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KNOWLEDGE, NATION, AND THE CURRICULUM:
OTTOMAN ARMENIAN EDUCATION (1853 - 1915)

by

Pamela J. Young

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Education)
The University of Michigan
2001

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This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents
Elizabeth Kevorkian and Evtart Nah Abedian
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Note on City Names

Place names follow the commonly used terms by Ottoman Armenian community. As many locales are known by their Turkish names or have changed, these city names are listed below.

Used          New
Angora        Ankara
Erzerum       Erzurum
Aintab        Gaziantep
Kharput       Harput
Constantinople/Bolis      Istanbul
Smyrna        Izmir
Tiflis         Tbilisi
Dyarbekir/Dikranagerd    Diyarbakir

Guide to Transliteration & Translations

Within the text all Armenian words used for the first time are italicized followed by the English translation in brackets. For the purpose of uniformity, Armenian words have been transliterated using the key listed below. The key is based on Western Armenian given that this was the language used within the Ottoman Armenian community during the later part of the nineteenth century. Text written in French has not been translated.

ι ω  a          ά ή   j          ή          ο          ο
ρ ρ  p           ο    f         m
κ χ   k          θ j    y, h1, __
τ η  t           ù g    n
β b  e, ye1       ι ι  sh
λ q  z           η n    o'    vo1
ξ k  e           Ω ι    ch'
ξ l  ι           ι ι    b
φ Φ  t'           Ω ι    ch
χ ϕ  zh         ι ϊ    i
ι l  l            ι ū    s
υ ι  l           ι ū    v
θ θ  kh           η μ    d
σ σ  dz         θ θ    r
υ ι  g        θ g    ts
ξ ρ  h          ι ι    w
Ω Ω  tz         ξ θ ι    p'
ι η  gh          ι ι    k'
1 This value is only used when the letter is in the initial position.
2 This value is used primarily in eastern Armenian orthography.
3 This value is used in the final position and middle position if followed by a vowel.
4 This value is used in the middle position when followed by a vowel.
The Armenian Homelands in Modern and Contemporary Times

From R.G. Hovannisian, ed. The Armenian Image in History and Literature.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Educational institutions are created for a variety of reasons and in many different forms. From one-room establishments to large complex organizations, schools are steered by a central or guiding philosophy. Scholarly debate about the philosophy of education varies widely. Whilst some institutions strive to foster creative thinking, others aim to teach students how to become productive members of society through memorization. Systems and schools establish their vision of what it means to be a member of society through the guiding educational philosophy. In many cases the underlying philosophy encourages students to recognize and identify with certain cultural traditions, economic aims and political thought. Then, relying upon individuals, regulations, and resource materials, educational institutions attempt to meet established goals and guide the learning structure.

The relationship between education and national identity is the primary issue explored in this dissertation. This study utilizes a two-part theoretical framework. The first part concentrates on education theory and the second focuses on theories of national identity. This dual framework is useful for defining parameters of national identity formation, communal collectives, and highlighting the differences between nations and states. Combining knowledge of nation building with an analysis of educational theories provides a comprehensive exploration of the process and purpose of the curriculum.

Under the umbrella of education, the questions posed in this work specifically concentrate on the contribution of the curriculum to the creation of knowledge. These questions include: What educational policies helped to structure the formal and informal
curriculum? What knowledge did the teaching materials try to encourage and stimulate within the student population? And, who were the principal leaders of the educational movement? These questions reflect the overall purpose of examining the relationship between education in its totality and national consciousness. Yet, they also underscore the significance of the various curricular components.

These curricular components are defined using five major characteristics. The first component is the philosophy of education. This philosophy encompasses the educational mission, goals and school objectives. Furthermore, the philosophy provides an insight into the attitudes of educational leaders and institutional directors toward the schooling process. Support for learning objectives is derived from the educational structure and policies. Also referred to as the educational framework, the defining elements consist of rules, regulations and the organizational structure that support the educational mission. Trustees, teachers and institutional directors serve as a connection between these policies and the curricular content. As influential actors in the educational process, these individuals play direct and indirect roles in shaping the curriculum. The third and fourth elements of the curriculum focus on the content and sequence of classes. Each of these components is found in the class outlines and course structure. Equally important is the impact that learning experiences outside of the classroom have on shaping individual identity. These informal experiences include social traditions derived from family teachings and extracurricular activities outside of the classroom. In this dissertation informal education focuses only on those activities connected to the school.\footnote{Some prefer to use the word \textit{auxiliary} to define informal education. However, because the term auxiliary is used in a modern sense to describe services such as bookshops and parking facilities, the phrase \textit{informal education} is used in this dissertation. This phrase incorporates both informal and auxiliary educational activities connected to schools.}

The final curricular component consists of teaching materials. Educators use textbooks and other resources to shape the curriculum and legitimate knowledge. Utilizing this five
part curricular framework, this work provides a comprehensive investigation of the relationship between education and national identity.

Grounded in an interdisciplinary study of ethnicity and nation building, this research sheds new light on the development of an educational system by focusing on a case study of the Ottoman Armenians between 1853 and 1915. Armenian historical roots trace back to the pre-Christian era. By first century (B.C.) Tigran the Great had built an empire that stretched from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean. This greatness provided a historical reference for future teachings. The acceptance of Christianity by the Armenians in the fourth century also became one of the defining characteristics of Armenian identity. It provided a moral code of practice and helped to redefine the social system. One century later, the creation of the Armenian alphabet, led to further change and development. The introduction of a written script resulted in the production of numerous religious, historical and literary documents. Meanwhile, between the fourth and twentieth centuries, Armenian history is filled with victorious battles as well as decline and despair. Caught between the Russian, Persian and Ottoman Empires, decline and loss resulted in Ottoman control over historic Armenian lands by the eighteenth century. Henceforth, many Armenians became subjects of the Empire.

During the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Armenians created a national administrative structure, forms of economic production and a strong social system with an instilled sense of communal loyalty. Knowledge and awareness of the historic past, Christian principles, and language formed the basic foundation for national progress. Subsequently, this led to the redefinition of the officially recognized religious millet, as an ethno-political nation by the early part of the nineteenth century. Within this redefinition are intricate links between the various social, economic and political sub-

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2 The structure of the millet system is defined and examined in chapter 3.
components of the nation at the heart of which was education.

The Armenians under Ottoman rule faced numerous difficulties. Striving for equality and freedom, writers such as Mgrdich Bēshigt'ashlian, manifested in their works the struggles Armenians faced.² A poem Bēshigt'ashlian wrote specifically for the distribution of student prizes at the graduation ceremony of St. Hripsimian Varzharan (Academy/School) in Ortaköy exhibits his hope for the future by urging the young scholars to use their skills to aid the Armenian people.⁴

³ Bēshigt'ashlian (1828-1868) was one of the leading early romantic writers of the nineteenth century Ottoman Armenian community.

⁴ Poem titled “I Hantēs Barkevapashkhuti'ian Ashagerduhiats Srpots Hřip'simiants Varzharanin Örtakiughi af Haygazun Öriorts” (Said at the ceremony for distributing prizes to the students of St. Hrip'simian Varzharan in Ortaköy addressed to young Armenian ladies). M. Bēshigt'ashlian, Yerger (Antilias: Dbaran Giligio Gagoghosutian, 1995), 110-1.
Many centuries with pain
Sad, lamenting, and mournful
Sitting in cemeteries
Armenia has been shedding tears
O maidens, make a bouquet
Come close.

Radiate a sincere invitation
And may robust youth
rush on in regiments
To where the fatherland calls them
O maidens, make a bouquet
Resist them, come close.

And dancing elegantly,
O you, the hope for Armenians
Sing a tender song
Return to luck and light
O maidens, make a bouquet
Come close.

With your diligent fingers
With an elegant embroidery
With mournful Armenian glories
Rapidly create a crown
O maidens, come near her
And put it on her head.

Another bouquet of invaluable wisdom
And of blossoming knowledge
and of modest conduct
for her to boast of forever
O maidens, make a bouquet
And offer it to her

May tragic songs cease
May Armenia wipe her tears
The hope of joyful days
Armenian women give her
O maidens, come near to her
And place the crown on her head

Bêshigt'ashlian began with a note of despair for the plight of Armenia, her burden and her pain. Yet, he urged the students to use their talents and knowledge to create new ideas. These new ideas for Armenia reflected not sadness but hope for the rejuvenation of a people. He stressed the role of women and their duty of conduct and service towards the family and the education of a new generation of Armenians. The poem’s theme also encouraged the students to work for the motherland. In doing so, they reflected the knowledge and awareness of cultural traditions and historical visions.

