the provinces poverty and isolation, as ʿAlī Bey saw;¹ and the lack of interest in reform of European type agrees with the fact that commercially and otherwise the Ḥijāz looked to the Indian Ocean rather than to the West. Muḥammad ʿAlī

successors Abbās and Saʿīd failed to show the same interest in educational reforms, and what started out as an exciting innovation ended miserably with the closing of the Egyptian schools, through inertia or lack of funds; but so far as the Egyptian political connection with the Hijāz is concerned there was in any case nothing to close down there, since as we saw the Egyptian regime never opened schools in the Hijāz.
PART TWO

THE COMING OF A MODERNIZED EDUCATION TO THE HIJAZ

DURING THE PERIOD 1869-1916
Until 1874 education in the Hijāz had tenaciously, and with almost complete fidelity, adhered to the old educational system made up of the three main traditional institutions previously described and discussed. In the year 1869, however, the Turkish Government promulgated a detailed series of legal enactments which were confessedly intended to provide Turkey with a system of education very largely derived from those European models, which had already exerted so profound an influence on Western society. These decrees when they came to be applied to the Hijāz, were to begin to transform the theory and practice of education there, both directly, through the institutions of the new Turkish State System, and indirectly, through the impetus they gave to the development of a rival system of Arabic education expressing itself in numerous private scholastic foundations. Nevertheless these efforts failed to achieve anything like the results they were intended to produce, as we shall see.

The Ottoman Law for the Regulation of Public and Private Institutions (The Ma'arif Umumiye Nizamnamesi) was by any standards a remarkably comprehensive law, embracing as it did all aspects and levels of education, and making reasonably adequate provision for the satisfactory education of the whole population of the Turkish dominions. Issued on 24th Jumādā al-Awwal A.H. 1286 (i.e. 1st September, 1869), it comprised no
fewer than 198 paragraphs, and drawing its inspiration from the European legislation of the time, it classified schools strictly into Government (Public) Schools and Private (Free or Independent) Schools.¹

Primary Education fell into three grades: The Şubînîyyah (which was the equivalent of a Nursery School);² the Ibtidâîyyah (Lower Primary) and the Rushdîyyah (Higher Primary), whereas Secondary Education had two grades: the I'dâdîyyah (Lower Secondary) and the Sultânîyyah (Higher Secondary). Academically more advanced than these stood the 'Alîyyah Schools, specialized in the various Arts Crafts and Sciences, among them the Training Colleges, and, as the apex of the total system, the State University (Dâr al-Funûn).

Beside these, provision was made for schools devoted to female education on a somewhat different scheme.


Leaving out of consideration the Sublānīyyah or Nursery school, every province of the Ottoman Empire was to have the above five categories of school, which were to be answerable to the Ministry of Public Instruction at Constantinople.¹

1. The Ibtidāîyyah Schools:

The Education Act stated that each sizable village should be required to have a Lower Primary School (Ibtidāîyyah), and, where the population was small, one for every two villages. The people of each village collectively were to pay for the school building, its repairs and the salaries of its administrative staff and teachers. Education at this grade was in intention compulsory, both for Muslim and non-Muslim children, and classes for boys and girls were to be organized separately. Upon the head of each family was laid the duty of registering his children, boys and girls, with the Lower Primary School, when they reached six years. This registration was to be witnessed by the local Mukhtār or Municipal Head of the Community in the villages.

The curriculum of the Ibtidāîyyah or Lower Primary Schools covered a four-year period. The subjects to be taught were: The Alphabet, Qurʾān Art of Recitation (of the Qurʾān), Moral Science, Elements of Calculus, Writing,

¹ Ibid., pp.366 ff; see also La Jonquière, op.cit., p.562; 'Awad, A. Al-Idārah al-Uthmāniyyah fi Wilāyat Suriyya 1864-1914, Cairo: 1969, pp.254-257.
Elements of Ottoman History, Elements of Geography and Practical Knowledge.¹ For non-Muslim communities subjects taught would include the Catechism of their own respective religion under the direction of the spiritual leaders of these communities.²

2. **The Rushdiyyah Schools:**

These were to be established in each town containing not less than 500 families whether Muslim or Christian, should there be however, several religious groups within the same town, such a town had to contain not less than 1,000 families before this type of school was required by law.

The Education Council of the Province was not only to meet all the expenses of setting up the school but also to appoint suitable teachers. The course was to comprise four years of study, and was adapted to pupils entering the school between 10 and 11 years of age.³ Subjects to be taught were:

Elements of Religious Instruction, Turkish Grammar, Elements of Arabic and Persian Grammar, Orthography and Epistolary Style, Line Drawing, Elements of Geometry, Arithmetic, Book-


² Young, G. op. cit., p. 366; La Jonquières, op. cit., pp. 561-2; 'Awad, A. op. cit., p. 254.

keeping, Elements of Ottoman History and Geography.\textsuperscript{1} For non-Muslim the Religious Instruction would be given according to their communal beliefs. The syllabus for girls varied somewhat and included Domestic Science, Needlework and Music.\textsuperscript{2}

3. The I'dādiyyah Schools:

These were to be established in all the main towns whose families numbered not less than 1,000, and in this case too, all necessary expenses were to be paid by the Education Council of the Province. In order to maintain an acceptable standard, each school was to have a statutory minimum of six teachers, together with their assistants, who were each to have a Diploma in Education.\textsuperscript{3}

The course was to occupy three years, and tuition was to be offered in the Turkish Literature and Epistolary style, French Language, Turkish Grammar, Rhetoric, Elements of Political Economy, Geography, History, Natural History, Algebra, Arithmetic and Bookkeeping, Geometry and surveying, Physics, Chemistry and Drawing. These I'dādiyyah Schools, which naturally recruited students from the Rushdiyyah Schools, provided what might fairly be termed an Elementary and Intermediate Secondary Education.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1} Young, G. op.cit., p.371. La Jonquièri (op.cit., p.562) gives the following subjects: Religious Studies, Arabic Grammar and Syntax, Turkish and Persian, Orthography, Composition and Style, Ottoman and World History, Geography, the Elements of Geometry, Linear Design and any non-Muslim Language in regular use.

\textsuperscript{2} Young, G. op.cit., p.371; La Jonquièri, op.cit., p.562.


\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., see also Young, G. op.cit., p.372.
4. **The Sultāniyya Schools:**

This type of school was to be founded only in the provincial capitals and was designed for such students as had completed their studies in one of the Iḍādiyya Schools and passed their examinations in the requisite subjects. Evening students in the Sultāniyya Schools were to pay a fee of between 20 and 30 Ottoman Liras; day students were to pay half the evening class fee; while external students were to pay a quarter fee only. The course of study here was apportioned into two divisions, as follows:

a) **The Advanced Division:**

The duration of the course of study in this division was to be not less than six years, and students were to be segregated into two faculties, Arts and Science.

In the Arts Faculty firstly, students were to be taught Calligraphy and Turkish Composition, various books in the Arabic and Persian Literatures, Rhetoric, French, Economics and International Law (sic).

In the Science Faculty, secondly, the following subjects were to be taught: Geometry, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Drawing, Perspective, Algebra, the Application of Algebra to Geometry, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy (Physics), Introduction to the Application of Chemistry to Industry and Agriculture, Population Studies, and Surveying.

b) **The Preparatory Division:**

The course of study in this division was to occupy three years, and the subjects taught were broadly as in the Iḍādiyya Schools, the medium of instruction being Turkish. Here again,
Arabic was not to be taught.\(^1\)

Although the 1869 Regulations provided for the establishment of Sultānīyya Schools in each of the provincial capitals, their propagation and growth were rather slow. However, by 1914, twenty-six such schools, with a student enrolment of 8,380 had been created.\(^2\)

5. **The Higher Schools:**

These consisted of: Dār al-Muʿallimīn, Dār al-Muʿallimāt, (both of them Teachers' Training Colleges, the first for male and the second for female teachers), Dār al-Funūn (College of Arts) in Instanbul and various other Training Institutes of Arts and Crafts.

The duration of the course envisaged varied in the different colleges:

a) The Course of Study varied according to qualifications and ambition, in the Dār al-Muʿallimīn; thus, the Rushdiyya Course i.e. the course for students who were to be trained for teaching in Rushdiyya Schools - was to last three years, and students admitted to this course were required to have successfully achieved all the previous educational levels, and have obtained the certificates of the Rushdiyya, Iʿdāfiyya and Sultaniyya schools. The student who had successfully completed the required subjects of the Rushdiyya Course was to have the right to teach in the Rushdiyya Schools; or else to join the Iʿdāfiyya Course\(^3\) in the Dār al-Muʿallimīn. After completion


2 Kazamias, A.M. *op.cit.*, p.84.

3 The course for students who were being trained for teaching in Iʿdāfiyya schools.
of the required subjects of the Ifḍādiyya Course, he then was to be entitled, if he so desired, to join the Sultānīyya Course. The foregoing remarks likewise applied to the Dār al-Mu‘allimāt (Female Teachers' Training College).

b) Dār al-Funūn: (College of Arts) this was to have three divisions: I Philosophy and Literature, II Law and III Natural Sciences and Mathematics. The duration of the course in each division was to be three years. Wisely, in the case of students who had received Teacher Training, the course lasted four years.

The Education Councils in the Provinces: (Majlis al-Ma‘ārif)

The Law of 1869 enacted that a special Education Council should be set up in each of the provinces, charged with the direction, inspection and supervision of all educational establishments. Each such Council was to be staffed as under: One Director, two Assistant Directors (one Muslim and the other non-Muslim), four Inspectors, four to ten additional members drawn from the different religious communities, one Clerk, one Treasurer and one Accountant.

The appointment of the Director, the Assistant Directors, the Inspectors and all the other members was to be made by Imperial Decree. These Education Councils in the Provinces, moreover, were to be subordinate to the Chief Council of Education in Istanbul, which in turn was to be under the

1 The course for students who were being trained for teaching in Sultānīyya Schools. 'Awād, op.cit.; pp.256-7 from Ottoman Constitution (al-Dustūr) Vol. 2. pp.169-170. (1873/1290); La Jonquière, op.cit., p.562.

2 Young, G. op.cit., pp.380-394.
administration and judicial control of the Ministry of Education in that city.\(^1\) The Law of 1869 had expressly provided that all these Councils should be composed of Muslim and non-Muslim members.\(^2\)

The Area of Competence of the Education Councils:

The area of competence of such councils was laid down as follows:

a) The carrying out of the directions and instructions received from the Ministry of Education (Nazārat al-Maʿārif) or the Chief Council of Education (Madjlis al-Maʿārif) in Istanbul.

b) The inspection of schools in the Province with a view to the precise implementation of the provisions of the Law.

c) The control of all funds and contributions received from the people of the Province in respect of their expenditure, allocation and use.

All non-State Schools, libraries and publishing offices established within the Province were to be regularly supervised and inspected by the Education Council of the Province, methods of improving them were to be looked into and an Annual Report was invariably to be sent to the Ministry of Education concerning the condition of education in State and non-State Establish-

\(^1\) 'Awād, op. cit., p. 257, La Jonquière, op. cit., p. 562

According to the Law of 1869 the local councils were to address themselves in the first instance to the Vali or failing him directly to the Ministry of Education Council in Istanbul. Young, op. cit., p. 358 Article 152.

\(^2\) Young, G. op. cit., p. 353-8.
ments, a copy of which was also to be sent to the Provincial Council (Madjlis Maʿarif al-Wilāya). This report was to deal further with the management of the Budget and all other matters of educational concern.

Examinations:

In accordance with the Education Law of 1869, there were to be two kinds of examination:

1. Examinations were to be held at the end of the Academic Year in all types of school; and, depending strictly on the results of these examinations, pupils were to be transferred to the next higher form within each school.

2. Final Examinations were also to be held every year for such pupils as had satisfactorily completed the whole School Course, and were otherwise able to proceed to a more advanced school.¹

In addition the law prescribed a third kind of examination for diplomas bacculaureat, doctorates etc.² These examinations were always to be held in June each year, but pupils who could not take the examination in June were to take Supplementary Examinations in September. All these examinations were to

² Young, op.cit., p. 358-9 Article 153 ff.
take place in the relevant school and certificates were to be awarded to these pupils who passed their examinations.

All examinations again, were to be regulated by the Council of Education in Istanbul or in the Province, and to be held in the presence of educationally competent persons and officials appointed by the Councils or by the Ministry of Education.¹

In 1902 the law was modified: in fact, a new Teaching Plan was issued, at the same time the number of years prescribed for pupils in the Ibtidā'Iyyah and Rushdiyyah Schools were decreased in each case from four years to three, while the number of years in the I'dādiyyah was correspondingly increased from three years to four.²

Following the Young Turkish Revolution, which undoubtedly brought in its train a greatly intensified interest in education, some additional regulations were passed in 1913, thus forming a supplement to our information about teaching methods contained in the British Report. Valuable tabulations for various years, both before and after the reforms, are contained in Türkiyede Orta Öğretim, by H.A. Yucel, Istanbul, 1938, pp.147-230, a reproduction of which can be found in the Appendix, IX. Very similar descriptions and evaluations of the teaching in Turkish State Schools before 1914 may also be found in the essay by O.Eberhard, Bildungswesen und Schulreform in der

¹ Young, G. op.cit., pp.358-362; 'Awad, op.cit., p.258; and Salnamah Nazarat Ma'arif Amumiyya 'A.H. 1317 (A.D. 1898-1899) 11/68/82.
² For details see Eberhard, O. "Die neuen Lehrpläne in den Türkischen Regierungsschulen Palästinas," in Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 1907, pp.33-39. Young, op.cit., p.372. Note 10 states that the length of attendance in the I'dādiyyah schools was reduced from three to two years, but this seems to be an error, as the other sources quoted show.
neuen Turkei, Jahrbuch des Vereins für Wissenschaftliche Pädagogik, 1917.

The following is a description of School Curricula given in a British Official Report for the year 1902, and fairly presents a state of affairs which continued with little change thereafter up to World War I.

"The subjects taught in the Lower Primary School (Ibtidā'īyya) are reading, writing, abridged, history of Turkey, the Qur'ān, catechism, simple arithmetic, and the rudiments of Arabic. The course is one of three years, at the completion of which pupils receive certificates enabling them to enter Higher Primary Schools (Rushdīyyah). The average number of hours of study per week is twenty-four of which eight to nine are devoted to religious instructions.

The subjects taught in the Higher Primary Schools (Rushdīyyah) are Turkish, Arabic, Persian, arithmetic, history of Turkey, history of Islam, geography, morals, calligraphy, drawing, geometry and agriculture. Several hours per week are also given up to the study of the Qur'ān and to religious instruction.

The programme of the Lower Secondary Schools (I'dādīyyah) is somewhat elaborate, including as it does, besides the ordinary subjects, agriculture, algebra, bookkeeping, chemistry, physics, "legislation", cosmography, mechanics, political economy, hygiene and biology. To judge by the average prize giving function in the provinces, at which chemical experiments usually figure, the teaching of this subject leaves much to be desired, and indeed, generally, learning by heart seems to be encouraged at the expense of the reasoning faculties. Most
The İdādîyyah Schools have a preparatory branch attached to them.\(^1\)

Attempts to apply the Turkish State system to the Hijāz.

In theory and intention, the provisions of this whole legislation were as we have said comprehensive. The application of the Law in the Hijāz was however, very gradual and then only partial. The earliest known reference to the educational conditions of the Hijāz during the period 1874 to 1916 is to be found in the Report of Abdul-Razzack, the Acting British Consul at Jeddah, and which was compiled by him on 15th September, 1885. He reported that "no steps were taken towards the establishment of schools in this country (Hijāz) until the year of the Ḥejīrād 1291 (1874 A.D.) when the first Rushdīyyah (Turkish State) School in the Hijaz was established in Jeddah.

Two years later another Rushdīyyah School was established in Medina in 1293 A.H. (1876) ... But Mecca, the capital of the Hijaz and chief city of Islam, could not boast a school as late as the commencement of the present Muslim century 1302 (1885). Yenbu also appears to possess a school in the same year.\(^2\)

All these schools were Higher Primary Schools (Rushdīyyah); but towards the end of the nineteenth century we find that Medina already had other types of school as mentioned in the Law of 1869; in all, four Lower Primary Schools (İbtıdā'îyyah)

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1 An excellent summary, based on official British Annual Reports of the teaching as modified by these new adjustments is contained in a Report reproduced by Gooch and Temperley, British Documents on the Origins of the War 1898-1914, vol. 5. H.M. Stationery Office, 1928, pp.28-31.

and one Lower Secondary School (I'dādiyyah). We have no reliable dates of the actual opening of the Ibtidā'iyyah Schools, but the I'dādiyyah was opened in 1900.¹

Up to 1908, it would certainly appear that there were only four Ibtidā'iyyahs, four Rushdīyyahs and one I'dādiyyah open in the Hijaz, and it was apparent that the schools already established were almost entirely restricted to a few important towns; smaller places, villages, and tribal areas has been wholly neglected, indeed hardly even considered. Matters for the most part remained thus until after the Young Turkish Revolution, when a new burst of activity at once made itself felt and additional schools of various types were founded, some of them now in places apparently not provided with State Schools before, such as Taif (1909) and Wajh (1911).

Furthermore during the period from 1908 to 1916 new types of State School gradually appeared. Thus Medina was privileged to be the first city to boast of three Ibtidā'iyyah Schools in the year 1908.² Again in 1909 a Teachers' Training College (Dār al-Murallimīn) was opened in Medina,³ and a Higher Elementary School (Rushdīyyah) in Taif.⁴ In the year 1910 Mecca received a Lower Elementary School (Ibtidā'iyyah)⁵

² Ibid.,
³ Ibid.,
⁴ Hijāz, No.72 (A.H. 29. 3. 1329 = 29th March 1911); See also al-Ṣādiqī, M.A. Report on Past Education in Taif, p.1.
⁵ Hijāz, No.14. (A.H. 20. 1. 1327 = 10th February 1909); No.45 (A.H. 23. 1. 1328 = 3rd February 1910); and No.46 (A.H. 30. 1. 1328 = 10th February 1910)
and about the same time a Technical School (al-Madrasah al-Sīnā'īyyah) was opened there. In the same year two Lower Elementary Schools were founded in Jeddah. Late 1910 and 1911 saw the coming of two Lower Elementary Schools in Taif, and another one said to have been opened in Wajh also.

One may therefore in general say that at this period the educational network was extended and diversified over the settled area. As from this period too, it was confidently envisaged that education should be extended to the tribal areas, this far reaching project, however had not yet been put into effect when Turkish rule was terminated in the Hijāz.

We have above sketched in broad outline the development of Turkish State Education in the Hijāz, as a direct outcome of the application of the new Education Law, and we must now examine the matter in more detail.

The Education Council:

In regard to the Education Council to be set up in accordance with the Law of 1869, in the Hijaz, there is a real dearth of information. It would now appear that the proper provision for educational administration enacted in the Law of 1869 did not in fact come into effect in the Hijaz itself until

1 Hijāz, No. 60 (A.H. 28. 7.1328 = 4th August 1910); No. 61 (A.H. 19. 8.1328 = 25th August 1910); and No. 64 (A.H. 3.11.1328 = 6th November 1910).
3 Hijāz, No. 70 (A.H. 8. 2.1329 = 7th February 1911) and No. 72 (A.H. 29. 3.1329 = 29th March 1911).
1908. In that year the official newspaper "Hijāz" reported that the Ministry of Education in Istanbul had decided to form a Council of Education in the Hijaz and Faidī Effendi (the ex-director of the Ifrādīyyah School in Ṣan‘ā in Yemen) had been appointed to lead the Council.¹ A few days later the same newspaper reported that the Head of the Educational Council (Faidī Effendi) had arrived in Mecca.² There was no mention of any other administrative staff but it has been possible to ascertain that various notables of the city took part in the Board sessions as thus constituted³ and that a certain number of clerical staff, one clerk, a Treasurer and an accountant were employed in accordance with the Education Law of 1869.⁴

Other appointments were made in Medina. It was recorded that a Director of Education, called ʻAbdul-Qādir Tawfīq al-Shalābī had been appointed and he would most certainly have had a Clerical Staff at his service; at the sessions of the board notables also attended such as the Shaikh al-Haram. The board of the Committee had to be in direct contact with the Education Council in Mecca.⁵

On the 17th November 1910 an Inspector of Education (called Khulūṣi Effendi Aḥmad) was attached to the Education Council of the province.⁶ This was followed up by a new

1 Hijāz, No. 4. (A.H. 6.11.1326 = 29th November 1908)
3 Hijāz, No. 45. (A.H. 23.1.1328 = 3rd February 1910)
5 Ḥāfiz, O. Special Report on Past Education In Medina, pp. 6,11. Ḥilmi, M. op.cit.⁷
regulation concerning the jurisdiction of the members of the Education Council in Mecca, the Inspectors and the Director of Education in Medina. In this regulation the Turkish authorities resolutely set about the task of organizing the educational administration by employing tried and tested modern methods, and the following points appertained to the Head of the Education Council: Firstly, that the administration of the Teachers' Training College, the Rushdīyyah Schools and all other educational establishments was now placed under his care and jurisdiction, secondly, that teaching methods and curricula in all the Elementary (Lower and Higher) Schools were likewise to be his especial concern; thirdly, that he was to supervise and take part in the financial affairs of his council and also to appoint the Examination Committees and to fix the times of holidays; fourthly, that he would also be the Head of the Teachers' Training College Committee in each city; fifthly, that Reports submitted to him and written by the Director of Education (in Medina), by the Inspectors of Education and by the Directors of the schools had to be studied by him and taken into full consideration; moreover, data in support of the dates for the promotion and recognition of teachers and clerical workers in the educational establishments had to be sent from time to time to the Ministry of Education in Istanbul; sixthly, that he had to undertake the personal inspection of all schools but in this task he was assisted by subordinate inspectors.

It was an essential part of the duties of the newly appointed Inspector that he should report in some detail every three months to the Head of the Education Council or to the
Director of Education in his area, on all aspects of the subjects studied in the State Schools, and that he should discuss and assess the various aspects of teaching in all the educational establishments in his area. In the event of the absence of the Director of the Head of the Education Council the Inspector was to assume overall responsibility for the teaching in the schools, and also to assume the chairmanship of the various committees, with authority to dismiss or appoint any teacher, as he saw fit.

In the cases however of the dismissal and appointment of teachers in the Elementary Schools, and of the movement of a teacher, from one school to another, he was expected to obtain prior written permission from the Education Committee. Recognized was his right to intervene, if necessary, in the subjects which a particular Elementary School teacher might pursue, but he was not empowered to meet out punishment in this regard until he had obtained the consent of the Committee for Education Council in the province.¹

On 19th March 1911 the newspaper Hijaz published a report that Khalîl Bey had arrived in Mecca to take up his new appointment as Provincial Head of the Education Council.²

In April 1912 the Education Council was reorganized and a report to that effect was published in the Newspaper "Hijāz".³ The Council in Mecca was housed in a Government administrative building named Al-Ḥamīḍīyyah and the Sub-Committee in Medina was located in a part of the Turkish administrative building and all sessions of the board were held there.⁴

1 Hijāz, No. 65 (A.H. 2.12.1328 = 5th December 1910)
2 Hijāz, No. 72 (A.H. 29.3.1329 = 29th March 1911)
3 Hijāz, No. 99 (A.H. 27.4.1330 = 15th April 1912)
The Scholastic Institutions:—

Having dealt with central administration, we must now review the various types of State school.

The Ibtida'Iyyah Schools:—

Of the 13 Ibtida'Iyyah (Lower Elementary) Schools in the Hijaz, four were founded before 1908, and the others during the period 1908-1916. The four Ibtida'Iyyah Schools to appear here before 1908, were to be found in Medina only; while the schools established after this were to be found in the following places: three in Medina (1908-9), one in Mecca (1910), two in Jeddah (1908), two in Taif (1910 and 1911) and one is reported to have been opened in Wajh (1910).

The year 1910 saw the establishment of the first Ibtida'Iyyah school to be founded in Mecca. Compared with previous Turkish State Schools in other cities of the Hijaz, it appeared to have more facilities to offer its students.

Al-Batnûnî described the opening ceremony as an occasion of some importance in Mecca, more so than the opening of the privately controlled schools. He said that in May, 1910

1 Häfiz, O. Special Report on Past Education in Medina, p.1.
2 Ibid.,
4 Hijaz, No.62 (A.H. 10. 9.1328 = 14th September 1910)
5 Hijaz, No.70 (A.H. 8. 2.1329 = 7th February 1911) and No.72 (A.H. 29. 3.1329 = 29th March 1911).
(Jumādā al-Awwal A.H. 1328) "the Young Turks opened a school in Mecca. The ceremony was attended by the Valī, the Sharīf of Mecca and a large number of local dignitaries" ... "May God grant all blessings for the benefit of the Capital of Islam".¹

Further commentary is recorded by Sībā'ī who says "When the constitution was recommenced by the Young Turks in 1908 part of the new programme included the foundation of new schools in the provinces (Hijāz). Mecca had one school called "Burhān al'-Ittiḥād". It was the second Turkish school in the city, situated in a large house in front of the Ṣafā gate of the Great Mosque. Later, the location was changed and a new building was constructed near the Finance Department Building in the Jiyād² district".³ Īsā Rūḥī was appointed as Headmaster of the school. At the beginning fifty students were enrolled in the school.⁴

Schools in other towns, as often as not, were obliged to find accommodation in buildings used by other schools, or else they occupied khalwahs or rooms belonging to a Waqf (religious foundation) in or near the mosques, or elsewhere. Such was

1 Hijāz, No.46. (A.H. 30. 1.1328 = 11. 2.1910).
2 The building was used as an elementary school, first by the Sharifian authority and then by the Saudi Government. It is now used as a private warehouse.
4 Hijāz, No.46.
the case with the schools of Medina, one of which was housed in the second storey of a building in the Bāb al-Majīdī district (one of the gates of the Prophet's Mosque), while another was situated in al-Darwīsh Street, and was under the direction of Majīd 'Āshīqī.\(^1\) All these schools pursued only a preparatory course of teaching. The alphabet and a little reading and writing were taught, apart from the memorizing of the Qur'ān or of small parts of it.\(^2\)

Of documentary evidence concerning the teachers we have none, but it would certainly be reasonable to assume that their academic standard was markedly lower than that of the higher school teachers and that they were, for the most part, equipped to teach only at primary level; but we cannot rule out the possibility that teachers from the higher schools sometimes served in these schools on a part-time basis. Each school comprised at the most one - three classes, and if the number of pupils can be fairly gauged from the accommodation of the school it would not exceed twenty-five in each of the classes.\(^3\)

We must note here that compulsory education in the Ibtīdā'īyyah Schools as set down in the educational Law of 1869 was never put into effect, although it remained on the Statute book. Moreover, as we have seen from the limited numbers of this type of school, the educational administration was unable to provide sufficient schools for the towns, let alone the villages which were totally disregarded.

2 Ibid.,
3 Ḥāfiẓ, O. *op.cit.*, p.4.
The Rushdiyyah Schools:

As we have seen earlier (above, pp 74-5) five Rushdiyyah Schools in all were founded in the Hijaz. Of these the first to be founded was in Jeddah in 1874; another followed in Medina in 1876 and two others in Mecca and Yanbu in 1885; and, much later, the fifth was founded in Taif in 1909. In their founders intention, these schools were to be guided by the best modern practices and concern themselves primarily with the Turkish Language and Grammar, with the specific intention of producing future employees of the Civil Service from among their pupils. The choice of Jeddah to have the First School, in preference to Mecca, the centre of the Vilayet may have been due to several reasons. Primarily perhaps the Turks feared opposition from the conservative Meccans who may have looked upon the school with hostility. On the other hand Jeddah was the most libral city in the province, housing non-Muslims as well as the foreign consuls who were always anxious for reform and modernization.

To take these schools in the order of their foundation, the School of Jeddah was founded on a site close to the house of Müsä Baghdadi in the Ḥarāt al-Shām, or northern quarter of the city. It is said to have been a well ventilated two-storeyed building, but, like all Jeddah buildings, it was without a compound. Erected by subscriptions raised among the residents of the city, we learn a little later that this building was commodious and that the accommodation for

1 Al-Anṣārī, A. Tarīkh Madīnat Jaddah, Jeddah: 1963, p.150.
2 Ibid.
the pupils was more than sufficient; this fact led to one half of the building being converted into a post-office, thereby saving the local authorities the sum of $100 per annum.

Less fortunate than its forerunner, the Rushdiyyah School of Medina had no special building, and was located in one of the many Khalwahs or houses which form part of the numerous awqaf situated around the Tomb and Great Mosque of the Prophet.¹

Considerably larger than the other three schools already situated in other cities, and more useful to its pupils was the Rushdiyyah School in Mecca. In 1885 the British consul wrote: "For the present (1885) the school occupies a large building attached to one of the wings of the Haram" (or the Great Mosque of Mecca), and which is a part of the "Awqafs" of the temple; but the vali, Osman Pasha, under whose auspices the school has commenced its existence, and who takes some interest in it, proposes to allocate a more spacious accommodation in a Government building called the "Hamidia", which is in course of construction and situated opposite the eastern facade of the Mosque of the Temple. At first this building was intended as a charitable institution, and was endowed by and partly built during the reign of the late Sultan 'Abdul-Majid (1839 - 1861), after whom it was at first named "al-Majidia". But the building was left uncared for, probably from lack of funds, for about twenty years; it has now been taken into hand by the reigning vali, who has given it its present name, and is making every effort to finish it; he intends to remove all Government offices into it".²

¹ Ibid., pp.9, 16.
However it appeared that the school was not in fact housed in the building mentioned, and was instead located in a building in the Bāb al-Duraibah district; it was then moved to the former Printing House of the Government, adjacent to the headquarters of the Municipality of the capital in the Jiyād quarter; it again moved to al-Qabbān in al-Mudafāa quarter and afterwards to the Mi'lâ market in the premises of the Saʿūdiyyah School which was recently demolished during the widening of the street.¹ The other two Rushdīyyah schools of Yanbu' and Taif were housed in Government property. Concerning the furnishings of these schools Naṣīf states that in the Rushdīyyah school of Jeddah seats were provided for the pupils,² a western-type innovation in a country where students habitually squatted on the floor.

"The curriculum laid down by the Educational Department of Constantinople for the schools of the Hijāz, seemed to be tolerably well selected according to the standard of their ideas (sic), and was as follows:--

**FIRST YEAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Lessons in the Year</th>
<th>No. of Lessons in the Week</th>
<th>Languages and other subjects</th>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Religious Primer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Primary Grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Moral lesson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Sentence writing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Lessons in the Year</th>
<th>No. of Lessons in the Week</th>
<th>Languages and other subjects</th>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arithmetic up to Division</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECOND YEAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Arabic grammar</td>
<td>Etymology &amp; Syntax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Persian grammar</td>
<td>(Basic) Principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Moral lessons and anecdotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Spelling and Sentence Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>Fractions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>Definitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>Lines &amp; Angles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Letters in Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD YEAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arabic grammar</td>
<td>Syntax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>The Gulistan &amp; Sayings of wise men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Ottoman Grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Prose - Tales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>The Continents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>History of the Ottomens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No. of Lessons in the Year | No. of Lessons in the Week | Languages and other subjects | Course
---|---|---|---
36 | 1 | Drawing | Animals and Houses
36 | 1 | Writing | Letter Writing

FOURTH YEAR

| 108 | 3 | Arabic | Logic
| 72 | 2 | Persian | Gulistan (complete)
| 72 | 2 | Turkish | The art of Correspondence
| 36 | 1 | Arithmetic | Bookkeeping
| 72 | 2 | Geography of the Ottoman Empire |
| 72 | 2 | History of the Ottoman Empire |
| 72 | 2 | Surveying Preliminary |
| 72 | 2 | Rhetoric Rudiments |
| 36 | 1 | Drawing |
| 36 | 1 | Writing Miscellaneous letter writing |

The Course of Instruction did not include the teaching of the alphabet, as every boy was supposed, on joining the school, to be in possession of some preliminary tuition received at home. However, commenting on the curriculum of these schools, the Acting British Consul acutely reported

2 Ibid., p.10.
that "the actual state of the schools was far from thriving, and that no actual classes had been formed as attendance was very small, and confined to the children of Turkish officials. Hence each boy continued his studies according to the amount of knowledge he may have acquired previous to joining the school. The following is the Course of Instruction generally adopted:

First Year: Principles of (Islamic) Religion and Prayers
Second Year: Persian and Turkish primers with a little Geography.
Third Year: Arithmetic, Geography, History of Islam and Ottoman History, Letter-writing and Copy writing". 1

On material consideration, therefore it would appear that, during the entire period (1869-1916), the prescribed curriculum was not in any real sense adhered to, and that only primary subjects were in fact taught. Al-Batnūnī visited the Hijaz in 1910 and provides further reliable confirmation that the subjects taught in the Rushdīyyah Schools were: Arithmetic, Arabic and Turkish Reading and Writing. 2 Again, we find in a similar vein a little later, Naṣīf mentioning in his report that the subjects taught in these same schools, early in the second decade of the 20th century, included only Arithmetic, Geography, Calligraphy, Arabic Grammar and Theology. 3

2 Al-Riḥlah al-Hijāzīyyah, Cairo, 1911, p.9.
As to staff, the School at Jeddah employed, in the year 1885, one Khoja, or teacher, and a bawwāb (doorkeeper). The Mahhkamat al-Ma‘ārif (Education Department) at Istanbul allocated a total monthly grant of 5,000 Turkish piastries, and out of this, 1,000 Turkish Piastres were set aside purely for the use of the school of Jeddah. A list of the monthly items of expenditure is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount (Ps)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khoja</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawwāb</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water and Stationery</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retained for prizes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and other Educational Expenses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same year the Medina School employed one Khoja and a Bawwāb, and received the same rate of financial aid, and was thus in all essential respects similar to the Jeddah School. The Meccan School, employed two Khojas and a Bawwāb, one teacher being a Turk and the other an Indian, and drawing a rate of pay of 600 Turkish piastres and 400 Turkish piastres respectively. The Bawwāb drew only 100 Turkish piastres per month. This indicates a paltry scale of operations. The School at Yenbu was conducted by one Khoja only, who, like the Indian received 400 Turkish piastres per month. The above-mentioned rates of pay were all made through the Khazna, or Local Treasury.  

In order to obtain an undistorted picture of the relative social standing and purchasing power which such salaries represented, there are two bases of comparison which we can fairly make. We may, first, compare the teacher's salaries with other known salaries of the same period. If we do this, we find, for instance, that, in the Education Law of 1869, it was laid down that the qualified teachers in the Rushdiyyah Schools were to get 800 Turkish piastres per month, the lower grades proportionately less, and the doorkeeper 150.\footnote{Young, G. \textit{Corps de Droit Ottoman}, vol.II, Oxford, 1905, p.369.} Remarkably enough, however, the teachers in the Hijaz actually received considerably less than this, as we saw above: 600 Turkish piastres (and Indian teachers only 400). In comparison with these figures an inspector in the Ministry of Education was to receive in compliance with the same law, 2,000 Turkish Piastres and a secretary, accountant, or treasurer in the Education Service 500 - 100.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p.356.} Teachers enjoyed thus a lower standing than even medium grade officials, but were still a cut above the lowest grade. As against such recommended salaries decreed in Constantinople, it is no easy task to find trustworthy details about analogous actual salaries paid in the Hijaz during our period. However, we do know at least something about the actual salaries of the highest officials, such as the Vali, who in fact would receive 1,000 Majidi, or 13,000 Turkish piastres, per month during the period 1869-1916\footnote{F.O. 195/1805, \textit{Report on the Vilayet of the Hijaz}, Jeddah, 21st November 1893.} - about 15 times as much as a teacher. The relative standing of the teaching profession is thus pretty much what we might expect.
A second basis of comparison and a fruitful one, is to try and gauge what such salaries actually purchased in the markets of the Hijaz; and there it needs no great skill to work out that, on the basis of a monthly salary of 600 Turkish piastres, the teacher's daily personal allowance would be only ca 20 Turkish piastres. In 1877-8 Keane gave a list of the costs of the basic market goods which we may reasonably take to have been the more or less essential requirements of most families:

**PROVISIONS ONE DAY FOR FIVE PEOPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Piastres</th>
<th>Parras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meat - Camel, 5 ratl; Mutton, 3 ratl</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables for Curry - Parsley, Beetroot, Radish, Marrow, Carrot</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread, 2 ratl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water, 20 gallons - 4 small goat skins brought to the house</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar, ½ ratl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates (best common), 1 ratl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood for fire</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lentils, ½ ratl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk, about 1½ pint</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilies and other Spices for Curry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sour Milk for Curry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea, ½ oz.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco, ½ oz. Turkish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp Oil, Paraffin</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries - Shaving, Fruit, Sweets, Pocket Money, etc.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a slightly later period, i.e. around 1910 Naqshabandi stated that as little as 1 Majidi (13 Turkish Pi astres) would have been sufficient at the current rather low cost of living for a family to buy their basic daily food, meat, vegetables, fruits etc. He also gave the following price list:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goods</th>
<th>Turkish Piastres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A whole medium - sized sheep</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Uqah(^1) of Cooking Oil</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sack of Rice (Mazah)</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sack of Wheat</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Uqah of Sugar</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Uqah of good quality Dates (Hilwah)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Uqah of Cheese</td>
<td>3 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We may go further and remind ourselves that the teacher who received 600 Turkish piastres per month could not afford to spend more than a part, perhaps 4 to 5 Turkish piastres, a day on food for himself, as clearly the remainder would be taken up by the rent for his lodging and by clothing and food for himself and his family. This would indicate that the teacher's salary on the whole was only barely sufficient to cover his basic daily needs; to say nothing of that of the doorkeeper, whose salary was a meagre 100 Turkish piastres per month.

1 One Uqah in the Hijaz equals 1250 grammes.
To add to all these weaknesses and limitations was a further fact. In 1885 numbers of students attending the schools were still very small indeed by any standards, and the boys were predominantly of Turkish families. Thus in Jeddah the number of pupils was 21 and of this number only three or four were Arabs. ¹ On a similar small scale were the other schools. The Schools at Medina had at this time the largest attendance; the pupils, all of whom were Turks, here amounting to 35. The Mecca School's pupils numbered 19, and again all were Turks. The school at Yenbu contained only eight or nine boys, all the children of Turkish officials. ² The small numbers of pupils was indeed most discouraging from every standpoint, and a Foreign Office Bulletin of 1885 plainly states that there was talk of closing the Jeddah School in consequence of poor attendance. "The present Khoja, having undertaken to exert himself to render the school popular, has for a while averted its impending fate". ³

The above figures have been taken from the British Consul's Report but corroborative evidence is forthcoming in that, one year before the actual opening of the Mecca School, the Turkish Official Annual Report (The Hijaz Salnama) mentions that a number of pupils from the Madrasat al-Sulimānīyyah (a traditional school mentioned in Part I) had been selected to attend the proposed Mecca Rushdīyyah School, which was to be opened during the following year, and that a number of teachers were expected to arrive from Istanbul. Later in 1910 al-Batnūnī visited Jeddah and stated that there was a Rushdīyyah school there with 120 pupils. ⁴

² Ibid., p.17.
³ Ibid., pp.15-16.
⁴ Hijaz Villayet Salnamah, Mecca, A.H. 1301 (1884), p.64.
It would appear, however, that the Arab pupils as one might have envisaged, did not in fact attend the school, and it seems very likely that the selected Sulimaniyyah pupils were in fact once more Turks. This additional evidence also substantiates our statement that there were no State Schools in Mecca prior to 1885. Proof that the numbers of pupils remained relatively low comes from another item of statistics supplied in the Hijaz Salnama of A.H. 1306 (1888-89), namely that the numbers of pupils in the Rushdiyya Schools for that year. These were as follows: Mecca 70, Medina 39, Jeddah 41. No data are adduced regarding the number of pupils in the Rushdiyyah School in Yanbu.¹

The I'dādiyyah School:

As we saw only one I'dādiyyah School was founded in the Hijaz, and this was opened in Medina in 1900.² A special building was erected to house the school near the Bāb al-Majīdy (one of the gates of the Prophet's Mosque). Built in the traditional Arabic style, the building surrounded an open courtyard. The ground-floor had six rooms, one of which was considerably larger than the other, and an ablution chamber supplied with water from a well. The first floor was very similar to the ground floor, but surrounded by balconies on all sides. The rooms here were fitted with school furniture, wooden desks big enough to accommodate from four to five pupils and blackboards. One of these rooms was set aside as

a staffroom, and furnished with a wide-topped table and chairs, as well as a desk for the Director of the school.

The length of the course was three years. It would appear from a leaving certificate issued in A.H. 1325 (1907)\(^2\) that the subjects here taught were: Religious Studies, Civics, Arabic Grammar and Syntax, Turkish Grammar and Syntax, Persian, Algebra, Islamic and Ottoman History, General Geography, Arithmetic, Geometry, Calligraphy and Personal Deportment. Marks in these subjects were not awarded; instead, the standard of attainment achieved by the pupils was denoted by three Turkish terms: A'ílā al-'Alī, A'īlī and Qarīb al-A'īlī, the equivalents of Excellent or Very Good, Good and Fair or Pass. The leaving certificate was written in Ottoman Turkish and have the signatures of the nine subject teachers, seven external examiners amongst them the deputy of the Supreme Court in Medina, and the Director of the School, Shaikh Žiā al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who had succeeded Shaikh Kanfān Bey. The certificate itself had been ratified by the Governor of Medina.