The following chapters of this dissertation examine the basic principles of the Ottoman Armenian educational system. This investigation begins with an analysis of educational expansion and the creation of a centrally directed structure. From here the analysis expands to focus on the curricular content. Drawing on vast quantities of empirical data including textbooks and autobiographical materials, this systematic examination of Ottoman Armenian education provides new information for discussions about the historical bases of Armenian identity.
Sources

This thesis begins with a brief historical analysis of educational development in the early part of the nineteenth century, but the primary focus is on the period from 1853 to 1915. During this time Armenian schools experienced their greatest period of expansion. The community welcomed the development of new teaching materials and educational opportunities with excitement and enthusiasm. Unfortunately, this expansion came to an end in 1915. Most of the schools closed due to the deportation and killing of Armenian students and teachers during the Genocide. Thereafter those educators who did survive were resigned to life in diaspora communities throughout the world. The diaspora has provided a wide variety of educational source materials used in this dissertation.

The key text on Armenian education written in English is Kevork Sarafian’s *History of Armenian Education*. However, Sarafian provides only a brief overview of the schools and curricula during the Ottoman period. There are more substantial works in Armenian including Arshag Alböyajian’s *Badmut’iun Hay Tbrotsi* (History of Armenian Schools) and Hovhannes Dér Bedrosian’s *Grt’agan Sharzhumé T’rk’ahayots mēch 1600-1900* (Education Movement among the Turkish Armenians 1600-1900).5

After examining these two works, I consulted the writings of the American missionaries who lived and worked among the Ottoman Armenians. Memoirs and research studies provided detailed information about American sponsored institutions but lacked any serious discussion of the Armenian schools. Hence, after examining the existing literature, I realized there were many gaps in the analysis. Many of the findings concerning education were taken for granted and no one study had explored the relationship between Ottoman Armenian education and national identity in-depth.

Reviewing oral history films collected by the Zoryan Institute documenting the lives of Genocide survivors, I listened as many individuals reminisced about their childhood and educational experiences. Some recalled their experiences at missionary institutions while others discussed native schools. This led to further informal discussions with members of the Armenian diaspora who shared pictures, memories, and stories. Some of the individuals I spoke with were born in the Ottoman Empire and educated in the Armenian community schools who are now well into their nineties. Others were oral testimonies passed on to children and grandchildren.6

The search for archival sources led me to the Bibliothèque Nubar de l'UGAB in Paris. Here I discovered a rich variety of materials - National Education Council reports, personal memoirs, school booklets, newspapers, and hundreds of old textbooks. In addition to the use of research materials in Paris, I also spent time in Armenia examining and translating institutional documents from Sanasarian Varzharan. At the Charents Museum of Art & Literature I uncovered, collected, and analyzed materials rarely used for research purposes. These documents included handwritten letters and journals. The collection of the Ottoman Armenian press at the Madenataran also greatly assisted my endeavors. Due to the large number of newspapers, this analysis is limited to the three most prominent and widely read papers, Masis (Ararat) in Constantinople, Arewelyan Mamul (The Eastern Press) in Smyrna and Mshak in Tiflis.

Drawing on these communal documents and utilizing qualitative research methods, this work is based primarily on textual analysis. However, in several instances quantitative methods document the growth of education. For example, calculating the

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numbers of schools and students relies upon educational statistics reported to the Patriarchate by Armenian community leaders from throughout the Empire.

The sources used in this work are by no means exhaustive. With so many newspaper articles, books, and letters I could not possibly uncover or read each one. Nonetheless, having read hundreds of documents written in Armenian, many of which at first glance appeared to be little more than handwritten scribble, and some sprinkled with French, German, and Russian words, I have confidently reached the conclusions in this work. The strength of these conclusions is found in the administrative and regulatory documents as well as personal testimonies used in this dissertation. Some documents provided a general overview of educational guidelines while others commented on the application of these policies. Culled from a rich array of materials are the numerous themes underscoring the relationship between education and nation formation.

**Chapter overview**

Chapter two explores the theoretical foundations governing the relationship between education and national consciousness. The analysis contains two parts. The first is an explanation of the major theories related to national identity. Included in this review is an explanation of defining principles for state formation and nation building. The second component concerns concepts related to education, knowledge production, and the curriculum. Based on this framework, and drawing upon an examination of collected materials, the remaining chapters focus on an analysis of the empirical evidence. This concentrates on creating a historical picture of national identity and documenting the educational experiences of an ethnic minority community.

Chapter three provides a historical overview of the Ottoman Empire and the Armenians. This investigation places education in a larger historical context of social change and development. The chapter begins by tracing the relationship between the
Ottomans and the Armenians, methods used to categorize the peoples and the
development of governmental regulations. Discussions of Ottoman political, social and
economic structures provide a natural lead into an exploration of the development and
evolution of the Christian minority communities. Before turning to the Ottoman
Armenians of the nineteenth century, the chapter includes, for comparative purposes, a
brief introduction to the Ottoman Greek community. There follows an examination of the
political and economic structures that formed a core foundation for nation building
among the Armenians. This section also elaborates on the Armenian social framework by
investigating issues of language, religion, and the family.

Beginning with chapter four, the analysis concentrates on the development of an
educational system. Outlining the process of educational unification, transformation and
systemization, the first half of the chapter focuses on the creation of the National
Educational Council. This discussion underscores the importance of the council as a
centralized supervising structure and an ideological source of power. It also leads to an
exploration of educational transformation from a small body of leaders to the emergence
of a unified structure for allocating funds, inspecting schools, training and certifying
teachers, and overseeing the curriculum. To reach this point requires first an
investigation of the various types of institutions - private schools, community sponsored
institutions, and charity/foundation schools - as well as the philosophical educational
framework. It also necessitates an inquiry into the relationship between the Armenian
system and western educational models – most notably the French and German systems.

The fifth chapter combines an overview of educational policies with specific
institutional examples. Throughout this dissertation two schools - Sanasarian Varzharan,
located in Erzerum, and Getronagan Jemaran (Central Academy), located in
Constantinople – are used to illustrate the application of educational policies within the
school setting. Chosen specifically because of their difference in geographical locale,
ideology, and social class, these schools served as the principal centers for intellectual
development among the Ottoman Armenian youth. Combining examples from these schools and the general educational policies, within this chapter the primary focus is on the procedures used for creating school structures. The analysis integrates the principle educational mission with patterns of school financing. This demonstrates that the achievement of educational growth was largely due to charitable support. This support in turn helped schooling benefit not just the rich, but become an opportunity afforded to children from various backgrounds. This chapter concludes with an exploration of admissions policies. These policies suggest the value of basic skills and underscore what educational leaders saw as legitimate knowledge.

The role of educators who controlled the development and transmission of knowledge both at the macro and institutional level is reviewed in chapter six. This investigation begins with an analysis of the position of institutional benefactors, trustees, and directors in the ideological formation of the curriculum. A central part of the discussion is the power to legitimate knowledge that the National Education Council exercised over the teacher certification process. The analysis also focuses on individual teachers and what they taught in the classroom.

The core arguments of chapters seven and eight concentrate on the formal and informal class offerings and the development of educational materials. Chapter seven begins by detailing the course outlines of the National Educational Council including the types of subjects taught. In addition to the academically oriented core, this review of the curriculum also includes professionally oriented course offerings. These courses highlight the way alternative forms of learning were seen to benefit the nation, in particular through the stimulation of economic growth.

The second half of chapter seven focuses on informal learning. This shows how the community and individual institutions viewed theaters, libraries, and museums as an essential part of the educational processes. Equally important to increasing awareness of and identification with the land are the role played by holiday observances, music,
vacations, and outings. Reflecting the communication of ideas and self-expression, these informal learning mechanisms helped in the formation of identity. The final elements of this chapter concentrate on the hidden ideologies and the role of the embedded curriculum.

Chapter eight continues the inquiry into the course offerings by examining educational materials. Through thematic textual analysis, the purpose of this chapter is to show what students were learning and what was seen to be legitimate subject knowledge. This research is crucial to understanding the national unity and identity that educators hoped to build among the students. Following the textbook analysis, the discussion turns to the examination process and student diplomas. These documents indicate the National Educational Council’s power to set achievement standards, determine what questions to ask on examinations, and whether to award diplomas.7

Following the investigation of the school setting, educational leaders, course offerings, and teaching tools, the concluding chapter concentrates on the way the curriculum manifested itself in students’ ideas. Utilizing personal letters, articles, short stories, and memoirs written by students about their educational experience, I provide insight into what students felt were important components of their own identity. Culled from these sources are visions of Armenian culture and tradition held by individuals educated in the Armenian schools. Many of these students and graduates subsequently became teachers in the Ottoman Armenian schools or members of the national movement.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

By the beginning of the twentieth century literacy rates in Europe had risen to new highs. Education and the establishment of printing presses became important elements in the goal of universal learning. The minorities in the Ottoman Empire were not far behind with their desire to empower the people through education. Yet beneath this desire to expand the schooling system was the ideology of encouraging the recognition of national symbols and traditions. Hence, educational growth played a fundamental role as a socializing agent in the construction of national consciousness. In this chapter I discuss issues related to education, nation building, and identity. This analysis consists of two parts. First, an investigation of the theoretical constructs concerning nation formation, ethnicity, and national identity. Second, the relationship between theories of national identity and education. Defining salient features of the curriculum, the key elements in this analysis are the role of the external environment, textbooks, course content and teachers in facilitating the learning process. In addition, this investigation distinguishes among different types of learning, the formal, informal, and hidden curriculum. In conclusion, I consider the role of the learner in filtering knowledge and identifying with certain components of their lessons while disregarding others.
Framing nation and nationalism

The origins of nations and theories of nationalism are hotly debated topics. As a concept the nationalism debate is divided among primordialists and constructivists with the notion of ethno-symbolism located in the middle. There is a general agreement within the study of nationalism as a largely political concept focusing on commonalities and homogenization. The main disagreement centers on the issue of whether nations are modern or historical forces.