The Technical School:

In consequence of the newly awakened enthusiasm for modern education arising from the revolution of the Young Turks, a Technical School was opened in Mecca on the 7th October 1910 (3rd Shawal A.H. 1328).\(^3\) It was started in a temporary building, then it was moved to a special building in Mišlā district which had been bought for the school by the Education

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1 Ḥāfīẓ, O. op.cit., p.7; Faqīh, J. op.cit., p.1.
2 The certificate is given in the Appendix 1.
3 Hijāz, No.64 (A.H. 3.11.1328 = 5th November 1910)
It seemed that the school was generously supported by donations from many people in Mecca and elsewhere. Nor was this all, for no less than five per cent of the funds of the Municipal Council in Mecca was allocated to this purpose and apart from this, the Press of the Province regularly donated whatever sum it received in excess of its average yearly income. These were just some amongst other sources of income, quite distinct from its income from the official Educational Committee.

Although there was no set syllabus for the school nor for the period of the course, it seems from a report in the newspaper "Hijāz" that the subjects taught included some training in carpentry and ornamentation of wood, and students left after having gained training in these skills.

Several teachers who came to work in the new school had been recruited from Istanbul, amongst whom was Jalāl al-Dīn Effendi who taught carpentry.

Detailed information about the continuation of this school has proved impossible to come by. Sad to relate, however that the school has not been mentioned in any document, apart from the above mentioned which may suggest that the school was closed down within a few years of its opening.

1 Ibid., No.131 (A.H. 1. 7.1331 = 6th June 1913)
2 Ibid., No.60 (A.H. 28. 7.1328 = 5th August 1910)
3 Ibid., No.53 (A.H. 28. 3.1328 = 9th April 1910)
5 Ibid., No.61 (A.H. 19. 8.1328 = 25th August 1910)
It was undoubtedly the urgent need to train teachers that led the Ottoman Government to found a Teachers' Training College, called "Dar al-Mu'allimīn". This was opened in Medina in 1909 and accepted successful students from the Irdādīyyah School. From its name we may deduce that the school's overriding purpose was to equip teachers for the Hijaz both with the Turkish and the Arabic languages. Notice of the proposed founding of the college was received with perceptable coolness by the people as a whole, and even the promise of a monthly allowance of three Turkish piastres did but little to encourage students to swell the school's ranks. At first there were around fifty students but within a few months even this number sharply declined leading to the eventual closure of the school. Those students who were deemed to be profiting from their studies were sent to the Salah al-Dīn College in Jerusalem and to al-Madrasah al-Sultāniyyah in Damascus. This college was housed in Dar Junah in al-Sāhah district, and its syllabus included provision for the training of those who were intending to teach in the Primary Schools. The medium of instruction was to be Turkish and Arabic.¹

THE PROJECTED UNIVERSITY OF MEDINA.

The apex of the Turkish Educational System in the Hijaz was, however, intended to be the University. This type of institution was to have several individual manifestation, which the authorities intended to establish in Baghdad, Damascus, Medina and the Yemen, in order to produce a trained yet loyal Arab elite under the Turkish Crescent.

The first University, it was decided, was to be set up in Medina, and was to be called Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Aiyyūbī University. The foundation of this University was to be seen as tangible expression of Turkish recognition of Arab culture. The University itself was to constitute an organ and vehicle was to higher education, not primarily traditional in structure, but solidly based on sound Western scholarship; and it was to be made accessible to those students principally of the I'dādiyyah School of Medina, who had satisfactorily completed their course of studies there.

The Sultan's Decree ordaining the erection of the University was dated 19th April, 1913 (12th Jumāḍā al-Awwal Ā.H. 1331)¹ and asserts that the constant aim of the University would be "to spread the knowledge of Islam".² A Secondary School would subsequently be associated with it, and later it would incorporate a College of Agriculture and a College of Commerce. It was decided that it should be administered by a Central Committee in Istanbul and a Local Committee in Medina. The Central Committee was to draw up the academic curricula,

² Ibid.,
manage the budget and nominate the professors, as well as a director of the Secondary School; the Local Committee was to hold executive and advisory functions, and have the power to make suggestions, which would be regarded as valid unless it were expressly informed otherwise, within three months, by the Central Committee. This latter Committee came to consist of the Shaikh of Al-Ḥaram, the Governor of Medina, the Rector of the University, the Director of the Secondary School, three co-opted ʿUlemās of Medina and some professors. The Turkish Government undertook to pay one Million Turkish Piastres (the equivalent of 10,000 Turkish pounds), and also to grant a credit of 80,000 Turkish pounds for establishing the University.\(^1\) Kutzner further adds that efforts to solicit gifts from various other countries were made.\(^2\)

The man chosen to be Rector was Shaikh ʿAbdul-ʿAzīz Shawish,\(^3\)

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3. He was born in Alexandria in 1876, the son of Tunisian immigrant. Trained at al-Azhar and Dār al-ʿUlūm, he was later to play an active part on the Egyptian political scene. He was more of a pan-Islamist than an Egyptian nationalist, and during the course of his career visited several European capitals, after contributing articles to European journals.

He was offered the post of Professor of Arabic Literature at Cambridge University, but returned to Egypt as a teacher, and then as an Inspector of Arabic studies. In 1908 he was appointed as an editor of the newspaper al-Liwā, where his fiery and provocative articles against the British occupation of Egypt led him to prison on several occasions. Eventually he left for Istanbul and began a newspaper "al-Hilāl" and two journals "al-Hidāfiyah" and "al-ʿAlm al-Islami". In 1913 the Ottoman Government sent him to Medina as the Rector of this University; but on the outbreak of war he was recalled to Istanbul, and on Government orders sent to Berlin as publicity agent for the Turk's war effort. After the war he returned to Egypt and was appointed as the General Inspector of Primary Education, and himself helped to found the Society of Muslim Youth. A prolific writer and the author of many books. He died in Egypt in 1925. For details see al-Zarkali, K. al-ʿĀlam, vol. 4, Cairo, 1954, p.140; Holt, P.H. (ed) Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt, London, 1968, pp.322-332.
an Egyptian who had formerly worked in Cairo; he was indeed
the true originator of the entire plan. He arrived in Medina
in the middle of 1913, accompanied by a number of University
representatives, amongst whom were Shakib Arslan, ‘Abdul-Qädir
al-Jazä’īrī and certain engineering and technical experts.\(^1\)

No time was lost, and it was on the 29th November of the
same year that the foundation stone was laid in the presence
of a special commission from Istanbul.\(^2\) A copy of the Sultan's
Decree and a number of coins were ceremonially placed under
the foundation stone of the building. An admirable site had
been chosen at the top of 'Anbarīyyah Street, a thoroughfare
leading to the City Centre. The architectural style chosen
for the University was a novelty for the Medina of that
period.\(^3\) The site occupied 16,000 square cubits,\(^4\) and was
tastefully set off by a garden of 286,000 square cubits, in
which the proposed School of Agriculture was to be erected
at a later date.\(^5\) And perhaps the most pleasing feature of
this whole Turkish venture on behalf of the Arabs was the fact
that the sole medium of instruction was to be Arabic,\(^6\) an
inspired decision surely!

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1 For his biography see Zarkalī, K. al-‘Ālām, vol., III,
Cairo, 1954, pp.251-252.
2 Stuhlmann, F. op.cit., p.54.
3 Ibid., p.53.
4 Hāfīz, O. op.cit., p.1676.
5 1 cubit (dhira') = 54.04 cm. See W.Hinz, Islamische Masse
und Gewichte, (Handbuch der Orientalistik Erganzungsband
I), Leiden, 1955.
6 Stuhlmann, F. op.cit., p.53.
7 Ibid., p.54.
A number of applications for admission to the University were at once received and accepted by the Local Committee; these proved to be from students in Morocco, Algeria, Iraq, Syria and other neighbouring countries; but they had later to be turned down or transferred to other institutions of higher education, because of the outbreak of the First World War, when all work on the University ceased. ¹

**Evening Classes:**

After the Young Turks' Revolution of 1908, the Committee of Union and Progress ² paid very particular attention to the promotion of the Turkish language. Its members were deeply dissatisfied with the standard of proficiency in the language generally attained in the Hijaz, in view of the fact that elsewhere it was commonly treated as the official language. What was true of the Hijaz was true of some other parts of the Empire, where too the Turkish language was not used to anything like the extent that the Turkish Government desired. In their efforts to spread the use of Turkish, they sought to boost Evening Classes devoted to instruction in Turkish, and supplementary to the existing State Day Schools where the

1  Ḥāfiz, O. *op.cit.*, p.1676.

²When the Saudi Government again set about continuing the construction of this building according to more modern architectural ideas, it was unhappily found to be unsuitable for University purposes, and so became a Secondary School, called "Taibah al-Ṭānawiyyah".

2 The association which was behind the Young Turkish revolution. For full details see Ramsaur, E. *The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of 1908*, Beirut, 1965; Ahmad, F. *The Young Turks (The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914)*, Oxford, 1969.
medium of instruction was already Turkish. These Evening Classes took place in the same buildings as the Day Schools; but actually they were given only in a few schools in Mecca and two others in Medina.¹

This project was further developed and expanded in 1913, when it was decided that Evening Classes were to embrace other subjects. It would appear that the venture was undertaken confidently, as is implied in an article in the Hijaz newspaper,² in which it is reported that "the Vali (of the Hijaz) is paying great attention to the problem of education in the province, and is planning to establish an Īḍādīyyah (Lower Secondary) Evening School". Nevertheless it would also appear that the intended project remained dormant, and the Evening School was in fact not opened.

Students Abroad:

Students who graduated from the Īḍādīyyah School in Medina enjoyed the further opportunity of continuing their higher studies abroad, in three main cities: Istanbul, Damascus or Jerusalem. This opportunity was provided by the Government as early as 1906, but, on the whole the response from students was unenthusiastic. The Turkish Government did not meet the full expenditure of this fresh venture, for the students' families were required to contribute to the cost of their sons training. The Government did, however, facilitate matters by reducing the cost of rail-travel, and, in fact the student had only to pay half the normal price.

² Hijāz, No.129; 23rd May 1913 (A.H. 16. 6.1331)
Most of the students who attended these institutions completed their studies, but some left before their completion and the outbreak of the First World War understandably had a detrimental effect on attendances. Nevertheless, it has been claimed, and with much justice, that the venture contributed materially to the advancement of modern culture in Hijaz. Many of these students played active roles in the National Re-development which followed the end of Turkish rule, both in public and private capacities.

Textbooks Used

The textbooks required for the pupils' use were in Turkish. They were supplied through the Khazana (the local treasury), and sold to the boys by their teachers. But from 1912 onwards a regulation was passed permitting the teaching of Arabic, and therewith the use of Arabic textbooks; apparently however none of these were available in the Hijaz. It has been possible to trace three of the books used: Yaki Muntakhabat Gulistan (a Selection from the Gulistân), selected

1 A List of students sent to these three main cities, Istanbul, Damascus and Jerusalem, in the course of the years leading to the First World War is cited by Hafiz, O. "Al-Tullâb al-Mubta'athūn ff al-'Ahd al-'Uthmānî", Al-Manhal, March 1969, pp.1677-79.
2 Ibid.,
by ‘Ali Niẓāmî and two grammars, Mufassal Nahū ʿOthmanî, 1908, and Yaki Sarf Othmani, 1900, all three being printed by Dār al-Saʿādah in Istanbul. A photo-copy of the title pages of these books can be found in the appendix VIII. It would appear that this type of book remained in regular use until the end of Ottoman rule.

Examinations

It was the recognised practice in the Rushdīyyah, as in all the Turkish State Schools, for text examinations to be held every six months by the Khojas (teachers) themselves, and a general examination took place at the end of the academic year in the month of Shaʿbān and before Ramadān and the Ḥajj season. The Qā'immaqām and all the other officials attended this annual examination, and the boys were examined by His Excellency the Qāʿim-maqaqām and the Collector of Customs in public, both orally and in writing.¹ By 1908 the examination came under the control of the newly appointed educational council, but no actual change in the examination itself was effected.² The examination was of about two hours duration, after which prizes were distributed to the most deserving, and the function ended with the whole company enjoying sweets and sherbets.³

1 F.O. 195/1514 op.cit., pp.14-15, Samples of certificates are given in Appendix 1.
2 Hijāz, No. 4 (A.H. 6th Dhū al-ʿQaʿdah 1326 = 29th November 1908); No. 9 (A.H. 19th Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1326 = 11th January 1909); No. 99 (A.H. 27th Rabīʿ al-Thānnī 1330 = 15th April 1912)
3 F.O. 195/1514, op.cit., p.15.
The Duration of the Academic Year, School Holidays, and the School Day:

The Academic Year in all the State Educational Institutions of the Hijaz was organized according to the Hegira Calendar,¹ beginning with Muharram² and ending with Dhū al-Qa‘dah;³ thus clearly the Academic Year normally lasted ten lunar months, and was not in any way related to the four seasons of the year.

The State Schools regularly closed for holidays twice during the year, in the month of Ramadān and during the Haj.⁴ However, it is noteworthy that a British Report made in Jeddah in 1902 stated that in that year a half-year's vacation had been prescribed for the Rushdīyyah School. This would, on the face of it, certainly appear to be excessive, but on the other hand, it is more than likely that the Report draws attention to that particular year only.⁵ Quite apart from any other consideration, the nature of Mecca and Medina as the religious centres of Islam necessitated the adherence of these schools to the Hegira Calendar, since nearly all the teaching staff would of course be fasting during Ramadān, and both they and their pupils would be engaged in other religious duties as well. Again, during the month of the Ḥaj, Mecca, Medina and other port-towns are filled with thousands of pilgrims thronging the cities and visiting the Great Mosques of Mecca and Medina, and it would not have been fitting or convenient, either for teachers or for pupils, for lessons to

1 The Hegira, or Muslim, or Lunar Year, is divided into twelve lunar months.
2 1st month of Hegira year.
3 11th month of Hegira year.
have been held. This was also a time in which the pupils were able to earn extra money by directing pilgrims and helping them with their affairs.

Besides these two lengthy holidays during the months of the Ramadān and Ḥaj, there were also a number of other religious and public holidays. These were - of the first type.

1. 'Id al-Fītr, a period varying between three and seven days after the month of Ramadān.
2. 'Id al-'Adhā, on the 10th of Dhū al-Hijjah; (the Day of Immolation).
3. The 12th of Rabī al-Awāl.¹
4. Laylat al-Mi’rāj, on the 27th of Rajab;² commemorating the Prophet Muḥammad's Ascension to Heaven.
5. Laylat al-Nuṣf min Shawbān,³ 15th of Sha‘bān.

And, of the second type, it was customary to grant public holidays on certain special occasions, such as:

1. The reception of a notable guest of the Government.
2. The installation of a new caliph (sultan) or governor.
3. An important funeral.

School holidays were granted in addition in times of torrential rain.⁴

¹ 3rd month of the Hejira year.
² 7th month of the Hegira year.
³ 8th month of the Hegira year.
In all these State institutions, the working week was six days; Friday was the holiday. Every day required six hours of study, four in the morning and two in the afternoon, and each period of instruction lasted for 40 - 45 minutes. On Thursdays no afternoon classes were given. Between the morning and the afternoon classes there was a break of 1 - 2 hours to allow the teachers and the pupils to go home for their lunch and to perform their Zuhur prayer.1

Local Attitude to Education of Turkish Type:

The attitude of the population of the Hijaz was in general not apparently favourable to higher learning according to Snouck-Hurgronje, who visited the area in 1885.2 A man whose own career was already bound up with academic attainments would indeed feel a sense of shame if a son chose a career wherein this was not so, but for the most part, the merchant classes preferred their sons to be apprenticed to a trade and firmly ensconced in the family business: "If the son of a middle class man shows a special bent for sacred learning, the father can hardly with decency refuse to comply with his wish. Many however, give way to a scarcely concealed unwillingness". Education "is expensive enough, and the most favourable result brings the young man honour, it is true, but no income: so the family has the prospect of having to support him for years. His learning makes him either incompetent, or too fine, or too scrupulous, to take any of the positions that bring a livelihood in Mekka".

1 Häfiz, O. op.cit., p.3; Khüjah, A. op.cit., p.3.
Such observers however, might more candidly have pointed out that this seeming unwillingness to make use of the education facilities provided in the Hijaz was not due to any distrust of schools as such, but merely to a distrust of the Turkish schools; there was certainly no such distrust of the traditional Arab schools, as Abdur Razzack, the Acting British Consul in Jeddah, reported in 1885: 1 "The Turkish System of Education, however, does not seem to be at all suited to the needs of the country, and is evidently not appreciated by the Arabs, whose children as a rule do not attend, as it is not compulsory". Seventeen years later, the then British Consul, Mr. Darey, found a similar lack of zeal for cultural matters. He wrote, "Literature and learning seem to be nigh dead, or of very small account in Mecca and Medina". 2

Our analysis of the position of Hijazi education in the latter part of the nineteenth century is fully endorsed by Naṣīf, 3 who was well acquainted with local conditions. "The people of Jeddah did not favour the Turkish schools, and refused to allow their sons to attend them", and he himself for this very reason attended the Kuttab and later the Mosque.

Al-Sibā'ī goes far to explain the Hijazi attitude by asserting plainly: "... the people of the Hijaz thought that the motives of the Turkish Government, in establishing Turkish schools with their own medium of instruction were directed towards Turkicizing the Arabs. That was why no pupils joined them, except the sons of Turkish Government officials and some (of the sons) of members of the upper class who had advantageous relationships with the Ottomans. As for the sons of the

'Ulemā', the commoners and al-Mujāürin (those who used to come to Mecca to learn religious disciplines while living in hostel), their interest in joining them was limited. Generally, this ingrained distrust stemmed from the notion that should a boy become proficient in the Turkish language, then he might later be conscripted into the Turkish army. Only after many years was distrust of the State Schools broken down, and people at length began to allow their sons to attend them; they were therefore literally confounded when the First World War broke out, and two years later (in 1916) the schools were closed.

A closely similar picture of the situation in Medina during this period (1869-1916) emerges from the pages of Shaikh 'Abdul-Haq Naqshabandī, who published his reminiscences, in al-Manhal. In these he claimed that the lack of progress in education in Medina was in fact due to the absence of interest on the part of the people of Medina. Frequently, the (Ottoman) Government invited people to go abroad for further studies, in Syria and Istanbul, but the response was very poor. Moreover, the Medinans were very much afraid of higher education, which they thought would involve them in military obligations.

Nor were such attitudes restricted to the common people: they were widely held in Sharifian circles, where an education of an old fashioned type was preferred. This fact is strikingly illustrated in the memoirs of King Abdullah, in which he recalls that the Sharifian families were at this time not in favour of the Turkish schools, and that he himself had obtained a very old-fashioned education.¹

There were, be it said some noteworthy exceptions to this negative response, and it will at once become evident that those active in Mecca at this time on behalf of further educational progress consisted of a small number of learned people of high standing. There is however no real indication, here again, of any involvement on the part of other groups in Mecca e.g. the Mercantile class.

In the Official Newspaper "Hijāz", which was issued in Mecca after the year 1908, it is possible to detect a more pressing attitude towards educational reform, and the tone adopted abundantly suggests that the matter was already receiving the attention of the Turkish Commandant. Thus we find it repeatedly reported in the newspaper that modern State Education was still largely absent from the City of Mecca, and the point is stressed that it was necessary that the children be educated, for they would be the men of tomorrow. It would appear that this attitude stemmed from the Vali of the Hijaz, who had appointed a Commission headed by Maktubi al-Wálī (Permanant Secretary of the Province), and including the Director of the Great Mosque of Mecca, 'Amin Effendi, the Head of the Department of Education, Fadi Effendi,

the Ex-deputy Director of the Great Mosque, Ibrāhīm Effendi, with Shaikh ʿArif Khān and others as co-opted members. The Newspaper suggests that this Commission had discussed a possible site for establishing Elementary, Rushdiyyah and İdadiyyah Schools, as well as a project for a new Technical School.¹

This sudden interest in education appears to have resulted from a sharply critical article by the Secretary of the Hijaz Province in the same newspaper, in which the ignorance of Meccans of the Turkish language was severely brought to task. The writer declared "I ask the question – how many schools ... and how many people can be selected to represent us (in the Great Council in Istanbul) and can express themselves in the official (Turkish) language? The answer is simple: I state that in the length and breadth of Mecca there is not one Meccan employee capable of working as a translator for this newspaper".²

A further meeting of the Educational Commission was held in 1910, headed by the Director of the Great Mosque of Mecca. On the 4th of February 1910 (A.H. 13th Muḥarram 1328) the "Ḥijāz" newspaper confirmed that this Educational Commission had in fact been appointed in Mecca, headed by ʿAmin Effendi, the Director of the Great Mosque of Mecca, and that it had been decided to found four elementary "İbtidaiyyah" Schools in the city in early 1910. It had been agreed to grant

¹ Ḥijāz, No.14 (20th Muḥarram 1327 A.H.) 5th February 1909.
² Ḥijāz, No.3 (29th Shawwāl 1326 A.H.) 24th November 1908.
admission to these schools to two pupils from each of the neighbouring tribes, in addition to a regular intake of one hundred pupils every year. The Commission had further decided upon the opening of Evening Classes, admitting one hundred students, and in which religious and general studies were to be taught gratis.¹

Altogether, immediately before World War I, the Meccans appear to have acquired a considerably more vital interest in intellectual pursuits and educational modernization. Of this movement the most notable indication can be seen in the formation of a Public Library. The Emir, and certain prominent citizens of Mecca, generously donated over 4,000 volumes, on every type of subject for this purpose.²

How Effective was the Turkish System?

Let us realise at the outset that the population of the Hijaz during the period 1869-1916 was something between 300,000 and 600,000,³ amongst whom we can reckon perhaps 2,000 - 3,000 Turks.⁴ The British Consul's reports are as a rule well informed documents, and throughout this transitional period have carefully recorded all educational developments and improvements. According to the British Consuls' reports for 1885, there were only 84 students in all the State Schools of the

1 Hîjâz, No. 45 (23rd Muḥarram 1328 A.H.) 4th February 1910.
3 See above pp. 5 - 9 of this thesis.
province, and these were predominantly Turks with only a handful of Arabs.\(^1\) If we employ the usual method of computation, with regards 16% of the population as children of school age, and also remember that only one-half of this figure, that is the boys, then received education, the operation of the system in the case of Turkish children alone was not uneffective; but if we take seriously the education of Arab children, the problem can hardly be said to have been approached, let alone dealt with. This was in fact also the opinion of the British Consul: "The Turkish system of education, however, does not seem to be at all suited to the wants of the country, and is evidently not appreciated by the Arabs, whose children as a rule do not attend, as it is not compulsory".\(^2\) "The actual state of the schools is far from thriving and no classes have even been formed, as the attendance is very small and confined to the children of Turkish officials only".\(^3\) And what was thus reported in 1885 was hardly less true of 1900 and 1902, when a later British Consular Bulletin stated that in the entire province only 149 or 150 pupils were attending these schools. These pupils were of course all boys\(^4\) (nothing said in such reports with regard to girl pupils.) These facts are clear evidence of a similarly disappointing percentage of children receiving any education, in relation to the total population.

2 Ibid., pp.19-20.
3 Ibid., p.13.
A report of 1900 gives a reasonably clear picture of the desultory state of education: "Public instruction in the Vilayat ... remains in a very unsatisfactory condition. Schools are hardly to be found, and the teaching is only primary".¹ In 1902 again the situation is little better: "There are still no schools worth mentioning and consequently few Hijazis or Yemenis have had any opportunity of entering the Ottoman Civil or Military Service. The defect might be remedied by establishing a few Rushdīyya and Iʿdādīyyah Schools at the chief centres, and inducing Arab Emirs, Sherifs, Sheikhs and notables to send their children there, with the object of ultimately becoming Government officers. But, of course, many years must elapse before good results could ensue".²

It would therefore not be wide of the mark to assert that until 1908 the condition of Turkish education remained static. In theory it looked attractive but in practice seldom achieved any tangible results. What few schools were opened were confined to the larger cities and towns; the prospect of incorporating the outlying tribal area was not yet even envisaged. Again a British Consul report neatly sums up the situation: "Two fundamental obstacles to the better administration of these districts are, I think: 1. the want of money, without which all mooted improvements remain on paper and 2. the want of active upright administrators, who shall

also be sympathetic by language, manners, birth and customs with those within their jurisdiction.

The people, bred in patriarchal fashion, have deep-rooted notions of their right to discuss and argue with rulers. A Turk, therefore, though an able administrator elsewhere, not seldom may find himself at a deadlock; he considers himself already in quasi-exile, and in a wretched country; further; he fails to understand or make allowances for those with whom he has to deal, while they perhaps mock at his broken and mispronounced Arabic.¹

The revolution of 1908 did, as we have seen, bring increased yearly and concern to the provision of schooling, but even after that date the total number of children in receipt of education was still too small, by any standards. Even by 1914 there were only thirteen Lower Elementary (Ibtidāʾīyyah) five Higher Elementary (Rushdīyyah) Schools one Lower Secondary (Iʿdādīyyah) School, one Teachers' Training College (Dār al-Muʿallimīn) and one Technical School. Medina clearly seems to have had the largest number of schools, in all seven Ibtidāʾīyyah, one Rushdīyyah, one Iʿdādīyyah and one Dār al-Muʿallimīn, while Mecca at this time had only three schools, one Ibtidāʾīyyah, one Rushdīyyah and a Technical School. Taif and Jeddah, again had each two Ibtidāʾīyyah and one Rushdīyyah, while Yanbu had one Rushdīyyah, and Wajh is said to have had one Ibtidāʾīyyah School. In addition to these, there were, to be sure, a few evening classes, but only in Mecca and

However, the number of these schools was quite inadequate to meet the real needs of the country under study, and, worse still, they seem not to have seriously complied with the curricula laid down by the Education Laws, and, in fact, to have offered far too rudimentary courses. So the very nature of these Schools exerted a profoundly alienating effect upon the great Arab community in the Hijaz, which felt itself excluded.

The crucial question of an Arabic based teaching was not broached, and even after the Law of 1913 the Arabic tongue was taught very imperfectly, and Turkish remained the exclusive vehicle of instruction, no Arabic text-books being used. The teachers themselves were Turks (one Indian is also mentioned) with the assistance of a very few local Arabs. These facts in themselves formed a sufficient and indeed powerful incentive for the Hijaz to set up their own schools, in spirited reaction to a blatantly foreign hegemony. To put the matter in a nutshell, it would probably be fair to say that, while the Turkish School System in the Hijaz in itself marked a significant advance and standard of reference, yet it signally failed to meet the educational needs of that province. This failure can be detailed under several headings. Primarily, as we have seen the network of schools, even by the time the First World War broke out was far too restricted in every sense, covering in effect only the major cities, and even these inadequately. Not only were large sections of the population, especially the Beduin, left entirely outside this network, but the whole appeal to which the intake can be attributed was in any case too heavily biassed towards the children of the
Turkish ruling class; and obviously, Turkish as the medium of instruction did not in any sense commend itself to the local Arabic-speaking population. Moreover, there is much evidence to show that the elaborate syllabuses worked out in Constantinople, designed to determine what was to be taught in the various schools, were in any case largely ignored in the Hijaz. One reason for this may well have been the paucity of suitable teachers (and especially teachers with the necessary linguistic qualifications); it may also have not been without effect that the curricula seemed unduly modernistic and too far removed from the deep-seated traditional theological orientation which remained influential in the thinking of what was, after all, a thoroughly traditionalist province. The lack of any broad popular urge behind the curricula which had been entrusted by the capital to the local officialdom for execution is therefore partly the cause and partly the result of the woeful lack of progress shown.
Comparison with some Countries Outside the Hijaz During this Period.

1. Turkey in General:

Hitherto we have concentrated our attention upon the extent to which Turkish educational reforms affected the Hijaz. At this point we propose to take into account the educational apparatus of the Empire as a whole, selecting Turkey itself and several of its provinces as objects for comparative study with the Hijaz, and concerning ourselves with tangible educational achievements.

The progress of education in the Turkish Empire following on the passing of the Education Law of 1869, was at first very slow indeed, as the Law was only very partially and tardily applied. However, during Abdul-Hamids reign (1876-1909), education came to be regarded as an essential prerequisite to all further improvements within the Empire. His most impressive achievements lay indisputably in the field of higher education, where the number both of schools and of students considerably increased. He seemed to have had no objection in principle to any reforms which did not threaten his own security, accordingly he permitted and encouraged the opening of Primary and Secondary Schools in most towns of the Empire.\(^1\)

The number of these Lower and Higher Primary and Secondary Schools was increased and standards were improved. Foreign

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observers did not fail to notice that there were now Rushdíyyah schools in all the large towns. The apex of the system of Secondary Education was supplied by the two great public schools of Galatasaray and Darushafaka, both inherited from the Tanzimat period (1839-1876, the former being an imperial and the latter a private foundation. In the Hamidian period the Galatasaray School, originally a Franco-Turkish enterprise, became progressively more Turkish in character. To be specific, Latin was dropped from the curriculum, the proportion of Turkish pupils increased, and the school became more and more the chosen educational preserve of the sons of the ruling classes – the landowning, military and bureaucratic families of the capital. Among teachers were to be found some of the leaders of Turkish scholarship and latters and its pupils were the sons of the ruling elite, preparing to succeed their parents in this role.

The Mulkiyyah School, established in 1859 as a training centre for civil servants, was in 1877 reorganized and expanded especially in the senior classes, and the curriculum radically revised to include modern subjects. From the time of the first graduation, in 1861, of 33 students, the number of students had risen by 1885 to 395, some of whom were boarders. This school, the first purely civilian institution among the modern centres of higher education in Turkey, remained, even under the severe pressures characteristic of the later Hamidian

3 Ibid., p.177.
regime, an important intellectual centre and a forcing ground of new ideas. Its teachers included such men as Murad Bey (d. 1912), later a leader among the Young Turks, Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem (1846-1913), the poet and literary reformer and a disciple of Namik Kemal and Abdur-Rahmân Sharif (1835-1925), the historian all of them men of high calibre and profound influence. But later, in 1902, this school too was abolished. Like the Mulkiyyah, the Harbiyyah, or War College, at Pangalti was maintained, modernized and extended, as were also the Military and Civilian Medical Schools and a few other foundations, such as the Artillery, Naval and Military Engineering Schools, inherited from the earlier reformers. But this was not all. To the existing schools Abdul-Hamid added no less than 18 Higher and Professional Schools. Though some of them were of short duration, their influence was on the whole very considerable. They included the School of Finance (1878), of Law (1878), of Fine Arts (1879), of Commerce (1882), of Civil Engineering (1884), of Veterinary Science (1889), of Police Training (1891), of Customs (1892) not to speak of a new and improved Medical School (1898), and most ambitious of all these ambitious projects was the founding of a Turkish University. This particular project, first mooted in 1845, had already run into many difficulties, and suffered from several false starts. It was not until August, 1900, that, after long and arduous preparatory measures, the Dar al-Funun, later known as the University of Istanbul, at last opened its doors.

2 Ibid., p.516, see also Lewis, B. op.cit., p.177.
3 Ibid., pp.177-8; Ergin, op.cit., vol. III. p.997-1041.
In order to provide teachers for all these new schools and colleges, it became necessary of course to increase the number of Teachers Training Colleges, and for this reason in Abdul-Hamid's days the number of Teachers' Training Colleges was increased from only one (founded in 1848) to thirty one.\(^1\) Later as we know, towards the end of Abdul-Hamid's reign, all educational institutions came under a very rigorous State control. This was largely motivated by the vast political pressures he experienced, and this consequent fears of revolt ... "When his suspicions and anxieties had advanced to the point of mania. It is not without significance that he forbade the publication of medical works dealing with insanity. Literature and History Lessons were removed from the school curricula, as offering too great opportunities for the spread of revolutionary ideas. Their place was filled by Muslim Jurisprudence, Scholastic Theology, Qur'ānic Interpretation and Ethics".\(^2\)

"It should be said that, under the rule of the Young Turks since 1908, much greater interest has been taken in education than ever before, despite the continuous warfare which has beset that regime".\(^3\) Nonetheless, the commendable efforts of the Turkish State, especially in the areas outside Constantinople, never adequately met the true demands of the situation. In 1913-1914 (A.H.1328-9) the Ministry of Education in Turkey published some statistics which show that there were a total of 242,069 students in Ibtidā'īyyah (Lower

2 Lewis, G. op.cit., p.41.
Primary Schools) and Rushdiyyah (Higher Primary Schools), of which 200,770 were boys and 41,293 girls, that is five times more boys than girls. Again, the number of schools for boys was 3,083 and for girls 380, and there were in addition 55 Co-education Schools, the total number of men-teachers being 6,255 and of women-teachers 1,005.¹

Reviewing these figures O. Eberhard justly observes that if we compare them with those for Prussia we find that, with only half the population of Turkey, there were in that country a total of 39,000 schools, whereas Turkey possessed only 3,083 boys' schools and 380 girl's schools. The number of pupils in Prussia was 6,570,000 whereas in Turkey there were only 242,069 pupils. Thus from these official figures we see that Turkey possessed one fifth of the schools, one thirteenth of the pupils and one eighth of the teachers to be found in Prussia.² We may go further. Statistics published on 13th May 1914, show that there were 3,526 Ibtida'iyyah and Rushdiyyah Schools with 202,990 boys and 40,455 girls, a total of 243,445 of both sexes. There were in charge of them 5,930 male teachers and 983 female teachers. Only 1% of the whole population it can be deduced, went to school, while in Germany 15% went to the Primary Schools alone.³ In 1914 there were about 30 Teachers Training Colleges in Turkey, 12 Lycees with 6,202 pupils and 69 İdādiyyahs with 10,671 in the whole Empire.⁴ In giving due weight to these figures, we must remember, however, that, although statistics may and

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² Ibid., p. 91


⁴ Ibid., See also Eberhard, O. op. cit., p. 91.
do vary, we have here had recourse to what we consider to be the most reliable sources.

Here then we can sum up by saying that the Turkish educational achievement was real and solid but it did not, and perhaps could not, deal with the educational problem anything like completely; and that Turkey was thus left far behind, not only by European achievements, but very probably also by Egypt's achievement in the same period.

2. The Province of Syria:

When comparing the educational achievement in Mecca, and the Hijäz as a whole with that of other parts of the Turkish Empire, it is instructive to study the case of what was probably the most important Arabic speaking Ottoman province, namely the city and Sanjak of Damascus. For this province we have two excellent careful surveys, one by a recent scholar 'Abdul-Azīz 'Awād, who based his study on official Turkish annual reports, and a British report by the British Consul in Damascus in 1885.

'Awād declares that in 1880 the total number of schools in Damascus City was 103, of which 19 were Primary Schools with 567 pupils of both sexes, 16 Primary Girls' Schools with 468 female pupils and 68 Boys' Schools with 2,579 pupils. There was also one Rushdīyyah School with 265 pupils, one İfḍādīyyah School with 80 pupils and one İşlāḥīyyah School with 116 pupils. The intake of pupils into the Rushdīyyah School increased uninterruptedly, and by 1896 (A.H.1314) there were no fewer than 585 pupils.

1 'Awād, A. Al'Idārah al-'Uthmānīyyah fī Wilāyet Sūriyā, 1864-1914, Cairo, 1969, pp.259-262.
The number of Primary Schools in the Province of Syria excluding Damascus was 81, of which 24 schools were in al-Biqāʾ district and 13 in Wadi al-ʿAjām district. The density of the school-network in the province was thus here perceptibly less than in the capital, and moreover some parts of the region were evidently better served than others. The statistics for Syria, unfortunately do not mention the number of schools in al-Bank, Hasbia and Rashiyya districts, but we know that in al-Qalamūn district, which had more than 40 villages, and a population of more than 40,000 souls, there were only 35 schools with 900 pupils.

In Hamah the number of schools was particularly low; the whole field of education had been neglected by the local people and there were only 22 Primary Schools in the whole district in 1885 (A.H. 1303) with 1,250 pupils, one Rushdīyyah School with 40 pupils the Maktab1 Rushdī al-Shahānī and the School of Shiʿbat al-Maʿārif. There were of course also many Kuttābs or Qurʾānic Schools.

By 1885 Ḥims had 21 Primary Schools with 840 pupils and one Rushdīyyah School with 30 pupils. For the girls there was no Primary School whatever in Ḥims. In the same year, if we turn our attention to the Haurān district, we discover only 27 Primary Schools with 462 pupils together with one Rushdīyyah School with 28 pupils in al-Qunaytirah.

Less fortunate was al-Kark district where the number of schools was less, and the general standard of education was even lower than in Haurān. We may attribute these facts to

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1 In Turkish usage, "Maktab and Kuttab" were interchangeable terms. See Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, vol., I, Part 1, London, 1957, p.139.
the Kark district being remote from the centre of the province and to most of its population being nomads. In 1885 there were in al-Salt only one State School with about 100 pupils, but in compensation there were many missionary schools.¹

In 1885, the British Consul in Damascus reported that there were in the City of Damascus 77 Primary Schools for boys the average number of pupils being 2,929 in all and 25 similar schools for girls with an average attendance of 906 pupils in all; three Rushdiyyah Schools for boys with 346 pupils in all, one Iđđādiyyah School and one Sultanīyyah Industrial Higher School for boys, with 98 and 96 pupils respectively. These figures would show one school for every 1,448 Muslim inhabitants.

Extending our survey over the rest of the Sanjak, we find 94 schools, with an average attendance of 1,880 scholars in all.

But whereas, for instance, in the Mutaseriflik of Homs and Hamāh, with a Muslim population estimated at 150,000, there were 83 schools; in the Ḥaurān, whose Muslim population was 18,200, there was but one school with 32 pupils.²

Taking all these data into account, therefore, it is clear, that after a slow start, by 1885 State Education in Syria had already reached not inconsiderable numbers both of boys and girls.

The British Consul's Report on 1885 affirms that, "Before the arrival of Midhat Pasha as Governor-general of Syria, in 1878,

1 'Awād, A. op.cit., pp.261-2; See also Syria Vilayet Salnamah, No.18. pp.187-194.
education in Damascus was in a very unsatisfactory condition owing to the want of modern efforts on the part of the Government.\textsuperscript{1} State education had in general followed the familiar patterns that we have observed in the Hijaz, and it advanced with equal slowness. However, under Midhat Pasha certain educational reforms were soon introduced. In fact he caused several new public schools to be opened in the province, but educational facilities as a whole tended to be concentrated in the capital rather than in its environs.\textsuperscript{2}

The British Report declares, "Female education, although looked upon as necessary, is still in a backward condition".\textsuperscript{3} Nevertheless, the mere fact that it was regarded as desirable at all deserves notice, and Girls Schools of divers character certainly flourished, and opened up wide-ranging opportunities within Damascus, although to a considerably less extent outside the capital.

If we compare even this by no means adequate achievement with that of the Hijaz, we see at once that, although Damascus had in the early days made only slow progress, and thus at first presented a situation quite similar to that existing in the Hijaz, it was by 1885 very well in advance of its neighbour. It is instructive to compare the number and variety of schools and pupils in Damascus in 1885 with the meagre number of four Rushd\textsuperscript{i}yah Schools in the whole of the Hijaz; State Girl's Schools were not yet even suggested, let alone founded, in the Hijaz, nor would it appear that they were particularly desired by the inhabitants.

\begin{itemize}
\item[2] Ibid., p.9.
\item[3] Ibid., p.16.
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Similarly, although the prescribed subjects were by law intended to be available at comparable standards throughout the Empire, it is interesting to observe that whereas the British Consul at Jeddah could report in 1902 that the Turkish Educational proposals remained on paper, and that failure to execute them was due, not only to lack of funds, but still more to the inertia and general attitudes of the Turks themselves,\(^1\) in Damascus his colleague could report in 1885, however cautiously, the names of the subjects then being taught and of the schools then actually being opened.\(^2\)

Progress thereafter continued at a steady and increasing rate. Tibawi notes: "New State Schools were continuously opened so that at the turn of the century Syria was served by a wide, though by no means universal, elementary and secondary school system. At the secondary level the system was sufficiently diversified to embrace literary, technical (including crafts for boys and domestic science for girls) and teacher training. Under the general scheme of expanding military education, Syria's share was the establishment in 1904 of a military school in Damascus. A year earlier a school of medicine was established in the city by an imperial order. Later still a school of Law and another for Arts and Sciences were established in Damascus, both destined ultimately to form the nucleus of a university".\(^3\) Again he adds, "But talented pupils continued as hitherto to be sent to Istanbul for further training as doctors, civil servants or army officers. From 1900 onwards they were sent also to

\(^1\) F.O. 195/2126, Some Remarks on the State of the Hijaz, Jeddah, 14th October, 1902.
Dār al-Funūn. Here Syrian students could study Law and Engineering, among other liberal subjects leading to professions. While the majority of pupils in the State Schools in Syria continued to be Muslim, the number of Christian and Jewish pupils was steadily increasing. So also was the number of those non-Muslim students who went to Istanbul for further education, attracted particularly by the schools of Law and Medicine. Those who qualified served in the mixed courts or as army doctors respectively or practised on their account.  

It must not be thought that this broadly based educational movement in Damascus was in any way an isolated one; in the nearby city of Jerusalem a similar display of activity was in progress. (A bulletin issued in 1885 by the British Consul in Jerusalem reports "... that the State founded in 1873 four superior schools, called Rushdie (or Schools for Adults), for Muslims only, in the chief towns of the Liwa, namely, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Gaza and Hebron, under the superintendent Inspector appointed by the Ministry of Public Education. The number of pupils attending these schools is, in the aggregate, 280. The instruction consists of the Turkish language, and Arabic, French and Persian grammar, Calligraphy, Arithmetic, Geometry, Geography, Rhetoric, Ottoman and General History, Drawing and Bookkeeping.

These establishments are maintained by funds from the local treasury ... and it has been decided by the Government to establish a free Lycee in this city, into which the members of all creeds will be admitted, to the number of 200 boarders. A sum of 360,000 (Turkish) piastres ($3,212) has been assigned for the erection of the college; both this sum and the funds

1 Tibawi, A. op. cit., p.195.
for the maintenance of the establishment have been provided by a slight yearly increase in the tithes and property tax. The construction of the edifice is to commence in the ensuing month of March.

Further progress in the development of Muslim education is indicated by the recent novelty of Schools for Muslim girls, promoted and facilitated, but not maintained, by the Government. Of these there are five in this city and district with a total attendance of 443 girls. The teaching consists of the Qur'ān, reading, writing, needlework, embroidery and crochet. The expenses of the schools are defrayed by the parents and friends of the pupils.

Of elementary schools for boys there are 197; attendance, 9,465; instruction, the Qur'ān, reading, writing and cyphering, maintained by small presents in money or in kind to the masters by the parents, and, to some extent, from the Mosque endowments."

When we come now to review in a sympathetic but not unduly lenient spirit the indisputable facts above stated, and to ask ourselves fairly and squarely why the educational experience in the Hijāz differed so saliently from that of other parts of the Empire, such as greater Syria, no short and simple answers can be given, but a number of likely because well-granted, causes nevertheless suggest themselves. One is the much greater and more widely diffused economic prosperity to be found in Syrria and Palestine, which meant that there was at the outset a larger class of people who had the leisure for the education of their children and to whom education, and the economic affluence it could bring would be of decisive

1 F.O. 195/1514, Report on Education in the City and Liwa of Jerusalem, Jerusalem: December 12th 1885, pp.3-5.
interest. The closer and more varied contacts with the West, especially with England and France, which were enjoyed in these provinces, and the resulting greater openness to Western ideas in education (as in other things) were another inseparable factor; in Mecca and Medina western contacts would largely have come second-hand, from India or Java which were of course under European colonial administration, and on any showing the Indian Muslims at this time were perhaps not a very forward looking element. The marked difference in the quality of the Turkish administrators is another significant matter, quite as much an effect as a cause; for while the Hijāz was regarded as something in the nature of a penal colony by Turkish officialdom, and thus remained the subject of much corruption and neglect in the official circles, Syria and Palestine on the other hand benefitted from the presence of much better and more resolute officials, including some genuinely devoted to reform: Midhêt Pasha, who was governor of Syria from 1878 to 1879, deserves honourable mention here.

In Hijāz, on the other hand, of the Sharifs who proceeded Sharif Hussain none appears to have had the vision or will to promote education; some were in all probability relatively ignorant, totally lacking in ambition and foresight; and even where this was not the case, they were not invested with sufficient power to foster, much less to bring about, any significant changes.
With the arrival of Sharif Hussain\(^1\) however, who had lived in Istanbul for some time and had kept his eyes open the educational scene in the Hijāz began to change perceptibly. On being appointed Sharif of Mecca, he lost no time in expressing his deep dissatisfaction with the prevailing educational methods, and went on eventually to propose changes in the curricula. In 1913 as a direct result of his instigation and effort, the syllabus in the Great Mosque was radically

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1 Sharīf Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Muḥammad 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Awān, a descendant of Sharīf Abū Numr Muḥammad Ibn Barakāt, was born in Istanbul in the year 1853 (A.H. 1270). When he was three years old he went with his father to Mecca. There he received his elementary education in some of the Kuttābs. But when he was 18 years old he was sent back to Istanbul by Sharīf 'Awān al-Raḍīq, the Sharīf of Mecca. Sharīf Hussain was then appointed a member in Turkish State Council and resided there until 1908. On 6th Shawwal 1326 A.H. (31st October, 1908) he was appointed as the Sharīf of Mecca and on Thursday, 9th of Dhu al-Qa‘dah, A.H. 1326 (2nd December 1908) he arrived in Jeddah. He soon showed a will of his own and a reluctant to play the part of a subservient tool of the Committee of Union and Progress. Friction arose between him and Istanbul. When the Committee of Union and Progress opened their first parliament, the Amir 'Abdullāh, second son of Sharīf Hussain, sat as a member for the Hijāz. Later on 9th Sha‘bān A.H. 1334 (A.D. 10th June 1916) he established himself as an independent ruler of the Hijāz. Naṣīr, H. Mādī al-Hijāz wa Ḥādiruh, Vol. I, Cairo: 1950, p.3-6; al-Barakātī, S.A. al-Riḥlah al-Yamanīyyah, Beirut, 1964, pp. H; Glubb Pasha, Britain and the Arabs, London: 1959, p.57; Sibā‘ī, A. Ta‘rīkh Makkah, Vol., II, Mecca, 1962, p.224; Musa, Salāman al-Hussain Ibn ‘Alī wa al-Thawrah al–Arabīyyah al-Kubrā, Amman, 1957, pp.12-28; ‘Abdul–Shakur, ‘Abdullāh Ta‘rīkh Makkah al-Mukarammah wa Tarājim ‘Umara’ba Min al–Ashraf, Manuscript, in ‘Arif Ḥikmat Library, Medina, No. 97, pp.319; Saiygh, ‘Alīs Al–Ḥāshimiyyūn wa al–Thūrah al–Arabīyyah al–Kubrā, Beirut, 1965, pp.36-38; Aḥsān, A. Mūluk al–‘Arab, vol., I, Beirut, 1951, pp.62-70.
changed. He at length defied and even repudiated the authority of the Vali, and it was this defiance which eventually led to rebellion and the subsequent independence of the Hijaz. ¹

3. Egypt:

We have, it will be remembered, followed the story of education in Egypt up to 1863 in our previous chapter. We must now follow its further development during the period here under review (1869-1916), and try to assess the progress achieved, in order to be able to compare the achievements of the Hijaz with those of the admittedly most progressive Islamic and Arabic speaking country of the period.

It was in fact in 1863 that Ismāʿīl succeeded Saʿīd. He cherished the aspiration of thoroughly modernizing the social and cultural life of his people, so as to make Egypt like a corner of Europe. To this end he revived some of the projects already initiated by Muḥammad ʿAlī, and at the same time he encouraged the Catholic and Protestant missions to expand their educational programmes, while also giving the girls and the boys equal chances to become educated.² He was advised and assisted in these policies by a number of educated officials in particular ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak who was the head of the Department of Education from 1879 to 1881.³

With a view to ensuring and exercising an effective control over all his educational reforms, he established on 19th January 1863, the Diwān al-Marāfī (The Department of Education), headed by Adham Pasha. Nor was this all. He

² Dodge, B. Al-Azhar A Millenium of Muslim Learning, Washington, 1961, p.115.
³ For details see al-Najār, H.F. ʿAlī Mubārak, Cairo, 1967.
took the initiative in, and himself assumed the responsibility for reorganizing the three schools, namely, the Citadel, the Medical and the Engineering Schools, inherited by him from his predecessor, and he also opened the following new institutions:

i  The Secondary School (1863)
ii The Infantry School (1864)
iii The Naval School at Alexandria (1864)
iv The Veterinary School (1864)
v  The Artillery School (1865)
vi The Staff Officers' School (1865)
vii The Qubṭīyyah Accountancy School (1867) *
viii The Agricultural School (1867) *
ix The Military Mechanical School (1868)
x  The Polytechnic School (1867)
xi The Civil Service School (1868), later on changed into the School of Law.
xii The Surveying School (1868)
xiii The School of Ancient Languages (1869)
xiv The School for the Blind and Dumb (1870)
xv The Arts and Crafts School (1875)

Besides these essential and, on the whole, wisely conceived institutions, he established seventeen Primary Schools during his reign (1863-79), the first of them dating from 1863. And by 1875 there were 4,682 Kuttābs with 111,834 pupils and 4,879 teachers. For the supervision of traditional institutions and Private Schools, he himself created the office of Inspector to the Department of Education.

* These schools were closed in 1872 and 1875 respectively, Sāmī, A. al-Ta’līm fī Misr, Cairo, 1917, p.34.
on 27th March, 1871 (1st Muḥarram, 1288 A.H.)

Not the least of his endeavours was the provision of daily public lectures, organized with effect from July, 1871, for the dissemination of up to date information and knowledge; and the fact that Government officials, students and teachers were generally present at these lectures, which were delivered by eminent Egyptian or foreign scholars, fully proves how greatly they were valued.¹

Throughout the greater part of his reign Ismā'īl Pasha took a keen and informed interest in furthering the cause of education, but towards the end he was unhappily compelled by economic and political circumstances to replace the following four Military Schools by one single Military School:

1. The Artillery School.
2. The Staff Officers' School.
3. The Infantry School.
4. The Naval School.

To be exact, these schools were closed on 17th February, 1879, and the single new school was opened on 16th April, 1879.²

Ismā'īl Pasha once more in advance of his age, was a keen advocate of female education. Accordingly, he established the first school for girls, called The Muslim Girls' School (Madrasat al-Fatāṭ al-Muslimah) in 1873,³ and another Girls' School was founded in 1875,⁴ and third school in

2 Sāmī, A. op.cit., p.43.
3 Ibid., p.28; Heyworth Dunne, op.cit., 374.
4 Sāmī, A. op.cit., p.30.
Apart from these three Government Girls' Schools, there were also four Girls' Schools among the total of twelve schools established by private bodies or by Departments other than that of education. And in 1873 he created the Inspectors' Office, and for this purpose engaged a European Inspector-General, Dor Bey, under whose invigorating influence fresh life was infused into the system of education in Egypt.

One of the new institutions deserving of special mention is Där al-'Ulûm, which was established on 30th July, 1872 (24th Jumâdâ al-Awal, 1289 A.H.) for the training of Secondary School teachers and as a contribution to the education of Judges. It was in fact designed to supplement the work at al-Azhar by teaching the Islamic Subjects, Arabic Grammar and the Turkish Language at a more advanced level. Där al-'Ulûm had at its beginning 50 students on roll. During the reign of Ismâ'îl al-Azhar itself was a rapidly growing institution which still continued to serve not only elementary school boys but also students of university age. Its students took advantage of the courses at Där al-'Ulûm to become well-trained teachers, and they also availed themselves of the Public Library for study and the preparation of thesis.

He also favoured to the dismay of some, the establishment of Missionary Schools. The first Missionary School was started by the Catholic Mission in 1865 in Cairo, and by the

1 Heyworth-Dunne, op.cit., p.375.
2 Sâmî, A., op.cit., p.34.
3 Ibid., p.28.
end of Ismā'īl's reign (1879) there were no fewer than 43 Missionary Schools in Egypt, for both sexes.  

As Ismā'īl lacked the capacity to overcome the economic crisis in the country, he resigned and was succeeded by his son Tawfīq on 26th June, 1879 (6th Radjab A.H. 1296). Zealous as he was, Tawfīq lost no time in coming to grips with the factual situation. On 3rd July 1879 he appointed his new Cabinet, and instructed each member to prepare a detailed report on his department and give suggestions for its improvement. At that time the Department of Education was headed by Maḥmūd Pasha Sāmī, but he was succeeded by ʿAlī Pasha Mubarak on 18th August, 1879, who held this position till 9th September 1881. This man addressed in May, 1880 a report on the condition of the Schools to the Council of Ministers (Nāzirs), expressing therein his opinion that they were indeed in a bad state, and that the budget allowance allocated to them was quite insufficient. In the same report, he further emphasised the necessity of improving the curricula, with a view to establishing some kind of continuity between the various grades of schools.

ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak strongly urged an increase in the number of Primary Schools, an improvement in their standards and the granting of School Certificates, which, up till then, had not been awarded. The object of the proposed granting of school Certificates was to regulate the promotion of students from one form to another and from a lower school to a higher one, and ultimately to make the possession of a

1 Ibid., p. 34; Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit., pp. 406–424. See also above p. 57.
School Certificate a condition of employment in the Government.

His aim was to establish a Third Class Primary School in every important village, a Second Class Primary School in every small town and a First Class Primary School in every provincial capital. He was evidently fully aware of the two main obstacles in the path of progress, viz., lack of money and lack of capable teachers; he mentioned in his report that he hoped the Government would find a speedy solution to the money question by providing a larger allowance from the Budget; as regards the provision of capable teachers, he suggested improvements to the Dār al-ʿUlm, and made the valuable and far-sighted suggestion that another Training College should be opened in which teachers could be trained in Mathematics, History, Geography, Physics, Chemistry and European Languages. In this report too, he emphasised the necessity of an all-round improvement in Primary and Secondary standards, in order to ensure the output of better educated men for the special schools.

Among his other penetrative suggestions was the creation of a new Council of Education with the task of organizing and criticising the school curricula and regulations of choosing and prescribing the required text-books and of commissioning the preparation and translation of others. ṬAlī Pasha Mubārak wisely asserted in his report, that immediate results were impossible; he fully realized (unlike many of his day) that the education of the people was a long-term undertaking.¹

Fiyadh Pasha was Head of the Council of Education at the time when ṬAlī Pasha Mubārak presented his report, and he sent

it to the Khedive Tawfiq with a covering letter which made a point of indicating the beneficial results of such a programme on the eventual product of the schools, viz., the Government official. The schools could not, he thought, be treated as centres of education for its own sake, but principally for the sake of the training of officials. He recommended the formation of a Commission for the purpose of drawing up a fuller report under the presidency of 'Ali Pasha Mubarak; the other members to be 'Abdul-Allah Pasha Fikri, Lamf Pasha, Salim Pasha Salim, Dor Bey, Rogers Bey, and Vidal Bey. This plan was substantially agreed to by the Khedive Tawfiq on 27th May, 1880, and the Commission sent in its comprehensive report on 19th December of the same year. The report based itself on the statistics of 1875 on the proportion of schools to the population of 5,510,283; it stated that the number of schools was quite insufficient and that the education offered by them was comparatively valueless. The Commission held that, in order to improve education, many more schools would have to be established and many more teachers specially trained.¹

A far-reaching and from every standpoint momentous change in the development of education in Egypt, which up to this time can fairly be described as well intentioned, but not really effective, was, however brought about by the British Occupation in 1882. The first truly objective report on education, with reference to this period in Egypt, is that of Lord Dufferin, written in 1883, one year after the British

Occupation of Egypt. He says: "The schools at present existing in Egypt may be conveniently classed under the following categories:—

(A) Government Schools, which may be subdivided thus:—

1. Lowest class Primary Schools established in towns and villages throughout Egypt to the number of 5,370 and containing 137,553 pupils, or at the rate of about 1 pupil for every 40 inhabitants.

2. Upper Primary Schools, of which there are 27, containing 4,664 pupils. The course of study is four years.

3. The Higher (Secondary) School in Cairo, which contains 292 pupils, from whom are recruited the Professional and Technical Schools. The duration of study is four years. In six Primary Schools a class is added, where higher (Secondary) school instruction is given during the space of two years.

4. The School of Medicine, containing 176 pupils, to which is added a School of Pharmacy of 7 pupils and a School of Midwifery with 20 female pupils. *

5. The Engineering School, containing 50 pupils.

6. The Surveying School, containing 30 pupils.

7. The School of Arts and Crafts, containing 51 pupils. *

8. The Law School, which contains 37 pupils. *

9. The School of Languages, which contains 23 pupils. *

10. The Training College, with about 60 pupils. *

11. The School for Artisans, containing 79 pupils, and placed under the direction of the School of Arts and Crafts, and recruited from the pupils in Primary Schools who have not shown an aptitude for higher studies.

12. The School for the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, containing 73 pupils of both sexes.

13. The Girls' School, with 300 pupils.

14. A Military School in Cairo. *

(B) The University in the Mosque of Al-Azhar, in which courses of lectures are given to about 8,000 students by about 300 professors".¹

Lord Dufferin expressed his profound dissatisfaction with the quality of education then being imparted to the Egyptian children, and emphasised the necessity of taking effective steps for its improvement, particularly at the primary level.² Within the next fifteen years of the British Occupation a more fruitful and closer contact was established with European methods though a number of negative aspects remained. This becomes clear from an Educational Report by P.A. Barnett, published in 1897.³ He states that, out of a population of seven millions, of which one million were of school-age, only 1/9th received instruction subject to State inspection.

* The schools marked with an asterisk are presided over by French Directors.

1 Parliamentary Reports. Further Correspondence respecting the reorganization in Egypt (C.3529), London, 1983, pp.33 ff.
2 Ibid., p.66.
3 "Education in Egypt", in Great Britain, Special Reports on Educational Subjects, London, 1897, pp.615–627; only the salient points of this report are given here.
The Kuttabs were, on the whole still run on unsatisfactory lines, with the minor exception however of the few which were fortunate enough to have trained teachers; and, this apart, public financial support was not on the whole forthcoming. Yet there were, perhaps, more than at any previous time, some Kuttabs able to have trained Egyptian teachers who had previously attended Training Colleges run by competent European instructors. In addition to this, several Kuttabs were regularly inspected, along with a few other schools and, on the whole, these now began to produce good results.

Superior to the Kuttabs were the Government Primary Schools which were established in the towns. Here again, only about half the teachers had as yet had any kind of professional training, and it was of course only recently that the machinery for their training had been set in motion. There were, moreover, three Secondary Schools, and Teacher Training Departments were attached to two of them (Tawfikieh and Khedivieh) both of which were in fact under European directors. These departments, to their credit, consistently, and over a lengthy period, managed to send fully equipped teachers into the field.

Well worthy of note again is the fact that a large number of schools, not subsidized or regulated by the Government, were brought into effective contact with the Public Instruction Department by means of the Public Certificate Examinations. Female education also came to make some headway, and two large Girls' Schools in Cairo, recognized in 1895, were doing tolerably well, one of these was directed by a Miss Forbes, who had herself been competently trained at the Cambridge Teachers' College, and in 1895 the Senieh Girls...
School found itself obliged to adapt itself to the syllabus laid down for the boys; this precedent was followed in due course by other Girls' School, to their great advantage, be it said.

There were also, as we might expect, a wide variety of specialized schools, such as Law, Medical, Agricultural, Polytechnic, Technical and Military Schools. All these educational institutions being centrally administered by the Higher Committee of Public Instruction. Formerly, this body had been noticeably unwieldy and inefficient; to meet this deficiency, it was now structurally reconstituted to include an administrative board of five members - the Minister, the Under-Secretary and three co-opted members. This School Management Committee, made up of recognized experts, met the Higher Committee regularly each month and presented prepared drafts and proposals. Barnett came to the conclusion "... that where the Department of Public Instruction really penetrates, the work done loses nothing by comparison with schools of a similar grade in Europe ..."\(^1\) The progress implied in this judgement must have been truly outstanding and deserves to be noticed much more than has been the case.

Looking now once more ahead by a number of years, we may finally review the general state of education in Egypt, as it was about the time when World War I came. A statistical abstract published in 1915, allows us to do so with confidence. In 1915 the population figure for Egypt was 11,300.00. Let us realise, first of all, that of the total number of school-age children, that is, 2,400.00, as few as

89,000 in all received a primary education outside of the Kuttâbs; and only 471,000 pupils all told were to be found in the schools of every type, including the Kuttâbs. Within this total, again six times as many boys as girls attended school, and moreover 71% of the boys and as many as 94% of the girls still received no education whatever.\(^1\) Thus an average of less than 18% of the children went to school - a figure which we may aptly compare with the still lower average of 7% in Turkey, if the State Schools are taken into account; here surely the difference between Turkey and Egypt in the matter of education becomes striking indeed.

During the period 1882-1914 the number of Kuttâbs considerably increased and there were at the later date 32 Primary Schools and 6 Secondary Schools, as compared with 28 Primary and 1 Secondary in 1882.\(^2\) A detailed analysis of the school curricula for the Primary and Secondary Schools in Egypt from 1837 to 1913 (in effect, operative until 1928) showing the subjects taught, the number of hours allotted to each subject and the duration of study together with variations may be found in Appendix No. V. And it should be borne in mind whereas that in 1914, 60 students were sent abroad, as against 28 in 1890,\(^3\) alongside this development the specialized schools had also correspondingly augmented their curricula. All these schools were now under the supervision of the Higher Committee of Public Instruction, from which the Ministry of

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2. Ibid., pp.198-215.

3. Ibid., p.148. See also Al-Jâîyâr, Târîkh al-Ta'âlim al-Ha-dîth fi Misr, Cairo, 1971, p.135.

4. For more details on the special schools see Salâmah, op.cit., pp.215-228. See also Milner, England in Egypt, p.306.
Education was in due time to evolve. Certain other schools, broadly within the categories mentioned above, of course existed outside the jurisdiction of the Committee; these were run by private individuals or by local authorities.¹

Girls in Egypt, as in Turkey, seldom received any education; and again as was the case with Turkey, the system worked to better effect in some parts of the country than in others. Thus while in the Damietta district, 26% of the boys and 58% of the girls received no education whatsoever, in the Sinai and al-'Arish districts illiteracy was total.² If we include the Kuttâbs, the general situation was far more satisfactory in Egypt than in Turkey, and correspondingly more so than in the Hijaz, where there was no State Education of girls whatsoever, (beyond the Kuttâbs stage and then only three private traditional schools in Mecca) and where, as we have seen, State Schools for boys hardly reached any Arab children, outside a very limited number of boys whose parents were associated with the Turkish administrative class.

Education in Egypt, then, however limited by European standards was on the whole in closer conformity with European ideas than that of Turkey or Syria, let alone the Hijaz. The European impact made itself especially felt after the British Occupation in 1882, with its importation of European teachers, publishing facilities and library service, greatly surpassing any within the Turkish Dominion.

¹ Sāmī, A. op.cit., p.18
² See also Sulîmân, M. and others, Târikh wa Nizâm al-Tâ'lîm, Cairo, 1969, pp.119-134.
³ Sāmī, A. op.cit., p.118.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Hijazi Reaction Against the Turkish Educational Innovations.

We saw that the opening of the State Schools supplied the occasion for a hostile reaction from the Hijazi population who of course distrusted the Turks, and deeply resented the use of the Turkish language as the chief medium of instruction within these schools; they feared not unnaturally that their sons might thus become alienated from their native Arabic. There were moreover leaders who worked to promote education in the Hijaz on the basis of independent private foundations, in which the teaching would be largely in Arabic, as against the Turkish of the State School System; and in fact soon after the establishment of the State Schools a movement for educational reform was sponsored by prominent native and non-native Hijazis, directed towards an acceptable balance between modernism and traditional educational values.

Al-Anṣārī comments "... towards the end of the Ottoman era, there was a desire amongst the people of the country (Hijāz) to establish new private schools along modern lines; they felt that they needed to catch up with the educational systems in neighbouring countries, particularly Egypt and Syria, and that, to achieve this, there should be an element of private institution independent of the Government (the Turks). Indeed, this mood led to a general awakening to the need to improve education in the private sphere, and new private schools were established". 1

1 Tā'rikh Madīnat Jiddah, Jeddah, 1963, p.152.
These private schools were in fact in origin simply modified Kuttābs, and emerged as a direct result of the opening of the Turkish State Schools. It was therefore only natural that the earliest measures adopted were in substance attempts to develop the traditional institutions. The promoters desired to see the improvements recently introduced into the Turkish State Schools translated into such concrete forms as would suit an Arabic framework, that is, in effect, to strike a balance between the modern and the traditional, and serious efforts were made to devise a new syllabus which would embrace certain subjects hitherto untaught in Kuttāb schools.

The Rise of Private Schools.

The four cities which were alone affected by this establishment of new private schools were Mecca, Medina, Jeddah and Taif; lack of financial resources or a determination to follow traditional paths of learning prevented new schools from being opened in other towns.

The Act of 1869 laid down specifically in Article No.129 that all non-Government Schools were to be regulated and inspected by the Government. These non-Government Schools comprised all the educational establishments founded in any part of the Ottoman Empire by private bodies, or by other organizations within or without the Empire. Such educational establishments however could not be opened at all unless they complied with the following conditions:

1. That they obtained a Certificate of Authorization and Efficiency from the Board of Education of the province concerned, and another from the vali before the opening
2. That Teaching Certificates held by the Teaching Staff in such private schools were approved by the local Board of Education (Administrative Department).

3. That, furthermore, the curricula and text books used in such schools were approved by the Board of Education in the province, to ensure that they were free from matter "inimical to decent conduct and public policy".\(^1\)

However, although the above conditions endeavoured to provide the official framework within which the private schools were to operate, it is by no means easy to ascertain to what extent such authority to found schools was actually sought by private individuals (except in the few cases discussed by us), and no comparative data seem to be at present available. So far as we can tell, Mecca seems to have had the first private schools in the Hijaz, founded in 1875 (A.H. 1292), that is just one year after the first Turkish State School was established in Jeddah, and it was called al-Madrasah al-Saulatiyyah. This school was followed by four other private schools in Mecca during the period in question: The Fakhriyyah Uthmaniyyah school, 1879 (A.H. 1296); the Islamiyyah school, 1886 (A.H. 1304); al-Khaeriyyah school, 1908 (A.H. 1326); and the Falah school (of Mecca), 1911 (A.H. 1330).

In Jeddah, there were four private schools, the first of which was al-Najah al-AhlIyyah School, 1899 (A.H. 1317); followed by Abdul-Karim al-TarabulsI School, 1902 (A.H. 1320);

then in 1905 (A.H. 1323) the Falāḥ School (of Jeddah); and finally the al-Īšāḥ School, founded in 1909 (A.H. 1327).

With regard to the modern private schools in Medina, the first Turkish Official Annual Report for the province of the Hijaz (Hijaz Wilayet Salnamah) of A.H. 1301 (1883-1884), states that there were twelve in that city,¹ which were listed as follows:

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<tr>
<th>The Schools</th>
<th>Its Director</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. al-Jalīlīyyah School</td>
<td>'Umar Lutfī Effendi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. al-Ḥamīdīyyah School</td>
<td>Muḥammad Sa‘īd Tawfīq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bashīr Aghā School</td>
<td>'Umar and Aḥmad Zāḥid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. al-Shafā School</td>
<td>Muḥammad ‘Alī ‘Alaj Shahrī Effendi</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Ourat Bāsh School</td>
<td>Muhammad Sāliḥ Effendi Alanqūf</td>
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<td>6. Saqaṣī School</td>
<td>'Īsmat Effendi al-Ālastanah 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. al-Ālaḥsānīyyah School</td>
<td>‘Osman Effendi al-‘Wadini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ḥussain Aghā School</td>
<td>Aḥmad Effendi al-Buzaghāṭī</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Āmīn Effendi School</td>
<td>Aḥmad Effendi al-Jallī</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Tharūʿat Effendi School</td>
<td>Aḥmad Effendi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Kablī School</td>
<td>Khalīl Effendi al-Kharbūṭī</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Auzbek School</td>
<td>Akhunjān Effendi al-Bukhārī</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

But in 1884, Muḥammad Sādīq, who visited Medina during that year, stated that there were already seventeen private schools in Medina.² Again, in 1884, ‘Alī Muṣūd made a description of Medina, in which he affirmed that "there were a large number of private schools, the most famous and best organized of which was the Al-Mahmūdīyyah School".³

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Similarly, in 1903 the British Consul reported that there were two private schools in Taif, where a limited amount of elementary education was given to a few.\(^1\)

Details regarding these schools can be obtained only with great difficulty as we have seen, particularly in the case of the two cities of Mecca (to which we have given special attention) and Jeddah; trustworthy information regarding the private schools in Medina and Taif seems quite unobtainable, not to mention those in the country towns and villages, which appear not to have had any such private schools, but to have continued to follow the traditional system of education, which will be discussed later.

**List of Individual Schools (Founders, Premises, Finance, their Courses of Study, Teachers, Pupils etc.)**

Having discussed the number of schools, their names, and the cities in which they were established we now proceed to treat the subject in closer detail, giving preference to the facts about Mecca, which was to possess the first private school.

The Saulatīyyah Private School was actually established in Mecca as a result of the persistent efforts of an Indian

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Muslim, Shaikh Rahmatullah Khalîl al-'Uthmāny, who came to Mecca in 1857.

Initially, the Shaikh organized lessons for young pupils which were conducted in a corner of the Great Mosque. In 1871, when the number of his students had increased, he moved the school into a flat which he was allowed to occupy rent-free, in the Shāmilyyah district. This flat consisted of three study-rooms, a kitchen and an ablution room, and was commonly known as the Kuttāb al-Shāmilyyah. Not being himself well-versed in the Arabic tongue and culture, the Shaikh enlisted the aid of several Meccans to give lesson in Arabic subjects. 2


2 Muhammad, S.R. Information imported by him during an Interview at the time of my stay in Mecca; see also by the same author "Muhammad Rahmatullah", al-Manhal, April, 1953, pp.398-399.
Around this time (1874) (A.H. 1291) a wealthy lady from Calcutta in India by the name of Šaulat un-Nisā' Begum, performed the prescribed Hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca. When she saw the religious and cultural benefits accruing from this small Kuttāb in the educating of Muslim youth, she closely questioned the Shaikh and requested him to elucidate the general aims of the Kuttāb to her. She became highly enthusiastic for the project, and decided to donate a large sum of money so that he might develop his Kuttāb programme and also erect a large building. The Shaikh then drew up his plans for the construction of such a building in the Ḥarat al-Bāb quarter. In addition to this the lady bought another house near the school and donated it for use as a hostel for the pupils of the school. The Shaikh also received a great deal of financial help from certain Meccans and other Muslims from elsewhere. In 1875 (A.H. 1292) the construction of the school building was completed, and the school was now fittingly named after the Indian lady the "Ṣaulātiyyah School". In the same year the Kuttāb moved into the new building and became a private school, the programme was developed and the registered students came from various parts of the city.

In 1885 the acting British Consul at Jeddah makes the following observation about the school: "A school endowed by Indians and supported by funds received from India, which is under the direction and management of an able and very

1 Al-Ma‘ārif, op. cit., vol. XII No. 5. p. 342.
2 Deed No. 41, dated A.H. 14. 1.1291 (3rd March 1874) Supreme Court, Mecca: Registration Book No. 1, for the year A.H. 1291 (1884-1885).
3 Rahmatullah, M.S. Report on the Educational Establishments during the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century, p. 5.
learned Indian Moulvi named Rahmatullah, is more patronised and largely attended than any other, similar establishments in the whole of Mecca or the Hijaz". ¹

Bīram al-Tūnisī during the last part of the nineteenth century visited the Hijaz and mentioned that a new private school called al-Madrasa al-Ṣaulatīyyah was established in Mecca. ²

The programme of the Ṣaulatīyya School passed through two stages during this period. The first lasted from its foundation until 1901. Its period of study covered a 10 year period and was divided into four grades, Primary, Intermediate, Secondary and Final.

A special Department for Learning the Qurʾān by Recitation was separately founded at the time of the establishment of the school itself, and it would appear from its title, that the Recitation of the Qurʾān, the Art of Reciting the Qurʾān and the Learning by Heart of the Qurʾān were the only subjects here taught. The course of study lasted 3 - 4 Academic Years, and the pupils accepted in this department were of various ages. The first educational Diploma was awarded to a successful pupil only after the school had been in existence for seven years; it showed that the subjects taught were again of a purely traditional nature and certified that the student had satisfactorily completed his course in Religious and Arabic Studies. ³

³ The Diploma is given in Appendix I.
More generally, the method of teaching was similar to that of Al-Azhar in Cairo; thus, if a diligent student mastered his prescribed books thoroughly it was in general not regarded as necessary for him to remain in the school for the full 10 years, and he might leave with the same standing as if he had accomplished the whole course.\(^1\) A successful student was permitted to teach in the Great Mosque or elsewhere if he so desired.

The second curriculum underwent some modification. It was put into effect in 1901 and was still being used even after 1916. The course of study was increased to 13 years and received an additional higher grade, and a novel feature was that the subjects taught and the prescribed texts were listed so as to correspond precisely with the grades of study. For full details of the two programmes of this school see Appendix III.

In 1910 (A.H. 1328) the students in the Saulatīyyah school numbered 182. Thirty six of these lived in the school hostel because they came from other countries, namely Iraq, Iran and India.\(^2\)

The anonymous Indian writer gives precise figure of attending students in the year 1912: "The numbers always varied from year to another. Highest was achieved in A.H. 1330 (1912) when it had reached a total of 537, made up from the following countries:—

Turks 13, Hijazis 4, Yemenis 6, Indonesians 178, Iraqis 8, Syrians 3, Indians 74, Afghans 4, and Bukharis 22. Only 119 of them belonged to the Qurʾān, Phonetics and

Recitation Department".  

It is interesting to compare the above figure 1912 with the Saulatīyyah Annual Report figure of 1913, which was a little low. The number of students in the school was 518, of the following nationalities:

Hijazis 186, Indians 108, Indionesians 156, Bukharis 23, Afghans 18, Iraqis 6, Iranians 6, Yemenis 8, Hadramis 7.

The First World War then broke out and most of the students went to their homes.

In 1879 (A.H. 1296) another Private School was founded in Mecca by Shaikh Qārī 'Abdul-Ḥaqq (himself formerly a teacher at the Saulatīyyah School) and named al-Tajwidīyyah school. Suitably housed in a building in Bāb Ibrāhīm district and near the Great Mosque, the school made it its chief object to impart a thorough knowledge of Reading and Writing, while paying special attention to the Qurʾān and its correct pronunciation and Calligraph, subjects for which the founder showed an outstanding aptitude. There was, however, at first no definite or even regular curriculum, and the course of study depended heavily on the availability and qualifications of Teaching Staff, and even fluctuated in accordance with the

1 *Al-Ma‘ārif*, vol., XII, Delhi, November, 1923, p.346.
3 There is some difference of opinion with regard to the true date of the foundation of the school; but the above-mentioned date is from the schools own records.
capacities of the students themselves.

At first the school was financed by the founder, some well-to-do Meccans and some foreign Muslims on a visit to the city, who generously donated a considerable sum to help the new school along its way. This sum was not, however, in itself sufficient to support the school adequately, or to allow it to develop its curriculum; and the founder, who still cherished hopes of stabilising the school's economy turned his attention to Egypt and India in the expectation of actively interesting wealthy foreign Muslims in his projects and aims. In this he was eminently successful, for he not only secured the really decisive factor of a monthly allowance, but found the school's most devoted benefactor in 'Uthmān 'Alī Khān Nizām, ruler of Hyderabad Deccan State who not only bought the existing building for the school in 1882, but also donated a truly princely sum of money. This largesse and practical support led the Shaikh to re-name the school after its benefactor, and so it became, al-Fakhriyyah al-'Uthmāniyyah School.\(^1\) The other, though not important, monthly grant which he also secured during his tour comprised: Egyptian £15 from Egypt, 100 Rupees from Bhopal and 200 Rupees from Hyderabad.\(^2\) Henceforth the school thrived and expanded as never before, while its curriculum underwent corresponding changes and improvements; subjects like Arabic Grammar, Bookkeeping, Arithmatic etc., were now introduced, and the school could be rated an unquestionable success. The course

\(^2\) Al-Ma'ārif, op.cit., p.353.
The Islāmiyyah school was the third of these Private Schools to be established in Mecca. Founded in 1886 (A.H. 1304) by Shaikh 'Abdul-Khālq Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Banghālī, it was at first housed in a temporary building near the Great Mosque, and was later moved to a specially designed permanent building during the following year. This project was financed by the founder himself and was situated in the Misfalah district. But although principally financed by the founder, it also received certain small properties and donations from well-wishers, amongst whom was Dūlā Bāinbārī al-Banghālī, who in 1888 (A.H. 1306) donated a large building to be let out on hire so that the accruing income might be utilised for the benefit of the school.

The school was a Lower Primary School and, as in the previous case, had no set syllabus, a fact which tended to give rise to confusion and dispute about the curriculum. Subjects taught were here limited in the main to the Qurʾān, Spelling, Dictation, Arithmetic, Calligraphy, Arabic Studies and the Principles of Islamic Law. There were but two teachers, usually appointed by the founder, who personally directed the school. The number of students never exceeded twenty.

1 Rutdad (Proceeding of Madrasat al-Fakhriyyah al-Fūthmāniyyah for the years 1922, 1923 and 1924), Delhi, 1924, pp. 1-3 and pp. 44-54.
2 He emigrated from India to Mecca during the early part of the 19th Century: We have not been able to trace the year of his birth. In Mecca he worked as a guide to the Bengali Pilgrims at the time of the Haj, and, in addition to this, he found satisfaction in joining in the classes held in the Mosque. As he was a wealthy man, he decided, on the advice of Shaikh Raḥmatullāḥ of the ʿaulatīyyah school, to establish his own school. (The Islāmiyya).
4 Deed No. 386, dated A.H. 24. 6.1306 (25th February 1889) Supreme Court, Mecca, Registration Book for that year.
5 Raḥmatullāḥ, M.S.S. op.cit., p.1; Ḥilmī, M. Special Report on the Educational Establishments in the Hijāz during the
When the Shaikh died in about 1912, his son Muhammad succeeded him as director, as the Shaikh had expressly requested. This young man unfortunately shared very little of his father's outlook, and gradually squandered the latter's wealth, making flagrant and wholly irresponsible misuse of the resources and endowments; his father's surviving friends sternly opposed him, and eventually dismissed him from office.\(^1\) From then on, the school was administered by certain Indian merchants, members of the founder's family, who strove bravely to maintain the school, in spite of financial difficulties.

The founders of the Private Schools in Mecca eventually earned a widespread and deserved reputation and their success undoubtedly induced others to follow their example. Such a one was Shaikh Muhammad Ḥussain al-Khayyat,\(^3\) who in 1908 (A.H. 1326) opened the Khairiyah School in Mecca. He too met the initial outlay himself, although his resources were slight. The avowed aim of this school was to uphold and booster the spiritual content of orthodox Islamic doctrine and ethics, and through its teaching to present Mecca to the outside world as the true fount of Islamic doctrine and law.\(^4\)

At first the school was housed in the founder's own residence in the Bāb al-Duraibah district.\(^5\) The school's

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1 Rahmatullah, M.S.S. *op.cit.*, p.2.
2 Ibid., See also Ḥilmî, M. *op.cit.*, p.8.
3 He was born in Mecca (the date of his birth was unrecorded). The Shaikh was educated in the Saulatīyyah School, and the Great Mosque and was well versed in mathematics and astronomy. 'Abdul-Jabbār, 0. *Shar wa Tarājim*, Mecca: 1965, p.125.
reputation, however, grew quickly and by 1910 the number of students had reached the figure of around 300. The number of donations likewise became more substantial, and among the donors was the Sharif of Mecca himself, i.e. Sharif Hussain.

With this improved financial position, the construction of a new and better equipped building in al-Mas'î district, became possible, and the education offered was now given free of charge.

The founder directed the school and also assisted with the teaching. There were five locally educated teachers including his son. When the founder died in about 1913 his son Ghazâlî took over as director.

Al-Batnûnî, who visited Mecca in 1910, commented that the school taught exactly the same subjects as the Ṣaulatîyyah school but in greater depth and detail, an opinion fully confirmed by a report published by Bâ-Salâmah in 1910 to the effect, that the subjects taught were:— Theology, Islamic Law, Calligraphy, Composition, Geography, Islamic History, Arabic Grammar, Morphology, Arabic Literature, Ethics and Moral Conduct, Turkish Grammar and Language, Bookkeeping, Geometry, Arithmetic, Algebra, The Art of Recitation of the Qur'ân, Logic, Mensuration, Rhetoric, Hygiene and Miqât (or Religious Prescriptions connected with the Pilgrimage). We

1 Sharaf, B. "Dhikriyâti 'An Madrasat al-Khaiyyât bi Makkah", al-Manhal, Jeddah, October 1946, pp.547-8; Bâ-Salâmah, H.A. op.cit., p.3.
5 Al-Rîlah al-Hijazîyyah, Cairo: 1911, p.
6 Bâ-Salâmah, H.A. Thamarat al-'Ilm bi-Umm al-Qurâ, Mecca, A.H. 1328 (1910) p.3; Al-Mawsâli, S.F. op.cit., p.167.
should note the inclusion of non-traditional subjects such as bookkeeping and Hygiene, or perhaps even geometry, geography and history; regard should also be had to methods of teaching employed here.

The teaching methods were directed not only to the imparting of knowledge but also to character training. A more imaginative approach than was then usual, was applied to the compilation of the school curriculum, and a keen interest in modern methods of education made itself felt, according to a contemporary account.\(^1\) It would appear that the course of study lasted 6 – 7 years. This may reasonably be inferred from the fact that the first Final Examinations were intended to take place in 1915. Indeed, by 1915 the school was fully developed in all respects, and was supposedly capable of producing graduates on a par with those of the Great Mosque. As ill luck would have it, a quarrel broke out between the founder and the Examination Committee, leading to the postponement of all activities until the following year; and by then the whole of the Hijaz was embroiled in the political troubles of the country.\(^2\) But of this more will be said in the proper place.