Primordialists and Perennialism

Primordialists view the nation as a historical concept where the roots of present nations are based on the past. Education fails to play a major role in this perspective which focuses more on the periods of freedom, greatness and fallen heroes. Therefore, this approach to national identity finds itself rooted in ancient communities and natural ethnic relations. Steven Grosby in a recent article cites the ancient language, common religion, and territory among those markers of the ancient Armenian nation. Steven Grosby in a recent article cites the ancient language, common religion, and territory among those markers of the ancient Armenian nation. Additionally, the concept of common kinship and familial relations supports Grosby’s argument as to the natural roots of ancient nations.

A slightly different approach to understanding the nation comes in the form of perennialism. The primary argument follows along the lines of nations as continuous over time and re-occurring within history. For example, Hugh Seton-Watson suggests old nations have existed for hundreds of years. However, nationalism itself is a much more modern movement beginning with the French Revolution.

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Constructivists

Meanwhile, constructivists such as Ernest Gellner approach the study of nation building from a modernist perspective. In one of Gellner’s most influential books, *Nations and Nationalism*, nation building is connected with the rise of industrial societies and increasing homogenization. The state is a central component in the process of homogenization whereby the high literate culture is imposed on the low culture. According to Gellner, education serves a central role in reproduction and homogenization. Through the standardized textbooks and courses in the public realm mass education encourages the socialization of children. Therefore, explicit messages about language and learning come not only from family origins but also the public setting. In the end the belief is education will instill loyalty for a cause. In Gellner’s view, this cause is the state.

Through cultural homogeneity new forms of education are constructed based on the societal visions that the intellectual elite want to create for the masses.10 As Hroch suggests the initial education comes from a few intellectuals who train a limited number to join the cause. These individuals become important components in reproducing and creating cultural boundaries within the collective nation as they provide enlightenment to the masses. Therefore, social organizations and intellectuals work to reproduce and construct knowledge by conveying increased cultural consciousness and bringing about a shared sense of community.11

Great philosophers throughout history have paid special attention to education in the creation of a “new” society. Plato advanced this ideology in the belief that education

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was the key to achieving the type of society he wished to establish. Marx also followed a similar path by examining the relationship between the ruling class and the creation of the dominant societal outlook. This approach is also advocated by Foucault’s work on the development of discipline through the ritualization of rules and regulations. Kelly suggests politicians impose their version of culture on society through the curriculum content in order to achieve certain societal ends. Hence, social and economic values are preserved in the curricula, modes of teaching, principles, standards, and methods of evaluation.

Since education is viewed as a way to encourage the transmittal of social traditions any desire by the state to achieve homogeneity through schooling runs the risk of a dominant population disregarding the symbols of any minority groups living within its borders. Therefore, resistance to state control comes from two forms. First, individuals who are seen as ‘guardians’ of tradition may resist or resent change. These disagreements can literally pit “sons against father.” This comes often from the fear that cultural change will bring communal collapse. In addition to resistance from external forces, internal actors such as minority populations may challenge state control.

Gellner’s focus on the state is problematic when applied to the relations between the Ottomans and Armenians. Rather than Ottoman control over the internal

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administration of the Armenian community, the millet system discussed in the following chapters, acted as a semi-state structure for the Armenians. Furthermore, the millet structure helped to facilitate nation building within the boundaries of another state. According to Guibernau, "A nation without state, as the term indicates, is based upon the existence of a nation, that is, a community endowed with a stable but dynamic core containing a set of factors which have generated the emergence of a specific national identity."\(^{18}\) This concept of a nation without a state is a categorization directly applicable to the case of the Ottoman Armenians who developed a separate sense of identity and an explicit wish by members to rule themselves.

Benedict Anderson's treatise on *Imagined Communities* is also recognized as an important work on the modern aspects of nation building. The title of his book has become a commonly adopted phrase used in the study of nationalism. His analysis focuses on the use of a collective imagination to bring groups of people together. Anderson's work highlights the role of religion, language, and changing social conditions in the process of nation formation. These elements when combined with political and cultural characteristics such as print capitalism lead to the development of imagined communities. In Anderson's work, leaders substantiated their teachings and goal of creating a common society through the use of census material, museums, and maps. The conclusion Anderson reaches is that these aspects are not reality but rather perceptions and interpretations offered by community leaders.\(^{19}\)

The historian Eric Hobsbawm in his work *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* focuses on the emergence of nationalism during the French revolution. According to Hobsbawm, nation creation occurred primarily between the period of 1830 until World


War I. He also suggests that by the end of the twentieth century nationalism was an idea of the past! Given the questionable assumptions of the death of nationalism, Hobsbawm is better noted for his edited volume The Invention of Tradition. In this work Hobsbawm argues nations are invented through symbols and traditions. Ceremonies, public monuments, and textbooks inculcate invented values in the masses. However critical of these symbolic markers, in the end Hobsbawm concedes that the careful social engineering must have some roots in tradition.

Ethno-symbolic

Falling somewhere in between the modern and historical approaches is Anthony Smith’s attention to ethnic origins. As a part of the nation that includes common political, economic and social characteristics ethnic groups are distinguishable from each other by religion, language and traditional customs. Cultural traits such as shared language, religious customs, folklore, dress, music, and food are common features that unify ethnic communities. Given these characteristics the possibility remains for individuals to identify with more than one ethnic community at a time. The emphasis placed on shared cultural symbols, historical memory, a common ancestry, language, homeland, and solidarity are building blocks in identity formation. However, this also extends to political and economic relationships.

Members of society develop an acute awareness of cultural symbols through various formal and informal methods. Culture can become ingrained in society as a part of the every day routine or communicated to the community through festivals, public

\[20\] Smith, National Identity, 13-14.

cereonies, and commemorations. Frequently culture manifests itself in various societal organizations such as orphanages, hospitals, charitable educational associations, the theater, the press, political institutions and educational policies or by informal interaction.

Education - both informal and formal - has a crucial and important role in the spread of cultural knowledge among the masses. Lessons are used to revitalize and reinterpret cultural traditions. These include values, manners, myths and symbols that over time have been assimilated into society so that their original significance is no longer recognized. For example, the original meaning for celebrating a holiday may have taken on a new meaning in society.

To understand the relationship between a common symbol and ethnic community, one must understand the inherent value and meaning attached to this knowledge. For example, the recognition of a homeland or territorial boundaries may not be an actual possession of the ethnic but rather a part of the popular imagination and memory. In this way territory serves as a symbolic center people gather around. This homeland is considered "a repository of historic memories and associations...its rivers, coasts, lakes, mountains and cities become 'sacred' - places of veneration and exaltation."22 The imaginary association with the natural surroundings creates a symbol and perhaps sacred center. For example, a religious shrine or location may become the focus of pilgrimages for members of the ethnic.

The separation of the ethnic from what is considered to be the ancient or territorial homeland is quite common. Jewish, Armenian, and other diasporas serve as prime examples. The land of the exiled community provides a place for collective dreams and memories. It also holds these communities together under the desire of securing a recognized 'homeland.' Securing, dreaming and imagining this homeland is not just an

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22 Smith, National Identity, 9.
important identifying characteristic for those living outside of the recognized territory. It may also be true for those who still inhabit the homeland. As a people who live within the territorial boundaries of a state they recognize as their own, the imagery combines reality with a historical memory of a glorious past.

Cultural traditions and customs of ethnic communities may change over time. During this societal transformation, a passive ethnie can turn into an active ethnopolitical community through the construction of new organizational structures. Two reasons for this shift are extremely powerful political and economic forces. Smith suggests that changes in commerce and trading patterns, the rise of mass culture, education and secularization all play active roles in the transformative ethnie.\textsuperscript{23}

An integral component of communal transformation revolves around the formation of political bodies. These bodies help to establish ruling regulations governing communal conduct and serve as a framework for nationalism. The foundation of the politicization is an "ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation."\textsuperscript{24} This autonomy includes, among others, religious freedom or cultural expression.