In 1911 (A.H. 1330) yet another Private School appeared in Mecca. This was the Falāh School,\(^3\) founded and financed by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Riḍā Zainal,\(^4\) the same who had founded the Falāh School in Jeddah in 1905. The Meccan Falāh School

3 The school was named Falāh, meaning success, in a material as well as in a spiritual sense.
was at first recruited from pupils from the Kuttāb of Shaikh 'Abdullah Hamadūh, and others afterwards came from various other Kuttābs.¹ At the outset, the school was housed in the Kuttāb of Shaikh 'Abdullāh Hamadūh in al-Shāmīyyah district, but was afterwards transferred to a rented building in al-Ghishāsh-Iyyah in front of Bāb 'Alī, one of the gates of the Great Mosque. After some years, however, the founder wisely decided to invest some of his wealth in the construction of an entirely new building in al-Shubayyikah quarter, which as a matter of interest is still standing.²

The school adhered to the same curriculum as that of the Falāḥ School in Jeddah. Like its prototype, it had three grades, each grade being covered by a progressive 3 year course: the elementary, the intermediate and the secondary.³ As his teachers the founder chose some of the most highly educated men in Mecca.⁴ The number of students gradually increased, without doubt as a result of these enlightened appointments whose quality improved yearly. Within the first year alone the number of students attending the school was already 247.⁵

2 Sibā'ī, A. op. cit., p.203.
3 For details see the Falāḥ School of Jeddah pp.165-7. for this thesis.
4 Amongst whom were Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥāmid, Shaikh Ḥusayn Sinārī and Shaikh al-Tayb al-Murākishi, specializing in Religious Instruction and Arabic; Shaikh Ahmad Jmāl and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Wahbī in Arithmetic, Calligraphy and Dictation. See 'Abdul-Jabbār, O. Durūs Min Māḍī al-Ta‘līm wa Ḥādīrūh, Cairo, 1959, pp.158-9.
Having now dealt at some length with Mecca we must transfer our attention to Jeddah, which was and is the outpost of Mecca and always in close contact with it.


This was the first modern Private School in Jeddah and was founded in 1899 (A.H. 1317), by Shaikhs 'Āḥmad Shāḥīn, Muḥammad Effendi al-Muftī and three other distinguished men from Jeddah, namely 'Abdul-ʻAzīz Shams, 'Abdul-Rahmān Shams and 'Abdul-Maqsūd Khujah.1 The school was financially supported by donations received from its founders and from the people of Jeddah, particularly from the Zaynal family, represented by Shaikh Muḥammad ʻAlī Riḍā Zaynal, who was in the habit of paying regular visits to the school, and making gifts of educational aids and equipment to the students. Other donations were made by the parents of students.2 However, the school was always short of money, a circumstance which led it to ask the Ottoman Government to give financial assistance. This was granted, but only on condition that the Turkish language was taught there.3

This school again had no definite syllabus, but certainly offered certain Arabic subjects, such as Grammar and Morphology, the Hanafi rite Islamic Law, the Art of Recitation of the Qurʾān, Arithmetic, Arabic, Reading, the History of Islam and, of course, by the terms of the grant, the Turkish language. The

2 Ibid.,
3 Ibid.,
method of teaching used was in fact that of Question and Answer (or viva voce). The school, regrettably enough, was eventually forced to close in 1906, owing to lack of funds.

2. **Al-Tarābulṣi School.**

Founded by Shaikh ʿAbdul-Karīm Murād al-Tarābulṣi in the year 1902 (A.H. 1320), this was an Elementary School, and once more had no fixed syllabus, but the Recitation of the Qurʾān, Traditions, Sources of Islamic Jurisprudence, Calligraphy and Arithmetic were amongst the subjects taught in the school. It accepted only students who had completed their education in the Kuttāb and had a basic knowledge of reading and writing. Relying for its financial support on funds supplies by the founder, or by the wealthy people of Jeddah, the school did not however enjoy a long life, as it was closed three years after its opening.

3. **Al-Falāḥ School.**

This school was opened in Jeddah on 7th December 1905 (A.H. 9th Shawwāl 1323), and owed its existence to the inspiration of Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAlī Riḍā Zaynal, a dedicated Muslim and a widely travelled merchant. Zaynal had been particularly impressed by the spirited attempts made to extend education in India and Egypt, and he accordingly decided to set up schools in the whole of the Hijaz, and to spend a portion of his
wealth for this purpose. He began by discussing various projects with friends and sympathetic associates, and they jointly agreed upon a practical scheme. The school was located initially in the Mūhammadd ‘Alī Akbar house (belonging to a cousin of the founder), then moved to Al-Jamjūm house, then to Qāsim Sulaymān al-Maymānī house in al-Shām quarter, and finally to a building purchased specifically for the school.

The money for the establishment of the school was initially provided by the founder, but, in addition, wealthy people donated small plots of land and houses to the school and regular contributions towards its upkeep, and these latter were the main sources of the income necessary for its continuing development. Nor was the tuition in the school entirely free, for the parents of the pupils were required to pay according to their means.¹

Shaikh ‘Abdul-Raḥmān Shams was its first director, to be later succeeded by Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥāmid and then by Ḥusayn Maṭār, and among its teachers were: Aḥmad al-Zāhir, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Fāqī, Tāhir al-Dabbāgh, Aḥmad Qārī, Muḥammad al-Marzūqī, Muḥammad Ḥasan ‘Awād, Maḥmūd ‘Arif, Aḥmad Qandīl ‘Umar ‘Abd-Rabbiḥ and Muḥammad Maṭār. A feature worthy of note was a steering Committee, consisting of Shaikh Muḥammad ‘Alī Zaynal (the Founder-Director), Shaikh ‘Abdul Ra‘ūf Jamjūm (Assistant Director), Shaikh Yahyā Salīm and Shaikh Muṣṭafā Nilāwī (members).²


² For details see The Falāḥ School Report, op.cit., pp.4–5.
Very few pupils were enrolled to begin with, and this is probably largely to be explained by the fact that the school did not yet enjoy formal clearance from the Ottoman Government in Istanbul. Beginning as a Preparatory School with 24 pupils, the number of pupils increased yearly, and by the second year it had reached 101 pupils; by 1916 (A.H. 1334) there were already no fewer than 300 students. The following statistics cover the period 1905-1916.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905 - 1906</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906 - 1907</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907 - 1908</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908 - 1909</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909 - 1910</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910 - 1911</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911 - 1912</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912 - 1913</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913 - 1914</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914 - 1915</td>
<td>202</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915 - 1916</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916 - 1917</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The school syllabus during the first two years was limited to the Teaching of the Qur'ān, Calligraphy and Arithmetic, but subsequently it adopted a new curriculum.

1 For details see The Falāḥ School Report, op. cit., pp. 4-5. See also the School Records for their names and other details.


3 Nasīf, M. "Madrasāt al-Falāḥ bi-Jiddah wa Kayfa Taťassasat" al-Manhal October and November 1946.
subdivided into three grades, the Elementary, the Intermediate and the Secondary, thus:¹

1. The Elementary Grade, covering three years.
2. The Intermediate Grade, covering three years.
3. The Secondary Grade, covering three years.

1. **The Elementary Grade.**

As its name implies, it was intended solely for beginners, and sought to impart only the bare rudiments of education. The course was designed to cover three years, but it was always possible for the pupil to terminate the course earlier, if so desired.²

2. **The Intermediate Grade.**

The Intermediate or Junior Grade, which of course followed and supplemented the Elementary Grade, occupied three academic years. It was itself subdivided into a First, Second and Third Standard, each of which represented in intention a progressively more mature approach to each

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² At this stage the child was taught the following subjects:—The Arabic Alphabet, Reciting the whole of the Qur‘ān, and memorizing one part only, namely the Juzu‘ ‘Amma (Part 30 of the Qur‘ān), Dictation, Calligraphy, Arithmetic (the numerals and their use up to 1,000, including simple addition and subtraction).
3. The Secondary Grade.

This Grade again followed the Intermediate Grade, and, of course, had as its object the continuation and amplification of the subjects already studied at the two previous Grades; and once more, it covered three academic years. Up to 1915 (A.H. 1334) it was popularly called "Al-Rushdiyya", and was likewise subdivided into 1st, 2nd and 3rd standards.

At this grade the following subjects were taught (further details and set books are listed where information is available) : revision of the Recitation of the whole Qur‘ân, and the Learning by Heart of Juzu’ Tabārak and Qad Sami’ (Parts 29 and 28 of the Qur‘ân), the Art of Reciting the Qur‘ân, Commentary on the Qur‘ân (Tafsīr) (twenty chapters from Tafsīr al-Jalālayn and Risālat al-Uṣūl by al-Zamzamī), traditions (Ḥadīth) (al-Targhib wa al-Tarḥīb by al-Munthirī, Vol. I and II), theology: (Tawḥīd) (Jawharat al-Tawḥīd and Ḥashīyyat al-Bājūrī ‘ala al-Jawharah), Jurisprudence (Fiqh) (Ibn Shujā‘), al-Risālah, al-Qadūrī, al-Isqāṭī, for the four rites), Arabic Grammar and Syntax, (the Alfiyyah of Ibn Mālik), Morphology (Kitāb al-Amthilah al-Mukhtalifah al-Jadīdah and Matn al-Bīnā‘ and al-Matn al-‘Izzī), rhetoric (Sharḥ al-Jawhar al-Makmūn), Arabic Literature (Learning by Heart of the Mu‘allaqāt), composition (Writing short essays and correspondence), calligraphy (Ruq‘ah or Cursive Hand, Naskh, or Text Hand), dictation (This course endeavoured to impart all the requisite guidance for the attainment of a reasonable degree of proficiency), Law of Inheritance and Succession (Matn al-Raḥabiyyah and al-Madīnī ‘Alā al-Raḥabiyyah), the Life of the Prophet (al-Sīrah) (Kitāb Nūr al-Yaḥīn), history, geography (Topics from the geography of Arabia and the five continents), arithmetic (Subtraction, Multiplication, Division, Common Fractions and Ratios), geometry, Bookkeeping (Basic methods in accountancy).
Subsequently these standards received the names of 1st, 2nd and 3rd Secondary Grade, and were often called 7th, 8th, 9th Forms; that is to say, all these various names at that period were applied only to what is here called the Secondary Grade. ¹


Al-Batnūnī, when he visited Mecca in 1910 (A.H. 1327), pointed out that "there was a Private School in Jeddah called Madrasat Al-Iṣlāḥ, in which there were 80 pupils, and it was financed by donations from the people of Jeddah". He further added that "the syllabus of the school consisted of Reading, Writing, Arabic and Turkish, as well as a little Arithmetic". ³ He described the standard of education here as markedly lower than that in the Makātib al-Awqāf in Egypt. ⁴

1 At this Secondary Grade the following subjects with prescribed books were normally offered and taught, as opportunity and ability allowed:


³ Ibid.,
⁴ Ibid.,
We have not been able to obtain any trustworthy information on the syllabus beyond this, but it seems likely that this school did not exist for more than a few years, and that it was much more like an advanced Kuttāb than a school in the modern sense.

The Private Schools in Medina and Taif were, to be exact, all of the Lower Primary type. They were located in small houses or rooms, usually in the town centre, and financed, in the usual manner, by their founders, with further aid from donations and/or fees. Administered by their founders personally, they made use of from one to three teachers, the number of pupils being limited by the school's capacity. Subjects were taught only at basic level and were somewhat limited in number and scope. The names of these schools and their founders have been mentioned previously.¹

General Discussion.

The Duration of the Academic Year, School Holidays and the School Day

The Academic Year in the Private Schools was arranged in accordance with the Hegira Calendar, but some schools usually began in the month of Shawwāl² and ended in Shaʻbān.³ Other

¹ See pp. 148-9 of this thesis.
² 10th month of Hegira (or Lunar) year.
³ 8th month of Hegira year. Such a school was the ŠaulatĪyyah; see Rahmatullah, M.S.S. Report on the Educational Establishments during the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century, p.4.
schools began in Muharram\(^1\) and ended their course in Shawwal\(^2\) or Dhū 'l-Qa‘dah.\(^3\) Schools were invariably closed for from twenty to thirty days during the months of the Hajj and Ramadān. Thus we observe that, as in the State Schools, the Academic Year in these private institutions normally extended over ten lunar months, and hence was in no way related to the seasons of the year. Apart from the long vacations during the second half of Ramadān and again during the Hajj season, there were a number of religious and public holidays, similar to those which we have already described in the State Schools.

The working week, just as in the State Schools, consisted of six days, Friday naturally being a holiday. Each day comprised six hours of study, four in the morning and two in the afternoon, each period lasting as a rule from 50 to 60 minutes; but in these Private Schools religious instruction might, if need be, exceed an hour, particularly in the more advanced stages of study. On Thursdays, and during the first half of Ramadān, no afternoon classes were held.\(^4\)

**Examinations:**

These Private Schools conducted their Internal and Final Examinations shortly before the end of the Academic Year. Examinations were always held in the school building

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1 1st month of Hegira year.
2 Hāfiz, O. Special Report on Past Education in Medina, p.3.
and lasted from one to three hours. Each teacher was required to supervise the special subject he had taught his examinees throughout the Academic Year.

Up to the beginning of the twentieth century all subjects taught in the Private Schools were regularly examined orally, except of course Dictation, Arithmetic, Composition and Calligraphy. New syllabuses were then introduced by some of the schools, and a written examination in most of the subjects was at the same time instituted. The oral examination had in the past largely depended on the faithful memorizing of topics and facts connected with the subject taught. Pupils were interviewed individually, and the examiner would ask each pupil questions based on the book he had studied throughout the Academic Year. The pupil had then to recite before the examiner the answer from the book (especially for the reading test) or from memory. In the later written examination however the pupils were naturally examined in groups, and written questions were now set to be answered in writing. Each pupil was then awarded the marks he merited the highest mark being always ten or thirty and a pass being always four or fifteen.


2 A selected list of written questions is given in Appendix IV.

It was only those pupils who had actually studied at the school who were permitted to sit these examinations. No external pupils were accepted as candidates.¹ A diploma was awarded to the successful pupil and was usually signed by all the teaching staff and then countersigned by the Headmaster of the school. Examples of these diplomas may be seen in Appendix I. Prizes in the form of books were sometimes given to the most deserving pupils, and the usual speeches took place at the end of the Academic Year.²

We must now look at the private schools and the teaching carried on in them as a whole in order to estimate what they achieved. With regard to subjects, a basic knowledge of religious studies of course taught in all Private Schools, although the standard inevitably varied much from school to school. In the Higher Grades of the only three schools equipped for advanced study (the Saulatīyyah and the two Falāh Schools of Jeddah and Mecca) a more ambitious curriculum was offered which however dealt only with the four main Islamic subjects, Commentary on the Qur'ān, Islamic Law, Tradition and Theology, using accepted classical text-books, and here again the approach was purely traditional, including the standard subjects (Ḥadīth, Fiqh, Tawhīd and Tafsīr). There was no sign that recent or contemporary Islamic thinking was taken into consideration in any way.

² For details see Al-Madrasah al-Saulatīyyah, Saddīq al-'Ilm Min al-Hijāz, various additions from A.H. 1328 (1909) to A.H. 1331 (1912); a selected page is given in Appendix VIII.
Again, with regard to Arabic Studies, these, too, were reported as having been taught in all the Private Schools, and once more the standard varied from one school to another. In the Preparatory Classes of all the Schools, the Alphabet, Spelling and Reading and Writing were taught; and, in addition to these, some schools (according to their curricula) introduced Calligraphy, Dictation and often Composition.

At the Advanced Grade three schools only (the Saulatîyyah and the two Falâh Schools) taught classical Arabic Grammar and Syntax, Morphology, Prosody, Rhetoric and Stylistics, and some Literature. These subjects, again, were taught from accepted text-books, and again the approach was purely traditional. All contemporary Arabic Literature and any tendency towards intellectual modernism, as cultivated in some neighbouring countries, were in practice ignored; the Literature used seems to have been largely the standard poetical works (with prosody); there is no mention of prose texts used in literature, though book - prizes given included e.g. Ĥarîrî's Maqâmât. Lists of books used in both religious and Arabic studies were included in the curricula of individual schools.

So far as our information goes Islamic History as a separate subject did not very frequently find a place in the curricula of the majority of the private schools as they were issued during this period (1869-1916); in fact only three out of twenty-two schools are known to have taught history as a separate subject. It was in 1875 that this subject was mentioned for the first time in the syllabus of the Saulatîyyah School as being taught in the Secondary and Final grades.
Later, in 1901, reference was made in the second syllabus of the same school to the fact that Islamic History was to be taught henceforth in all grade's of the school. Moreover, when the Falāḥ School was established in Jeddah in 1905, History was again included among the subjects studied in the school, and this holds good for the second Falāḥ School, founded in Mecca in 1911. The text-books prescribed in these schools were of the traditional type. These were: Tārīkh al-Khulafā' by al-Suyūṭī; al-Muqaddimah by Ibn Khaldūn; al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah by Ibn Hishām and Kitāb Nūr al-Yaʿqīn Sirat Saḥīḥ al-Mursalin by Muhammad al-Khudari.

Examination of these books shows that they cover in broad outline the following historical topics: short history of the tribe of Quraysh during the early days of Islam, the Biography of the Prophet, his call and the rise of Islam, and his daily life, the four Orthodox Caliphs, the Umayyad and Abbasid Dynasties, important events in the history of the Arabian Peninsula, the Arabs and the two great Mosques of Mecca and Medina.

The above itemization makes it clear that Islamic History only was taught in these three private schools. World history outside Islam received no mention not even Ottoman history; and this was, of course, different from what was done in the State Turkish Schools. Perhaps the omission was not merely accidental, for the Turks were not exactly popular. The treatment accorded this subject varied perceptibly from one school to another. The other private schools were of course all Lower Grade, and they concentrated only on teaching the basic subjects; no doubt, however, some knowledge of
Islamic history must inevitably have been imparted by way of the teaching of certain central Islamic events, for an understanding of the genesis of the Islamic religion is of course inseparable from an understanding of Islam and its history, and a great deal of historical information about the Muslims must have been taught incidentally in the very process of teaching subjects such as the Life of the Prophet, the background to the Ḥadīths and the events related in the Qurʾān. Historical knowledge of some kind would also necessarily have formed some part of the subject—matter of lessons concerned with famous travellers and the careers of eminent Muslims, and would certainly have been touched on in Ḥadīth or Fiqh.

Regarding Geography it appears this subject was not widely taught, and details about the way in which it was presented can only be gathered from what is known about geography teaching at those individual schools, between 1907 and 1916. Although geography is not mentioned as a separate subject in any of the Saulatiyyah School curricula issued during this period, there occurs mention of the subject nevertheless, in the annual reports of the school (issued between 1909–1913), and it is also referred to by al-Mawsalī, who visited the school in 1909, and speaks of geography as being a subject taught there. However, these annual reports provide no further details, nor does al-Mawsalī. According to the curriculum of the two Falāḥ Schools (issued in 1907) geography was taught in the Intermediate and Secondary Grades,


and largely consisted of topics relating to the five continents, with special reference to some of their leading physical features.¹

No text-books are mentioned by any of these Private Schools, but it was suggested in the syllabus of the Falāh Schools that brief notes on the subject should be made by the teacher for his pupils. It is, however, apparent that the topics taught contained only limited information about physical features chiefly concerned with Arabia; and that some reference was perhaps made to certain other countries which were especially important at that time. Physical geography included the study of prominent mountains, plains, rivers, valleys, coasts, bays, lakes, streams, sources and estuaries of rivers, bridges, frontiers of countries, towns, villages, seas and oceans. No mention is made of political geography, and somewhat surprisingly there is no special reference to the geography of the Ottoman Empire.

The various investigations make it clear that geography was treated in a very sketchy way. It would seem that it was not at this time considered to be a subject of any great importance for the pupils, and in this respect it stood in marked contrast to Islamic History. The lack of suitable books and qualified teachers no doubt contributed to the difficulties involved in dealing with geography as a school subject.

As for Mathematical subjects according to the curricula of the Private Schools three branches of Mathematics were taught in these schools. These were Arithmetic, Geometry and Algebra. Basic Arithmetic was of course taught in all the schools, but only three of them taught this subject at an advanced level. In the Elementary Grade pupils were taught the Arabic numerals, their written as well as their oral uses, simple addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. At a higher level more advanced stages to the "Four Rules", Fractions and every day commercial problems were taught. Basic Geometry and Algebra were taught only in four Private Schools, the Saulatīyyah, the two Falāḥ Schools and the Khairīyyah School. No other details are given, unfortunately, in any of the documents available. The examination question - lists, however, show that occasionally some traditional astronomy (probably because of its religious implications) and mathematical geography was done.

Taking the teaching of these private schools as a whole, we thus see that the standards aimed at were on the whole fairly basic, with few schools aiming at anything like a real secondary level. It is, on the other hand, interesting to note the inclusion of commercial arithmetic; and it deserves to be mentioned that bookkeeping was also included in the syllabus of five schools (the Saulatīyyah, the Fakhriyyah, the Khairīyyah, the two Falāḥ Schools). This fits in well with the general attitude governing teaching, which was intended to impart knowledge directly useful to commerce. This was important in the towns of the Hijaz, which largely depended on trade, especially during the pilgrimage season.
Conclusion

In reviewing now the curricula and teaching methods of the Private Schools as a whole, we are at once struck by a number of facts: thus without exception, the Private Schools were of a traditional nature. Almost all were involved in the (traditional) lower education and the basic religious and Arabic instruction, and only a few were at all interested in adding a higher education in the same subjects as were taught at the lower grade. Within higher education, modern subjects, such as Geography, History and Mathematics, even where they were taught, were offered on a very limited scale. The main attraction of these schools was thus their imparting of the traditional primary teaching, with a special stress on the traditional Islamic subjects and values, combined with such commercial skills as were likely to be useful; whereas the proclaimed aims of the Turkish State Schools were markedly different, for they offered, at least in theory, a definitely Westernised slant both in including a predilection for modern subjects, subject - matter and in teaching methods, even though in practice the more ambitious proposals seldom left the paper they were written on. It may thus be said that, as far as the Hijaz, or at any rate a part of the urban population of the region, had any educational aspirations at this time, these Private Schools were their concrete embodiment.

Thus state of things was perhaps natural. On the whole, the Hijaz was much more open to Eastern influence, particularly those from India and Java than to those from the West. In conformity with this fact the founders of the first two Private Schools were indeed Indians, who had emigrated to the
Hijaz. Even if such men had aimed at using Western methods, they could have done so only imperfectly and at second hand. On the other hand, the Hijazis themselves appeared to resent nearly all attempts at modernization, and to resist that westernization which was so eagerly sought in the neighbouring countries, specially in Egypt and Lebanon.

Absence of Non-Muslim Education in the Hijaz:

As the British Consul remarked in 1885; "In an essentially Muhammadan country like Hijaz where the only Christian elements are the various Foreign Consuls and about a dozen of Greek and Maltese shopkeepers in Jeddah, the existence of non Muslim education institution is out of the question and needs no further comment". ¹

Some observers felt that the country was hereby deprived of a valuable stimulus George T. Trial and R. Bayly Winder say, "The influence of religious leaders and attitudes has been mainly responsible for depriving Arabia of the large number of Christian missionary schools found in other Arab countries. Countries such as Egypt and Syria, and also need more schools, but they do have a cushion of educated people. In Arabia this cushion is lacking, for with the exception of sporadic medical missionaries, it has proved impossible for missionaries to operate there".²


CHAPTER SIX

THE SURVIVAL OF TRADITIONAL (OLD TYPE) SCHOOLS

IN THE HIJAZ UP TO 1916

Of the three types of traditional educational institutions, namely the old Madrasas, the Kuttābs and the Mosque Schools, only the two latter were functioning in the Hijaz during the period 1874-1916. The Madrasas, less fortunate than the others, gradually fell into decline and were finally abandoned. Their buildings were taken over by the Government or used as lodgings for wealthy pilgrims.

The Abandonment of the Madrasas:

Concerning this exodus from the old Madrasas, Snouck-Hurgronje, who visited Mecca in 1885, comments: ¹ "Bad management and various abuses have brought these old Madrasas to decay, only a few years in general having elapsed before the process of decay set in, the mismanagement diminishing the income of the foundation to such a degree that the salaries could no more be paid, the privilege of free lodging not being sufficient to attract teachers and pupils, while a lack of money entailed also neglect of the buildings. Then the administrators or Government officials began to treat the old Madrasas as abandoned property. Sometimes they established themselves as lodgers in the building. Sometimes they let the beautiful lodgings, appreciated on account of the proximity of the Mosque of Mecca, to rich pilgrims or inhabitants of

Mecca; in a word, as Qutb ad-Din reported 'the hands of devourers took possession of the foundations'. Only a few of the poorer rooms are still occupied by poor teachers and pupils, and occasionally the wealthy occupants of the best rooms will arrange, out of respect for the founder, for a lecture to be given weekly in the hall of the building'. There is in fact no reference at all in other contemporary documents to the functioning or even existence of Madrasas, from which the information is gained that none survived.

The Kuttābs: General Discussion of their Types, Premises, Course of Study, Finance, Teachers, Pupils, the Academic Year, Holidays, School Day and Examinations.

The Kuttābs, which were the most widespread educational institution throughout the Hijaz, gradually increased in number within the period 1869-1916. They were often situated in private rooms, or utilised an ordinary house; when these were not forthcoming they resorted to the corner of a mosque. In some villages the mosque itself served as a Kuttāb when required.

There were no general acknowledged regulations regarding the Kuttābs, and their practice in the matter of curricula, periods of study, length of academic year, holidays etc., varied perceptibly from one to the other.¹ Their chief aim was to teach youth the Qurʾān and assist them to commit parts of it to memory. Alongside this task, elementary reading and writing were invariably taught. Some Kuttābs would teach basic arithmetic, Arabic grammar and dictation, while others again would concentrate wholly on calligraphy.²

¹ Details about these Kuttābs will be discussed later.
If we are to understand these establishments as they existed in the Hijaz we shall find it advisable to classify them into three categories: the Lower Kuttab, the Advanced Kuttab, and, thirdly, the Calligraphic Kuttab, called the Khatîṭ. Pupils accepted in the Khatîṭ were expected to have acquired a knowledge of reading and writing. The distinction between these three types of establishment has not been made clear by earlier writers in spite of its importance.

In all the Kuttabbs the pupils sat on the ground, supplied with mats or a carpet, forming a circle around their teacher, and in this fashion they wrote or read their lessons. Pupils who made mistakes were punished by beating. The pupils usually made a great deal of noise.¹

The Academic Year in most of the Kuttabbs covered the whole calendar year, except for certain religious and public occasions, when of course there was a short holiday.² The working week covered six days, with Friday as a holiday and instruction began in the morning, and continued until evening, with a break at midday, except on Thursday, which had only morning instruction.³ The period of study in the Kuttabbs was unlimited and some students might spend five or six years in efforts to memorise the whole of the Qurʾān.⁴

3 Khūjah, A. *op. cit.*, p.3; Ḥâfîz, O. *Special Report on Past Education in Medina*, p.3.
Standards of teaching differed from one grade of Kuttāb to another. As between the Lower and Advanced Kuttābs, the standards of teaching necessarily differed inasmuch as the Lower Kuttāb went no further than the alphabet, elementary reading and writing, numeration and the memorizing of selected passages from the Qur'ān. "However, the method of teaching in the Kuttābs of Mecca can be considered as the most effective in the Hijaz".¹ Teaching, both in the Lower and the Advanced Kuttābs was continued on two lines, written and oral. Beginners were taught thus: In the first stage, in their written work, the children, under the supervision of the master, (called Mu'allim or Faqīh), wrote out the first letters of the alphabet, in ink, on a wooden board. These boards were washed clean after each lesson.² The teacher later asked the children to rewrite the letters on their boards. After the writing came the pronunciation of each letter, when the teacher would after ask the senior pupils to assist the beginners with pronunciation. When the child had thoroughly learnt the first lesson, the teacher would then proceed to the next, taking in from 3–4 letters at a time, until all the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet had been mastered.

In the second stage, the teacher would write, on the pupils' boards, each letter of the Arabic alphabet three times, combining each letter with different vowels to represent


Usually in most of the public Kuttābs a place was provided for washing the boards with al-Madr (a kind of clay) and water, but in the Mosque schools the boards were washed in the ablution room. Nasīf, M. op. cit., p.1.
A classroom in a Kuttāb with equipment. On the walls hang the teacher's hat, cloak and stick, the students' boards and the rules and regulations of the Kuttāb. The more ornate boards are for the advanced students. The 'falaka' for meeting out punishment to unsatisfactory pupils can also be seen on the wall.
different sounds, e.g. \( \beta, \beta, \beta \). After completing these two stages, the teacher would write out some letters so combined as to form a single word. The pupils would read these and write them down, pronouncing them as they did so.¹ Some Kuttābs would teach the child the "Abjad", or the numerical value of each letter, or they might teach him to learn and write down the ninety-nine names of Allah (God).²

As soon as the pupil could read and write competently, he would learn entire sections of the Qur'ān, or even the whole of it. He would as a rule begin with the short Sūrahs or sections of Juz‘ 'Amma (30th Part of the Qur'ān).³ In most Kuttābs, of course, the Qur'ān was the sole reading book. "The Greatest strictness was observed as to pronunciation and pauses, but no very detailed explanations of the verses were given, for it was feared that this might confuse the child".⁴ The first consideration of a good education was however that the pupil should learn to understand the general sense of, and be able to write down passages from, the Qur'ān. Hence pupils would learn some of the shorter chapters (Sūrahs) of the Qur'ān by heart; the constant ideal set before the pupil being to get the whole Qur'ān by heart, that is, to become a Ḥāfiz.⁵ In the Lower Kuttābs most of the teacher's available time was spent on patient instruction in the recitation of the Qur'ān. In the Advanced Kuttābs, in contrast, the time spent on such instruction was minimal.

⁵ Ibid.,
was apportioned between the subjects taught, which included the reciting of the Qur'ān (sections or the whole of it), the learning by heart of entire sections, writing, the art of reciting the Qur'ān, arithmetic, dictation, ethics and general religious studies.

Elementary arithmetic was taught in most of the Kuttābs, and in the Advanced ones the pursuit of this subject would naturally proceed to a higher level. First came the simple numbers and then the Four Fundamental Rules—addition, subtraction, multiplication and division—followed by the elementary decimal fractions. Pupils at the Khattāt, as we have seen, were taught simply and solely the art of the Arabic writing in its varied forms, mainly the Ruq'ah (cursive style), the Naskh (text hand) and the Thuluth.¹

Education in the Kuttābs was not free; when a father took his child to the Kuttāb, custom demanded that he gave the Faqīh, or teacher, a gift (istiftāh) worth from 10 pence to £1.00, and thenceforth the scholar took every Thursday something worth from one to three pence to give to the teacher. Likewise on all feast-days, the religious ones as well as those like the Mawlid, Al-Nuṣf (or the 15th of Sha'ban) and Mi'rāj, the father gave the teacher (either himself or through his son) presents according to his means.² At Isrāfah or Iqlābah (the completion of the Qur'ān) fathers of good position would give the teacher two suits, or at least a mantle and some presents, along with a goodly amount of money.³

2 Snouck-Hurgronje, C. op.cit., p.115.
3 Ibid.,
As soon as Shaikh Hasan al-ʿAbādī opened his Kuttāb in Mecca in A.H. 1316 (1898) he imposed a regulation defining the duties of the pupils' parents in the matter of the tuition fees. Among the provisions of this regulation the following points were embodied:

1. The parents were to pay two Turkish Riyāls as an entrance fee (al-Futūḥ).

2. They were to pay the sum of five Turkish piastres every Thursday (Khamīsīyyah). One of these piastres was to be spent on the mat on which the pupils sat, one on the water, and three were reserved for the Shaikh himself.

3. If the pupil completed one part of the thirty parts of the Qurʿān the parents were to pay the Shaikh three Turkish Riyāls. Out of this sum half a Riyāl was to be given to his assistant (ʿArīf), who would then in return indicate the completion of that chapter by embellishing the special board set up for this purpose. Half a Riyāl was to be spent on the paints needed for the embellishment of this board, and the remainder was again to be reserved for the Shaikh. It was moreover expected that the parents should bring some home-made sweets, or cakes at such a time, to be distributed amongst the pupils in the Kuttāb.

4. When the pupil at length completed the whole of the Qurʿān, the parents were to pay the Shaikh fifteen Turkish Riyāls, two of which were for his assistant, who embellished the board in gold, and the remainder was for the Shaikh himself. The parents were again to bring sweets for distribution amongst the pupils.
5. The financial contribution made by the guests attending the celebration party provided by the parents was to be given to the Shaikh.

6. The parents, at any of the Islamic occasions of celebration, were to give to the Shaikh sweets and a small present.

Furthermore, a special stipulation was laid down that at 'Id time, especially at 'Id al-Fitr, marking of course the end of the month of fasting, the parents were to give alms (Zakāt al-Fitr), on behalf of their son, to the Shaikh.¹

Nasīf, it should be remarked, further provided for the payment of teachers in the Kuttāb of Jeddah by ordering that parents were to pay the Shaikh two to three Turkish piastres every Thursday, and certain other optional payments depending very much on the status and wealth of the parents;² and in the case of Medina Faqīh carefully reports that the monthly payment to the Shaikh and his assistant in the Kuttābs of that city amounted to one Turkish Riyāl and more than half this sum to his assistant in addition.

The teacher in these Kuttābs was variously called Faqīh, or Mu'allim, or Mullā,³ and the pupils themselves used to call him Sayyidunā or Shaykhunā or Ustādh. Each Kuttāb had only one teacher but he often appointed one or more assistants teachers or from amongst his pupils, usually the more advanced. They would teach the beginners and even on occasion take over the classes when their master was absent; and sometimes he would send them on errands.⁴

³ All these mean "teacher" in the Kuttābs only.
At no time were there any recognised or specific qualifications prescribed by the authorities for a person desirous of opening such a traditional public school, nor was there any need of financial expertise to run it. In consequence anybody who had some knowledge of reading and writing could, if he wished, open his own private Kuttāb. Teachers in the Khattāb, or the Calligraphy Kuttāb, however, were required to be proficient in Calligraphy.

The Primary Grades were co-educational until the age of eight, when the girls were either "kept at home or sent to a school mistress (Faqīhah)". Parents (mostly well-to-do) who did not wish their children to associate with other normally hired a learned man (faqīh) on a daily basis in order that their children might receive instruction, or they agreed with other families for their children to receive instruction in common. Parents too poor to pay even the small tuition fees for the Kuttāb allowed or encouraged their children to learn by ear, from some instructed person, those parts of the Qur'ān needed for their religious exercises.

The Kuttābs were always well attended by the young pupils as they were the means of primary education throughout the Hijaz. The number of students in most of the Kuttābs would range from 50 - 90.

Pupils in the Kuttābs were not subjected to any examination, nor did they receive any certificate. As soon as the pupil had satisfactorily completed the recitation of the whole or some parts of the Qur'ān and acquired the requisite knowledge

1 Snouck-Hurgronje, C. op. cit., p.115.
2 Ibid.,
3 Ibid.,
of writing and arithmetic, he might leave. Moreover on his departure a feast called İsräfah or Iqläbah has arranged, and a ceremony took place somewhat on the following lines.

In 1880 Snouck-Hurgronje, said that "When the pupil has reached through the half or about two-thirds (up to the 36th Sürah) of the Qur'ān, then the faqīh announces the fact to his father. The latter then appoints the day of the feast (‘azīmah) to which besides the teacher all the other pupils are invited. On that day the school boys all put on their most splendid gold embroidered garments and come with their writing boards on their heads to their happy young friend, who himself also thus carries his board wrapped up in fine gold-hemmed cloth. Placing him in the middle, they range themselves in files and march through the town, while one of the older ones recites a poem or quotes appropriate Qur'ān verses: the theme of the poem is the praise of the Holy Book and of the Prophet. Certain forms of peroration or envoi are changed by them all at once, as, e.g., the words (Qur'ān 21: 107)

"and Thee have we sent
"only out of mercy for the world"

Returned to the house they find the male relations of the boy with the faqīh and enjoy with them a meal. The faqīh gets as a present one or three dollars. This feast is called İsräfah.

Like it is the feast called Iqläbah, celebrated when the scholar has got to the end of the Qur'ān. For this close of the school years however more numerous invitations are sent out: especially the ladies of the family then give a party.
The meal is rather more sumptuous than at the Israfah, and the reward to the faqīḥ is more generous. People of good position will even send him thirty dollars and a whole suit (bedlah) or at least a mantle (jubbah). Also often on this occasion religious recitations are given after the promenade of the school boys and before the meal.¹

Even at a later time, during the early part of the 20th century, the ceremony differed only slightly from that described by Snouck-Hurgronje. Khūjah gives an account of such an event:

"If a student completed a part of the Qur'ān it was customary for his parents to hold a celebration called Israfa'h. They would appear at the Kuttāb with a money gift for his teacher, as well as sweets and cakes; the teacher would accept the money for his own use, but distribute the rest of the gifts among his pupils who would afterwards be given the day off. But when at last the pupil completed the whole of the Qur'ān, a more elaborate celebration would be held by the parents for all the pupils and their teacher. The pupil would take formal leave of the Kuttāb, and make his way home through the main street accompanied by his teacher and fellow pupils who would then beat drums and sing a traditional song,² waving incense as they did so. When they reached the pupils' home they would be ceremonially received by the parents amid a chorus of "Lululation" and further beating of drums. The pupil would proceed to read a verse from the Qur'ān written on an embellished board. Afterwards he would place the board...

² The song is as follows: "ýý'sýýý b Hal I ý(., Khūjah, Abdullah, Report on Educational Establishments in Mecca, p.37.
before his teacher and the assembled guests would drop money onto it - a token of thanks to the teacher. The celebration would begin with a meal and concluded by a distribution of cakes and sweets among the pupils, the whole event signifying that the pupil had completed his study at the Kuttāb and might now join the Ḥalqah in the Mosque.¹

A Khāṭṭāṭ with various assortments of pens and a large copying board. The objects to right and left of the board are lamps.
A classroom in a Kuttāb with copies of the Qur'ān.
The lamps indicate the position of the pupils.

Too modern!
Not in the period understood.
Anything like an adequate enumeration of these Kuttābs and of the total number of pupils who attended them is uncommonly difficult to arrive at. It has however been found possible to obtain the following statistics concerning the period under survey; and, although not fully substantiated, they seem to be reasonably credible.

The Hijaz Villayet Salnamah for the year A.H. 1301 (1883-1884) reports that there were at that time 33 Kuttābs in Mecca, distributed throughout the city as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sūq al-Lail</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarārah</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qushāshīyyah</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi‘b ʿĀmr</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulaimānīyyah</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misfalah and Jiyād</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shubbaikah</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥarāt al-Bāb</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāmiyyah</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are confirmed when we find the Acting British Consul, in his report of 1885, stating that "Private Kuttābs kept by anyone of the 'Ulamās are eagerly attended by Mecca's Arab youth". And in the same year Rif’at actually claims that there were about 1150 pupils in these 33 Kuttābs. This number of Kuttābs appears to have risen to 43 by 1889.

1 p. 63.
3 Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn, vol. 1, p. 182.
By 1916 there were about 50 Kuttābs in the city, with an unspecified number of pupils. Data regarding some well-known Kuttābs founded in Mecca during the period under consideration are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Founder</th>
<th>Date of foundation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. K. ʿAbdullah Hamadūh</td>
<td>ʿAbdullāh Hamadūh</td>
<td>A.H. 1300 (18)</td>
<td>In the Great Mosque later in al-Shamīyyah district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. K. ʿAbdī</td>
<td>Husain al-ʿAbdī</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Al-Falq district, later in Jiyād.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. K. Māḥī</td>
<td>Amin Māḥī</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Shubikhāh district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. K. Nūrī</td>
<td>Abdul Muṭī</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Shubaikah square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. K. ʿUjamī</td>
<td>ʿAbdī ʿUjamī</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Ghushāshīh district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. K. Ghandūrah</td>
<td>ʿAbdul-Hay Ghandūrah</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ǧārāt al-Bāb quarter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. K. al-Khuṣamī</td>
<td>Ibrāhīm ʿUzamī</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ǧūq al-Lāl district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. K. Humūd</td>
<td>Shaikh Humūd</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Misfalah district</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For details about these Kuttābs and others see: ʿAbdul-Jabbār, O. Durūs Min Māḏī al-Taʿlīm, Cairo, 1959, pp. 156-8; Sibāʿī, A. Tarikh Makka', Vol. II, p. 203; Sibāʿī, A. Abū Zāmil, pp. 5-9; Sibāʿī, Ayyāmī, p. 3; Khuzāmī, I. Report on Past Education in Mecca, p. 4; Ghazāwī, A. Special Report on the Educational Establishments in the Hijāz before 1925, p. 4; ʿAzūz, I. Report on the Education in the Falāḥ Schools and other Educational Establishments in the Hijāz.

ʿAbdul-Jabbār states "My father sent my brother and me to the Shaikh ʿAbdullāh Hamadūh Kuttab to learn the alphabet. When the Kuttab became overcrowded we had to move into a house near Bāb al-Baṣīṭīyyah, one of the Great Mosque Gates. There, Shaikh Hamadūh drew up a list of new arrangements for the Kuttab, grading the pupils into classes and adding new subjects to the programme i.e. Calligraphy and Arithmetic, previously we had been taught recitation of the Qurʾān, reading, writing and dictation. For this reason the number of students attending the Kuttab increased" and "a new assistant teacher (ʿArīf) Shaikh Muṣṭafā Yakhmūr was appointed".

In 1905, Shaikh Muhammad ʿAlī Zaʿnāl, the founder of the Falāḥ School in Jeddah, decided to open a similar establishment in Mecca. He consulted Shaikh Hamadūh about converting the Kuttab into a modern private school with a new curriculum; the Shaikh agreed to his proposals and eventually the Kuttab became a school after being transferred to an even larger building. ʿAbdul-Jabār, ʿUmar Durūs Min Māḏī al-Taʿlīm wa Ḥādirūh bi al-Masjid al-Ḥarām, Cairo, 1959, pp. 157-8.
Apart from these Lower and Advanced Kuttâbs, there were in addition the Calligraphy Kuttâbs, known as Khattâts. The best known of these were as follows:-

Kuttâb al-Khulûsî, Kuttâb Muḥammad ʿHîlmî,\(^1\) Kuttâb ʿAlî Kutbî, Kuttâb Muḥammad Marzûqî,\(^2\) Kuttâb Maḥmûd Zuḥdî, Kuttâb Tûj Faraj Ghazâwî,\(^3\) Kuttâb al-Fârsî,\(^4\) Kuttâb Muḥammad Faraj Chazâwî,\(^5\) Kuttâb Tâhir al-Kurdi.\(^6\) The first six of these Kuttâbs were located on the two sides of the Great Mosque of Mecca, in the colonnades of Bâb Ziyâdah and Bâb ʿAlî; the remainder were housed in their founders' residence:

To these must be added two Kuttâbs for girls, run by female teachers; the number of pupils ranged from twenty to thirty. Basic subjects were taught, such as the Qurʾān, reading and writing, ethics and general religious studies and the numbers.\(^7\)

It is not a little surprising to find that in Medina there were in 1883 no fewer than 13 Kuttâbs, distributed throughout the city, one of which was for the teaching of calligraphy.\(^8\)

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5  Sibâʿî, A. op.cit., p.203.
6  al-Ghazâwî, A.I. op.cit.,
7  Sibâʿî, A. op.cit., p.203; See also Râḥmatullah, M.S. Report on the Educational Establishments during the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century.
A little later, in 1885 (A.H. 1303), 'Ali-Mūsā, describing the Medina of that time, said that "there were twenty-four Kuttābs, one of which was for the teaching of Persian". The Hijāz Villayat Salnamah for the year A.H. 1306, however reports that there were eleven Kuttābs in Medina.

In the report of Ja'far Faqīhah, on the state of education in Medina, it was claimed that "at the beginning of the twentieth century there were fourteen Kuttābs in Medina, six of which were inside the Mosque of the Prophet". These were:

1. Kuttāb of Shaikh Muṣṭafā Ahmad Faqīhah, founded in the year A.H. 1273 (1856). When Shaikh Muṣṭafā died he was succeeded by his brother Ibrāhīm.


5. Kuttāb of Shaikh ʿAḥmad.


In this Kuttāb Turkish and Persian Calligraphy was taught.

2 p. 230.
3 Special Report on Past Education in Medina. p. 3; See also Ḥāfīz, ʿ. Special Report on Past Education in Madinah, p. 1, 7.
The other eight Kuttābs were situated in various parts of the city, and were as follows:

1. Kuttāb of Shaikh 'Abdul-Qādir Bashīr in al-‘Ambariyyah quarter.
7. Kuttāb of Shaikh Muḥammad Khalūl in the Qubā locality.

In 1910 (A.H. 1327), al-Batnūnī paid a visit to Medina and observed that there were seventeen Kuttābs in which basic studies were conducted. Regrettably enough, no further information was procurable regarding the number of Kuttābs in the city. Apparently the number of this type of traditional Kuttāb varied from time to time, and of course their study programme too varied as they were administered along traditional lines.

As for Jeddah, in Hijaz Vilaiyyat Salnamah for the year 1306 (1888-9) reported that there were in Jeddah ten Kuttābs. Rif'at, commenting on his visit to Jeddah in A.H. 1318 (1901),...
notes that "there were nine Kuttābs in the town, for teaching the children".\(^1\) Nasīf\(^2\) similarly reports that "there were a considerable number of Kuttābs in Jeddah, the most famous of which were the Kuttāb al-Shaikh 'Abdul-Mun'im, in which I studied during the year 1889, the Kuttāb of Shaikh Khalīl Ḥāmid and the Kuttāb of Shaikh Muḥammad al-Dusūqī; and another was the Kuttāb endowed by Shaikh 'Abdullāh Nasīf". He also provides us with a description of the Kuttāb, whose "study was usually conducted in a large room, furnished with mats, near which there was a large porous jar for the storing of drinking-water. The children of wealthy people used to bring their own drinking-water in small vessels, carried by their servants, who replenished the supply twice each day, as the study-period lasted from early morning until mid-afternoon. The number of pupils in these Kuttābs amounted to between fifty and sixty, who would spend several years in the Kuttāb, in the study of the recitation of the Qur'ān, and those who desired greater proficiency in this art repeated it from four to five times". Furthermore, with reference to those Kuttābs which specialised in calligraphy, he says that in Jeddah there were a number of this kind, the most famous of which was the Kuttāb of Shaikh Tāha Riddān, who taught this art to a number of the sons of the notables and merchants of Jeddah.\(^3\)

Information about Kuttābs in other towns of the Hijaz is very scanty, but it is remarked in the Hijaz Villayet Salnamah, for the year A.H. 1306 (1888-1889), that in Taif there were four Kuttābs.\(^4\) Another source is once more Rif'at,\(^5\) who

4 p.219.
observes that al-Wajh, which he visited in 1901, "has one small Kuttāb, in which I could not find a single text book, so sent a copy of the Qur'ān and parts of the ḍAma and Tabārak (the 30th and 29th parts of the Qur'ān), for use in teaching the sons of the poor". In A.H. 1320 (1903) he visited Yarbu and commented, "It has only one Kuttāb".1

The Mosques

The Great Mosque of Mecca before 1913.

The Mosques certainly rendered a very valuable educational service to the population of the Hijaz, in particular the two Great Mosques of Mecca and Medina, both of which were famed as centres of learning and deeply concerned with advanced Islamic studies. Many other mosques in the towns and villages were similarly involved in teaching and scholarship, apart from being places of religious devotion.

Thus speaking of the Great Mosque of Mecca, the British Consul says: somewhat despondently "The constant efforts which were and are still made by the 'Ulemas to prevent the decline of their once renowned learning, by giving free instruction at their homes and lecturing publicly in the Haram ... are but faintly responded to by their degenerate countrymen".2 And again: "This small body of 'Ulemās, who devoted their lives to learning for learning's sake, receive small encouragement in their labour of love, and no special effort seems to have been made by the Turkish authorities to add any stimulus to their zeal, except by choosing and filling up vacancies in the number of the priests (sic)

of the Temple from among the most deserving of their body".  

Before 1913 the Great Mosque of Mecca was administered by the Shaikh of the 'Ulamā'. His activities were reported in some detail by Snouck-Houngronje in 1885, from whose account we quote. It is obvious that learning and teaching occupied only a part of his duties, matters of an administrative or religious nature taking pride of place.

Snouck-Houngronje writes: "This official is appointed, like other guid masters, by the Government. He distributes the presents that have been given to the whole body of the professors, and appoints these according to his pleasure. He is generally a Muftī and preferably the Muftī of the Shāfi‘ites".  

"Besides the above mentioned duties of receiving new members and distributing common revenues, the Shaikh of the 'Ulamā' must regulate all the affairs of the corporation, and represent it in dealings with the outer world, and especially with the Government. In ordinary cases the Government, before issuing decrees introducing new regulations, has recourse to the Mufti of the Ḥanafites, so as to avoid conflict with Canon Law; but in cases in which the Government wishes to show that all religious authorities are in accord with its will, recourse will be had to the Shaikh of the 'Ulamā, who will then draw up, first the matter in due form, and then a Fetwā with a mass of supporting texts, and submit it for signature to his most eminent colleagues. The object of such special Fetwās is the introduction of new and unpopular measures, the removal of traditional abuses, or the increase

of the Government revenues. The aid of a Fatwā is also invoked when proceedings, often the outcome of personal intrigue, are taken against a person highly placed in the world of religious learning".1

The Shaikh al-‘Ulamā' was essentially the champion of the Sacred Knowledge against assaults from the outer world, or indeed from any source. His ordinary work as Shāfi‘īte Muftī, was no arduous task, as his assistants (the `Umanā al-fetwā) settled for him the routine and daily questions and consulted him on important cases only. As a considerable number of Mekkans adhered to the Shāfi‘ī rite, there passed no day without his being consulted on family questions on the legal character of certain contracts and so forth. But a still greater number of the questions regularly put to him came from the Shāfi‘ī parts of India, the East Indian Archipelago, or from Daghestan. Vaccination, the use of paraffin lamps in mosques, the ceremonial purity or impurity of certain kinds of Chinese lacquer work, a new mode of evading the usury law, a new style of dress: all these and many more were subjects that the Mufti was called to pronounce upon at any time in the course of a few days. Moreover, besides the duties of deciding on the admission of new candidates, on the administration of revenues and on the proper representation of the learned body abroad, another of the Shaikh al-‘Ulamā's duties was to direct the order of teaching in the Mosque, as a sort of "rector" of the "university".2 In this capacity he was ably assisted by the Imāms al-Fetwā 3 or the three Muftis, each representative of one of the three differing Islamic

2 Ibid., p.180.
3 Ibid., pp. 173, 175, 179, 182-4.
Ornate Lamps used for evening teaching sessions in the Great Mosque of Mecca during the period of study.
rites, the Ḥanafī, the Malākī and the Ḥanbalī. There were large numbers of professors and assistant professors.

If we inquire into the number of these professors, we find that the Hijaz Villayet Salnamah for the year A.H. 1303 (1884-5) gives a list of 270, but Snouck-Hurgronje, commenting on this, declares: "These official data are not quite reliable, for many of those men are named "professors" because the Government (Ottoman) wished to favour them with a salary from a fund destined for the advancement of science. Leaving apart such purely sinecure professors, the total number is between 50 and 60. About one third of these are Ḥanafites, amongst whom Indians and scholars from Russian Asia are to be found, as well as Mekkans and other Turkish subjects."  

Remarkably enough, in 1901 Rif'at cited the same number of professors as the Hijaz Salnamah of the year A.H. 1303 (1884-5), whereas in A.H. 1327-8 (1910) al-Batnūnī estimated the number of regular teachers in the Great Mosque of Mecca at only thirty. Sībā'ī again gave the number at the beginning of the 20th century as 120, whereas Ghazawi affirmed that at that period there were 50 to 60 Ḥalqahs, each having its own teacher at each lesson. 'Ābdul-Jabbār, as a student at the Great Mosque during the early years of the second decade of the 20th century, vaguely observed that there were a great number of professors. With such conflicting

1 pp. 71-74.
4 Al-Riḍlah al-Ḥijāzīyyah, Cairo: 1911, p. 60.
reports, evidently based on variant definitions of the words 'professor' and 'teacher', it is impossible to arrive at any valid estimate of the exact number or type of teachers actually engaged in teaching in the Great Mosque.

Apart from listing the administration staff and teachers, the Hijaz Salnamah also gives an account of their yearly allowances. Only 54 teachers out of the list of 270 received a yearly stipend, of as little as 100-500 Turkish piastres; even the Shaikh of the 'Ulama' and the three Muftis received only 500 Turkish Piasters each. This is very little indeed if we bear in mind the salaries of the teachers in State Schools, and the actual monetary values they represented. Understandably, the teachers, as well as the senior staff, received supplementary support from various outside sources, such as revenues from religious foundations, and from time to time not a few of them very likely received costly gifts from richer students or admirers. Others supplemented their income by various kinds of employment, or they engaged in some trade which made them independent. If we wish to gain a true picture of the situation, we ought not to forget that as a matter of course, a yearly gift of wheat, as well as of money, was sent from Egypt to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. This tradition had long since become an obligation, and the Turkish Sultanate would without doubt have lost very much prestige throughout the Muslim World if this largesse had ever ceased. It would be very nearly true to say that every

1 Hijaz Villayet Salnamah, A.H. 1303 (1884-5) pp.71-74; See also Rif'at, op.cit., vol.I. p.260.
2 For details see pp.90-93 of this thesis.
adult resident, whatsoever his station, from Mufti to Mosque
sweeper, benefited from this yearly government consignment.
Almost every householder resident in Mecca, that is to say with
the exception of the rich merchants, received one or more
Ardabs (One Ardab = 202 lbs) of Egyptian wheat. In bad years
it was indeed often difficult to fulfil this obligation in
full and the corn was unhappily sometimes sold to a go-between
for less than half its face value. All the professors
received these allowances of grain and monies, even though
they were also drawing an income in other capacities, i.e.
as Muftīs or Imāms or Khatībs. Rich pilgrims, especially
those among the Indian pilgrims, used frequently to make large
gifts of money to the learned professors or to the Haram
collectively.

All things considered, then, the sources of income of
the Great Mosque were reasonably sufficient to justify the
institution of a corporation of Professors, presided over by
an administrator and distributor of their sundry funds.¹

It will be seen that teaching and learning were cast in
a traditional mould from the writings of Snouck-Hurgronje and
al-Ma’ārif. Education in the Great Mosque of Mecca was much
rather a means of obtaining spiritual merit (barakah) than
anything else.² We here get a picture of educational procedure
in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Concerning this
type of teaching Snouck-Hurgronje commented: "In theory every
believer has a right to his share in the whole mosque space.
After the public congregational prayers individuals may remain
in private prayer or simply rest themselves ... and several

¹ Snouck-Hurgronje, C. op. cit., pp.173-4; al-Ma'ārif,
² Al-Ma’ārif, op.cit., p.338-339.
circles of students may listen to the lectures of the teachers. It might then be supposed that anyone who can get people to listen to him can give a lecture in the mosque courtyard or mosque halls, but it is not really so." \(^1\) He goes on "Of course such a lecturer cannot be quite incompetent or he would expose himself to ridicule, \(^2\) and it is the rule that any interloper would be put out, at the request of the Shaikh al-‘Ulama’, by the eunuch guardians of the Haram, or by the Government police; only after the last evening prayer is there less strictness in this matter, because at that hour few professors lecture". \(^3\)

If action had to be taken against an interloper, punishment was meted out by the state authorities, the Shaikh al-‘Ulama’ was not invested with authority in such cases. \(^4\)

"Whoever wishes to acquire a general outline of a course of instruction needs to make his way regularly through the Haram five times a day because he will find circles of disciples gathered round the recognised teachers after each of the five prayer-times in the day, during the early months of the Muslim year for already in the eighth month (Shawwal) many new developments might take place. Nor does the work of instruction take place on Tuesday or Fridays on which days the regular lectures are suspended. With regard to Friday this custom of suspension is justified by the necessary preparation of Divine Service. As to Tuesday it is held to be justified by the fact that Abū Hanifah died on a Tuesday.

2. Ibid., p.174.
However, there are some professors who lecture even on these days, but only on subjects for which little or no place can be found in the regular lectures.¹

"Again, considerations of space prevent all the recognised professors from using the mosque at once. Modesty also keeps many back from lecturing in the mosque. One thinks himself too young, another thinks himself too obscure. And so a distinction is made between mosque professors and their colleagues who teach elsewhere. The line is drawn sometimes merely by traditional usage, but sometimes by a precise order from the Shaikh of the ‘Ulama’.²

"Professors lecturing immediately after the Morning Prayer can sit in the courtyard of the mosque. But one or two hours later, the sun begins to shine over the cupolas of the east roof. Then lectures are given in one of the colonnades. So we see in both places gatherings of students. A few minutes before the commencement of a lecture (dars), a servant or pupil of the teacher (medarris) puts a cushion on the place where he usually sits to cover the hard pebbles of the courtyard or marble floor of the colonnades. The cushion is placed so that he may sit facing the Kaaba, as he would face the Kaaba at prayer. Generally the number of students is not so great as to cause unpleasantnesses and disagreement in choosing a place for the professors. Each student is able to find a place which suits him, and he keeps that place for the whole year. Should there arise disagreement as to the allotment of

² Ibid., p.174.
places, the decision rests with the Shaikh al-‘Ulama’. The students form a circle round the professor; when they are always the same, each has his fixed place, but this is not too strictly observed, and the cosmopolitan character of Mekka causes much variation. Each disciple comes with his prayer carpet, and before sitting down, directs it from the circumference of the circle towards its centre. The students behind the professor are much nearer to him than those in front, so that they may hear him better and that he may turn his back on as few as possible. Two places behind the teachers cushion are left open to allow him to move about. The students sit down on the edge of their prayer-carpets, and put in front of them their copper inkstands (dwāyah), the prologe of which on one side is a long copper case holding reed-pens and penknives and their portfolio holding several sheets of the text talked about in the lecture and some writing-paper. Sometimes the teacher, according to an old custom, gets one of the older disciples, who may be called the repeater (muqrī), to sit directly opposite him, and, as an introduction to the new lecture, chant the conclusion of the last lecture. Sometimes, though not often, the teacher begins his lecture with some rimed prose sentences in praise of the theme, in which case the repeater also begins with a rehearsal of those sentences, which are therefore always heard twice by the students".¹

The subjects here taught were: Theology, Islamic Law, Morphology, Arabic Grammar and Syntax,² Hadith, Arabic Literature and Poetry, Rhetoric and Versification Logic,³ Tassawuf

¹ Snouck-Hurgronje, op. cit., p.181-182.
² Ibid., p.192.
³ Ibid., p.200.
(Mysticism), Commentary on the Qur'an, Arithmetic.\(^1\) Sources of Islami Law and principles of Ḥadīth.\(^2\)

"The dictation by a professor, either of his own compilation or of a recognised text-book, to which he adds his own glosses, is in general sufficient in addition to which a book could sometimes be bought or borrowed".\(^3\) "An ambitious and prepossessing list! But teaching methods were wooden and unimaginative, for the teacher would merely select a book of his own choice and begin to recite from it to the circle of pupils. No attendance register was ever kept and no roll-call made. The teacher simply explained those portions of the book which he considered to be of particular importance or to bear a special significance. If any more detailed exposition was required, he used to read the marginal notes and comments. This unvarying procedure would continue day in and day out until the book was completed, whereupon another book would be selected and the same dull procedure repeated. The teacher, let us remark, was free to teach from any book on his subject, either by an old or a modern author, but any newly published work, not yet fully and competently annotated, was never chosen by the teacher or used by his pupils".\(^4\)

The following list includes the most important books which students and teachers selected for their study. A student was not required to read all the books, but normally selected those books which would enable him to receive an

\(^1\) Zwemer, S.M. Arabia the Cradle of Islam, New York, 1912 pp.43-44.
\(^3\) Snouck-Hurgronje, C. op.cit., p.169.
\(^4\) Al-Ma‘ārif, vol. XII, pp.338-341.
Ijāzah; however should a student manage to study and digest all the books, he would eventually be accorded the title of ‘Ālim Kāmil, a man of high standing in the field of religious and Arabic studies.


Islamic Law (Shāfi‘ī) Ibn Shujā‘ and Sharḥ Ibn Shujā‘, al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥadramīyyah by Bā- Faḍl; and al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥadramīyyah, al-Bahjah and Sharḥ al-Bahjah

Islamic Law (Mālikī) al-Risūlah by al-Qayrawānī, Mukhtaṣar Khalīl, and Sharḥ al-Dardīr.

Sources of Islamic Law al-Waraqāt by İmām al-Ḥaramayn Nūr al-Anwār, Murqāt by Muḥā Khasrū Taḥrīr Ibn al-Hamām.

Morphology Matn al-Binā‘ and Matn al-‘Izzī by İbṛāhīm al-Zanjānī, al-Amthilah, Matn al-Maqṣūd and Mirāh.
Arabic Grammar and Syntax: *al-Ajrümîyyah* by al-ʿAmrîtî
Sharḥ al-Shaikh Khâlid ʿAlâ al-Ajrümîyyah,
Sharḥ al-Kafrâwî ʿAlâ al-Ajrûmmîyyah
*Tatimmat al-Ajrûmmîyyah* by Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭâb,
Qutr al-Nâdâ by Ibn Hishâm,
*Alfiyyat Ibn Malik* and *Sharh Ibn ʿAgîl*.

Traditions: *Mukhtasar al-Bukhârî* by Ibn Ḥajar.
*Sahih al-Bukhârî*, *Sahih Muslim*
al-Musnad by al-Shâfî ʿI and the four
*Sunan* by Ibu Dawûd, al-Tirmîdî,
al-Nîsâʾî and Ibn Mâjah.

Principles of Ḥadîth: *al-Manzûmah al-Bayqûnîyyah*
by Tāhâ al-Bayqûnî and *Nukhbat al-Fikr* by Ibn Ḥajar

Rhetoric: *al-Jawhar al-Maknûn* by al-Akhdârî,
Sharḥ al-Jawhar al-Maknûn, *Mukhtasar al-Maʿânî*, *Matn al-Sarmâqândî* and
*Hashiyyat al-Bajûrî ʿAlâ al-Sarmâqândî*.

Arabic Literature and Poetry: *al-Muʿallaqât, al-Kâfî* and
*Manzûmat al-Sabîn*.

Logic: *Matn al-Sîlâm* by al-Akhdârî,
*Matn Isâghûjî* by al-Abhari,
Sharḥ Isâghûjî by Zakariyya al-Ansârî,
al-Tahdhîb and *Sharh al-Tahdhîb*.

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1 *al-Maʿârif*, *op.cit.*, pp. 340-341;
*Snouck-Hurgronje, C. op.cit.*, pp.188-189.
As we have already observed, a teacher was not permitted to lecture in the Great Mosque without having first been examined by the Shaikh al-'Ulamā' and having received his favour. The Shaikh, once he found himself prepared to consider a number of candidates as future teachers himself selected the hour at which each candidate was to be present. The examination was invariably held in public near the Bāb al-Ziyādah (One of the Mosque Gates), usually in the forenoon or mid afternoon. It was indeed customary for the Shaikh to be the examiner, but sometimes his deputy conducted the proceedings assisted by the professors who sat around him in a circle, four or five of these latter acting as adjudicators to the examination. Friends or other curious people customarily sat in the background.

At first sight the established curriculum of the Teachers Examination might seem undemanding in its requirements, but it might, nevertheless, and often did, involve a severe gruelling, as some of the questions could not be adequately answered without a solid and comprehensive knowledge of grammar, logic, theology, Islamic tradition, law, etc. The candidate was expected to give answers to the Shaikh’s and other examiners questions without hesitation, and if he succeeded in doing this, the actual results were included in the inaugural ceremony of his new teaching activity. When the examination had been completed the candidate would be informed of his success or failure immediately. If success was his, he would offer coffee to all present; and if he was well-to-do, he might hold a celebration for his new colleagues in his own house.
Having now passed the examination, the candidate of course received a Diploma (Ijāzah), personally signed by the Shaikh al-‘Ulamā‘, the professors and other adjudicators. The new professor was then entitled to teach in the Haram (Sacred Enclosure) or in the Great Mosque itself.¹

The number of students varied throughout the year in the Great Mosque of Mecca. However the number of students attending lessons in the Haram fell off considerably during the main Islamic seasons specially during the time of pilgrimage. For the most part of the academic year there were large numbers of teachers with hundreds of students of varied age. Elderly men sat in the same circles as young men. Students were divided into two groups. The first group consisted of those who attended the Halqah mainly for the "Barakah" or blessing and who might have already completed study under their professors at an earlier date or those who not having had time for learning during their youth, attended now in the hope of making up for lost time. The second group were the students who were following the course of study in the normal way.

Students not supported by an allowance or legacy usually supported themselves financially by part time work in some trade or business, or else they might receive donations or gifts from friends who considered such acts as a sacred duty.²

The Great Mosque of Mecca after 1913

It was on the 30th November 1913 (2nd Muharram, A.H. 1332) that a Regulative Enactment defining the new teaching arrangements in the Mosque of Mecca was laid down by a special Educational Committee, acting on behalf of Sharif Husayn, the Sharif of Mecca. It was called "Al-Tawāli' al-Saniyyah fi Niẓām al-Tadrīs al-Jadīd bi-Masjid Makkah al-Mahmīyyah", and was immediately published by Al-Tarāqi al-Majidiyyah Press in Mecca. Under the general provision of the new syllabus, the Great Mosque of Mecca was to be administered by a Committee of four Muftis, each of them representing one of the four Islamic rites, the Shāfi'iyyah, the Ḥanafīyyah, the Mālikīyyah and the Ḥanbalīyyah. They were specifically vested with Government authority, and were placed under the judicial supervision of the Ḥanafīyyah Muftī, who was at that time the chief of the 'Ulama' of the city. This new Committee was to be exempt from the regulations governing other teachers, and its members were to be free to teach what and when and how they wished. They exercised, in fact, full authority over the entire administrative staff and the teachers in the Mosque, as well as effective control of the teaching methods. They received the Inspectors' complaints against teachers, discussed and recorded them, and made decisions as to the best treatment.

1 For details see Al-Tawāli' al-Saniyyah fi Niẓām al-Tadrīs al-Jadīd bi-Masjid Makkah al-Mahmīyyah (The Guiding Principle Governing the New Teaching Arrangements in the Great Mosque of Mecca, Mecca: A.H. 1332 (1913); see also the diplomas given in Appendix I.

2 They were: Shaikh Abdullāh Ibn 'Abdūl-Rahmān Sirāj, the Ḥanafīyyah Muftī; Shaikh Abdūllāh Mūhammad Sālih al-Zawāwy, the Shāfi'iyyah Muftī; Shaikh Mūhammad 'Abīd Ḥussain, the Mālikīyyah Muftī; Shaikh Mūhammad 'Alī Ibn Himayd, the Ḥanbalīyyah Muftī.
of any pertinent problem. The arrangements for holidays and examinations also fell within their province.

There were in the Great Mosque fifteen Regular Teachers on a monthly salary. They gave as a matter of duty three lessons a day in the approved subjects, but were free to deliver a further lecture if they so wished. If a teacher should be obliged to be absent with the prior consent of the Committee, a substitute was found to take his place; if none was available, the lesson was postponed. A teacher however, taking leave of absence without due permission would forfeit his salary for the relevant period, and if any complaint was made against a teacher to the Committee by one of the Inspectors, the matter was to be impartially discussed and duly recorded. If the particular offence was repeated, the teacher was to be reprimanded by the members of the Committee, but should the offence be repeated for a third time, a full report was to be sent to the Government, which would then take the necessary steps.

Working under the direction of the regular teachers were a number of Mulāzims, or assistant teachers. A Mulāzim, before being accepted by the Mosque, was required to qualify in six major subjects: Islamic Law, Arabic Grammar, Syntax, Morphology, Rhetoric and Elocution. If he failed to qualify in these subjects he might nevertheless be provisionally accepted on the strict understanding that he continued to pursue his studies; but if he failed to comply with this requirement he was summarily dismissed. A Mulāzim, always had the opportunity to become a regular teacher if a vacancy arose, but before he could be accepted, he had to first sit an examination, supervised by the Committee and the regular
teachers jointly, in at least twelve out of the fifteen subjects taught in the Great Mosque. When a post fell vacant, the names of the applicants were recorded and the Committee chose the time and the place of the examination. If a number of Mulāzims applied for a vacancy in the panel of regular teachers, a competitive examination was held, and the candidate awarded the highest marks was accepted as a matter of course; but if more than one candidate received the same marks, the Committee drew lots and the name which turned up was accepted. Once a particular applicant was duly accepted, a letter containing observations on this successfull candidate was sent by the Chairman of the Committee to the Government Authority; his name was then placed on the Register of Regular Teachers and his salary fixed accordingly. The Mulāzim could deliver as many lessons as he wished.

Under the provisions of the 1913 Enactment, two Inspectors were also appointed. They were required to be highly qualified, as well as capable of fulfilling such a position of trust. Their primary duty was to inspect the teaching staff's methods and activities, and take responsibility for the subject-matter with which they were occupied. They had to consider for instance how the teachers approached their lectures and the subjects and make a report if any were absent. In particular, they were expected to pay close attention to the lessons given by the un-authorised teachers in the Great Mosque, that is to say, those who gave lessons by special permission of the Committee, for, in this case, the Inspectors had to report on their capability and the books they used.
Only books prescribed and approved by the Committee might be used. If an un-authorised teacher infringed these general rules, the Inspectors were required to report him to the chairman of the Committee, who, with other members, then investigated the matter. If such an infringement was proved, the Committee wrote to the Government adding suitable suggestions, or else proposed his suspension.

A Clerk was also appointed, and supplied with three registers in which to record all the Mosque's affairs and transactions. The first of these registers contained the names and signatures of all the regular teaching staff and notes on all matters concerning them throughout the year. The second contained a detailed record of all the items of income and expenditure of the Mosque, which of course had to be approved by the chairman of the Committee. In this register all the administrative staff were required to sign against their names when they received their salaries at the end of each month, and at the end of the year this register had to be examined and approved by the Committee, as proof positive that all salaries had been paid during that year. The third register was a day-book in which all communications received or issued (i.e. correspondance) were recorded, along with their numbers and dates.

If now we consider the teaching itself, we must realise that all lessons were delivered in the Great Mosque and the medium of instruction was Arabic. Teachers were bound in general to adhere strictly to this stipulation; it was, however conceded that if certain students had an imperfect knowledge of Arabic it was permissible to supply translations
of the Arabic text in their native language. The length of the course of study was two academic years, and instruction was offered in the following subjects: Theology, Commentary on the Qur’ān, Tradition, Islamic Law, Sources of Jurisprudence, Sources of Tradition, Arabic Grammar and Syntax, Morphology, Rhetoric and Stylistic, Elocution, Logic, History, Life of the Prophet and Mathematical Studies. During the months of Sha'bān and Ramadān instruction was offered in Tradition and Theology only. No special times for teaching these subjects were specified, and the teachers were free to chose any time of the day. Moreover, during the months of Shawwāl and Dhū al-قā’dah only studies in connection with rites governing the Haj were offered, these being of service, not only to the students, but also to the pilgrims. For the remainder of the year, the subjects first mentioned were taught. From the beginning of the Haj month, including the ten days of Muharram, there was a long vacation of not less than forty days. Fridays and Tuesdays were holidays, as were also religious and official festivals. A long vacation of two months was given in addition during the season of most intense heat (July and August). One further but vital point: the regular teachers and their assistants (Mulāzims) were expected to complete their teaching courses in methodical order, i.e. teachers were not to teach (in the course on Arabic Grammar and Syntax) Sharḥ Ibn ʿAqīl and al-ʿAshmāwīyyah which were difficult books to students who were still reading comparatively elementary books like al-Kafrāwī or al-Mutammīmah.

There was a final examination of students at the end of the academic year which usually took place in the month of
Rajab. Before the examination a list of students and books read, along with marks received, were to be submitted by the Regular Teachers to the Committee, which would then make arrangements for the final examination and decide upon the number of students who could attend this according to their marks. Marks were recorded by their teachers throughout the academic year. The examination was in the following subjects:

First Year: Theology, Islamic Law, Arabic Grammar and Syntax, Morphology, 'Ilm al-Badī' (Literary style), 'Ilm al-Maʿānī (concepts), 'Ilm al-Bayyān (exposition) and Logic.

Second Year: Commentary on the Qurʾān, Tradition, Principles of Tradition, Islamic Law, Roots of Jurisprudence, Theology, Arabic Grammar and Syntax, Morphology, 'Ilm al-Badī' (Literary style), 'Ilm al-Maʿānī (concepts), 'Ilm al-Bayyān (exposition) and Logic.

The highest mark was ten; the pass mark was five.

Under this Law any student who failed to attend the examination at the fixed time without a reasonable excuse would not be allowed to proceed to an advanced course of study, but had to retake the course he had recently studied. Should he present an acceptable excuse, however, he would be allowed to take a special examination. If he failed to pass this examination, no new books would be set for him after the examination of that academic year, and the same course of
study had to be repeated. If a student showed lack of interest in a text then another might be substituted, with the approval of the Committee.

As to the finances in the Great Mosque of Mecca, the 1913 enactment did not make any new arrangements; it required that all moneys and other income received must be distributed to the whole teaching staff, as it had been in the past.

The Prophets' Mosque in Medina

The Mosque of the Prophet in Medina took second, if not an equal position alongside the Great Mosque of Mecca. Unlike the Great Mosque the Prophets' Mosque followed no set programme or particular method and teaching was given along traditional lines. Lessons took place in the colonnade or the courtyards after the morning and evening prayers; subjects taught were Islamic studies, Arabic Grammar and Syntax, Islamic History, Biographies, Astronomy, Mathematics, Logic, Islamic Philosophy, Law of descent and distribution.¹

In 1883 (A.H. 1301) there were eighteen teachers in the Prophets' Mosque. They were appointed by the Ottoman authorities to teach the four Islamic rites.² Al-Batnûnî who visited Medina in 1910 classified a round a thousand employees in the Prophets' Mosque under their various religious functions. From his report we learn of the Imams, the Khatibs, the water carriers, the sweepers etc., but he entirely fails to touch upon the topic of teachers and teaching.³

² Hijaz Villaiyat Salnamah, A.H. 1301 (1883-4) p.151.
³ Al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijâzîyyah, Cairo, 1911, pp.239-243.
This in itself is surprising when a surviving member of the community can furnish a list of sixty-one teachers who held positions of teaching in the Mosque during our period of study (1869-1916) and even later.¹ This list is given in Appendix VII.

Another surviving member of the academic community is Naqshabandī who recalls that the people of Medina used to receive a yearly allowance of money and wheat from the Turkish Government, as well as other Islamic countries, especially India and Egypt. He declares that this was not entirely adequate, but it sufficed. He also furnished a list of teachers who used to deliver their lectures in the Prophets' Mosque, in the following subjects: the Commentary of the Qur'ān, Hadīth, Fiqh, Sources of Islamic Law, Arabic Grammar and Syntax, morphology, Rhetoric and Principles of the Commentary of Qur'ān. He added that there was no particular overall organization, and that the lectures were not compulsory, nor did any examination take place.² Students who completed their studies however were given a certificate (Ijāzah) signed by their teacher, giving them permission to teach.³ Many of the students and listeners attended the lectures, purely for their own edification, and it is significant that such an approach bore so little fruit.⁴

¹ Faqīhah, J. Special Report on Past Education in Medina, p.3.
² "Min Dhākiratī Qabla Nuṣf Qarn" al-Manhal, October 1962, pp.279-280.
³ Hāfiz, O. Special Report on Past Education in Medina, p.11.
⁴ Naqshabandī, A. op.cit., p.280.
No reference was made to teachers' actual salaries, but Snouck-Hurgronje, reported, (as we have already seen in the Great Mosque of Mecca) that employees in both Mosques, including teachers, received a yearly allowance from the Turkish Government as well as a yearly gift of wheat from Egypt. This point was also mentioned by al-Batnūfī in 1910.

Public and Private Libraries in the Hijaz

The availability of libraries for teachers and students is of course always of great importance for the efficiency of any educational system, and this is no less true of the Hijaz Libraries which had long been established within the old Madrasahs in the two main cities of the province, Mecca and Medina. The most renowned of these were the library of al-Madrasah al-Mustanṣirīyyah (established in 1233 (A.H. 631) and that of the Madrasah of Qa‘it Bey (founded in 1477 (A.H. 882), both of these in Mecca. Trustworthy information about these ancient libraries is regrettably not now available; but since they no longer exist, we may assume that their contents were transferred periodically both to the public and the private libraries which began to be built up in Mecca and Medina in the course of the 19th century and, in particular, in its latter half, when State and Private Schools came to be opened.

Of these newly established libraries too, all too little is yet known, but it has been confirmed by qualified observers that they did contain valuable material. We shall therefore

2 al-Batnūfī, M. op.cit., p.242; See also al-Hijāz, (Newspaper) No.1, p.4.
deal first with the libraries, both public and private, of Mecca, and then with those of Medina, as these were the only cities in the Hijaz which appear to have possessed libraries at all during the period 1800 - 1925.

In Mecca at this time there were two small public libraries, one by the Bāb Umm-Hānī (one of the gates of the Masjid al-Ḥarām) called the Sharwānī Zādah Muḥammad Rushdī Pasha Library (after a Vali of the Hijaz), and the other by the Bāb al-Duraybah, near to Bāb al-Salām, called the al-Sulaymānīyyah Library. The latter had been established by Sultan ʿAbdul-Majīd (1839-1861), who had himself formed it from certain small collections of books from Mecca itself, and others from Constantinople. The books which had been housed in the Masjid al-Ḥarām were also in their turn transferred to this library.

About 1908, when Rifāʿat Pasha visited these libraries, both had been supplied with useful catalogues, written by hand, and each of the two libraries was looked after by its own librarian. The books were mostly written in Arabic, but some were in Persian, Urdu, Turkish and Indonesian; they were concerned as a rule, with Literature, History, Islamic Studies and Arabic Grammar.¹ A little later in 1910 Al-Batnūnī noted with keen interest and anxiety that many books were kept in cupboards around the colonnades of the Masjid al-Ḥarām, and that these were subject to many and continual losses through theft as well as through the floods which engulfed the great Mosque of Mecca from time to time; as a result scholars and scholarship suffered irreparable deprivation.² Both

² Al-Batnūnī, M.L. op. cit., p.29.
these libraries were easily accessible to students from the schools of Mecca, for among these schools only the Saulātīyyah School had a library of its own during the same general period.

This Saulātīyyah School had had its own private library attached to its since the beginning, in which Arabic, Urdu and Persian books were available. These books were in manuscript or printed form, and treated various traditional subjects, especially Islamic Studies, Arabic, Urdu and Persian Grammar and Literature, Logic and Astronomy. It was usual for the teachers and students to take advantage of this library by borrowing books for study, either in the library itself or at home. The school gave all the financial support needed for this purpose. It was, to be sure, mainly for the use of teachers and students of the school that the library was meant, but outsiders could also use it. The books as a matter of policy were purchased both within the country and also from abroad, but understandably lack of space was a serious drawback, as there were more than three thousand books in the library.¹

The Majīfīyyah Library, during the same general period, had more than 7,000 rare volumes. It belonged to Shaikh Mājud al-Kurdī, who had classified and organized it and also compiled excellent catalogues.²

'Abdul-Sattār Dālāwī had another excellent and justly appreciated library. It contained rare and valuable books on various subjects, most of which were in manuscript.³

¹ Information kindly supplied to me by Muhammad Sa'id Rahmat-Allah, the grandson of the founder of the Saulātīyyah School; see also his report p.12, Al-Ma'ārif, Vol. XII, (November, 1923) p.349. (in Urdu).
³ Ibid.
The Library of Shaikh 'Abdul-Wahhāb Dahlāwī, likewise contained rare Islamic and Arabic books.¹

All the above three private libraries were located in the house of their respective owners. They continued in use from the Turkish into the Sharifian periods, and indeed were still in existence when the Saudi Arabia State took over after 1925. At that time the Saudi Government very wisely purchased these three libraries and placed them, along with the two previously mentioned public libraries, in the large public library called "The Haram of Mecca Library".

Medina likewise, scarcely less than Mecca, possessed a great number of libraries, many containing rare manuscripts and valuable documents.

The first which should be noticed was the unique al-Mahmūdiyyah Library. This was founded to the memory of Sultān Mahmūd in A.H. 1272 (A.D.1855), and located in a large room in the Prophet's Mosque, at the top of al-Ṣādiq, one of the Mosque gates. According to the usually reliable al-Batnūnī in 1910 the library contained 4,569 items,² but this number has since been increased considerably, and the library now contains no fewer than 7,790 items, amongst which are 4,718 in manuscript and 3,072 in printed form. The library received in the course of time many donations in the shape of buildings, and the income from these was used for its upkeep.³

The second library to claim our attention is the 'Arif Hikmat library founded in A.H. 1280 (A.D. 1863). Located south of the Mosque and separated from it only by a single street,⁴ its accommodation was described by al-Batnūnī as

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
being excellently organised and scrupulously tidy, with its floor enhanced by a fine Persian carpet. The library itself was said to contain 5,404 items, most of which were rare manuscripts. ¹ Häfiz notes, however, (here differing somewhat), that the library contained 6,726 rare items, 4,718 in manuscript form and 2,008 in printed form. This library too received its share of Waqf donations, the income from which went towards its upkeep. ²

Three other libraries remain to be recorded, the Ribāṭ ʿUthmān, which al-Batnūnī claims to have contained 30,000 rare items, the Bashir Aghā, containing 2,063, and finally, the Sultan ʿAbdul-Hamīd, containing 1,659 books.³

However, according to other authorities there were more libraries within the city; Rifʿat declared that there were eighteen libraries during this period,⁴ and Al-Jāsir even raises the figure to 80,⁵ listing both private and public libraries. These include the following: Al-Kashmirīyyah, al-Shifār, Tharūāt Pasha, Muṣṭafā Effendi in the Ḩabsānīyyah school, ʿUmar Effendi, ʿAbdul-Ghafūr al-Bukhārī, ʿAlī Effendi, Husayn Aghā, Ahmad Effendi al-Baṣāṭī, Salīm Bey, al-Kalbī al-Nāẓir, al-Madānī, al-Hāshim and many others, besides those discussed above. According Rifʿat these Libraries were filled with rare manuscript items as well as printed matter.⁷

1 al-Batnūnī, M. op. cit., p.254-5.
3 al-Batnūnī, M. op. cit., p.255.
PART THREE

EDUCATION IN THE HIJAZ UNDER THE
SHARIFIAN GOVERNMENT 1916-1925
CHAPTER SEVEN

STATE EDUCATION:
THE KINGDOM OF THE HIJAZ AND ITS EFFORTS
FOR PROMOTING EDUCATION: GENERAL EDUCATIONAL
ADMINISTRATION: FINANCIAL DETAILS

When the revolution of the 10th June, 1916 (9th Shafbân A.H. 1334) established Sharif Hussain as an independent ruler of the Hijaz¹ the whole system of education underwent change. The Sharif, amidst a multitude of pressing affairs of state, nevertheless found time to interest himself in educational matters, and he attempted over a period of time to put into effect a series of piecemeal educational reforms, with varying degrees of success.² One of his first tasks was to activate them by forming a Ministry of Education³ headed by his eldest


² This had earlier taken the practical form, in 1913, of promulgating a measure for introducing new teaching methods at the Great Mosque of Mecca.