According to Smith, the shift from ethnie to nation also recognizes increased secularization. In the formation of ethnic communities, priests play a central role in transmitting and disseminating communal imagination, memory and identity. Because of their position in society, priests through informal mechanisms play an important role in perpetuating and interpreting identity forming symbols and myths. The idea of secularization does not discount the persistence of religion in some form. However, with


\textsuperscript{24} Smith, \textit{National Identity}, 68.
a decline in the central role of the priest there emerges a new class of organized individuals bringing ideas of how to structure society. The rise of the intelligentsia and the expansion of literacy, means a shifting in the role of religion and clerics. As the later chapters will demonstrate, the Armenians as an ethno-religious group through modernization, secularization, and education moved toward national transition.

Defining state and nation

Given the variety of theories, defining concepts of the state, ethnie, nation, and nationalism will help to contextualize the Armenian case as a minority population living within a territory over which another people had political sovereignty. The state is defined as a "community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory."25 Drawn from Weber, this definition begins to help identify the character of the Ottoman state. The way in which a state defines itself can have a significant effect for people living within its borders. States may strive to achieve homogeneity by propagating a hegemonic ideology. One way to do so is through the educational system. Here dominant groups frequently wield their power in shaping a system to control knowledge.26 Therefore, "how a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits, and evaluates the education knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control."27 However, the varying


minority groups and other nations with ancestral claim to a state's territory may come to challenge its authority and ambitions.  

The term nation I define as "a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members."  

The nation is based not only on common ethnic origins and cultural symbols but also political, economic, and territorial connections. A third component is the term nationalism. This concept is the act or feeling of belonging to a community and for whom there is a vision of a political destiny. Meanwhile, awareness of the distinctive characteristics of ethnicity constitutes a national consciousness.  

Finally, ethnie (or ethnic community) is distinguished by six characteristics - a collective name, common ancestry, shared historical past, common culture, association with a homeland, and sense of solidarity.

Drawing on this discussion of the process governing the movement from ethnie to nation building, its relevance to the Ottoman Armenian community is clearly evident. The increase in Armenian nationalism was not in reaction to Ottoman/Turkish nationalism but rather a reflection of European ideas. As an ethnic minority community under a larger state, the Armenians reflected characteristics of communal bonding. They were held together by the historical remembrance of territorial boundaries and ancient history. Moreover, there was a strong sense of cultural identification - a common language, religious basis and symbols. Religious structures and the church Patriarchate served as a focal point for communal unity. However, changing communal


29 Smith, National Identity, 14.


31 Smith, National Identity, 21.
characteristics of the nineteenth century and the emergence of political parties meant the role of the church changed giving way to new forms of organization. The church did not entirely disappear but alternative structures reemerged in the new forms of communal organization. Instead new forms of communication - a rising intellectual class, the creation of a structure for educating the masses, and political desires - resulted in a shifting embrace of a nation.

**Education and identity**

For many years social scientists have been examining the link between national identity, cultural symbols, and education. Historians, political scientists, and anthropologists have in their separate subject areas and across disciplinary boundaries tried to explain the relationship between education and national identity. One of the central questions of this discussion focuses on education as a socialization agent. In other words how are educational systems constructed to encourage certain ways of thinking about issues? One way to investigate this problem is by looking closely at the curriculum.

Defining the curriculum is a challenge in itself. A diversity of opinions and experiences lead to varying and numerous definitions. Some scholars focus on the mission and purpose of what is considered important knowledge for students. Others suggest the curriculum is teachings directed by the school and taught by educators. This includes courses offered to students within the institution as well as informal learning. In a narrow confine this analysis often focuses on only one discipline. The final element is to examine the experiences of the learner.\(^\text{32}\) Using only one of these concepts to describe

the curriculum runs the risk of disregarding one element in favor of another. To focus solely on the mission means to disregard the content and the product of the curriculum. Meanwhile to emphasize only the content fails to place the curriculum in a contextual setting. Therefore, a defining framework requires attention to each of these elements.

The definition of the curriculum used in this work focuses on the following elements:

- **Philosophy**: The mission and goals guiding the knowledge and attitudes the educational system and what schools hope to achieve
- **Policy Formation**: The organization, rules and regulations supporting the movement from philosophical framework to actual learning experiences
- **Content**: The subject matter within which learning experiences are embedded
- **Sequence**: The progression of subject matter in order to reach a specific learning outcome
- **Resources**: Materials used to achieve learning goals

Each of these elements is shaped at various periods of time by a variety of external, organizational and internal influences. External pressures on the curriculum include societal change, government regulations, religion, and the economy. Meanwhile, organizational influences include the governance structure, educational leadership, program resources, and policies. A third component consists of internal influences. Among the internal forces shaping the curriculum are school directors, individual teachers, and students.33

**Philosophical Framework of the Educational System**

The first element of the curricular framework consists of the philosophy guiding the educational system. This philosophy provides a guiding conceptual framework of the knowledge, skills and objectives the school or system will strive to achieve. At the level of the individual school, it may be that a director or group of teachers is largely

responsible for shaping the educational framework. It may also be the case at the system level that an individual or a collective shape the ideological force guiding education.

There is no one uniform global educational mission. However, a commonly held attitude is that "the main purpose of education is to teach students how to think effectively. As they interact with course content, students must learn general intellectual skills, such as observing, classifying, analyzing, and synthesizing."34 Hence, with this knowledge students learn how to sift through information to reach a certain level of intellectual autonomy. Another definition of the educational purpose focuses on student attainment of skills and knowledge to become productive members of a given society. For some this means preparing students for their local responsibilities, adult life and future roles as national leaders, professional workers, intellectuals, or farm laborers. In a modern sense, the curriculum provides the basic education required for citizenship in a particular country. As educated citizens, students are expected to associate with certain historical symbols and rituals.35 Meanwhile for others education is for international understanding. Therefore, the teachings are meant to reflect the role students play in making the world a better place to live.

In addition to encouraging students to become productive members of society and reach certain levels of intellectual autonomy, the curriculum also helps individuals to clarify beliefs and moral values. Durkheim’s philosophy focused on moral teachings and was intent on making education more rational in its inquiry. In this way people could see the development of moral ideas in contemporary social situations. He came to the conclusion that the meaning of morality was to act for the good of the collective not individual interests. Within the school setting, it would be the role of the teacher to

34 Stark and Lattuca, Shaping, 12.

introduce and help students to understand morality by combining imagination with reality.\textsuperscript{36}

\textbf{Policy Formation}

Educators construct policies, regulations and the course content based on the educational philosophy. At the level of a state educational system, these policies are in large part influenced by politics and political leanings. Goals to create a homogenous centralized educational system through increased coordination and hierarchical structures in real terms mean a systematic method to control teacher education, policies, and certification processes. This control over legitimate knowledge comes from above as education transmits cultural characteristics, knowledge and skills of a majority.

This issue of policy formation becomes more complex when it comes to minority populations. Take for example, Al-Haj's investigation of the Arab struggle in the Israeli educational system. Al-Haj found that societal tensions between the minority and majority population were also transferred into the educational system. The Israeli's educational policies stressed a conflict approach toward the Arab community. Through the values and customs shaping the educational system, Al-Haj concluded that the Israeli government had systematically repressed the teaching of the Arab culture.

For minorities, the inclusion of religion, language, and cultural values in the school system is of utmost importance. Historical events, music, and crafts bring to the school curriculum points of identification. The failure of a dominant power to recognize varying needs such as minority groups or geographical differences can result in tension and the lack of policy implementation. In France during the early nineteenth century, the government attempted to create a system that incorporated the various peasant groups into

a larger collective. The goal was the unification of education through “the incorporation or development of diverse establishments, activities and personnel under a central, national, and specifically education framework of administration.”\textsuperscript{37} However, to achieve the objective of using village schools to make peasants “French” the educational system needed to overcome the demands of child labor and the perception that schools held little in the way of practical experience. The perception was that “people went to school not because school was offered or imposed, but because it was useful.”\textsuperscript{38} So while attendance did increase during the winter months, this also meant that few young children went to school at other times of the year.

A second component of the policy-making process concerns where decisions are actually made. Establishing an organizational structure relies on the identification of a central locale to serve as the focal point for transmitting information. From this central locale, plans are created for the dissemination of materials to carry “new educational ideas and practices from their point of production to all locations of potential implementation.”\textsuperscript{39} One method of dissemination is directly from the center to individual institutions which in turn utilize lessons to encourage the adoption of these ideas by students. Another method of diffusion discussed by Schoen is the center periphery approach whereby information from the center is distributed to peripheral locations. At this point the concept of dissemination turns to an issue of diffusion as secondary locales begin to determine how to propagate the ideas through regional disseminators.\textsuperscript{40} The


\textsuperscript{40} D.A. Schoen, \textit{Beyond the Stable State} (London: Temple Smith, 1971).
problem arising with using the center periphery approach is that centralized reforms may not reach the periphery. Furthermore, institutions may not be committed to enacting change or outside barriers could obstruct localized implementation.