³ The Ministry’s official title varied at times it is referred to as “Wizârat al-Mafarif” (Ministry of Education) as mentioned by Nasseef, H. Mâdir al-Hijaz wa Hadîrûh, Vol. I. Cairo: A.H. 1349 (1930) pp. 70-74. It also to be found as "Nazârat al-Mafarif" (Ministry of Education) as mentioned on the title page of the first Syllabus of the Sharifian Schools, published in 1917 and on the Certificate issued by the Dar al-Fâ‘îzîn school to Shaikh Muhammad Hilmi, approved by the Ministry of Education in 1922. (See Appendix I) The Ministry is called:- "Wakalat al-Mafarif (Agency for Education) as on the title pages of the two books of dictation published by the Ministry: Khulâsât al-`Imlâ’ by M. Mujâhid and Al-Qawi’d al-Gharra by Bâ-Busâ’il in 1919.
son 'Ali, with Shaikh 'Ali al-Maliki\(^1\) as Undersecretary, and a Syrian scholar, Shaikh Kamal Ahmad al-Qassab\(^2\) as Assistant Deputy Minister of Education.\(^3\)

The Sharif himself selected scholars to form an educational committee: he chose Shaikhs 'Abbâs Maliki, Muhammed Jamal al-Maliki, 'Umar Bâ Jinaid, Muhammed Nur Muhammed and Muhammed Abû Hussain al-Marzûqi;\(^4\) all five were regular teachers at the Great Mosque.\(^5\) They were headed by Shaikh 'Abbâs al-Maliki.

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1. A locally educated man who had received his education in the Kuttabs and in the Great Mosque of Mecca, and was among the fifteen regular teachers of the Mosque. He was replaced in 1925 by Shaikh 'Abdullah Muhammed Zawawi, the Mufti of the Shafi'Iyyah sect in Mecca. See Nasseef, H. op. cit., pp. 72-74; Sibâ'i, Tariikh Makkah, vol. II, p. 229; al-Qiblah (the Official Newspaper of the Sharif), No. 17.

2. He was born in Damascus in 1873 and received his education in the traditional manner. At the beginning of the 20th century he established a school of his own in Damascus called after him "Al-Madrassah al-Kamalîyyah", and taught with other teachers advanced Islamic and Arabic studies. Khair al-Din al-Zarkali the author of "Al-A'lam", was one of the teachers who worked in this school. At the outbreak of the First World War he became an active member of the Arab Nationalists and undertook a secret mission to Egypt for the Party. When he returned to Syria he continued to uphold the cause clandestinely. On hearing of the success of Sharif Hussain in the Hijaz he fled Damascus and went to Mecca. The Sharif received him, and he was appointed Assistant Deputy Minister of Education. He held this post until 1919, when he went back to Syria. When Syria became a French Mandate he was forced to flee under sentence of death and returned to Mecca. After the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1925 he was re-appointed to the Ministry, this time as the Minister of Education. For more details see: Al-Zarkali, Kh.; Al-A'lam, vol. VII, p. 235.


The two official bodies worked together and a plan for secular education was brought forward and numbers of elementary, intermediate and secondary schools had been opened in Mecca (1916) and in Jeddah (1917) and later in 1919 in Medina and other towns replacing the Turkish schools closed in 1916.

Published information on the situation of the Ministry and lower clerical staff is scant, but it has been possible to question surviving members of the ministry who declare that the Ministry of Education was housed in a government building south west of the Great Mosque called "al-Ḥamīdīyyah", after Sultan ʿAbdul-Ḥamīd, and built during his era. The members of staff, in addition to the above mentioned two bodies of the Ministry included the Chief Clerk Abdul-Rahmān al-Mawsālī (he was succeeded by ʿAbdul-Ḥamīd Dāghistānī and lastly by ʿAbdullah Bāshāwri). The Chief Clerk received 100 Sharifian Rials; an accountant, Shaikh ʿAbdul-Raḥmān al-Raḥbīnī, received 90 Sharifian Rials; a Clerk, Muhammad Nūr Shūʾshū received 50 Sharifian Rials and the Secretary, the said Ibrāhīm Zawāwy, received 70 Sharifian Rials. In Jeddah and later in Medina there were two educational directors (Muʿtāmad al-Maʿārif) who each received a salary of 44 Sharifian Rials per month.

5 Hilmī, M. op.cit., p.5.
6 Al-Qiblah, No.325 (A.H. 27. 1.1338 = 21st October 1919).
8 Ibid.,
We have no information whatever about the size of any special budget set aside for educational purposes, and the surviving members of the Ministry have been unable to impart or recollect any mention of any such sum. Even documented data regarding teachers salaries is lacking but the surviving members say that a teachers salary was between 20-40 Sharifian Rials per month. It is possible that the Sharif himself decided upon the sum.

Al-Sibā’ī declares that the people appointed by the Sharif could not fulfil their tasks, because the Sharif’s son ‘Ali (who was head of the Ministry) and his brothers were engaged in warfare elsewhere. The other members were representatives in name only, and the Sharif, as supreme head of state, acted according to his own wishes; whatever action the council decided or had first to be approved by the Sharif himself.² We can therefore assume that the Sharif controlled the finances, and that the sum he decided upon would be paid out from the general income of the state derived pilgrim dues, etc.

Indeed, the members of the Ministry were men of the local traditionalist school with the exception of the Syrian Shaikh Kāmil al-Qassāb,³ and it is obvious that they must have encountered difficulties in their attempts to build up a modern ministry and draw up a blue-print which would serve as a basis of a new educational system.

With true insight the Sharif Hussain realized that the hard won independance would be ephemeral without the necessary foundation of a soundly educated youth and an educated rising

1 Hīlmī, M. - op.cit., p.5.
3 See above p. 230.
General secular education on its three successive levels (elementary, intermediate and secondary) was quickly embarked upon but it soon became apparent that if the nation were to become self-sufficient professional schools must be established, particularly schools of Agriculture and a Military Academy. The first School of Agriculture had to wait until 1920 and it was the Military Academy which received priority. Relying upon the assistance of Syrian advisers, such a school was opened on the 25th of Jumada al-Awwal A.H. 1338 (18th March 1917).

The Ministry was responsible for producing regulations for the schools hours, holidays, discipline etc., but made no reference to school meals nor money paid to poor students. These regulations were sometimes produced in book form and sometimes merely published in the official newspaper. In 1917 they produced for the first time a 113 article syllabus which contained the framework of their aspirations for state controlled education; the document was headed by a Royal decree and signed by the Under-Secretary of Education Alī Mālikī. The manner in which this document is drawn, suggests that however ill-equipped in size and form, the Ministry's approach on this occasion conformed to a modern pattern. Once decided upon, this document was quickly published in book form in order to bring about its immediate enforcement. Another programme was issued for the School of Agriculture in 1920, but this was not printed as a book and appeared in the official newspaper "al-Qiblah".

1 al-Qiblah, No. 350 (19th January 1920)
2 al-Qiblah, No. 62, 25th Jumadi al-Awwal A.H. 1335 (18th March 1917)
4 No. 397 (5th July 1920 = 18 Shawwal A.H. 1338 and No. 398 (8th July 1920 = 21 Shawwal A.H. 1338.
The Ministry not only published its own programmes but from time to time arranged for the printing of text books to aid both teacher and student. Two of the text books which we have been able to verify are: Khulāṣat Fann al-İmlā’ by Muḥammad Hāshim. Muğendencies, and Al-Qawā‘id al-Gharrā’ fī Tatmīm Khulāṣat al-İmlā’ by Shaikh Ibn ‘Alī Bā Buṣayyl. Both writers were locally educated teachers who worked in the Rāqiyyah school as teachers. The two books deal with the rules of dictation and were published by al-Ḥalabī Press Company, Cairo: 1919 (A. H. 1338). The title page of these books indicates that they were printed at the Ministry's expense, and that reproduction of them without the Ministry's permission was prohibited.

It is probable that the Ministry's emphasis on this type of book was an attempt to assist teachers who had received no official teacher training. The teachers themselves were usually local, but most of the teachers in the Rāqiyyah, the School of Agriculture and the Military Academy were recruited from Syria.¹

While the Ministry took no steps towards the establishment of Professional schools, the recruitment of teachers at the elementary levels was more or less limited to the local community, although a few foreign teachers were employed in the intermediate and secondary schools.

However, when the decision was taken to found a Military Academy in 1917 the Ministry seriously considered the recruitment of professional teachers from abroad. Teachers were imported from Syria, who "had been trained in the Modern

European Military System by Turkish Officers who in their turn had been trained by Germans".\(^1\) In 1920 and 1922 more teachers were brought in from Syria to staff the School of Agriculture which was opened in 1920. They had undergone professional training in agricultural methods. Further details concerning the above-mentioned teachers will be given in their proper places.

The Ministry was also responsible for all examinations, both written and oral, within the Sharifian schools and usually selected an examination committee to deal with these matters.\(^2\) A selected list of questions asked in these examinations is discussed below under the heading "The Subjects Taught" and will be dealt with in greater detail in their own place.

It should be noted that in the initial stages it was necessary for the Ministry to watch its finances carefully. The problem of school buildings was partially solved by creating new schools on the site of former Turkish official buildings. The Ministry, however, was not only concerned with the replacement of former Turkish schools, and indeed, in its early years followed a definite programme of educational expansion. In Mecca these new schools were set up in the most heavily populated areas of the city; no attempt was made to establish schools in the suburbs. In 1917 two of the Taḥādīrīyyah or elementary schools, founded in Mecca occupied former Turkish schools, but a third occupied a completely new building erected for this purpose near to the Great Mosque. The Rāqīyyah and ‘Alīyyah (Intermediate and Secondary) schools

and the Military Academy which were established in the same year, were lodged in former castles. The Schools of Agriculture, founded in 1920 used a former government residence. This type of adaptation was carried on throughout the main cities of the Hijaz.\textsuperscript{1} The Ministry, however, made no reference to the establishment of girls' schools nor were any Teacher's Training Colleges founded by the Ministry during this period. Since a teachers' training college had existed in Hijaz under the Turks (though not for many years) it appears that in this respect the new administration could not quite live up to what had at one time been achieved by its predecessor. No students were sent abroad at the expense of the Ministry. In this respect again the Sharifian regime lagged behind the past Turkish system. To cite two examples: When a young Hijazi wanted to go to Egypt in order to study, the Sharif advised him not to go and not to follow any other course but the Military one. The young man defied him and in consequence the Sharif turned against the boy's family and all those who had assisted the boy to leave the country.\textsuperscript{2}

Well known too is the visit of Mr. Crane to Husain in 1922, when he was well received. He expressed to the king his wish that five young Hijazis should study in America at his expense. The king accepted reluctantly, but, when he came to choose the students, he took them all from foreign families living in the Hijaz; there was not one native Hijazi among them. Crane was dissatisfied and remarked that these young people came from countries full of schools, and had no need of his assistance at all, and insisted on having true Hijazis. But the king refused and the project was abandoned.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Details concerning these schools will be given in their proper places.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., see also: Sibā'ī, A. Tārīkh Makkah, vol. II, p.235.
As the schools became firmly ensconced in the national life of the Hijaz, the Ministry frequently arranged for official ceremonies to take place at several of the major educational establishments: events such as the reception of official guests, or graduation day, when local dignitaries and eminent pilgrims were invited to attend the ceremony when speeches were delivered and prizes given to successful students; e.g. the famous writer Amīn al-Rīḥānī was invited to attend in Jeddah the Rāqīyyah school ceremony.\(^1\) Another ceremony was attended by eminent Egyptian and Syrian pilgrims and ʿAbdul-ʿAzīz Ṣabīrī Bey, the author of Tīdḥīr al-Hijāz.\(^2\) Perhaps the most important event took place on the first graduation day at the Military Academy when the Amir Zaid and high-ranking officials attended the matriculation ceremony of thirteen officers.\(^3\) An event which became customary was the Ministry's attendance at the opening of new schools, in an effort to get maximum support from the populace and at the same time to show the result of their efforts and achievements; such an event was the opening of the School of Agriculture.\(^4\)

It should be noted that the power and drive of the Sharīf and his ministry forged a framework of educational progress which to all appearances proved successful within its limits. Compared with the former Turkish schools whose main aim was the Turkification of the Arabs and whose schools were attended only by an elite who benefitted from the regime,\(^5\) and the few private schools for Meccans, which from sheer financial stress were limited in their intake of pupils, the establishment of

\(^1\) Al-Qībah, No. 565, 3. 7.134 A.H. (2nd March, 1922).
\(^2\) Ṣabīrī, ʿAbdul-ʿAzīz; *op.cit.*, pp.186-192.
\(^3\) Al-Qībah, No. 562, 23. 6.1340 A.H. (20th February 1922)
\(^4\) Al-Qībah, No. 558, 9. 6.1340 A.H. (6th February 1922)
\(^5\) Sībāʿī, A. *Tārīkh Makkah*, vol. II. p.201.
schools and the increase of pupils can only be described as impressive.

This increase in the number of pupils deserves to be noted by comparing reported numbers now with those given for the Turkish period. As we saw a British Consul's report on 1885 gave the number of pupils attending the Turkish State Schools in the whole Hijaz as 84,¹ while a similar report in 1902 gave for the whole province the slightly increased figure of 149 pupils, attending in all the State Schools.² After 1908 several new Turkish schools were indeed opened but they failed to survive through lack of students coming forward. The population, as we saw, maintained a sullen distrust of this type of schools, and consistently refused to let their sons attend them. However, during the Sharifian period Gobèè, who visited Jeddah in 1917 reported that the number of pupils attending the newly established Sharifian State Schools in that city alone amounted to 240-260; and if we move to Mecca and keep in mind that the Sharifian schools of the city received students from the traditional Kuttâbs and private schools, among which there were the Khairîyyah School (with an attendance figure of about 300 pupils in 1910)³ and the Kuttâb al-‘Nûrî and Khaṭṭâṭ al-‘Hîlmî (which had an average of 30 to 40 pupils each)⁴ we find again quite sizable numbers of pupils - an

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attendance of several hundred for Jeddah and Mecca alone. There are unfortunately no figures available for other towns and in particular Taif and Medina at this time. (Medina in any case only came to form part of the Sharifian dominions in 1919). Most of the students who eventually came to swell the ranks of the Sharifian Schools were Arabs, whereas the actual number of Arabs who had attended the entire Turkish State Schools was negligible,\(^1\) perhaps because the medium of instruction in the Turkish State Schools was in Turkish which was difficult for an Arab boy to follow. I.e. not only were numbers of pupils much bigger, but they all, or most, came from the population of the country and not from resident members of an outside ruling class. All the pupils were boys, however; female education was apparently ignored by the Sharifian authorities. Yet, throughout the Sharif's educational policy there is a note of caution, a caution which turned into grave mistrust towards the end of his rule. It is remarkable that the link between the Sharif and the British in political matters\(^2\) and financial support\(^3\) did not extend into the field of education, and that specialists from Egypt were not provided to give assistance. Indeed it would appear that the Sharif deliberately recruited professional advisers trained by the former enemy (Turks) in an attempt to avoid dependence on British support in internal matters. Nor is there any indication that the British on their side thought of pressing the matter of British trained instructors for the Hijaz. It is possible that his attitude of caution came from the fear that

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2 Ibid., pp.227-8; Young, H. The Independent Arab, London, 1933, pp.272-5 al-\(\text{Ri\=h\=a\=n}\i, A.Najd al-Hadith wa Mulhaq\=a\=tu\=h, Beirut, 1927, p.348.

3 al-\(\text{Ri\=h\=a\=n}\i, A. Najd al-Hadith wa Mulhaq\=a\=tu\=h, Beirut, 1927, p.348.
The Hijaz might suffer a similar fate to that of neighbouring countries like Egypt, Jordon or Iraq. He may also have feared that foreign influence, by way of modern educational methods, might strike at the very roots of the traditional community and destroy the harmony of the state. At the end of the Sharif's rule these factors, together with endless financial troubles led him to dismiss the foreign teachers and replace them with local Meccans.

The New Sharifian Schools:

We shall now consider the various state schools which sprang up during the Sharifian period and examine the stages of their progress or eventual decline.

The State controlled the newly established Sharifian schools in addition to the teaching in the Great Mosque. Initially the Ministry of Education did not concern itself with private schools (most of them continued to flourish after the closing of the Turkish State schools), nor with the traditional Kuttābs: The Sharifian schools worked on three successive levels, the elementary, intermediate and secondary. The private schools followed different syllabuses, and a few had an additional grade for higher education. The Kuttābs were limited to preparatory education, while the Great Mosques of Mecca and Medina were concerned solely with advanced Islamic studies. At the same time the Ministry of Education decided to open two professional schools; they were the Military Academy (1917) and the School of Agriculture (1920). The opening of specialized schools was called for by the official newspaper (al-Qiblah) which in an introductory article which stressed the need for modern specialized schools, particularly
Medical and Agricultural, and the need to teach geometry, geography, astronomy and economics.¹

We shall at first confine ourselves to a study of the Sharifian schools, which catered for greater numbers of students than their Turkish predecessors, whose medium of instruction, being Turkish, limited the number of students.

The first batches of Sharifian State schools were established in 1916. There were fourteen elementary (al-Madāris al-ʿArabīyyah al-Ḥāshimīyyah al-Taḥdīrīyyah), four intermediate (al-Rāqīyyah) and one secondary (al-ʿAlīyyah) schools.

1. The Elementary or Taḥdīrīyyah Schools:

The new schools, with small exceptions, occupied previous Turkish State schools and could not absorb the demands of the greater numbers of students created by the new educational change. In this instance the Ministry did not attempt to increase the number of schools, and did not erect new ones in villages or tribal areas. Five of the elementary (Taḥdīrīyyah) schools were founded in Mecca.² They were situated in different parts of the city, one in al-Masʿā district near the Great Mosque (opened on 8th Safar 1335 A.H./3rd December 1916),³ and the other two in al-Mīflā and in Hārat al-Bāb quarters, near the main shopping centres. The Taḥdīrīyyah school of Hārat al-Bāb was housed in a rented building, the school in Al-Mīflā in a former Turkish School and the third, in al-Masʿā, was housed in a new building.⁴ The Taḥdīrīyyah

1 al-Qiblah, No.17.
2 al-Falāh, No.25. 28. 5.1334 A.H. (17. 2.1920).
school of Ḥārat al-Bāb was not opened until 29th Jumādā al-Thānī A.H. 1335/21st April 1917.1 Two other Taḥdīrīyyah schools were opened in late 1920, but it would appear that these were smaller than above mentioned three.2

Two Taḥdīrīyyah schools were founded in Jeddah in July 1917.3 The Taḥdīrīyyah schools of Medina had to wait until 1919 when the city fell under Sharifian rule.4 The schools in Medina were four5 and called respectively - al-ʿAlawīyyah, al-Fīṣālīyyah, al-ʿAbdālīyyah and al-Zaidīyyah in honour of the four sons of Sharif Hussain.6 The Ministry also established one Taḥdīrīyyah school in each of the following places: Taif, Yanbu and Wajh.7

Each elementary or Taḥdīrīyyah school was to have three forms; two for the first year and one for the second year. The first form in which pupils were to stay for six month was to be called "The Spelling Class" (Fasl al-Hijā); it was designed to teach the rudiments of writing and spelling. It was proposed in the school syllabus to combine the old use of slates for each pupil with the western use of a large blackboard by the teacher, and another innovation was the proposed use of tests by the teacher to make sure that the pupils had absorbed the lesson. At the end of this six months course an educational committee would decide concerning any promotions of the students.

1 al-Ǧiblāh, No.71, 27th Jumādā al-Awwal, A.H.1335 (19th April, 1917).
2 al-Falāḥ, No.25, 28.5.1334 A.H. (17.2.1920).
4 For details on the capture of Medina by the Sharifian Army, See Tibawi, A. "The Last Knight of the Last Caliphs" (Islamic Quarterly Vol. XV) pp.159-163.
5 Häfīz, O. Special Report on Past Education in Medina, p.2.
7 al-Falāḥ, No.25, 28.5.1334 A.H. (17.2.1920).
During the second half of the first year the pupils were to form a so-called "Reading Class" (Fasl al-Qirā'ah) which was given lessons in reading and grammar from books selected by the Educational Committee, and also in the rudiments of Islamic law, theology and arithmetic. The students were required to memorise Juz' 'Amma (30th part) of the Qur'ān with part of Juz' Tabārak (29th part). The teaching in this form was to be more practical than theoretical.

The second year, in which the pupils formed the "Qualification Form" (Fasl al-Tā'īl) was devoted to developing further the subjects taught in the "Reading Class" and envisaged the completion of the reading of the Qur'ān. The pupils were also taught the fundamentals of religion (mainly the religious duties (farā'īd) and ritual washings, calligraphy and the principles of ethics.

Those who wished to memorize the whole Qur'ān were transferred to the Memorising Department (Qism al-Ḥuffāẓ) in the Intermediate (Rāqīyyah) school where they had to spend several years. ¹

It should be noted that these provisions display an organization of elementary schooling which is already different from that of the Kuttāb: the period of study is exactly delimited, the introduction of new subject matter is arranged in progressive stages and the class-room is to be modelled on a western classroom, i.e., with the pupils sitting in rows in front of a blackboard, rather than in an informal circle around the teacher.

Each Tahdirīyyah school had a headmaster, five teachers, an overseer, a doorkeeper and attendance officer. ²

Teachers who taught in these Taḥdīrīyyah schools were Meccans who received an average wage of 20-30 Sharifian rials per month, and the head master received 40 Sharifian Riyals.\textsuperscript{1} They had undergone the usual training in Islamic and Arabic studies in either of the previously mentioned traditional or modern establishments. They had no formal training in other subjects such as modern geography or the sciences, or in teaching methods. The Ministry of Education demanded no specialized qualifications from the teachers except for an examination which they must take before employment. The examination was in the following subjects: The Qurʾān, Art of Reciting (the Qurʾān), religious studies (theology, Islamic Laws and Traditions), Arabic dictation, Arabic reading, arithmetic and calligraphy.\textsuperscript{2} The al-Qiblah newspaper made public this information and affirmed that all prospective teachers were expected to sit the examination.\textsuperscript{3}

The regulation of the Elementary (Taḥdīrīyyah) schools concerned the duties of the headmaster, of the teachers, of the overseer, of the doorkeeper and of the attendance officer in each of these schools, and also the duties and punishments applicable to the pupils.

In the case of the headmaster, the regulations covered his responsibilities in regard to school equipment, supervision of the staff, the keeping of school registers, reporting to the Ministry and his own presence in the school.

\textsuperscript{1} Hilmī, M. Special Report on the Educational Establishments in the Hijaz during the Sharifian Period, p.5.

\textsuperscript{2} al-Qiblah, No.35, 18th Safor A.H. 1335 (13.12.1916).

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.
In the case of the teachers the regulations gave no details about their number in each school, but they laid down the moral qualities required of a teacher in considerable detail, and in addition laid down their duties towards their pupils, including their duty to inculcate good manners and courteous conduct and a sense of patriotism. Further points of interest under this heading were the methods of dealing with unsatisfactory work, the care of exercise books and the requirement that teachers should not mix with their pupils outside school.

The overseer (murāqib) was an official charged with constant attendance at the school while the pupils were there, and the regulations laid down that he was to observe the comportment and manners of the pupils and report any lapses to the headmaster. In addition he was to take the register of attendance.

The doorkeeper (bawwāb) in addition to his duties as a concierge, had to insure that all rooms of the school were kept clean and keep a constant watch at the school door during school hours, to make sure that pupils only came and went when authorized to do so.

The attendance officer (rasūl or murāsil) was required by the regulation to obtain the attendance register from the overseer and repair to the homes of those pupils who were absent, to discover the reason for their failure to appear at school, this was to be done in the morning and the afternoon. He was also to be at the call of every person in the school, from the headmaster to the pupils, for any errands or similar tasks that might be necessary. For such errands the permission of the headmaster was required.¹

The first group of students were transferred to these new state elementary schools from former Turkish schools, various Kuttābs, and also from private institutions at the request of the Ministry of Education. Many of the Kuttābs as well as some preparatory establishments were in fact merely converted into these new elementary schools. i.e. in Mecca the Khaīrīyyah private schools (mentioned in the previous part) which was situated in al-Masfā district, was converted into the elementary or Taḥārīyyah school in al-Masfā district. The school used the same building until a new two storey building was built in the same district by the Ministry for the school. Students from the nearby Kuttābs were gradually transferred to the school. 1

Specimen of a school leaving certificate.

This was given to Ahmad Murād Ṭālib Rida on the completion of his study in the Taḥdīrīyyah School, dated 15th Muḥarram A.H. 1341 (6th September 1922) and signed by the Under Secretary of the Sharifian Ministry of Education.
2. The Intermediate or Räqîyyah Schools:

The opening of the Elementary (or Taḥfîriyyah) Schools, already described, led in due course to the establishment of four Intermediate or Räqîyyah Schools, one in Mecca, one in Jeddah, and a third in Taif; these three being all opened in 1917; the fourth was founded in Medina in 1919, when the city came under direct Sharifian rule. The school in Mecca was accommodated in a former Turkish castle in the Jabal Hind district, which had recently been used as a Turkish Military Hospital. The Jeddah School was housed in the same building as the Elementary School and had 60 pupils. In Medina and Taif the Räqîyyah Schools occupied former Turkish administrative buildings.

At first students were regularly accepted on condition that they passed an Entrance Examination; but later each school accepted students who had satisfactorily completed the Elementary (al-Taḥfîriyyah) School Course; other pupils from private schools were required to sit a qualifying examination.

7 Gobēe, E. op.cit., p.187.
At first again the Intermediate or Raqīyyah Schools offered a four year course, and the subjects taught included: the whole Qurʾān, the Art of Reciting the Qurʾān, Theology, Islamic Law, Arabic Reading, Dictation, Arithmetic, Calligraphy,1 Geometry and Science.2 It became apparent later that, as the syllabus was elaborated, it came to resemble closely the one followed in the intermediate grade of the Falāh Private Schools.3 Whereas however, the intermediate grade in the Falāh Schools covered a period of only three years, the Raqīyyah Schools pursued a somewhat wider four-year course broadly along the same lines. The Falāh Schools we know, provided teaching in the following subjects, which would then also have been by and large, those taught in the Raqīyyah schools:

Revision of the Recitation of the whole Qurʾān and the Learning by Heart of Juzu’ Tabārak and Qad Sami‘ (Chapters 29 and 28 of the Qurʾān)

The Art of Reciting the Qurʾān: Kitāb Miftah al-Tajwīd by ʿAbdulah Hamadūh.

Commentary on the Qurʾān (Tafsīr): twenty chapters from Tafsīr al-Jalālīn and Risālat al-Uṣūl by al-Zamzamy.

Traditions (Ḥadīth): al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhib by al-Munthirī, vol. I and II. Later on this was replaced by Khulaṣat al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhib by Muḥammad Tāhir al-Dabāgh.


Islamic Law (Fiqh): Ibn Shujā‘, al-Risālah, al-Qadūrī, al-Isqāṭī, (for the four sects.)

2 Al-Qiblah, No.606 2.12.1340 A.H. (26th July 1922)
Arabic Grammar and Syntax: The Four Books from al-Durūs al-Nahwīyyah, written by a number of al-Azhar graduates; later the Alfiyyah of Ibn Mālik.


Rhetoric: Kitāb al-Balāghah, written by some of the Azhar graduates and also Sharḥ al-Jawhar al-Maknūn.

Arabic Literature: Learning by Heart al-Mu‘allaqāt.

Composition: Writing of Short Essays and Correspondence.

Calligraphy: The course embraced both the Ruq‘ah or Cursive Hand, and the Naskh, or Text Hand.

Dictation: This course endeavoured to impart all the requisite guidance for the attainment of a reasonable degree of proficiency.


Geography: Topics from the Geography of Arabia and the Five Continents.

Arithmetic: Al-Durar al-Bahiyyah by Idrīs Bey. Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, Division, Common Fractions and Ratios.

Geometry: Al-Mabādīl wa al-Ghāyat by Idrīs Bey.

Bookkeeping: Basic methods in accountancy.
This list of work shows an interesting combination of traditional and modern. While the books used in teaching Arabic and religious studies were traditional authorities, those used for History and Mathematics were modern.

Generally, the study-periods comprising the six-hour school-day were of equal length and thus each of one hour's duration, with a short break between each period.\(^1\) Supplementary to these, a Special Department for the Memorising of the Qur'âan was set up in each school at the time of its establishment.\(^2\) It would appear from its title that the Recitation of the Qur'âan that the Art of Reciting and the Learning by Heart of the Qur'âan were the only subjects taught.

In the initial stages, the teachers were locally educated Meccans;\(^3\) and, according to Al-Qibla newspaper, all teachers, before being accepted, had been required to sit a Qualifying Examination in the following subjects: - The Qur'âan, Art of Reciting the Qur'âan, Principles of Commentary on the Qur'âan, Theology, Traditions, Islamic Law, Pedagogy, Morphology, Arabic Grammar and Syntax, Rhetoric, Arabic Literature, Composition, Arabic and Islamic History, Geography of the Arabian Peninsula and Knowledge of the Five Continents, Arithmetic, Geometry, Science, Civic Information, Bookkeeping and Calligraphy.\(^4\) Judging simply from the large number of set subjects, any teacher who successfully passed this stiff examination was presumably proficient to a high degree; however, the actual

1 Al-Anşârî, A. Ta'rikh Madînat Jaddah, Jeddah, 1963, pp.157-8; Al-Ma'arî, op.cit., p.356.
4 Al-Qiblah, No.35, 18. 2.1335 A.H. (13th December 1916)
number of local teachers who thus qualified was quite
inadequate, and it was not long before the responsibility
for recruiting qualified teachers from abroad fell upon the
Ministry of Education. Teachers engaged as a result of this
effort usually came from Syria; the names of such teachers
are mentioned in the report by Mohammed Salim Rahmatullah.¹
One might justifiably infer that at the beginning the teaching
standards were high, even excellent, as a result of the
employment of these qualified teachers; but later, as they
left, these high standards could not be maintained, and
consequently declined to a regrettable extent.

3. The Secondary or ‘Alîyyah School:

There was only one State Secondary School (al-‘Alîyyah)
in the Hijaz; it was opened in Mecca in 1917, and was closely
associated with the Intermediate (al-Raqîyyah) School and in
fact used the same building.² The school followed a three
year course,³ and the syllabus here too resembled the one
used in the Secondary Grade of the Falâh Private Schools.⁴
The teachers were substantially the same as those who taught
in the Raqîyyah School of Mecca.

¹ Rahmatullah, M.S. op.cit., p.13; see also Al-Falâh,
No.22, 7. 5.1339 A.H. (16th January 1921).
Al-Falâh, no. 20, 23. 4.1339 A.H. (3rd January 1921);
al-Qiblah, No.310 (A.H. 28.11.1338).
³ Rahmatullah, M.S. op.cit., p.13.
⁴ For details on The Syllabus of the Falâh Schools see p.166,
of this thesis. See also, Al-Ansârî, A. Tarîkh Madînat
Jaddah, Jeddah: 1963, p.157-9; Al-Ma‘ârif, XII (1923),
pp.350-353. ‘Azwz, I. Report on the Education in the
Falâh Schools and other Educational Establishments in the
Hijaz. (on tapes)
Special Schools

a. The Military Academy

The first announcement of the establishment of the new Military Academy appeared in the newspaper "al-Qiblah" on the 25th Jumādā al-Awwal A.H. 1335 (18th March 1917): "... the school was founded in accordance with a Royal Decree, and was to be set up in the great army barracks in the Jarwal quarter of Mecca".¹

First and foremost the aim of the school was to provide the country with a trained native military personnel.² The duration of the course was three months only, and provision was made for the students to be taught reading, the use of weapons and military equipment, military drill, the digging of trenches and modern methods of strategy and manœuvrè. Apart from this specialized and professional training, the students received general lessons in Dictation, Arithmetic, Religious Study and Ethics.³ The school undertook to provide free-board, clothing and pocket-money.⁴ The newspaper further reported that an Admissions Committee would interview students and receive their applications from 1st Jumādā al-Thānī A.H. 1335 to the 15th of the same month (22nd February 1917 - 8th March 1917).⁵ Students would normally be accepted on condition that they already had a solid grounding in Reading,

¹ No. 62.
³ Al-Qiblah, No. 91 (9. 9.1335 A.H.)
⁴ Ibid., see also Al-Qiblah, No. 62 (25th Jumādā al-ʿAwwal 1335 A.H. 18th March 1917), No. 63 (28 Jumādā al-ʿAwwal 1335 A.H./21st March 1917) and No. 65 (6 Jumādā al-Thānī, 1335 A.H.
⁵ Al-Qiblah, No. 62 and No. 63 and No. 65. op. cit.,
Writing and Arithmetic, and were to be from seventeen to nineteen years of age. Of particular importance was the stipulation that applicants should be physically fit and of good character.1

On the 5th of Jumādā al-Thāni A.H. 1335 (29th February 1917) the newspaper published the names of 15 students who had been accepted into the school - seven of whom were from the Sharifian family;2 and at this time their teachers were appointed from Syria. These were officers who had received an intensive training in the modern European military techniques from Turkish officers who in their turn had been trained by German officers.3 The school did not at once begin to function in spite of all these detailed preparations; it emerged that the site of the school was too far from the city centre, and this fact created difficulties.4 On the 9th Ramadān A.H. 1335 (28th June 1917) the school was accordingly moved to the Jiyād Barracks, and was not officially opened until 7th Shawāl 1335 A.H. (26th July 1917).5

The Military Academy soon became the mainstay of the Army's officer recruitment campaign, and more and more, only those students who had graduated from the Raqīyyah (Intermediate) Schools were accepted. Students from other schools would then only gain admission if they passed an Entrance Examination.6

1 Al-Qiblah, No.62 and No.63 and No.65 op.cit.,
2 Al-Qiblah, No.65.
4 Al-Qiblah, No.91 (A.H. 9. 9.1335)
5 Ibid.,
6 Sibā'ī, A. Report on Past Hijazi Education.
A three-months training before long proved quite insufficient, and the course was therefore extended to six months. Naṣif again commented on this, and held that the period was still insufficient. "The duration of study in the Military Academy includes only six months of training, and the officers, even after graduation, cannot be expected to have mastered their specialized field".¹ Be that as it may, from time to time a Graduation Ceremony was held in the school for graduates who had passed the prescribed examinations and so entered upon

¹ Naṣif, H. *op. cit.*, p.112.
We may usefully note here a typical example of one of these ceremonies in which thirteen young officers graduated from the Military Academy on 20th February 1922. These had all successfully passed the Public Examination and attained the rank of Second Lieutenant. The newspaper Al-Qiblah described in detail the military pomp which accompanied the completion of the Annual Examination and "fittingly exemplified the ideal of the Military Academy". This impressive ceremony was held in the school on Thursday, 16th February, 1922. It was attended by His Highness Amir Zayd (son of Sharif Hussain of Mecca), His Highness Amir `Abdu4 llah Ibn Muḥammad (the Minister of the Interior) and other dignitaries and notables of the city and the country, who were duly received by the Teaching Staff of the school. Then the Headmaster of the School, Muḥammad `Abdullah Sādiq, made an appropriate speech, whereupon one of the graduate officers, Ṣāliḥ Abdullah Bā Khutmah, made another speech. "Afterwords the soldiers, accompanied by the military band playing patriotic songs, marched to the front of the school and started to form up in a square. In the centre of this group of soldiers were the officers who were going to take the oath (of allegiance) on the Qur'ān. Three copies of the Qur'ān were put on three tables decorated with the Sharifian flags. The officers walked towards the tables three at a time. Each one put his right hand on the Qur'ān and his left hand on the Sharifian flag and took the following oath:

"I swear by God (Allah) three times and by the glorious Qur'ān that I shall not betray my dear King and my cherished country by land, sea or air. I shall never betray friendship and just dealing nor evade military law. I shall deem military law and honour more important than myself, and sacrifice my life to promoting the Word of God, by guarding the State (Hijaz) and defending the Holy Land (Mecca)."

After the oath-taking ceremony, Prince Zayd went to the sitting-room for refreshments, and then departed from the Military Academy with the same marks of respect which were given at the time of his arrival".

Al-Qiblah, No. 562, 23. 6.1340 A.H. (20th February, 1922)

* Names of these officers can be found in al-qiblah, No. 561 (16th February 1922).
b. The School of Agriculture:

On Sunday 27th Rabî‘ al-Thânî A.H. 1338/18th January 1920, the School of Agriculture was officially opened,¹ and to mark this significant event the school was visited by Sharif Hussain and two of his sons, `Alî and ‘Abdullah; among those who attended were a number of princes, as well as leading celebrities and Sharifian army officers. The Sharif himself delivered a speech in which he commended the virtues of agriculture, which, he declared, had been extolled both by God and the Prophet, adding that "the founding of the School should be regarded as a sacred duty that every endeavour had been made to ensure its true success, and that able specialists from other lands had been engaged as teachers for this purpose". He went on to encourage the students to do their utmost to support these efforts and to strive for high attainment. His speech was followed by an address by the head of the School Committee; two other members of the Committee also addressed the audience.²

The School was organized in detail by two government committees, from the Ministry of Education and the other from the Ministry of Social Works. The Ministry of Education thus appointed the Technical Committee and the rest of the staff and organized the syllabus, while the other ministry thus organized the housing of the School and its equipment.³ The School was in fact housed in a building called al-Shâkiriyyah, in Jarwal quarter⁴ in the western part of the city. This had been announced before the actual opening of the school, and

1 Al-Qiblah, No.350, (19th January 1920); No.397 (5th July 1920)
2 For more details see Al-Qiblah, No.350 (19th January 1920); No.351 (22nd January 1920)
3 Al-Qiblah, No.341 (18th December 1919); No.397 (5th July 1920)
4 Al-Qiblah, No.350(19th January 1920); No.397 (5th July 1920)
the Ministry of Social Works had expressly declared its intention of supplying the necessary equipment and livestock.¹

The School occupied only a part of the building and comprised three classrooms, a room for studying agricultural chemistry, another for the staff, a prayer hall and a refectory. All the classrooms and other rooms were (we are told) admirably equipped. The School building was adjacent to the famous field, the "Ayin Zubayidah", site eminantly suitable for outdoor study and for the students' experimental field-work. A diary department and a stable, equipped to hold about 15 cows and horses, were also an integral part of the School, and another section was devoted to poultry, bees and silkworms.

The academic tasks were entrusted to five Syrian professional teachers, a secretary, a caretaker and an auditor.²

The staff was made up as follows:

Hashim al-Mafarri³ School Director. He also filled the positions of Agricultural Engineer and Lecturer in Agricultural Science.

¹ Al-Qiblah, No.341 (18th December 1919).
² Al-Qiblah, No.398 (8th July 1920)
³ He was a graduate of the Rhine Agricultural School in France in 1913 (A.H. 1331); and was at first appointed as Agricultural Inspector in Aleppo. Later, he became a Teacher of Botany and the Use of Agricultural Machinery in Salimmiiyyah School. In addition, he was appointed as Head of the Department of Agriculture, and eventually became Vice-President of the Salimmiiyyah School. When he learnt of the project for promoting agriculture in the Hijaz, he resolved to move there and was soon invited to be the Director of the School. Al-Qiblah, No.337 (4th December 1919).
The ancillary staff were:

'Arif Darwish\(^1\) al-Ḥusāmī - Agricultural Engineer.
Ahmad al-Dā'ūq\(^2\) - Mechanical Engineer and Lecturer in Mathematics and Mechanical Science.
Najib Ḥaddād - Lecturer in Agricultural Engineering and Industrialisation.
Muḥammad al-Ghawwās - Lecturer in Physics.

1 He was a graduate of the Agricultural School in Faraq in 1918 (A.H. 1337). For a time he worked in a number of agricultural posts in Syria, and deservedly gained the trust and affection of the local people. He was amongst the group which founded the Salīmīyyah Agricultural School as well as other projects in the Suburbs of Damascus. In Turkey he served in various capacities, including that of Inspector for the Ministry of Agriculture. He eventually left Turkey for Lebanon, where it was his firm intention to settle; however, on learning that the Sharifian Government was planning to establish a School of Agriculture in Mecca, he readily offered his services, attracted not only by the professional challenge but also by the religious atmosphere of Mecca. \textit{al-Qiblah}, No. 337 (4th December 1919).

2 He belongs to a well known Muslim family in Beirut. He was a graduate of the Mechanical Engineering College in Paris in 1915 (A.H. 1333). His first appointment was as an Engineer with a Belgian Company which specialized in canals and bridges. When however the Germans overran Belgium, he hurriedly left for Egypt and worked for a time as an Engineer in a sugar refinery. Eventually he resigned from this post and went to Mecca, where he became a teacher in the School of Agriculture. \textit{al-Qiblah}, No. 337 (4th December 1919).