A second option that is employed is the shifting centers or the proliferation of centers approach. Through the establishment of secondary outlets for regulatory control, institutions are able to integrate local experience into the central guidelines. Whatever method is chosen, in the end success could depend on the establishment of a dialogue between the center and the greater population. This helps facilitate the dissemination of educational policy and the creation of provisions to make the curriculum relevant not only to those in large cities but also the needs of the masses.

The establishment of a organizational structure and means for dissemination was an important part of the Ottoman Armenian educational agenda. Discussed in the following chapters is the creation of a centralized education council in Constantinople that was never willing to give total control to a decentralized structure. This body created a centralized structure for unifying and systematizing the educational process encouraging students to recognize national symbols through the curricular content.

Curricular Content

The framing educational mission, policies, and organizational structure heavily influence the curricular content. By content I mean the type of classes offered, how they are taught and what type of materials are used in the classroom. These elements are part and parcel of the formal curriculum. Equally important are those activities that are a part of the informal curriculum. Extracurricular activities, libraries and holiday celebrations which are formal in the sense of their local or occurrence but not a formal part of the classrooms are also elements that play a large role in the construction of the total curriculum.
Formal Curriculum

Class lessons as a part of the formal curriculum are directed forms of knowledge attainment, and held in a place for learning under the guidance of an individual or individuals with specific rules and regulations. These regulations are the product of an educational system reflecting a curricular framework and a set of pedagogical values viewed as important by educational planners. The content is in many cases structurally driven by a segment of society.

Knowledge that now gets into schools is already a choice from a much larger universe of possible social knowledge and principles. It is a form of cultural capital that comes from somewhere, that often reflects the perspectives and beliefs of powerful segments of our social collectivity.\(^{41}\)

Within society there are often competing ideologies that attempt to dominate and control various aspects of communal life. Knowledge is “filtered through ideological and economic commitments. Adherence to a dominant ideology thus brings legitimization as it justifies principles, notions of power and conflict.”\(^{42}\) Therefore, the assumption created within the formal curriculum is that some subjects are more worthwhile to study than others. Within courses ranging from the social sciences to the humanities and hard sciences, the process of selection requires choices to be made from a variety of influences. How to interpret, select and teach a subject reflects the interrelationship between the external, organizational and internal environments. Furthermore, methods and processes of examination serve as evaluatory and assessment tools to determine whether students actually internalize the curricular content.


\(^{42}\) Ibid, 21.
Educational Planners, decision makers and teachers

What occurs in the school and classroom setting is affected and influenced by many individuals. Planners, decision makers, and teachers influence various segments of the curriculum as well as the educational system in its totality. Educational leaders and planners at national (and state) levels have an enormous influence on the curriculum. Similarly individuals who serve on boards and educational councils also help to develop the content and course structure. These decision makers often decide what is taught, when and how. Parties may be involved on a daily, monthly or yearly basis with shifting responsibilities. Through displays of leadership and cultural authority, these individuals heavily influence the direction taken by educational institutions.\textsuperscript{43}

School directors can serve in the capacity as planners or they may be little more than middle parties between teachers and the central educational structure. In other cases they may implement or decide upon curricular reforms. Kelly allocates the principle authority over educational objectives to the educational planner.\textsuperscript{44} The role of the teacher is therefore limited to carrying out the planners' intentions. The perception is that "teachers often have to operate with a curriculum that is imposed upon them and to implement policies they had little influence on framing." Meanwhile, others suggest that institutional actors to a large extent control the curricular teachings and the way it is presented to students. In this way teachers have a crucial role in the learning process.\textsuperscript{45}


\textsuperscript{44} Kelly, \textit{The Curriculum}.

Teachers exert their ideas upon the learning process by adapting and using aspects of the educational agenda for their own purposes. As Esland proposes, "Because the teacher does not merely 'hand on' knowledge but makes critical choices...the teacher's perspective contains differently legitimated interpretational systems." The teacher thus interprets for the students using a particular frame of reference drawn from their own socio-historical context.

A final group effected by and sometimes influential in the process of curriculum development is the stakeholders. The power of these individuals who include the community, family members, and students varies widely. The opinions of some actors hold little weight while others simply cannot be ignored. Ultimately those with the largest amount of influence over the curriculum depend on the power structure inherent in the educational system.

Informal Education

Formal classes are only a portion of the total curriculum that also includes informal aspects of teaching and learning. The informal curriculum, also referred to as co-curricular or extracurricular activities, supplements and adds to the formalized teaching of the classroom setting and educational materials. These learning experiences occur not only within the institutional setting but also extend to the external environment. Family members in the home and interaction with friends pass on to students traditions, historical myths or songs. This informal experience and influence outside of the school setting helps educators and students to learn their societal roles and cultural traditions. This comes not only by someone sitting down and telling them but also through

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47 Kelly, The Curriculum, 6; Marsh, Key Concepts.
observation and feeling. Undeniably this makes it extremely difficult to distinguish between those informal teachings that come from the school setting as opposed to externally developed and learned behaviors.

In a modern sense informal activities are an integral part of the total education program of academic institutions. However, this was not always the case. The value of the informal curriculum and the influence educators could have on these activities, particularly in the United States, was not recognized until the twentieth century. The change was the result of the spread of John Dewey’s philosophy of child development advocating that students needed to have a rounded educational experience.

The role of the informal curriculum within the context of national consciousness is reflected in contemporary research which reveals that co-curricular activities foster self-discipline and responsibility. Furthermore, these activities are associated with improved socialization patterns, social integration and decreasing feelings of powerlessness. For example, the use of drama and art allows students to transform “feelings and ideas into perceptible yet critically qualitative forms of understanding.” Therefore, for some societies it may be that informal activities within the institutional setting provide an outlet that fosters national consciousness.

Informal educational principles within the school setting are difficult to define because in many cases they are activities that are an adjunct part of the formal classroom. An example is the school band where students capitalize on their formal

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50 For informal learning practices based on an ethnographic approach see S. Aikman,
training to provide entertainment outside of the classroom. Meanwhile, other activities may meet when the school day is finished, on the weekend or over the holidays. This is often the case for athletics, clubs, societies, and school outings.\textsuperscript{51}

**Hidden Curriculum**

In addition to the explicit educational outcomes of the formal and informal curriculum, there are also powerful implicit values attached to teaching and learning. This brings a third component to the educational agenda - the hidden curriculum. Hidden teachings may have implicit consequences but they are not necessarily explicit in their expression. This idea takes into account the reality that objects and materials used for teaching purposes are not always neutral. Rather they include a subtext of value positions that are not explicit. Kelly describes the hidden curriculum as

> things which pupils learn at school because of the way in which the work of the school is planned and organized and through the materials provided, but which are not in themselves overtly included in the planning or even in the consciousness of those responsible for the school arrangements.\textsuperscript{52}

Therefore the notion of the hidden curriculum is tied to the earlier discussion of dominance and control over the educational process. This hidden curriculum serves as a conduit of a dominant ideology and contributes to socialization.

Hidden ideologies are often found in history, politics and literature lessons. A similar example can also be found in the sciences whereby textbooks or teachers fail to address alternative phenomena or theoretical explanations outside of the accepted norm.

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\textsuperscript{51} Kelly, \textit{The Curriculum}, 5.

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, 3.
Consequently, legitimization is given to one argument but not others. It may also be that the ideas and consequences are hidden to students, teachers, and planners. However, despite the fact "educators may regard their work as apolitical...Decisions about curricular content, and therefore textbook content, frequently reflect deep-rooted political conflicts within a nation."

Resources

Educational materials are a crucial part of the formal curriculum. The most powerful of these teaching tools are school textbooks. They help to define the content and sequence of the curriculum. The textbooks stand at the heart of the educational enterprise. Teachers rely on them to set the parameters of instruction and to impart basic educational content. Students' school work often begins (and in some schools ends) with the textbook. Texts constitute the base of school knowledge, particularly in Third World countries where there is a chronic shortage of qualified teachers. In many instances teachers adhere closely to texts, using them as the soul source of school knowledge.

Although some teachers use textbooks more than others, they continue to dominate the classroom environment. The purpose of textbooks is to help teachers and students to organize and process educational information. They provide teachers with a valuable

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53 Apple, Ideology and Curriculum, 88-95.


56 H.S. Verduin-Muller, "Criteria and Trends with regard to Subject Matter Didactics," in History and Social Studies - Methodologies of Textbook Analysis, ed. H. Bourdillon (Swets & Zeitlinger, Amsterdam, 1990), 72-84.
service by organizing lessons in a logical manner. By creating a map for teachers to follow less time is spent on determining the sequence of the curriculum. This leaves teachers with more time to plan instructional methods.57

Textbook authors have the power to control the learning process. It is these individuals who must decide the curriculum content, what language to use, and which approach to follow. These textbooks describe what is perceived as legitimate knowledge. However, far from being unbiased these textbooks are political and economic materials. In particular the educational elite may use these materials to promote a particular way of thinking about subjects. This is especially powerful in the case of history where the writer may decide to portray one nation as a friend and another as an enemy. This reveals a philosophy more “deeply rooted politically and culturally...[as they] inculcate a particular attitude towards knowledge.”58 Hence, textbooks either unconsciously or consciously transmit a series of messages and perceptions to the reader.59 Similarly, educational resources may contain historical half-truths or inaccuracies.

However, in developing countries teachers may have no other choice but to use textbooks that perpetuate myths or whose teachings they do not agree with simply because there is no other choice. The publication of textbooks and the ultimate decision of which work to use in the classroom are shaped by dominant political, social and moral


forces. Therefore, attempts to satisfy government policies or segments of the population result in a range of forces influencing the textbook selection process.\textsuperscript{60}

Although textbooks play a dominant role in the delivery of the curricular content, material objects and equipment also play an instrumental role in lesson plans. As modernizing elements new devices such as science equipment or musical instruments provide material objects to help students understand the lessons in new contexts. They supplement textbooks by bringing images or abstract concepts to life and reinforce learning.

\textbf{Learners}

The learner constitutes the final element of the curriculum. As an important actor in the curriculum, the learner’s motivation and effort can have a significant influence on the curricular content, how teachers construct lessons and teach. However, even more important is the relationship between the goals of the individual learner and the curriculum. Stark and Lattuca suggest, the inclusion of student purposes in the discussion of the curriculum highlights the fact that the objectives of learners do not always match those established by the educational planners.\textsuperscript{61} Similarly, what is planned, what is received locally and what is reflected in the student experience can be very different things. If the objective of planning is only to attain a set of goals this runs into the danger of attempting to mold humans. It leads to, as Kelly suggests, indoctrination rather than education. It takes passive recipients and attempts to bring behavioral changes rather then


\textsuperscript{61} Stark and Lattuca, \textit{Shaping}, 179.
developing knowledge and understanding. "To be educated is not to have arrived at a
destination; it is to travel with a different view.""62 Therefore, if the purpose of education
is to master certain tasks, it may be that this does not take into account "experiences" ie.
personal and social development.

A different approach of measuring student experiences and relationship between
education and identity is found in a study by Pickus. In the analysis, Pickus measured
outcomes by examining the organizations that students joined and their expressed self-
defined thoughts.63 Meanwhile, Stepanenko in an interview study of Ukrainian
schoolchildren found that students identified with four main characteristics: a human
identification, formal acknowledgment of the relationship with the Ukrainian population,
an ethnic identification and finally generational awareness.64 The method also
incorporated into this work, aims to understand collectively and individually the
experiences of students. The views, opinions and activities of students and youths reflect
the educational influences and school thought inculcated in the individual.

Conclusion

Theories of nation building combined with a framework for analyzing the
curriculum reflect the complexity of the relationship between knowledge attainment and
national consciousness. The idea of national identity and ensuing consciousness includes
the notion of communal sharing of a unique and distinct historical memory, symbols, and


63 K.H. Pickus. Constructing Modern Identities: Jewish University Students in Germany

64 V. Stepanenko, The Construction of Identity and School Policy in Ukraine (Commack,
traditions. Territory, history, and community are also important underlying aspects of national ideology. Conceptualized and constructed on the basis of such symbols, the goal is to create a learning environment that supports the central philosophical framework. However, educators face difficult tasks in determining how to realize these philosophical goals. They encounter the need to make important choices about how to construct educational policies and structure the curricular content. Utilizing this framework for understanding national identity and the curriculum, the following pages explore how the Ottoman Armenian schools reflected in the construction of an educational system cultural traditions, historical awareness, and the recognition of symbolic communal rituals.
CHAPTER 3
HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND
ITS CHRISTIAN MINORITIES

Introduction

Who are the Armenians and how did they become subjects of the Ottoman Empire? These two questions are the primary focus of this chapter which places my dissertation in the appropriate historical context. The chapter begins with a brief overview of Armenian history, the development of Ottoman-Armenian relations, and placement of Armenia in its regional milieu. This synopsis is followed by a brief outline of transformation within the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The analysis of changes taking place within the Empire focuses primarily on reform policies, modernization and the introduction of new educational policies.

The context of educational change as it applied to the Ottoman Greeks and Armenians emerges in the second half of the chapter. Specifically this underscores the renaissance that engulfed these communities. For the Armenians, the development of a Constitutional system and governance procedures form a backdrop for understanding the communal political structure. Similarly, a clearly delineated class system was indicative of the general economic structure. The final component of this investigation focuses on social issues. This analysis brings to the forefront the shared memory of repression, rituals, traditions, and cultural symbols that became a formalized part of the communal vision. Despite geographical and class differences and the challenges posed to traditional
elements of society, the individual structures of the Ottoman Armenian community carried with them a united mission of strengthening national identification.

**Historical Roots and the Crossing Paths of the Ottomans and the Armenians**

Ancient historical legacy is an important part of Armenian identity. The acceptance of Christianity, the creation of the alphabet, and dynastic history are considered important elements in the communal bonding of the Armenian people. The purpose of examining these elements is to reflect upon the underlying history that became an important vehicle of national identity. As a crossroads between the east and west, Armenia has had regional battles fought on her lands. Arabs, Turks and other Mongolian tribes have each taken their turn in ruling the land. But, in the end it was the Ottomans who won the most decisive battles. To this large Empire most of the Armenians became subjects.

Armenian origins, as those of any nation, are subject to scholarly debate. Some suggest Armenians are descendants of various indigenous people who merged with the Urartians (Arаратians) during the tenth through seventh century B.C. Meanwhile, others claim that the Armenians migrated into their homeland from Thrace and Phrygia. By the sixth century Urartu fell to Medes and was later conquered by the Persians.

Therefore, from the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. the Perisans and the Zoroastrian

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65 There are also several legends that exist in popular historiography concerning the origin of the Armenian nation. The first is the story of Haig who is the forefather of the Armenians who called themselves Hay and their land Hayk‘ or Hayastan. The fifth century historian Movses Khorenatsi also suggests that the leader of the people, Aram, was famous for his bravery. Therefore, the neighboring nations called the people Armens or Armenians (named after him). For further detail see J. Russell, “The Formation of the Armenian Nation,” in *The Armenian People: From Ancient to Modern Time Vol I*, ed. R.G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 19-36.

religion influenced the lives of the Armenian people. The Persians also played a significant role in the area of language. Most notably Persian was the language used for communication among the elite.

Hellenic influences also penetrated into the early Armenian cultural establishments. For example, the lack of written Armenian language meant that any instruction offered was either in Greek or Syriac. The Armenian and Greek relationship intensified following Alexander's conquests in 331 B.C. In addition to architectural and economic influences, the Armenians were also exposed to Greek religious traditions.

In the second century B.C., a local general named Artaxias (Artashes) declared himself King of Greater Armenia thus beginning the Araxiad Dynasty. Years later, under Tigran the Great (94-54 B.C.), Armenia grew in its military strength and political influence. Tigran's victories were destined to hasten his downfall. Nonetheless, he had built Armenia into an empire that stretched from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean.

By A.D. 64 the new Arshakuni Dynasty had come to power and the area where Armenians lived became a buffer zone over which the Romans and Parthians fought for domination. An act of momentous consequence, under King Tiridates III the Armenians became the first Christian nation in the fourth century (A.D. 314). As the first nation to accept Christianity as a state religion, Armenians even today hold this distinction as a prized possession. A major marker of historical memory, many Armenians look upon this unique characteristic with pride. The acceptance of Christianity introduced a new social code and moral guidelines to the community. In addition it began a movement for educational improvement. At the time when the state accepted the Christian faith, education was primarily an informal endeavor. The desire to convert the masses to Christianity meant those lessons that were offered essentially focused on religion.\(^{67}\)

The creation of an alphabet in the fifth century marked a pivotal moment for Armenian identity. The thirty-six character alphabet was created by Mesrob Mashtots with the support and backing of Sahag Catholicos. Its main purpose was to provide a written system for promoting religious literature.\(^{68}\) However, as history reflects, the alphabet had a much greater meaning as it enabled scholars to record poetry and historical works. In addition, it provided an essential tool to record Armenian cultural traditions for educational purposes. Henceforth native literature could be written in Armenian.