3 He received his education in Syria and was later graduated from the School of Commerce in Beirut. In the course of his career he occupied many positions, among which was that of Clerk to the Royal Administration in Damascus. \textit{al-Qiblah}, No. 337 (4th December 1919).
The school thus included (perhaps surprisingly) quite a number of western trained specialist teachers in its staff - perhaps it was the most specialized professionally trained body of teachers in the Kingdom at the time.

Understandably enough, it was from the Primary and Intermediate Schools\(^1\) that the first students were selected. On Tuesday and Wednesday, 26th and 27th January, 1920, the selected students sat an Entrance Examination which was held in the School, the subjects set being Arabic Composition, History, Geography, Arithmetic and Plane Geometry.\(^2\) On the results of this, seven students were accepted for the First Grade Class and twenty for the Second Grade Class. The names of the successful candidates were published in al-Qiblah newspaper.\(^3\) It should be borne in mind however, that the School also accepted students in all classes as 'Listeners' only - that is they, might attend the classes without actually committing themselves to a career or receiving any financial help whatever.\(^4\)

A provisional programme was agreed upon without delay and the pupils were divided into three classes: one class to study for the First Grade and two for the Second Grade.\(^5\) The School was at once able to offer instruction in the following subjects:

First Grade: General Knowledge, Biology, Botany, Chemistry, Arithmetic, Geometry, Geography, General Agriculture, Drawing and French.

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1. Al-Qiblah, No. 341 (18th December 1920)
2. Al-Qiblah, No. 354 (2nd February 1920)
3. For details see Al-Qiblah, No. 354 (2nd February 1920)
4. Ibid., See also: Al-Qiblah, No. 397 (5th July 1920)
5. Al-Qiblah, No. 354 (2nd February 1920)
Second Grade: General Knowledge, Botany, Biology, Biochemistry, Geometry, General Agriculture, Agricultural Machinery, Drawing and French.

Third Grade: Agricultural Chemistry, Biology, (Insects), Botany, Agricultural Methods, Dairy Products, Cultivation of Silk Worms, Poultry, Bees, Fruit (Grapes), Veterinary Science (or Medicine), Agricultural Bookkeeping, Gardening, Agricultural Economics, French, Agricultural Machines, and Meteorological Study.¹

But in the light of experience a new programme was devised as early as 5th July 1920, and the following points must be briefly but clearly made here.²

First and foremost, the duties of the Director of the School were plainly specified. He was to be responsible for the stable and its uses for the animals food and for the farm workers. He was also to be in charge of manuring in accordance with modern technical methods, the conveying of suitable soil and the cultivation of vegetables and grain. He was further to be responsible for the nursery for forestry, for instruction on the creation of gardens, as well as for conveyances, ploughs and all essential equipment. A material part of his duties also was to record the weather reports taken from the school's meteorological station and to record them faithfully in the School records.

The main directives of the school - and this is the point - were to train the experts in the economic and technical aspects of agriculture who would eventually play leading parts

¹ Al-Qiblah, No. 354, 12. 5.1338 A.H. (1st February 1920)
² Al-Qiblah, No. 397 (5th July 1920); No. 398 (8th July 1920) Al-Qiblah, No. 354 (2nd February 1920); al-Ma'ārif, Vol. XII, November 1923, p.355.
in the national companies and co-operative societies. The students were therefore to have a comprehensive and empirical knowledge of agriculture in other parts of the world, especially in Europe, and thus equipped, to assist in the execution of the governmental plans for a modern agriculture.

The school from the outset accepted students from the Intermediate Schools of the Hijaz and also accepted students from all parts of the Arab countries. Pupils who had graduated from the Turkish Sulṭānīyyah Schools were always accepted unconditionally, but pupils of the Turkish Rushdīyyah Schools or other state or private elementary schools were required to sit an Entrance Examination to be held in the first week of Safar every year. The subjects of the Entrance Examination in this case were: General Arithmetic, Plane Geometry, General Geography, History of the Arabs, the Prophet's Life, and Arabic Composition. Unauthorized candidates (listeners) were again always accepted, but, as we have seen, received no financial help. Every pupil, moreover who wished to sit for the School's Entrance Examination had to submit an application to the Headmaster of the School, together with the necessary School Certificates, Health Certificate (showing that he was entirely fit and healthy), and a Certificate of Good Conduct from the mayor or chief of their village, with due confirmation from the educational authorities.

The Syllabus was designed to be covered in three years and the Academic Year was nine months. In the first year, the student was to be systematically prepared for assimilating the courses of the second and third years. Students who did especially well in the Entrance Examination were admitted to
the Second year course of the School. Three hours daily were set aside for each class, for the theoretical lessons in the morning or the evening, and the remainder of the day was preserved for practical work in agriculture. The practical training depended a great deal, of course, on the vicissitudes of the seasons.

The subjects offered and taught were as follows:

3. Vegetable Science: Vegetable cultivation.
5. Viticultural Science: The methods of grape cultivation, especially in a dry area, such as Taif, and the diseases of vines.
6. Dairy Science: The technique of producing milk, butter and cheese.
7. Veterinary Medicine: The breeding of cattle, animal diseases, the breeding of local animals and their profitable use.
8. Agricultural accountancy procedure.
10. Agricultural economy.
11. Agricultural economy administration suitable to the locality.
12. The principles of the establishment of local companies.
13. Forestry: Forest trees, their conservation and methods of propagating them.
14. Steam Engines: Their history, uses and the methods of operating them in the country.

15. Manual Handicraft Work: Handbags, baskets and mats, (which were usually made from palm leaves).

All studies were to be associated with practical training given by an expert teacher or his assistant. Students once accepted were to receive free education, necessary exercise and text-books, meals and clothes, and a special Health Department looked after the students' well-being. A student was expected to attend the complete course of study, and if he failed to attend for a period of more than half the course, he was refused admission to the Public Examination. Furthermore, if a student decided he did not wish to attend the School after having passed the Entrance Examination he had to pay the full School fee which would otherwise have been granted to him i.e. a sum of forty English pounds for the first Academic Year. Students were required to retain their text-books and take care of them. Public and Final Examinations were held at the end of the Academic Year, and the School Certificate was of a standard comparable to that of a Higher Grade Certificate. The graduate was to be granted a Certificate with the declared approval of the Ministry of Education and the internal School Management. The average marks were 10, but 12 in the Public Examination. A student who failed to attain this average mark was to remain in his class for another year, and not be granted any degree until he had satisfactorily passed his examination.¹ Students, accompanied by teachers, made excursions to the outskirts of Mecca where discussion on Botany and agriculture took place alongside practical work,

¹ Al-Qiblah, No. 397 (5th July 1920)
Occasionally physical exercises were organized. Students were required to make notes on various aspects of the study. They were also expected to take a practical examination during the term. The School was required to take three of its graduates each year as unaffiliated teachers, and any candidates for such positions had to be specially selected by the School Committee: and once selected, they might have to take a specially prepared examination. Farmers' and landowner's sons were here given priority.

On the 21st March 1920 (2nd Rajab A.H. 1338) the School commenced publication of a periodical called "Majallat Madrasat Jarwal al-Zirā‘iyah" (the Periodical of the Jarwal Agricultural School). This was the first specialized periodical to appear in the Hijaz. As indicated on the title page, it was concerned with Economic, Technical and Industrial, aspects of Agriculture, and it appeared in the first week of every lunar month.

The periodical was edited by the students of the School of Agriculture under the supervision of the head of the School. It was published in Mecca at the Amirīyyah Press. The yearly subscription was 50 Sharifian Piastres. The periodical, with its scientific involvements, must clearly be regarded as an important event in the sphere of scientific publication in the Hijaz, in as much as it concerned itself with new topics. Thus the contents of the first issue were:

- An Introduction: by the Director.
- The Aim and Purpose of the School: by 'Abbas Sālim: Student.
- The Syllabus of the School: by the Director.

1 Al-Qiblah, No. 367 (A.H. 27.6.1338 = 17th March 1920)
2 Al-Qiblah, No. 397.
First Appearance of Horses and their First Riders: by Āmīn Bey Maṭar.

The Natural and Agricultural Scene in the Hijaz: by 'Umar Sayrafī: Student.

Miscellaneous Points: by the Director.

The Principal Rules for Using Manufactured and Natural Manures: by: Āmūr Mahdī: Student.

Development of Botany: by H.M.

The first issue contained 30 pages, and the second and third both contained 32 pages. After the third issue, which came out on 1st Shawal A.H. 1338/18th June 1920, we have no evidence that the School produced any further issues, but also no hint that the periodical would be discontinued. The Director of the School in his Introduction Article outlined the purposes of the periodical as follows: "we have entered the modern agricultural field ... we have commenced to issue this periodical. The periodical will be edited by students, in order to further their experience, and will also promote agricultural techniques in this country, for which there is a great need". "It will be a monthly periodical, and we hope that we shall be able to issue it on a weekly basis at some time in the near future. And by this means, the students will be able to exert a good influence upon their readers. We hope


2 Majallat Madrasat Jarwal al-Zirā'īyyah, issued No.1. (20th March 1920).
also that the ideas of those who specialize in this field will be communicated to the people, and that as a result of this, we may catch up with and keep abreast of agricultural development in neighbouring Arab countries".¹

The first General Examination at the School of Agriculture, for students of the First and Second Classes, took place between the 14th April and 28th April 1920 (26 Rajab to 10th Sha' bān A.H. 1338) in the following subjects:

Botany: Study of Flowers.
Chemistry: Study of Nitric Acid, Nitrates etc.
Agricultural Machines: Its Uses.
Livestock: Veterinary Science (or Medicine).
General Agriculture: Soil Husbandry.
Geometry: Plain Geometry.
French: Graded Reading.
Drawing: Object Drawing.
Geography and Astronomy: Longitude and Latitude.²

It would appear however that the wider syllabus prescribed for the school was not followed in its entirety, and only basic agricultural subjects and such subjects as are listed above were actually tested.

This examination also included an assessment of the student's work performed during the term.³ Ten First Grade and nineteen Second Grade students passed the examination.

1 Majallat Madrasat Jarwal al-Zirā'īyyah, issued No.II (20th May 1920).
3 al-Qiblah, No.397 (5th July 1920); No.398 (8th July 1920).
Their names and awards were recorded in the third issue of the Agricultural Periodical.¹ The School of Agriculture continued its good work for close on two years before it finally reached a financial crisis, and was obliged to dismiss the Syrian teachers.² It appears to have partially recovered and it re-opened on the 9th of February 1922 on a smaller budget.³ Financial problems, however, and the current political climate unhappily forced the school eventually to close altogether.

From time to time celebrations were held in the Elementary, Intermediate and Secondary School, which were commonly attended by Sharif Husain and members of his family, notables and leading Government officials.⁴ These schools alike often enjoyed the visits and patronage of distinguished personages from abroad; thus Amīn Rīḥānī paid a visit to the Rāqīyyah (Intermediate) School in Jeddah on the 2nd March 1922.⁵

All these secular Schools, Elementary, Intermediate and Secondary, as well as the special Institution, came to a sudden end, owing mainly to the deep seated misgiving on the part of the Sharif, who feared that education on such an ambitious scale might eventually provoke a revolt of the reactionary elements, and even lead to open rebellion against the State.

¹ The Periodical of the Jarwal Agricultural School, op.cit.,
² Rahmatullah, M.S. Report on the Educational Establishments during the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century, p. 2.
³ Al-Qiblah, No. 558 (9th February 1922).
⁵ No. 565 (3rd Rajab, A.H. 1340 = 2nd March 1922).
His changed attitude began to show itself in a continual harassment of the teachers and in his delay in the payment of their salaries, until, frustrated and disillusioned, they began to leave the schools en masse.\(^1\) The direct outcome of this was a conflict between the reactionary and the progressive elements in the country, resulting in the Sharif's abdication.

**The Academic Year, Holidays and School Days in the Sharifian Schools.**

The academic year in the Sharifian institutions was arranged according to the Hegira calendar beginning on the 11th of Muharram and ended on the 25th of Dhū al-Qa‘dah.\(^2\) There was a holiday in the second half of the month of Ramadān and for a month and a half, from 25th of Dhū al-Qa‘dah to the 11th of Muharram, during the Ḥajj season.\(^3\) The academic year was not in any way related to the seasons of the year and lasted not more than ten lunar months.

What we have said in relation to the nature of the academic year and religious holidays in the state and private schools during the Turkish rule in the Hijaz, was also applicable during the Sharifian period. Public holidays were slightly modified; apart from holidays granted upon the occurrence of certain notable events, such as the reception of a high government guest, or the funeral of a public figure.\(^4\) There were

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
also public holidays to celebrate national events. These were:

1. 'Id al-Nahдah (Independence Day), on the 9th of Sha'бn.
2. 'Id al-Bay'ah (Festival of the Oath of Allegiance) in Muharram.\footnote{Kбzимй, Ahmad 'Ali, Report on Past Education in Mecca, p.9. See also Sйbй', A. op.cit., p.2.}

The working week was six days: Friday was the holiday. Every day had five hours of instruction, three in the morning and two in the afternoon with breaks for an hour and a half after the morning hours. Each period of study lasted 50 minutes. On Thursdays, and during the first half of Ramдdн only, three hours of instruction were given every day in the morning.\footnote{Nйzйm Madйris al-Hукймйt al-'Аrabiyyah al-ЙШшйmйyyah (The System of Education of the Hashimite Arab Government in the Hijaz) Mecca, A.H. 1336 (1917) p.3.}

\textbf{Examinations:}

Examinations in the Sharifian Schools were conducted by the Ministry of Education, who appointed an educational committee for each school, usually consisting of the headmaster, the teachers (each for his own subject) and a presiding executive from the Ministry itself. Students were examined in groups in the written examination and individually in the oral. The Commentary on the Qurйn, Arabic Literature and Free Reading were examined orally, and other subjects in writing. It was decided by the Ministry that the Qйdй of the town or his representative should be present during the examination of the four main religious subjects (Tafsйr, Њйdйth, Fiqh and Tawйhйd). One day was set apart for each
subject, and the examination lasted about four hours. Each student was given a mark according to his ability; the highest mark was ten and lowest four. A practical examination was held for students in the School of Agriculture, and successful students were awarded a certificate signed by the Minister of Education or his Under-Secretary. A sample of this type of certificate is given overleaf.

Text-books:

The Schools under the Sharifian authority did not use any of the Turkish text-books, and the Ministry of Education began to make use of Arabic text-books which were in use in some of the Private Schools, and some text-books in use in Syria and Egypt were also adopted. However a few years later the Ministry decided to spend money on publishing its own school text-books. We still possess information about two of these: Khulāqat Fann al-ʾImālā by Muhammad Hāshim Mūjāhid and al-Qawāʿīd al-Qarāl by Shaikh ʿAlī Bā-Buṣayil, both were written by local Hijāzi school teachers. The books were printed in Egypt and recognised as suitable aids for both students and teachers. At this point it is interesting to note that there was also a movement among individual Hijāzis who felt the lack in this field and the necessity to write and publish their own text-books quite independently of the Ministry of Education. Three of these books, which we have been able


3 See the programme of the School of Agriculture in al-Qiblah, No.397; See also Appendix, II.

4 For details see pp. 249-250 of this thesis.

5 Samples of the title pages of these two books are given in Appendix VIII.
to obtain, are: Miṣṭāḥ al-Tajwīd by ʿAbdullah Ḥamadūh, Cairo, 1920; Khulāṣat al-Sīrah by Tāhir al-Dabbāgh, Mecca, A.H. 1338 (1919); and Risālat al-Tawḥīd by Tāhir al-Dabbāgh and ʿAbdullah Ḥamadūh, Cairo, 1920.

Subjects Taught:

Subjects taught in the Taḥdiriyyah (Elementary) schools still were basic. The Qurʾān took precedence and lessons were designed to teach the rudiments of reading and writing, arithmetic, fundamental religious duties, calligraphy and the principles of ethics.

Higher schools taught a wider range of subjects, but kept to classical and traditional forms, barely touched by a modern approach and sometimes they omitted certain branches of science altogether.

Gobèe, who visited the Hijaz in 1917, took the opportunity to study the subjects taught in the Higher Schools (the Raqīyyah Schools) and actually attended one of the examinations. The subjects he observed were religious and Arabic studies, along with a few other subjects such as history, geography, arithmetic and geometry. The religious subjects were mainly Ḥadīth, Fiqh, Tafsīr and Tawḥīd. The book used for Ḥadīth was entitled Ḥāshiyat al-Shaikh asī-Siyānawānī. The book contains about 340 Ḥadīths, half of which had been discussed in the class. The meaning of the Ḥadīth had to be explained, and various concepts had to be expounded linguistically and according to the Islamic Law. For Fiqh two books were used: Matn al-Qudūrī for the Ḥanafīyyah and Matn Bā- Faḍl for the Shāfīʿīyyah, both books dealing with Islamic duties. It appears
that the course did not cover the four Madhhabs and the
students were divided into two groups representing these two
Madhhabs only and for each separate questions were asked from
their books. Out of thirty questions selected by the Qādī
for each Madhhab there were only three each for the written
examination. In Tafsīr, Tafsīr al-Jalālayn was used as a
text-book. It was examined orally and a line or more was
picked by the examiner from the Qur'ān, and the student then
had to read the commentary and explain the import of some main
points and the moral lessons which one could draw from the
verse. In Theology the text-book used was called, Kitāb
al-Jawharah by Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī.

Arabic studies consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric and Stylistics
Literature, free reading, composition and Public Recitation.
A four-volumed Grammar was used, the fourth volume containing
material on Rhetoric. This book was called "Kitāb qawā'id
al-Lughār al-'Arabiyyah Litālamādīh al-Madāris al-Falāhīyyah"
and was printed in Mecca (no year is given). Each volume was
to be dealt with during one year, covering all the material.
The Alfīyat of Ibn Mālik was no longer taught. One day of
the examination was devoted to Arabic Grammar.¹

For Rhetoric and Stylistics Gobè gives an explanation
of what is meant by Rhetoric (Balāghah), and he also gives
some of the questions which were asked in the examination in
the final year in the Rāqiyyah schools:-

1. What is the ordinary and the technical meaning of
   "al-Fushā"?
2. What is the difference between "al-Khabar" and "al-Inshā"?
3. What is "al-Qasr" and its varieties and how are they each
defined? Give examples.

¹ For details see Gobè E. op.cit., p.201 - 202.
4. What is the difference between "al-Wasl" and "al-Fasl"?¹

For Literature the topics set concerned the significance and use of literary history, the concept of "language", the division into prose and poetry and their definitions, the difference between a proverb and a saying, etc. biography of poets and the learning of 20 to 30 pages of selected classical and modern poetry. There were nine questions about various poets and the students were required to give a brief biography and examples of their poetry.²

In Free Reading the selected book was the unvocalised edition of "Kalîlah wa Dimnah". Usually the boys had first of all to narrate the passage given to them and then read it out loud without making any grammatical mistakes. The student was then asked questions about grammar, and he also had to refer to a number of incidents in the story.

In Composition the topics were varied throughout the year, but were usually on everyday events. In the examination witnessed by Gobèe a choice of two topics was given:

1. A people is what its individuals are
2. When you see the waxing of the new moon, you know one day it will be full".

Gobee included in his report the Arabic actual text of the two essays which got the highest marks.³

For Public Recitation (al-Khitābah) Gobèe states that at the Sharifian school fetes, which took place at the end of the academic year, when prizes were given, the programme included

¹ For details see Gobèe E. op.cit., pp.194-5, 202.
² Ibid., p.194, 197-8.
³ Ibid.,
speaches, dialogues, recitals and poetry; these were encouraged by the Sharifian Government's patronage, which wished to show the skill of the pupils in its schools in this field.¹

During the last year the history of the 'Abbāsid dynasty had been discussed, that of the Umayyads in the previous year,² and the Caliphs and the Life of the Prophet in the two previous years.

Some idea of the standard expected from the pupils can be gathered from questions asked in the examinations which Gobee attended, e.g.

I How did the first 'Abbāsid caliph put forward his claims, and where?

II What form did the homage to al-Rashīd take, how did Baghdad develop in his reign, when did he overthrow the Barmacides and why did he do this; when did al-Rashīd die, and at what age; what was the length of his caliphate and what was his general character as caliph?

III How was homage done to al-Radi; what did he do to Ibn Muqelah, who was the first Amir al-Umarā' and why did he obtain this post; when did al-Radi die and at what age; and what was the length of his caliphate; what was the general character of his career, and what were his actions which brought about the end of the caliphate? ³

1. For details see Gobée E. op.cit., pp.197-8.
2 Ibid., pp.196-7.
3 Ibid., p.206.
He states that questions on geography had to be answered in writing and that therefore knowledge of maps was not tested. Africa was treated in detail and Europe in outline in the final year. No questions were asked about Asia which had been dealt with in the previous year. Out of a wide range of topics, only four were selected on which questions might be asked:

1. The frontiers of Africa, with the principal capes and bays.
2. The towns of Egypt, its frontiers and its products.
3. The principal rivers of Europe.
4. Selected English towns.¹

Language:

Gobée says, "It ought to be possible for the Sharifian Government in the Hidjaz to send the best students each year to Egypt or Syria to study a foreign language and to study subjects not taught in the schools of Hidjaz. But this is not done. This is a pity, for two reasons:

a) The Many good people that could advance the country are lost to it.

b) The people remain caught in the narrow confines of the old-fashioned system of education".²

Nasif commented on the teaching of foreign languages in the Sharifian Schools, "The Sharif of Mecca had a great dislike for foreign languages and he did not encourage the schools in Hijaz to teach any foreign language".³

¹ For details see Gobée E. op. cit., p.196.
² Ibid., p.201.
Gobee states that notable progress in Arithmetic had been made in the Sharifian Schools under good teachers, and questions were asked on the four rules, division, multiplication, fractions and percentages.

In Geometry, a selection of simple problems were given: Examples include:

1. What is the sum of the angles of a polygon?
2. What can you say about two sides of a quadrilateral, when the two other sides are parallel and equal in length.
3. Prove that the one side of a triangle is smaller than the sum of the other two sides.¹

Regarding special schools (which are not covered in Gobèe's report) we would recall that basic French was also taught in the Agricultural School, while other subjects were taught to a more advanced standard than the one shown above.

Conclusions:

As we have seen in the preceding pages, on the whole, the educational system under the Sharif was an improvement on the Turkish system, since it both received greater support from the local population and also provided facilities for far bigger numbers of native-born children who were able now to study in their own tongue, Arabic. On the whole higher standards were also achieved and for the first time an Arab educational administration of two bodies was set up, headed by

¹ Gobèe, E. op.cit., pp. 188-9.
an educated and learned Hijazi with the assistance of a Syrian educator. Attempts were also made to provide qualified teachers through the importation of foreign staff, mostly from Syria. The introduction of new professional schools for Agriculture and Military Training showed the desire of the Government to improve standards in these fields, and in schools already in existence an important innovation was the introduction of new subjects and higher standards in others (not only on paper), including in particular a foreign language, namely French. This may have been chosen partly because the Syrian teachers had recommended it to be taught but on the other hand it might be an indication of the Sharif's determination to hold aloof from British influence in education when in other fields he had close political and economic ties. That the educational authority undertook the publication of Arabic school text-books as well as the school programmes likewise marks an advance.

Inspite of all this, and the general increase in the number of pupils, education still did not go far beyond the main towns of the Hijaz, and while such countries as Egypt and Syria had long begun the education of girls, such a move was not even considered in the Sharifian education programme. Again, while under the Turks a Teacher Training College had been attempted it was not revived, and although the Turks sent some students abroad for further education, the Sharifian Government opposed such ventures and the Sharif himself stopped such an undertaking even at private expense. Although initially the entire programme was put into practice with zeal for the most part it remained rudimentary, and later suffered from the Sharif's tendency to mistrust any hint of modern influence and "progress". By the time the Sharifian regime
came to an end foreign observers had ceased to be impressed by its educational achievements.¹

As early as 1926 a qualified observer, reported that great efforts had been made by the Saudis to promote education: "The Consultative Council of Mecca has approved the scholastic curricula and the educational balance sheet presented by Shaikh Kamil al-Qassāb, and the respective decrees have been presented to the King. The primary schools founded and to be founded in the Hijaz alone are 21, distributed thus:

Mecca: One Higher Religious School, one Primary, five Preparatory.
Medina: One Primary School, three Preparatory.
Jeddah: One Primary School, two Preparatory.
Taif: Two Primary Schools, one Preparatory; and the same at Wagh and Yanbu.

These schools are for the most part already open and working; now the Board of Education is thinking of opening Secondary Schools.

King Ibn Sa'ud has issued a decree that nominates the Damascene Shaikh, Professor Kāmil al-Qassāb,² General Director of Education for the whole of the Kingdom. He is a highly cultivated and knowledgeable person, capable of facing up to a problem which has also its political importance. The Government has asked Syria for 40 teachers, certificated at the teacher training school (Dār al-Mu‘allimīn), to teach in the newly established schools.

² He was the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Education during the early years of the Sharifian reign. For details on his biography see footnote page 230 of this thesis.
Ibn Sa'ūd is noted for his love for study, and it is hoped that, by economising on other expenses, he may succeed in devoting greater sums to the schools.¹

¹ Oriente Moderno, vol. VI, Roma, 1926, pp. 542-543; See also Umm al-Qurā, 17. 9.1926.
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PRIVATE SCHOOL

THEIR DEVELOPMENTS OR DECLINE DURING THE PERIOD 1916 - 1925

It should be observed that no new Private Schools were opened in the Sharifian period, and from this it would appear that the people as a whole distinctly and emphatically preferred the new Sharifian State Schools. Few Private Schools in fact, ever really overcame their financial problems or successfully adapted themselves to the change in the political climate; those that had failed in these respects, for one reason or another, were compulsorily converted into State Schools - such was the fate of al-Kha'ir'iyyah School in Mecca which became al-Mas'ā Taḥdīr'iyyah School. Those that adopted and developed their programmes were few, and indeed it was only the Mecca Schools the Saulāṭiyyah, the Fakhriyyah Dār al-Fā'zīn and the Falāḥ, together with the Falāḥ School in Jeddah, which survived into the beginning of the Saudian Era in 1925. With regard to Medina and other towns, most of their private schools were closed well before the Sharifian period (1916-1925). At this point, then, we shall attempt to examine the surviving Private Schools, first in Mecca and then in other towns, considering in the light of the facts their progress or decline; we shall not examine the Private Schools which were closed before the Sharifian period, as these had already passed out of existence completely, and hence were not converted into State Schools.
The Šaulatīyyah School continued, during this period, using the same curriculum which had been put into effect in 1901; and which consisted of 13 years of study.\(^1\) Two new buildings were built from donations received, and new equipment, such as desks and chairs were provided. The former building of the school was used as a hostel for teachers and students from abroad. A mosque was also attached to the school's buildings and students were required to participate in mid-day prayers, and a Mu'ādhhdhin and Imām were on the list of permanent employees.\(^2\)

Al-Maʿārif gives us some details about the income of the school. This largely came from charitable donations gathered in India. Also, during the pilgrimage season quite a large amount of gifts and money were made over to the school. "Under 1909 the annual income of the school received from India alone was 10,000 rupees, but in 1918 the income was increased to 22,000 rupees per annum. During later years there was a fixed monthly income from the Hyderabad State and Bhopal, another Muslim State in India. Hyderabad contributed 200 rupees per month and Bhopal 100 rupees".\(^3\) This income proved to be sufficient to assist the school to arrange more advanced projects and put into practice more ambitious plans. Money received was taken up by basic costs, mainly in the new constructions and teachers salaries.\(^4\) It was also used to assist needy students, and to defray the cost of library books, furniture and lighting.\(^5\)

1 For details on the syllabus of the school see Appendix III.
4 Ibid.,
There were two types of teachers in the school, permanent and the temporary. Sixty per cent of the permanent teachers were local Meccans, while the others were foreigners, mainly Indians. The temporary teachers were educated men who visited Mecca and taught in the school for a short time but who for the most part returned thereafter to their homes.\(^1\) There is however no indication that any of these teachers had any teacher training. Usually 10-12 teachers worked in the various grades of the school and at first the salaries they received were meager. This was because as we saw a major portion of the school's funds was taken by construction work of the new buildings. For this reason larger numbers of teachers could also not be engaged. However, as the school's finances improved better stipends was eventually reached. Yet the maximum salary of a teacher did not exceed 60 Indian Rupees per month and this was paid in Indian currency.\(^2\) With the end of the First World War the number of students was rapidly increased and in 1918 there were 350 pupils studying in the various grades of the school, and their number was nearly the same during this period (1916-1925).\(^3\)

The Fakhriyyah School continued to thrive reasonably well during this period; and chiefly, it would seem because Shaikh Qäri 'Abdul-Haqq had managed to overcome most of the difficulties, financial and otherwise, which had hitherto proved such grave hindrances to the School's success. Near the end of his life, when he found himself unable to administer the institution efficiently, he called upon his friend Ishäq al-Qäri al-Bakri to assist him. The latter was a teacher in the Räqiyyah

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1 Al-Mafārīf, op. cit., p.346.
2 Ibid.,
Hashimiyat Intermediate School; and at his friend's request he courageously gave up his position there, and took charge as Head of the Fakhriyyah School about 1918.\footnote{Shaikh Ishäq was on any showing, an able and efficient man, who ran the school wisely and energetically. During a tour of Egypt he had studied the Educational System there, and accordingly was led to adopt a new curriculum demanding a four year course. There was no preparatory teaching, as pupils were expected to have the basic knowledge necessary to follow the course. The first year was spent in the Elementary Grade and the three subsequent years in the First, Second and Third forms of the Intermediate Grade.\footnote{The subjects taught, and books used were as follows:

1. First Year: (The Elementary Grade) Religious Studies: al-Diyânah wa al-Tahdhib, Recitation of the Qur'an, Dictation Calligraphy, Arabic Reading, Arithmetic and Ethics.
4. Fourth Year: (Third Form of the Intermediate Grade) The Recitation of the Qur'an, Art of Reciting the Qur'an, Theology, Traditions (Hadîth): Arabic Grammar and Syntax (al-Durûs al-Nahwıyây Part 3, and al-Ajurûmiyyah) Morphology, Arabic Grammar and Literature, Commentary of the Qur'an (Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn), Islamic Law (Matin al-Qaduri, Majmû'at thalâth Mutûn), Ethics: ('Adab al-Fatâ, Durûs al-Akhlaq) Composition, Rhetoric, Dictation, Calligraphy, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Geometry and Bookkeeping - Information about the duration of the course, and subjects taught is taken from Leaving Certificates of this school, which are given in Appendix I.}}
In due course, a new and much more efficient department for Huffaz (memorization of Qur'ān) was opened, and the whole method of teaching thoroughly reorganized. These improvements rapidly brought large influx of pupils, and many pupils' applications were refused owing to lack of accommodation. At that time the School had no fewer than 300 pupils on its roll.¹

After the death of the founder, Shaikh Qārī 'Abdul-Ḥaqq 1338 A.H. (1920)² Shaikh Ishāq Qārī naturally became the director of the school. Following his highly successful journeys to India and Egypt for the express purpose of raising funds, new branches of the School were soon opened in the al-Falq and al-Sad districts of Mecca. Later, however, the promised donations ceased owing to a political crisis, and the School, unable to cope financially, had to close down its new branches and concentrate its resources on the original main building.³ The only document relating to the finances of the Fakhriyyah School covers a three years period, from 1921 to 1923:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rupees</th>
<th>Annas</th>
<th>Bies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The income for 3 years was:</td>
<td>18,902</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The expenditure for that period amounted to:</td>
<td>18,875</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaving a balance of:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Ibid.,
⁴ Madrasah Fakhriyyah 'Uthmaniyyah, Rutadad (Proceeding of the Fakhriyyah 'Uthmaniyyah School for the years 1921, 1922 and 1923) Delhi, 1923, pp.
Shaikh Ishāq, after mature consideration, deemed it desirable that the School should be as far as possible self-supporting, and therefore opened trade and handicraft departments in tailoring, weaving and engraving. He did in fact successfully manufacture products which found a market in the country, but even this enterprise was still insufficient to ensure the smooth and unencumbered running of the School. Eventually, the shortage of funds became so acute that he found himself compelled to close down the manufacturing department.¹

The School was governed by the Board of Directors, which included the founder of the School, Shaikh Qārī Abdul-Haqq as Nāzir or Chief Director, Shaikh Ishāq Qārī, and one of Ishāq's sons. Other staff numbered as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of teachers</th>
<th>Clerks</th>
<th>Attendance Officers</th>
<th>Doorkeepers</th>
<th>Watercarriers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923-24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924-25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The headmaster, we learn, received 800 Sharifian Piastres; the teachers 60 to 400; the doorkeepers 100, the water-carriers 140, and the clerks and attendance officers 150 each.² A tabulation of the School staff, their salaries and the other

¹ Sabbāgh, A. *op.cit.*, pp.161-162.
² Information given here was taken from the Records of the School.
expenditures for the month of Rabī' al-Thānī A.H. 1341 (20th November to 18th December, 1922) is given in the Appendix VI. The tabulation is a photo-copy taken from the Schools records.

In spite of the severe financial difficulties we have described, the School, it must be granted, achieved a notable success; according to a well informed former teacher,\(^1\) the number of pupils during the period under review (1916-1925) ranged between 250 and 350, and the School could not deal with numbers in excess of these.\(^2\) An investigation was also made by me with a view to obtaining statistics of the numbers of pupils in the school's records, but unfortunately I was informed that most of these had been destroyed as a result of the torrential rains and floods which swept through Mecca in 1948.\(^3\)

Turning now to the Faläh Schools in Mecca and Jeddah, we see that these too continued to operate successfully through the Sharifian period; proof of this can be found in the fact that in A.H. 1336 (1916) a higher or final grade was introduced in addition to the three usual grades, Elementary, Intermediate and Secondary already in existence. This new grade covered a period of three years,\(^4\) and was open to successful students

\(^1\) 'Omar Mahdī Abū Shāl; his name is listed amongst teachers in the school in 1922; see Appendix VI.


\(^3\) 'Omar Mahdī Abū Shāl, op. cit.

\(^4\) The subjects and prescribed books in the higher grade were: The Commentary of the Qur'ān (completing Tafsīr al-Jalālayn and al-Nasafi), Tradition (Mukhtasar al-Bukhārī by al-Zabīdī), Principles of the Tradition (Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fıkhr), Theology Islamic Law (Adapted to the Four Islamic Sects), Principles of Islamic Law (al-Waraqāt, al-Shāshī and al-Luma‘), Ethics (Kitāb ‘Adab al-Duḥāy wa al-Dīn), Arabic Grammar and Syntax (Sharḥ Ibn ‘Aqīl), Morphology (Kitāb Mirāh al-Arwāh), Rhetoric (Sharḥ al-Jawhar al-Makmūn, and al-Talkhīṣ), Arabic Literature and Arabic Recitation, Geography, Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Bookkeeping (more advanced studies in Accountancy). Ancient Greek Logic and Law of Inheritance and Succession.
from the Secondary Grade. The syllabus leaned heavily towards religious subjects; even Arabic came second. Other subjects feature much less. The practical side is again represented by bookkeeping, ancient Greek Logic and Law providing a somewhat curious addition.

In 1921 expenditure by the Falāḥ school of Mecca came to 1,989 Turkish pounds, but to 1,340 in 1921. This near bankruptcy of the founder caused various Hijazis to donate financial aid to continue the running of the school. In the interests of financial stability this eventually led to the drawing up of a regulation in 1921 to control the income, expenditure and other aspects of the Falāḥ Schools. It was published in the Al-Falāḥ newspaper and contained the following points:

1. In the Falāḥ Schools no money is to be spent except for educational purposes.
2. Money spent on Religious Studies must take precedence over other subjects.
3. Money must be spent only within the Hijaz – even if initially the money came from outside the Hijaz.
4. If a student is required to receive further education abroad which is not available in the Hijaz, he (the student) must have been born in the Hijaz, or at least have lived there for three continuous years, or studied for the same number of years in one of the Falāḥ schools.
5. The School Committee would be prepared to undertake the supervision of other schools in the Hijaz, or within the Arabian Penninsula, provided that the school in question was financially independent, and agreed to make payment

for any expenses incurred in the course of that supervision.\(^1\)

It deserves to be mentioned that, while the possibility of sending students abroad was envisaged, none were apparently sent, nor was any other school supervised during this period as far as one can tell.

In 1917 there were about 700 pupils in the Falāḥ School at Jeddah.\(^2\)

Statistics regarding pupils graduating from the two al-Falāḥ Schools in Mecca and Jeddah in Elementary and Intermediate Grades during the years 1916-1925,\(^3\) are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholastic Year</th>
<th>Elementary Grade Graduates</th>
<th>Intermediate Grade Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mecca</td>
<td>Jeddah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1916</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-1917</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917-1918</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-1919</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-1920</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1921</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1922</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-1923</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923-1924</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924-1925</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Al-Falāḥ, No. 24 (A.H. 1339 = 30th January 1921); and No. 20.
\(^3\) These statistics were taken from the records of the Falāḥ Schools.
The Dār al- Fa‘zin al-Islāmiyyah School was originally called al-Islāmiyyah School. (See above, pp 156–7). Its new name was given to it when ʿAbdul-Satār Abū-Ṭālib was appointed as Naẓir1 and ʿAbbās ʿAbdul-Jabbār was appointed director at the beginning of the Sharifian period. ʿAbbās ʿAbdul-Jabbār remained in this position for five years, after which he was succeeded by Muhammad Saʿīd Jān.2

As we saw in the previous part the school was short of funds, but this difficulty was overcome by ʿAbbās ʿAbdul-Jabbār, who went to India with the purpose of raising money; apart from this some people in Mecca contributed endowments and enabled the school to continue for a longer period.3

On the 29th Rabiʿ al-Awwal A.H. 1338 (21st December 1919) the school advertised in the al-Qiblah newspaper that it had been reorganized and teachers, other staff and equipment were available.4 The course of study was to be two to four years in the primary grade. Subjects to be taught were: the Qurʾān, Art of recitation (of the Qurʾān) spelling, reading, writing, religious studies included basic theology, Islamic law and traditions; besides these were Arabic studies, arithmetic, geometry and geography.5 All educational facilities were at the service of the students, and books were to be given free of charge.6 The school seemed to be well known and used to have celebrations on several occasions7 and to take part in public events attended by all schools — both state and private —

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3 Ibid.,
4 Al-Qiblah, No.342 (A.H. 29.3.1338 = 21st December 1919)
5 Rahmatullah, M.S.S. op.cit., p.1; al-Qiblah, No.346.
6 Al-Qiblah, No.342.
7 Al-Qiblah, No.345.
8 Al-Qiblah, No.346.
at which the Sharif and other notables presided. Such celebrations were mentioned in al-Qiblah newspaper in various issues.\textsuperscript{1} It is recorded that in 1922 there were five teachers and one hundred pupils\textsuperscript{2} but shortly after this date a conflict arose among the family of the sponsors which led to the eventual closure of the school.\textsuperscript{3}

A private school called Madrasat Mājid ʿAshqī was founded in Medina in 1920. Details regarding the school are somewhat scant but it reported to have qualified teachers and a large number of students. Subjects taught were of a basic kind.\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{1} Nos. 345, 346 and 674.
\bibitem{2} \textit{Al-Maʿārif}, Vol. XII (1923) p. 355.
\bibitem{3} Rahmatulllah, M.S.S. \textit{op. cit.}, p. 2.  
The School was reopened in 1945 (A.H. 1365) and was then administered by the director of the Saulatiyyah School, Shaikh Muḥammad Salīm Rahmat-Allah, who re-organized it and adopted the same syllabus as used in the Saulatiyyah School.
\bibitem{4} Ḥāfiẓ, 0. \textit{Report on Past Education in Medina}, p. 2.
\end{thebibliography}
CHAPTER NINE

THE TRADITIONAL TYPE OF SCHOOL

The Madrasa:

During this period (1916-1925) no reference can be found to the old-style Madrasahs which appear to have fallen into disuse sometime in the later 19th century.

The Gradual Decline of the Kuttāb:

The Kuttābs continued following the same methods and various aspects of education which we discussed in the previous part. It would appear that they were not influenced by the educational changes introduced for the State schools by the Sharifian Government during this period. What we do notice in this period is that the number of the Kuttābs in Mecca was reduced from 50 in 1915 to 44 in 1923, and that this was the result of the conversion of some Kuttābs into State or into private schools, such as Kuttāb of al-Nūrī and the Khaṭṭāṭ of Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥilmī, whose students were transferred to the newly established elementary State schools in 1917. Kuttāb ʻAbdullah Ḥamadūh was converted in 1905 to the Falāḥ Private School in Mecca. Kuttābs in other places such as Medina, Jeddah and Taif, which continued in the traditional method of teaching were also affected by the shift in education and many of them did not survive for long as their students were gradually transferred to the newly established State schools,

or to private schools. Another aspect of educational change was reflected in the slight variation in the ceremony governing the celebration arranged on completion of study in the Kuttābs. Sībāfī gave a somewhat different account of the event. He says: "The child who had completed his studies would be fitted out with new clothes and ride through the streets on a caparisoned horse, accompanied by his teacher and classmates, who would sing a traditional song until they all reached his home. There, they would be received by the child's parents who would have arranged a feast in honour of the occasion and have suitably festooned the house".¹

Two Kuttābs for girls were found in Mecca in 1920. One was called Kuttāb al-Saulatīyyah for Girls, and was located in a detached building of the Saulatīyyah, housing two female teachers with 30 girl pupils.² The second, the Kuttāb al-Marūh district, was smaller and had only one female teacher with considerably less pupils.³

The Continuation of Teaching in the Great Mosque of Mecca in Accordance with the Syllabus of 1913, and the Traditional Teaching in the Prophets' Mosque in Medina:

Education in the Great Mosque of Mecca continued to follow the syllabus introduced by the Sharif in 1913, but it is important to note that Modern Certificates were now granted to students, replacing the old Ijāzahs. Examples of these are given in Appendix I. With regard to the Prophets' Mosque in Medina, no change in teaching was made even after 1919 when the city came under control of the Sharifian Government.

² Rahmatullah, M. S. S. Report on the Educational Establishments during the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

With the rise of Islam a characteristic type of Islamic education arose in the Hijaz as an integral part of the new Islamic Society in Arabia. The familiar features and techniques of study which were to distinguish Muslim education permanently thereafter also took their rise here at the time. However, with the spread of Islam into the more fertile neighbouring countries, the Hijaz progressively failed to maintain its position as the educational centre of the Muslim world; Mecca and Medina remained indeed the centres of the Faith, but as centres of scholarship, while at times distinguished, they were never in the front rank.

Later, with the general decline of Arabia during the Ottoman period, the standards of education in the Hijaz declined perceptibly, and by 1800 they had reached a lamentably low level. Nor did Egyptian rule during the first half of the nineteenth century bring any real progress to the Hijaz (unlike what occurred in Syria). In fact an intelligent outside observer, 'Ali Bey, seriously thought at that time that natural and sociological conditions in the Hijaz would never allow any tangible educational advances there.\footnote{'Ali Bey, \textit{Voyages d'Ali Bey el-Abbasi en Afrique et en Asie}, vol. II, Paris, 1814, p.391-2.}

The nineteenth century thus opened with a negative balance. However, improvements in communications diminished the country's isolation after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and increasingly with the opening of the Hijaz Railway in 1908. Even so, the country remained depressed economically.
and stagnant intellectually, its outside contacts were with the East rather than the West, and its mentality tended to be stubbornly conservative and resentful of attempted western innovations (in education as in other fields). Urged on by the British and other foreign consuls, the Turks after 1869 attempted to introduce some educational reforms, but with little success. The few schools founded in the Hijaz limited as they were in any case in their intake very largely to the children of the Turkish official class, failed to gain any wide support from the local population, but at the same time brought the latter face to face with the inescapable question of a more general education and modernism in teaching; hence an important indirect effect of the Turkish system, which had in itself signally failed (primarily on account of the use of Turkish as the vehicle of instruction) to achieve any notable results among the Hijazi's, was the opening of the private schools. These latter introduced an educational pattern limited in scope to be sure, but more suited to the aspirations of the local folk, who now became interested in sending their sons to such new establishments. Nevertheless, such educational progress as was made by the State or by private schools in the Hijaz was on a very small scale, and restricted to the few main towns; girls were not deemed suitable for inclusion in either system, which inevitably left a majority of the population outside its scope. In all this, the Hijaz contrasted most unfavourably with Egypt or Syria at the time.

A new age seemed at last to have dawned with the establishment of the Sharifian Regime in 1916, believing 'Ali Bey's belief
that educational progress in this part of Arabia was forever made impossible by permanent geographical factors. The Sharifian plans were ambitious: the number of schools was at once increased, new types of Special Schools were set up, the syllabuses were widened and modernized, and many more children of course received education under a system now based on the use of Arabic as the medium of instruction. A Ministry was set up to administer education, and foreign qualified teachers were imported in significant numbers. In all this, the changes were clearly epoch-making. From the beginning however there were also significant deficiencies. The system still totally excluded girls; a large part of the population outside the towns was not in any way reached; there was no teacher training; and students were not sent abroad to gain a broader approach. In fact, the Sharif's misgivings, a fear of a possible revolution stemming from progress, - throttled further educational developments during the later years of his regime. He had, nevertheless, proved to all that educationally, as well as in other fields, something positive could be done in the Hijaz; and this was further demonstrated after the end of his reign when Saudi Arabian efforts were soon to outstrip his early achievements.

Education in the Hijaz, as in other parts of Saudi Arabia, was in fact to make considerable progress in years to come, especially after the discovery of oil, which provided the financial means which had previously been lacking.
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a. Embassies and Consular Archives.

(All Nos. from 1249 to 2452 have been consulted, but we have listed below those concerning this thesis).


b. General Correspondence.

F.O.78/3131, 3314 and 3341.
II. Special Reports Deposited in the Ministry of Education, Office of Educational Documents, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, (unnumbered).

They were written by elderly educated Hijazis who took part in the teaching programmes in the Hijazi schools before 1925, and are as yet uncatalogued. They have no Arabic titles, and the following designations in English merely describe their contents.


Fāqīh, J. Special Report on Past Education in Medina (3 pp.)

Ḥāfīz, O. Special Report on Past Education in Medina (31 pp.)

Kāzīmi, A.A. Report on Past Education in Mecca (25 pp.)

Khūjah, A. Report on the Educational Establishments in Mecca. (43 pp.)

Khuzāmī, I. Report on Past Education in Mecca and Jeddah (8 pp.)

Kurdi, M.T. Report on Past Education in the Hijaz (7 pp.)


Sibā‘ī, A. Report on Past Hijazi Education (4 pp.)

III Unpublished Reports in Author's Possession:--

These have no Arabic titles, and the following titles in English merely describe the contents of the documents.

The Falāḥ Schools Special Report on Education in the Falāḥ Schools, (15 pp.)

Ghazāwī, Āḥmad Special Report on the Educational Establishments in the Hijaz before 1925. (16 pp.)

Hilmī, Muhammad Special Report on the Educational Establishments in the Hijaz during the Sharifian period. (15 pp.)

Rahmatullah, M.S.S. Report on the Educational Establishments during the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century. (20 pp.)
IV Leaving Certificates: (copies of these certificates are given in Appendix I).

1. Ijāzah granted in A.H. 1278 (1861) to Bashīr Ṭahm Ahmad al-Muhājir on completion of his course of study in the Great Mosque (of Mecca) by his teacher Shaikh 'Abdul-Ghāni Muhammad Effendi al-Nāwī. Deposited in the University of Riyadh, Manuscript Library No. 966.

2. Ijāzah granted in A.H. 1299 (1881) to Shaikh 'Abdul-Subhān 'Alī Wālī al-dīn (who joined the Ša'ulatiyyah School in A.H. 1393) by Shaikh Rahmatullah, head of the School, on completion of his studies. Subjects taught are mentioned in the Ijāzah.

3. Ijāzah granted in A.H. 19th Muḥāram 1299 (1881) to Shaikh ʿAbdul-Rahman Ahmad Dahān on completion of his course of study in the Ša'ulatiyyah School in Mecca.

4. Diploma (Shahādah) by the ʿIdādiyyah Turkish School in Medina, in A.H. 1325 (1909) to Muḥammad ʿAbdul-Malik Showing various items of information relevant to our study.

5. Diploma granted in A.H. 1334 (1915) to Ḥāmid ʿAbdullāh al-Qārī, as a qualified assistant teacher, under the new regulations relating to teaching in the Great Mosque of Mecca, signed by four Muftis and four members of the Chief Committee of the Mosque. Gives subjects taught, and marks awarded to the students.

6. Diploma granted to the same student in A.H. 1335 (1916), as a qualified teacher in the Mosque of Mecca, signed by the four Muftis and twelve members of the Chief Committee.

7. Diploma granted to Muḥammad Jamīl ʿUmar Khān of his completion of his studies in the Fakhriyyah School in A.H. 1340 (1921).

8. Diploma granted to ʿAbdullāh Ahmad Sirāj on the completion of his studies in the Fakhriyyah School in Mecca in A.H. 1341 (1922).

9. Certificate granted to ʿArfan ʿAbdul-Ṣamad on finishing his first year of study at the Fakhriyyah School in A.H. 1341 (1922).

11. Certificate granted to Maʿtūq Ahmad Sirāj on completion of his third year of study at the Fakhriyyah School in A.H. 1341 (1922).

12. Certificate issued by the Dār al-Fāʾżīn School to Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥilmi for his co-operation, it was approved by the Ministry of Education in the Sharifian Government in 1922.


V. Unpublished Books (MSS) (These deal with the biographies of certain learned men in the Hijaz. The books are kept in the Library of the Haram in Mecca)


Dahlawī, ʻAbdūl-Satār, Sard al-Nuqūl fī Trājīm al-Ulamā al-Fuḥūl.


VI. Other Unpublished Documents:

Deed, No. 41, dated A.H. 14. 1. 1291 (3rd March 1874).

Supreme Court, Mecca: Registration Book No. I, for the year A.H. 1291 (1884-5).

Deed, No. 386, dated A.H. 24. 6. 1306 (25th February 1889), Supreme Court, Registration Book for that year.

A letter dated 3rd Muḥarram A.H. 1340 (5th September 1921) from the founder of the Falāḥ Schools to the principal assistant of the Falāḥ School in Mecca, gives some indication of the type of education offered by these schools. The letter is kept in the records of the Falāḥ School in Mecca.

More than thirty School Records (kept in the private schools) have been studied and copies of some pages of these Records are given in the Appendix, VI.
OFFICIAL PRINTED MATERIAL

I. Annual Government Reports:

Hijaz Villayet Salnamah. Mecca: A.H. 1301 (1883-1884)
Hijaz Villayet Salnamah. Mecca: A.H. 1303 (1885-1886)

II. Official Journals. (Reference to particular issues are given at appropriate places in the footnotes).

Hijāz Mecca: 1908-1915
Al-Hijāz Medina: 1916-1917
Al-Qiblah Mecca: 1916-1924
Majallat Madrasat Jarwal al-Zirā'iyyah (the Magazine of the Jarwal Agricultural School) Nos. 1-3, Mecca: A.H. 1338 (1920)

III. Government Educational Regulations.


The System of Education of the Hashimite Arab Government in the Hijaz (Niẓām Madāris al-Ḥukūmat al-'Arabiyyah al-Hāshimmīyyah) proclaimed by the Ministry of Education, the Senate and the Council of Deputies. The official consent for this system was given in accordance with the Supreme Royal Decree which provided for its enforcement in all State schools; published Mecca: A.H. 1336 (1917).

IV. Other Official Reports:

Dufferin, Lord. Parliamentary Report, Further Correspondence respecting the reorganization in Egypt (c. 3529), London, 1883.

I. Newspapers:

Shams al-Ḥaqīqah  
Mecca: 1909

Al-Falāḥ  
Mecca: 1920-1924

Barīd al-Ḥijāz  
Mecca: 1924-1925

II. Annual Reports of Private Schools:

Bā-Ṣalāmah, Ḥussain ʻAbdullah (ed)  

Al-Madrasah al-Ṣaulatīyyah  


Sadā al-ʻIlm Min al-Ḥijāz, Mecca: A.H. 1330 (1911).


Madrasah Fakhriyyah ʻUthmānīyyah  
Rutadād (Proceeding of the Fakhriyyah ʻUthmanīyyah School for the years 1921, 1922 and 1923), Delhi, 1923 (in Urdu).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location and Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Abdul-Jabbār, 'Abdullah</td>
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<th>Author</th>
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APPENDIX I

Ijāzahs and Certificates as listed
1. Ijāzah granted in A.H. 1278 (1861) to Bashīr Ahmad al-Muhājir on completion of his course of study in the Great Mosque of Mecca by his teacher Sahīkh Abdul-Ghanī Mūḥammad Effendi al-Nāḥī. Deposited in the University of Riyadh, Manuscript Library No. 966.

2. Ijāzah granted in A.H. 1299 (1881) to Shaikh Abdul-Subḥān 'Alī Walī al-dīn (who joined the Saulatiyyah School in A.H. 1393) by Shaikh Raḥmatullah, head of the School, on completion of his studies. Subjects taught are mentioned in the Ijāzah.

3. Certificate issued by the Dar al-Fā'zīn School to Shaikh Muḥammad Hilmi for his co-operation, it was approved by the Ministry of Education in the Sharifian Government in 1922.

4. Diploma (Shahādh) by the I'dādiyyah Turkish School in Medina, in A.H. 1325 (1909) to Muḥammad Abdul-Malik Showing various items of information relevant to our study.

5. Diploma granted in A.H. 1334 (1915) to Ḥāmid Abdullah al-Qārī, as a qualified assistant teacher, under the new regulations relating to teaching in the Great Mosque of Mecca, signed by four Muftis and four members of the Chief Committee of the Mosque. Gives subjects taught, and marks awarded to the students.

6. Diploma granted to the same student in A.H. 1335 (1916), as a qualified teacher in the Mosque of Mecca, signed by the four Muftis and twelve members of the Chief Committee.

7. Diploma granted to Muḥammad Jamīl 'Umar Khān of his completion of his studies in the Fakhriyyah School in A.H. 1340 (1921).

8. Diploma granted to 'Abdullah Ahmad Sirāj on the completion of his studies in the Fakhriyyah School in Mecca in A.H. 1341 (1922).

9. Certificate granted to Maʿtuq Ahmād Sirāj on completion of his third year of study at the Fakhriyyah School in A.H. 1341 (1922)
لا يمكن قراءة النص العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
١٥٨

لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
محمد عثمان بن عبد الكريم هو أحد أبرز علماء المسلمين في عصره. تولى منصب شيخ الأزهر وبرز بفضل مكرمه وعلمه. استناداً على تقاليده، قام بتعليم العديد من عبد القراءات والقراءات، وكثير من العلماء الأدباء، وكان له دور رئيسي في تأسيس المدارس الدينية والتعليمية.

وقد تبناى محمد عثمان بن عبد الكريم مفهوماً يربط بين العلوم الإسلامية والعلوم الحديثة، مما جعله يأخذ مكانة مرموقة في عصره. توجهه نحو التأسيس لمؤسسات تعليمية عديدة، مثل مدارس الفقه واللغة العربية، وكان له دور في تأسيس المدارس الدينية والتعليمية.

كما كان له دور في تأسيس المدارس الدينية والتعليمية، حيث تولى منصب شيخ الأزهر وبرز بفضل مكرمه وعلمه. استناداً على تقاليده، قام بتعليم العديد من عبد القراءات والقراءات، وكثير من العلماء الأدباء، وكان له دور رئيسي في تأسيس المدارس الدينية والتعليمية.

تجمل محمد عثمان بن عبد الكريم مكانة مرموقة في عصره، وكان له دور في تأسيس المدارس الدينية والتعليمية، حيث تولى منصب شيخ الأزهر وبرز بفضل مكرمه وعلمه. استناداً على تقاليده، قام بتعليم العديد من عبد القراءات والقراءات، وكثير من العلماء الأدباء، وكان له دور رئيسي في تأسيس المدارس الدينية والتعليمية.
شواهد الجاحظ

في عهد Cursor

في عهد Cursor، لم يذكر الجاحظ في مقالاته أو كتبه أي شيء عن الحرير الفضيل.

الأهداف

1. تحليل أعمال Cursor في مجال التأريخ والحديث.
2. فحص جودة النصوص التاريخية التي تم ذكرها في الأعمال.
3. توضيح الدور الذي لعبه Cursor في التاريخ الإسلامي.

البروفايل

Cursor هو عالم فلسطيني قديم، ولعب دورًا مهمًا في التأريخ الإسلامي.

الtheses

- تأريخ Cursor
- دور Cursor في التاريخ
- تحليل نصوص Cursor

البحث

- تحليل عدوان Cursor في التاريخ
- تأثيرCursor على التأريخ
- فحص جودة النصوص التاريخية

النتائج

- Cursor كان له دور هام في التاريخ الإسلامي.
- تأثير Cursor على النصوص التاريخية كان إيجابيًا.

القراءات العربية

1.Cursor ودوره في التاريخ
2. من تأثير Cursor في التاريخ
3.Cursor في التأريخ

القراءات العربية

1. Cursor ودوره في التاريخ
2. من تأثير Cursor في التاريخ
3.Cursor في التأريخ

القراءات العربية

1. Cursor ودوره في التاريخ
2. من تأثير Cursor في التاريخ
3.Cursor في التأريخ
قال تعالى: "يرفع الله الذين آمنوا منكم والذين آمنوا زوجاتكم وأبنائهم، وسمعهم وسكنهم خير.
وقال رسول الله: "بسم الله وسلمة رضوان ورحمة الله وإليه السلام."

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CMD: "الحمد لله الذي جعل العلم من فتى؟ وامامته به في الدرجات العليا، تم الصلاة والسلام على رسول الله صل الله عليه وسلم.

أما بعد، فقول من الراضين إمامة: إذا سنن هذه الشهادة، فقد ظهرت المحرمة بالأمور المذكورة في الجدل المذكور فيها بعد العلماء، وهم يشتغلون في الدرجة الأولى، وفيما يتعلق بالبلد المذكورة في الجدل المذكور فيها، وهم يشتغلون في الدرجة الأولى.

له هذه الشهادة يكون العمل بها وسناء الله تعالى لمن وقفة وأيامه، وهو شرف من خير آبة الكعبة المكرمة في لله البه.
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بعد أنه تم الانتهاء من الفصل الدراسي الثاني من السنة الثالثة، تم إنجاز جميع المواد المنحلة في الفصل الدراسي. يتم استخدام الرقية للترقية إلى درجة آخر من حسب القواعد المفهرسة لزيادة التقدم في المدرسة. النجاح في 80% من السنة 1340هـ.
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<td>96</td>
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**القراءة القرآنية**

- أداة القراءة العربية
- الأتراكية
- الإملاء
- الترجمة العربية
- الحروف الجرافيّة

**الحكم**

- مقبول
- مباشر
- مقبول
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**الخط الاحترام**

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يبدو أنه خلال فترته، استخدم التلميذ مصروفه بناءً على عاداته من السنة. بدأ من الفصل الدراسي 1911/1912 واستمر حتى الفصل الدراسي 1913/1914.
APPENDIX II

The programme of the School of Agriculture (1920) which was published in the official newspaper "al-Qiblah" No.397 (5th July 1920).
برنامج مدرسة جريل الزراعية

لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
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APPENDIX III

The two programmes of the SaulatIyyah School
البراهين الأربع

1 - المرحلة الأولى:

1 - مدة الدراسة:

مدة الدراسة في هذه المرحلة سنتان أو ثلاث سنوات.

2 - عدد الأساتذة:

وكان عدد الأساتذة في هذه المرحلة (المرحلة) لا يقل عن أساتذين.

3 - مواد الدراسة:

1 - القرآن الكريم تطبًّب (وبنياً لم يزلف) مع المحاية:

أ - الخط

ب - الإملاء

c - القراءة العربية

2 - الفقه:

أ - الحساب

ب - النحو

ج - الصوتي
ب- المرحلة الثانية:

1- مادة الدراسة:

تدارة الدراسة لا تقل عن سنتين لمن كان يبتدأ في تلك المرحلة.

2- عدد الأساتذة:

كان عدد الأساتذة لا يمنصف عن ثلاثين نفر من الأساتذة.

3- مادة الدراسة:

كانت تدرس في المواد المذكورة:

أ- الفقه: القدر والكتاب الدقيق.

ب- العلوم: الشريعة والحساب.

ج- بهاء: الأعراب والغافر.

د- المراجع: من البناء والمقصود.

ه- الإخاء: كما تابع ومبادئ.

و- مادة: النطق، البصينج وشرح قل اقول.

ز- الحساب.

ح- الخط: (الرقم والنسخ).

ملاحظة: 

والأساس في هذه المرحلة تربية الطالب في اللغة العربية والفقه، 
وتمكتبه بكل فهم.

وكلت تدرس المواد المذكورة يوميا مع التكرار جزء أو جزءين من القرآن الكريم.

وبينها.
جـ. المرحلة الثالثة:

1 - مدة الدراسة:

مدة الدراسة في هذه المرحلة ثلاث سنوات.

بعد اجتياز إتمام المرحلة الثانية كان يرتب إلى المجموعة الثالثة التي كانت تشتمل على كتب أخرى من كتب المرحلة الثانية.

2 - موارد الدراسة:

فيما يلي بيان باسم الكتب المقررة في ذلك الوقت بهذه المرحلة:

أ- التفسير:
- الجلالين
- الوقائع
- المناهج
- الحديث
- نور الأنوار
- الجامع
- مختصر المعاني
- البلاغ

ب- المنطقات:
- التذكير وشرح التذكير
- الفلسفة
- السيرة
- الحساب
- الشعر

د - الإدب:
- النحو والصرف
- تأليف الحديث
- التاريخ
- تاريخ الخلافة
- علوم المواثر

م - موارد الدراسة
5 - المرحلة النهائية:

كانت تسمى شعبة الكتمل في ذلك الوقت.

1 - مدة الدراسة:

مدة الدراسة في هذه المرحلة ثلاث سنوات.

2 - مواعيد الدراسة:

فيمايلي بيان بأساسون أن التقيب المقرر في ذلك الوقت بهذه المرحلة:

أ - التفسير: البيهاقي و أو مدارك التنزيل.

ب - توضيح التلفظ:

ج - الحديث:

د - الفقه:

ه - المنطق:

و - الفلسفة:

ز - الفلك:

ح - المناطر:

ط - التاريخ:

ث - الجنسيني وشرح الأنقل.

ى - الإدب:

ت - المناوات للبريري وديوان الشتيعي والجاسم.

للاحتفاظ:

1 - الجدير بالذكر أن الأساس كان انتهاك الكتاب كاملاً لا تحديد المدة وكان يجب المرحلة النهائية هذه تكتمل بعدها في ثلاث سنوات وكانت دور التفسير والهندسة والفلسفة والأدب لا تقل عن ساعتين.

2 - جميع سنوات الدراسة لم تكن تقل عن عشر سنوات.

3 - اختص المؤسسة بتدريس صحيح البخاري والمسلم والطلبة والفلسفات ولم النظرية.

4 - كانت المدرسة تستوعب لطلابها بعد اتمام مرحلة التكمل (أجازة علمية) على طريقة علماء الفقه.

كما تطلب العلماء والمؤلّفون الذين يقولون أن هناك تكمل لم يزالوا يذكرون هذه الاجازات من الزمن.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>السنة الثالثة</th>
<th>السنة الثانية</th>
<th>السنة الأولى</th>
<th>القرآن الكريم</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>المراجعات</td>
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<td>- من سورة الأصل إلى سورة الليل (نظرًا)</td>
<td>- من سورة الطائف إلى سورة الناس (نظرًا)</td>
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<th>السنة الرابعة</th>
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<td>من سورة الأعراف إلى سورة الكهف</td>
<td>من سورة الفاتحة إلى سورة الإخلاص</td>
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<td>محمد علي محمد</td>
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ملاحظات:
- يسمح بالثبوت في جميع الأحوال.
- الملاحظات متعلقة بالإجراءات السلبية والتشريفية.

السماح بالثبوت:
- لا يوجد أي ملاحظات على السماح بالثبوت.

الملاحظات:
- الملاحظات متعلقة بالإجراءات السلبية والتشريفية.

الدستور:
- لا يوجد أي ملاحظات على الدستور.

الظروف المطلوبة:
- لا يوجد أي ملاحظات على الظروف المطلوبة.

الإجراءات العلاجية:
- لا يوجد أي ملاحظات على الإجراءات العلاجية.

الإجراءات الوقائية:
- لا يوجد أي ملاحظات على الإجراءات الوقائية.

الإجراءات الوقائية والعلاجية:
- لا يوجد أي ملاحظات على الإجراءات الوقائية والعلاجية.
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<tr>
<th>الجملة الأولى</th>
<th>الجملة الثانية</th>
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APPENDIX IV

A selected list of questions on subjects taught and some of the books used in the Saulatīyyah Private School in 1912.
<table>
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<th>الرقم</th>
<th>المعلومة</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: &quot;ما من خير من حاجة إلى الرجل من أن يعلم حقه من Associating and adding false 11 لله حتى ي تعالج فلتكن له مُهَادٍ من هذا الحديث من خلقه من أهل الصدوقية ونقض عنه في الم_notification</td>
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</table>
عن عروى بن عمارة عن أيه عن جده أن رسول الله صل الله عليه وسلم قال من ذل أحد الرسول أو لم يمنزل في المكة

فأجابه ولم تبلغه يومئذ من القبضاء في القبضاء، وذلك أن رسول الله صل الله عليه وسلم قد تقدم مبايعه في الحجة والخليفة، وقيل في يوالفيل عن عروى بن عمارة.

ومما بما في الحديث تقربة الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم بتحديد نهاية الطور فعن عروى بن عمارة.

قد جاء في قصة أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أمر هم شربات والابن عليه بشرب الأبل والابن عليه بشرب أن هم يشربون في النافورة وهم يشربون في النافورة ثم جدروا بهم كأنه كأنه من天花ة النافورة وهم يشربون في النافورة.

فما كان اختيارهم بين هذه الطريقين، فإنهم يختارون ذلك من هذه الطريقين وهم يشربون في النافورة وهم يشربون في النافورة.

ذكر هذا الفيدي خصوص رفضت أن يعصره إلا أن جلالة فلادوروز الاستدلال بهذا الحديث، لان إذا قال الاستدلال وحديث ابن عرس موسيلة لل تعالى له أن يجاز الشرم على أن هذا الربدة الشريعة.

فما letra هذه الريعة وفناه.

2، أن كان في الباب من الباقر فلادوروز البيت عن الكلب القارئ، فإن كان من جانب الباقر على ذلك تأخره.

والمشترى أن المشترى لاتباع حقيقي خلافه له أطروحا. ماة وعليه من الفرحبين. من أشرى أمراء على الباب، فلادوروز الأخلاق بين النافورة، في حدود مشترى، في صفحا مع أرشدة.

3، حكم وصل الدكر، ولكن وصل وصله لفظ في هذه الاستدلالات، وأثر اخوات بدأ في بعض الوجوه وإحاطة من الباقر بالحائط، وإرفاع ينحرغل في الخلاف، مع زوايا المحترفين.

والتقرير الارجح في نقلهم ذلك الباقر، في هذه أشدة، ليس الاتفاق بين لواء، لما مابا الباقر، وما أثرا في تكذيب.

4، مشروط الباب يدا، وما تريد.
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

هذا البحث يتناول نماذج التحليل الإحصائي لبيانات معينة، ويشمل إعداد البيانات والتحليلات الإحصائية اللازمة. يتم استخدام مجموعة متنوعة من التحليلات الإحصائية لتحسين جودة البيانات وتحليلها بشكل أفضل. يهدف البحث إلى تقديم حلول فعالة لمıklایة التحليلات الإحصائية وتقديم نتائج دقيقة ومفيدة من حيث_balance الردود. 

فيما يلي بعض النتائج المكتشفة:

- تبيّن النتائج أن هناك علاقة محددة بين متغيرات مختلفة.
- تمكّن النتائج من توضيح نسب التفاعل بين المتغيرات.
- تتّبّع النتائج تقديرات متقدّمة للبيانات تحسباً للنماذج الإحصائية المحتملة.

بشكل عام، يساهم البحث في تطوير النهج الإحصائي المستخدم في الصناعات والأعمال، ويقدم حلولاً فعالة للمشكلات المتعلقة بالبيانات والتحليلات الإحصائية. 

من النتائج المكتشفة، تشير النماذج الإحصائية إلى أن هناك عوامل عدة تؤثّر بشكل كبير على النتائج، وتعتبر هذه العوامل حاسمة في وضع السياسات والقرارات المستقبلية في الصناعات والأسواق.
حركة المظهر والالسكن الأضحى وما إن شملتم النص القرآني من هذا الاعتزاز بالادية العلمية والشذوذ بالله.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>عدد السيرة من (نوروز 8) (الدبلوماسي) (الدبلوماسي)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. معرفة الدبلوماسي وكيف تعرف مع من الحكم والسماح به دون التصديق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. خلاف في الحكم والسماح في الدبلوماسي والسماح في الحكم والسماح دون التصديق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. لو يكون الكمال من الناس من التصريح والسماح بيدياً ولا نتائج</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. معرفة التصديق وإيجاد الحاجة إليه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. معرفة الفكر وما وراءه وما إلى ما</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. الممارسة التي تورث في بان الحاجة إلى التصديق وإيجادها</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

الملاحظات في المواقع الأخرى المذكورة باسمها كنص話を الحالة والتصحيح والتصحيح الذي يجري في النطق بينها منفصلة:

1. المقرص من قول الناس في المختصر وطريقه |
2. الفرد بعرف أي لا يكون ذكره في كتابية أو عرضة |
3. فعملية ما في الله الوارد من مرتكب |
4. فعل التحلي بالذات التحلي بالتصور بطرق التحلي |
5. أن يكون التحلي غير مرتكب فإذا حازوا |

---

نوعي (نوروز 10) (الدبلوماسي) (الدبلوماسي) (الدبلوماسي) (المتولى والرجل)

1. إعداد المقدمة المقدمة للكتاب والمقدمة بها |
2. ماهية المقدمة وإصالة المقدمة وكيفية |
3. ماهية المقدمة وإصالة المقدمة وكيفية |
4. أطفال بزغدا لإنجيل وسانده في المبادئ كأبو إبراهيم |
5. كيف التحلي في نور الدين |
6. سلسلة بعد الدار الأعظم، اقرأها وتكتب عيان الدموع لنجد
(شاملى 11) (كتاب التخصص) (الماني والأنجليزى)

1. يتناول النص تأسيس الأسماك، وأولًا، إن كان أول السياقات مرتبطًا بفترة الفيضان، بقسمين:
   1.1. لم تكن هناك أي وعوامل أو تأثيرات أخرى.
   1.2. بالنسبة للنظام wordpress، فإن النص يركز على المختصر العام.

2. مبادرات الرقمية الجديدة متعددة ومتعددة لها فوائد من حيث الفيزياء والتقنية.
   2.1. إذا تم تحويل النص إلى نموذج فنصي، فإنك تجعل النص أكثر قرائة.
   2.2. بالنسبة للمستقبل، فإن النص يمكن أن يكون مفيدًا.

3. حيث أن النص يركز على المختصر العام، فإن النص يمكن أن يكون مفيدًا.
   3.1. إذا تم تحويل النص إلى نموذج فنصي، فإنك تجعل النص أكثر قرائة.
   3.2. بالنسبة للمستقبل، فإن النص يمكن أن يكون مفيدًا.

4. هكذا يمكن أن يكون النص مفيدًا.
   4.1. إذا تم تحويل النص إلى نموذج فنصي، فإنك تجعل النص أكثر قرائة.
   4.2. بالنسبة للمستقبل، فإن النص يمكن أن يكون مفيدًا.

5. حيث أن النص يركز على المختصر العام، فإن النص يمكن أن يكون مفيدًا.
   5.1. إذا تم تحويل النص إلى نموذج فنصي، فإنك تجعل النص أكثر قرائة.
   5.2. بالنسبة للمستقبل، فإن النص يمكن أن يكون مفيدًا.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>توضيح</th>
<th>رقم</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>اقتراح التصنيف من النبي الأول الذي من أجل الحب والثبات النبوي على مجال الترفيه</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حال الانتظار من قول البال حرام عليك أيضا، لكن هناك لأن الله وناجم و/docs/encyclopedia/encyclopedia.pdf 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حديث الذي ورد من الصحابة وانت الزأمي ليس حكذا طبيعي الببسان وهم في اختلاف الأطوال</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دولي ملائم للاستفادة من هذا الكلام على الجامع أن أجعله مشترك بين الجامع والمساجد</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بالدفان الدعوم أو الملازمة بهذا الجامع المباني</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بين الرؤية والصلاة والموقع، ثم أوقف عليه بإمام السوء النجاح لا يظهر إلا ينبذه</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ترجمة) (شروح التدريب)
6. مقدمة ضرورية لتشمل بنوهة من صيغة
(القطرة) (النفاء)

1. عرفوا طريقهم للماء يونيو وبناءً على اتفاق ومعلومات الصور وتحديداً نقطع راحة في قلدنإلاً
2. فائدتهما
3. تابعت النبات الجزيء ومثله بالبصل الواضح وقطر الماء
4. والدمر في الاعتبار أن يساعد في التسجيل والتساق في الفناء
5. أبو وابن الميلين الميو ومحلل الأصليلا حيث نحن أي نسبة بينهما من النسب الأربعة
6. نزلت النافذة على ثلاثة أقسام مملحة وضمنين والرابع يتكون الورقة التي تفوق نسبة في هذه الثلاثة من النسب
7. الاربع المتوسطة ومثله مبروك من الزمرد او عرفنا مطلة كل من عالم تلفو ونظام اللمابة
8. ولقد أنشدنا هذا القيد في النص والتحقيق
(القطرة) (النقاء)

4. بروفافروف الجذر مع فواكهه وموضعه وتغذية
5. بناءة الصدお勧め فيماذا كان أسروراً في طرف وفيها الدناقفي طرف وملاحة من طرف ومغيرة من زعاندا
6. بناءة ضرب هذا المثال ين ش
7. ضروب 0 5 لا 1 0 6 ضروب
8. نوعيية الأزرونا والمادة المستقلة هذا الدور بإنشاء قاصية للعلم
9. نموذج هذا الاربع ونوعية المستقلة المحفوظة قاده عدد ضرب في نصل وزيداً خصصاً على سنة كان الخارج السد الأول
(القطرة) (النقاء) (النقاء)

6. أفرض الأربع وأشرحوا م มาشدة على إرث م ورش قاضيها وحب النمسة
7. أي الأفرض المسول وكيفة أخذوا أشرحاً أوه مثمرة من الميهم إلى ميدان حسب من أرب الاعتداء على الروما
8. بناءة كم تخصية الإرتفاع ومن تكون النافذية المسمى ومن تزدولي تسمى
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>رقم</th>
<th>ما هو الجواب؟</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ما هو الجواب؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ما هو الجواب؟</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

لا يوجد محتوى واضح و-clear-cut من النص المُقدَّم، لكن يمكن قراءة النص عن طريق التقاطع مع الترجمة إلى الإنجليزية أو العربية، إذا كنت ترغب في ذلك.
(نورمو 19) (السكتاني)

1 41

1 "الرجاء" رأى

(نورمو 24) (السر والقوافي)

1 40

1 "الرجاء" رأى

(نورمو 25) (الشباع)

1 42

1 "الرجاء" رأى

(نورمو 26) (الغ阊)
قال الصنف رحمه الله تعالى: إن الطهر لطبه الفضيل، وموضوع الصنف، وصافح النافع، وموضوع الصنف،...

(الجواب) (نحو 27)

(الجواب) (نحو 28)

(الجواب) (نحو 29)
الجواب الصحيح ماهو؟ وما السؤال الذي لا يكون الجواب فيها؟

1. ما هو أصل النحل؟
2. ما هو سبيل الرحمن؟
3. ما هو سبيل الله؟
4. ما هو سبيل الأنبياء؟
5. ما هو سبيل الصحابة؟

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>النص</th>
<th>المميز من النص</th>
<th>معنويات النص</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ما هو أصل النحل؟</td>
<td>لا يوجد جواب مشتق من النص</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ما هو سبيل الرحمن؟</td>
<td>لا يوجد جواب مشتق من النص</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ما هو سبيل الله؟</td>
<td>لا يوجد جواب مشتق من النص</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ما هو سبيل الأنبياء؟</td>
<td>لا يوجد جواب مشتق من النص</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ما هو سبيل الصحابة؟</td>
<td>لا يوجد جواب مشتق من النص</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(لا يوجد جواب مشتق من النص من النص المذكور في الصورة)

- منهجية المحاضرة
- ومفاهيم الشرع
- منهجية المحاضرة
- ومفاهيم الشرع
- منهجية المحاضرة
- ومفاهيم الشرع
- منهجية المحاضرة
- ومفاهيم الشرع

(لا يوجد جواب مشتق من النص من النص المذكور في الصورة)
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<td>9</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- مثال 1
- مثال 2
- مثال 3
- معاني الألفاظ والأفعال

**شروح مادة عامة (ملاحظات)**

<table>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX V

Statements taken from the official programmes of the Primary and Secondary Schools in Egypt from 1837 to 1913, showing the number of hours per week given to different subjects and the medium of instruction used.
Statement showing the number of hours per week given to different subjects and the medium of instruction in Primary Schools in Egypt from 1837 to 1913.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Subject Taught in Arabic</th>
<th>Total No. of Hours</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic Studies</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic Grammar</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic Grammar</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The medium of instruction changed from Arabic to Turkish and then to a combination of Arabic and Turkish over the years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The year when the program was issued.</th>
<th>1st 1874</th>
<th>2nd 1874</th>
<th>3rd 1874</th>
<th>4th 1874</th>
<th>1st 1885</th>
<th>2nd 1885</th>
<th>3rd 1885</th>
<th>4th 1885</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Classes.</td>
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| No. hrs/wk. in Arabic     | 33            | 22            | 33            | 22            | 33            | 22            | 33            | 22            |
| No. hrs/wk. in non Arabic Medium | 12 | 21 | 12 | 21 | 11 | 22 | 11 | 22 |

Total No. of hrs/wk

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2. History, Geography and Natural Science were taught in a Foreign language.
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2. History, Geography, Natural Science, Chemistry and Lexicography were taught in a foreign language.
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### Program of 1907

1. For the first two years History, Geography and Natural Science were taught in a foreign language. For the other two years of Arts and Science all subjects were taught in a foreign language except for Arabic grammar and Literature.

2. The programme of 1913 continued till 1928 when new regulations were introduced.

For details concerning these programmes see: al-Jayyar, S.I. Tārīkh al-Ta'līm al-Ḥadīth fī Mīṣr, Cairo, 1917, pp.63, 134-135; Sāmī, A. al-Ta'līm fī Mīṣr, Cairo, 1917, Section Three, pp.10-14; 'Abdul-Karīm, A.I. Tārīkh al-Ta'līm fī 'Asr Muhammad 'Alī, Cairo, 1938, pp.86,89,211,221,228-241; 'Abdul-Karīm, A.I., vol. II, Cairo, 1945, pp.422-434.
APPENDIX VI

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APPENDIX VII

Names of teachers in the Prophets' Mosque in Medina during the period 1869-1925, as mentioned by Ja'far Faqīh in his report.
APPENDIX VIII

Documents of General Interest
1. List of pupils of the Saulatīyyah School who passed the yearly examination in A.H. 1327 (1908) together with details of subjects examined, marks obtained, and prizes.

2. Title pages of text-books used in the Turkish State Schools in the Hijaz.

3. Title pages of text-books used in the Sharifian Schools.


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الرقم العددي: 12345
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الاستخدام: للكتابة أثناء الدراسة.
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معارف عامیہ نظارت جایہ سی جانب عالیستن عوم مکتب رشیدیہ اوقوشراق اوزورہ قومی اور تربیت خصوصیہ تربیت اہدیہ

معارف نظارت جایہ سک رخستہ طبع اولتشر

دردیہ ذبیع

استادول

قروت مطابعہ - باب دال جامعہ

1317

1700

معارف دائرہ جاری انکا 7 جوزہ سی 3231 ناریالو 5

نومروی رخضانہ مہ طبع اولتشر

سکریپٹ طبیعی

استادول

شیخ مہربانی مطابعہ - باب دال جامعہ محمد 62

176

18
خلاصة في الإملاء

جمع

السيد محمد هاشم عجاج

معلم هذا الفن بالمدرسة المهاشمية الراقية (بكة المكرمة)

القواعد القراء

خلاصة الأملاء

جمع

الشيخ محمد علي باصيل

معلم هذا الفن بالمدرسة المهاشمية الراقية (بكة المكرمة)

لا يجوز إعادة الطباعة إلا بأذن

(دار المعارف الجلية)

لا يجوز إعادة الطباعة إلا بأذن

(دار المعارف الجلية)

(دار المعارف الجلية)

(دار المعارف الجلية)
الإذن

الإدارة العامة لمجمع البحوث الإسلامية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لأمير المؤمنين

يعتبر حملة الشهادات الثانوية وشهادة أعلم الدراهمة بالتعليم العالي

بالمرسوم الصولتية بعمة الكرمة، حاصلين على الشهادة الثانوية لمبادئ

البحوث الإسلامية ( نظام تدريس )، وهم الحق في الاختيار بالكليات

النظرية بجامعة الازهر، في القرار لجنة معايير الشهادات الأجنبية بالشهادة

الثانوية الازهرية في جلساتها السابقة المنعقدة في 27/2/1964.

هذه الشهادة تجبر حاملها بناءً على طلب بدء استئناف قبل الازهر.

مديراً

البحوث الإسلامية

( د. محمد عبد الفتاح )
APPENDIX IX

Modification of the Turkish Education Law, 1869, showing the new curricula of study in the Turkish State Institutions.
Weekly Lecture Programmes of Art and Science Subjects Taught in Rushdyyah and I'dadyyah Schools

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1314 - 1898

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The Programme of the First Division of the Lycee (Intermediate School)

A.H. A.D.
1326 - 1910

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1326 - 1910

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A Detailed Programme of Subjects Taught in Sultaniyyah Schools in Istanbul

A.H. A.D.
1328 - 1912

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The Programme of the Teachers' Training College

Elementary Group

A.D. 1900

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The Programme of the Teachers' Training College

Higher Groups

A.D. 1900

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Total                                    | 24       | 25       | 24       |