As a translator and teacher, Mashtots is also known for his contribution to the development of a system of Armenian schools. According to Leo, these schools helped to increase literacy. In addition, they introduced the notion of educating women.\(^{69}\) The curriculum focused primarily on religion. However, other courses included grammar, Armenian language, literature, rhetoric, writing and music. Clearly, the lessons incorporated more humanistic elements. Many Armenian students also received their education in center of learning such as Alexandria and Athens. This was the beginning of a long-standing tradition to educate students outside of their native lands. It also reflects the early relationships and links established between Armenians and other cultures. With the deaths of Mashtots and Sahag Catholicos, the educational system was unable to sustain itself. Although there were attempts between the sixth and eleventh centuries to introduce secularized education, it met with little success.\(^{70}\)

The conversion of Armenians to Christianity was not accepted whole heartedly by the Persians. Therefore, in A.D. 451 under the leadership of Vartan Mamikonian, the

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\(^{69}\) Sarafian, *Armenian Education*, 50.

\(^{70}\) For a history of early Armenian education including monastic schooling see Alböyajan, *Badmut’iun Hay Tbrotsi*. 

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Armenians faced the Persians at the Battle of Avarair in defense of their faith and national heritage. Although the Persians defeated the Armenians, the victors realized the Armenians had strong religious convictions. Not only was the place of Christianity solidified as a pillar of Armenian identity but also the greatness of this event situated itself in the forefront of Armenian historical memory.

Beginning in the ninth century, Armenia enjoyed a period of independence under the Bagratuni and Artzruni dynasties. Religious life flourished in the capital city of Ani which became known as the "city of a thousand and one churches." In the middle of the 11th century, most of Armenia had been annexed by Byzantium. However, the Seljuks invaded Greater Armenia resulting in a flood of refugees to southern Russia and Eastern Europe.

Many Armenians also relocated to the southwestern region of Asia Minor which bordered on the Mediterranean. Known as Cilicia, the region was controlled by the Byzantines and repopulated by Christian Armenians after being reconquered from the Arabs. In Cilicia the Rubenian dynasty established its authority in the eleventh century. European influences were common given the close contact with the Crusaders and western traders. Cilicia fell to the Mamluks of Egypt in 1375.

Modern Ottoman Turkish and Armenian relations emerged well after the decline of Cilicia. Traditionally known as nomadic horsemen from Central Asia, the Turks began to embrace Islam from the ninth century. Under the Seljuks, the Turks fought against the Byzantines at the close of the eleventh century. Following these battles, the local Turkish rulers carved out their own principalities. The one in Anatolia belonged to Osman of Sogut and hence the people of this principality became known as Osmanlis, or followers

of Osman. By the fourteenth century the rule of the Osmanli had gradually extended westward into Europe overtaking the Bulgars and the Serbs in the Balkans.\textsuperscript{72} In 1453 the Greek city of Constantinople fell to the Ottomans and by the sixteenth century they had gained control of Asia Minor. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire covered a vast territory and included the Western Armenians (i.e. those Armenians who lived in Anatolia) among its subjects.

**The division of Armenia: Persian, Russian and Ottoman rule**

Although Armenia had been under foreign rule for centuries, the people soon became caught between the fighting of the Safavid Shahs in Persia and the Ottoman Sultans. The result was the division of the Armenian territories.\textsuperscript{73} Armenians emmigrated to Poland and in the early part of the seventeenth century Shah Abbas I deported tens of thousands of Armenians to Isfahan located in central Persia. Centuries later, this dispersion was reflected in history lessons. It revealed an acute sense of transnational awareness that these diaspora communities brought to the Armenian experience. Perhaps even more significant was the fact that Armenians realized they were no longer a great and mighty power. Now the people suffered at the hands of others.

Caught between Ottoman - Persian conflicts, the Armenians turned to the Russians for assistance. In 1701 Peter the Great pledged Russian support to help protect Armenian lands. Despite the fact he invaded Transcaucasia in 1722, Russian support was minimal. Catherine the Great (1762-1796) eventually did show some interest in the

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Armenians. She had an Armenian church built in St. Petersburg. In addition, she employed many Armenians in diplomatic positions. Years later, the second Russo-Persian War (1826-1828) formally extended Russian territorial rule over the Armenians. The subsequent approval of the Treaty of Turkmenchai (1828) resulted in the annexation by Russia of most of eastern Armenia including Yerevan and Nakhichevan.74

In Russia, the Armenians developed rich cultural traditions. They experienced intellectual and educational revival in many ways, such as the creation of schools. Three important educational institutions opened in Russian territory. In the first half of the century, Lazarian Jemaran in Moscow and the Nersisian School of Tiflis began operation. Established by a wealthy merchant family from Persia, the Lazarians, in 1816, the Academy opened. The institutional mission focused on the teaching of sciences and the Armenian language. It also served as a point of contact for Armenian scholars and contained an extensive library and printing press. As the institution gradually expanded, it became known as a center for oriental studies. In addition to Armenian, the course of study included Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages.

Meanwhile, in Tiflis, the large and prosperous Armenian community established the Nersisian school in 1824. Devoted to primary education, the school served as one of the leading intellectual centers for training young Armenians in language and literature. Many of its students became poets and political activists. Among the students who attended the institution was Khachatur Apovian (c1809-1848). Born into a peasant family, Apovian later spent five years studying at the university in Dorpat. His course of study included history, geography, sciences, philosophy and pedagogy. Enthralled by

74 Bournoutian, History of the Armenian People.
languages, Apovian learned German, French and Latin which added to his already acquired knowledge of Russian and Armenian.\(^{75}\)

Apovian was not the only student to benefit from western knowledge. Because there were no universities in Transcaucasia many Armenian intellectuals were sent to German institutions to further their education. Relying on the sizable German community in Tiflis, the Armenians of Transcaucasia looked to the German model for direction. The intellectual ideology and pedagogical ideas of Pestalozzi and Froebel found a place in both Russian and Armenian institutions.\(^{76}\) This was unlike their brothers and sisters in Constantinople whose ideology was heavily influenced by the French.

In addition to the formal structure of the university, Apovian was inspired by the friendships he established with Russians and Europeans. These friendships along with the social change he witnessed inspired the well-known historical novel *Vĕrk' Hayastani* (The Wounds of Armenia). This novel highlighted the struggles of the Armenians caught under the foreign domination of the Russians and Persians. Apovian returned to Transcaucasia with visions of educational reform. He channeled his energies into creating new methods of learning. At first Apovian established his own school. Later he went on to become the director of a regional education center. However, not everyone agreed with Apovian’s new educational approach. He was moved from his position in Tiflis to a new position in 1843 of an assistant schoolmaster at a regional school in Yerevan. For Apovian this was equal to intellectual and cultural banishment. Although eventually transferred back to Tiflis, Apovian remained frustrated that “the teaching methods and materials, textbooks, were below the standard which he considered to be essential. He witnessed how his pupils preferred to read better prepared and edited


\(^{76}\) Sarafian, *Armenian Education*, 259-266.
textbooks in Russian and other languages and neglected Armenian schoolbooks.\textsuperscript{77} Arovian was important because of efforts to promote education in modern Armenian and his understanding of the suffering of the Armenians. Channeling his knowledge of western educational practices into suggestions for reform, Arovian exhibited a desire to improve the cultural life of the Armenians in Transcaucasia.

Arovian was not alone in his visions for the Armenian people. Krikor Ardzruni (1845-1892), a respected intellectual who started the newspaper \textit{Mshak} in Tiflis in 1872. Meanwhile, Step'an Nazarian (1812-1879) and Mik'ayël Nalbandian (1829-1866) also became important historical figures. As journalists, writers and teachers these individuals promoted new ideas within the Armenian community.

Another influential institution, Kevorkian Jemaran in Etchmiadzin later joined the Lazarian and Nersisian schools. Founded in 1874 as a seminary college, its main objective was to prepare students for the priesthood. Under the eye of the Armenian Catholicos one would have expected the institution to focus primarily on religious instruction. Although religion was offered, much more emphasis was placed on the teaching of Armenian history and language.

The lessons at Kevorkian continued despite the increasing pressure of governmental regulations. Until the 1880's Armenians were allowed to supervise their own academic institutions. During Czar Alexander II's reign (1881-1894), Russian policies became increasingly restrictive. New decrees required all school lessons be taught in Russian. Eventually most of the Armenian schools were forced to close or capitulate. However, since seminaries were the only institutions exempt from these new rules, schools such as Kevorkian were called seminaries in order to continue their teachings. This label was active only in its name. In reality, the majority of the students

\textsuperscript{77} Balekjian, \textit{Armenian Review}. 

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did not become priests. Many became national, revolutionary, and intellectual leaders. This school was indicative of the Armenian desire to link education with the continued teaching of cultural traditions and their ability to manipulate government regulations to achieve these goals.

In the end it was not just the Armenians living in the immediate vicinity who benefited from these new institutions. Many young students from the Armenian schools in Transcaucasia became national leaders and formed the backbone of Armenian political parties. In addition, numerous graduates traveled westward in order to provide teachers and directors for the Ottoman Armenian schools. This exchange process operated in both directions. Many young students once they had finished a course of study at an Ottoman Armenian school were sent to Kevorkian or Lazarian to complete their education.

Even before the establishment of the major educational institutions in the east, the Armenians of Constantinople were beginning to open their first formal schools. In 1660 a small school began at the Sourp Nigoghos church. However, it was soon closed by the order of the Ottoman government. Another school opened in 1727 followed years later by two others. These were small institutions that did not have a large effect on the population. They operated secretly in order to escape closure by the Ottoman government. However, in 1789 the need for clandestine schooling changed. During that year Sultan Selim authorized the millets to create their own schools. It was an opportunity that the Armenian community quickly pounced upon. One year later in the Kum Kapu district Shnorhk Amira established what later became known as the Bezjian school.  

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Millet System and Tanzimat Reforms

Authorizing the millets to create their own schools reflected just one of the changes which would take place in the Ottoman Empire over the coming years. With government control of the Empire centralized under a Sultan, each of these rulers had individual ideas of how to advance and organize society. At the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, Sultan Selim III laid a foundation for modernization and reform. This would later evolve into the Tanzimat reforms under Abdul Mejid I.

The Tanzimat reforms began in the 1830's as a result of increasing pressures being placed on the Ottoman government by western powers. These pressures centered around the concern for minority rights. The non-Muslim minorities had earlier been categorized and organized by the State under semi-autonomous administrative units called the millet system. The Ottomans recognized three principal religious groups that characterized the separation of the millets. First, was the Greek Orthodox millet which also happened to be the largest. It embodied other European Christian groups including the Bulgarians, Serbians, Romanians, Macedonians, and Vlachs. The Armenians formed the second millet and the Jewish community constituted a third. During the course of the nineteenth century the Armenian millet suffered further division when the Catholic and

Protestant communities were reorganized as separate millets along religious rather than ethnic lines.\textsuperscript{80}

The recognition of differences was not limited to administrative structures. Based on this millet system, the people residing within the Ottoman territory were subject to the ideological and structural control of a larger state governed by the tenets of Islam. This required allegiance to state regulations which considered the Christian minorities second class citizens and unequal in the eyes of the law. Henceforth, the main purpose of the first Tanzimat reform act of 1839 was to guarantee the subjects security of life, honor, and property. The Hatt-i Sherif, as the act was known, attempted to introduce a system of conscription, grant all people the right to a public hearing and equal taxation. The idea of equal taxation was seen as a step forward given that at the time the Christians were subject to a large burden of the payments.\textsuperscript{81}

Without much success in the implementation of the Hatt-i Sherif, in 1856 the Sultan introduced the Hatt-i Humayun. This edict stated all Ottoman citizens were equal with no distinction based on race or religion. In addition, the reform again called for uniform taxation as well as educational equality.\textsuperscript{82} According to the law

\textsuperscript{80} The Armenian Catholic millet was organized in 1831 and the Armenian Protestant millet formed in 1850.


\textsuperscript{82} "Sultan 'Abdulmecid's Islahat Fermani Reaffirming the Privileges and Immunities of the Non-Muslim Communities," in \textit{The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics, Vol I}, J.C. Hurewitz (Yale University Press, 1975), 315-318.
every community is authorized to establish public schools of science, art, and industry. Only the method of instructions and the choice of professors in schools of this class shall be under the control of a mixed council of public instruction, the members of which shall be named by my sovereign command.\textsuperscript{83}

Although this attempt at reform also turned out to be a piece of paper whose promises of equality in actuality went unfulfilled, the Hatt-i Humayun’s mention of education is significant.\textsuperscript{84} Under the guise of equality, this created a framework for monitoring the minority education systems, controlling what was taught, by whom, and in what manner. It was not so much equality being offered but rather a mechanism for controlling the learning process.

**Educational Reforms**

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the Empire continued to undergo change. Education was one of the foci. In the 1840’s the Ottoman elite were undergoing a period of increasing secularization. Similarly, these individuals began to think about modernizing and improving the state schools. As a part of the movement, plans were conceived to establish an educational ministry, Ottoman state university, and teacher training institution. Relying heavily on the advice of the French, in the 1860’s the government extended an invitation to the Minister of Education Jean Duruy to visit Constantinople. They hoped he would provide advice about how to develop an educational system. During his visit, Duruy suggested the Ottomans create a system of mass education. Advocating they follow the French model of reforms, Duruy felt that schools particularly secondary institutions and the university should openly encourage the

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid, 317.

inclusion of all nationalities. Consequently Duruy’s report served as the backdrop for the 1869 Ottoman Educational Regulations (Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi).

The 1869 reforms continued to advocate the need for a system of mosque based schools. However, the law also called for the expansion of a secularized education system. As a part of the movement toward mass education, the decree specified the need to establish a primary school in each village. Funding for primary education would come from the local villagers whilst support for secondary institutions provided by the central government. Designed according to Duruy’s suggestion, these schools would educate children from all ethnic backgrounds in one institution. The curriculum was to include Ottoman, history, mathematics, and many other subjects. Furthermore, the law gave the state the right to supervise non-state and foreign schools by certifying the curriculum, lessons, and textbooks. This power would help to ensure that the teachings did not stray from the morals of the Empire.

With this decree, the state became more active in education. The objective was to control transformation. Hence, education became “an important mechanism for the revival of a moribund empire and for the attainment of the Ottomanist political citizenship and developmental goals.” As the laws of 1869 reveal, there was a growing desire to educate both Christians and Muslims in similar institutions in order to increase state identification. However, in actuality this ideology did not translate into widespread

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control. The educational laws reflected a desire but were never really implemented. Rather, the educational policy of the Empire toward the minority groups remained one of "laissez faire or controlled toleration." Nonetheless, the foundation or basic underlying notion of Christian minority education to become a part of the nation-state, led by the Ottomans, was present in certain elements of society. The Ottomans saw the ongoing development and growth of minority sponsored institutions and felt threatened by their existence.

The Ottoman Greeks

The Ottoman Greeks were one of the minority communities affected by state regulations. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Greeks created an extensive network of schools. Therefore, for comparative purposes, as a Christian minority within the larger Ottoman Empire, the Greeks provide an excellent example of a parallel community to the Armenians and the types of educational institutions they created. The Greek schools did not necessarily advocate identification with the Ottoman state but rather the goals were to heighten student awareness of their Greek heritage. Regardless of differences between

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88 Kazamias, Education of the Greeks.

89 For further discussion see: Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Modernity.

90 Fortna presents a thoughtful argument in the examination of Ottoman secondary schools under Abdul Hamid and the competitive perception on the part of the Ottomans. In his dissertation Fortna examines the relationship between western educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire and the State as well as the influence of the missionaries on educational formation rather than merely focusing on the French influence. His primary focus is to understand internal dynamics of change from the perspective of the state. However, I suggest that gauged in the explicit argument of competition lies the hidden notion of nationalism (through the use of educational tools maps and textbooks to develop visions of an Empire) - control, fear, and desire for domination. B.C. Fortna, "Education for the Empire: Ottoman State Secondary Schools during the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1997).
the Greek and Armenian communities (and there were many including the presence of an independent Greek state), the struggle to promote national understanding among the people reflected a clear similarity.\footnote{For details about the structure of Greek millet primarily in the eighteenth century see R. Clogg, “The Greek millet in the Ottoman Empire,” in \textit{Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Vol. 1}, eds. B. Braude and B. Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc, 1982), 185-207.}

The Greek population was concentrated around the port cities of Smyrna and Trebizond. Large numbers also resided throughout the interior provinces. The Patriarch served as the governing leader of the community. However, the Greeks were not immune from the secularization that engulfed the Empire. As a result church control weakened during the nineteenth century. A council of elders was responsible for collecting funds to support the community’s religious and educational needs. In addition, an increasing number of supervisory boards and literary societies were established to assist with the development of education.\footnote{One such society, the Greek Literary Society in Constantinople was created in 1871. The Literary Society was also known as Sylogos.}

A central association formed in the 1860’s to advocate the development of educational and religious establishments. The organization also called for an increase in the number of Greek publications, public lectures, the creation of libraries, and schools for the poor.\footnote{G. Chassiotis, \textit{L'instruction publique chez les Grecs depuis la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs jusqu'à nos jours} (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1881), 357-358, 451; A. Alexandris, \textit{The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish relations 1918-1974} (Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 1983).} The result was the creation of an expansive Greek educational system which included a central school for teacher training and a vast system of primary schools. The organizational leadership in Constantinople eventually began to extend its mission to
the provinces.\textsuperscript{94} In Trebizond a "small syllogue was created to encourage the establishment of schools...and a small library."\textsuperscript{95} These literary societies served as rallying points for a network of Greek education throughout the Empire.

Education was important to the Ottoman Greeks. Community leaders believed education would encourage Greeks to identify with symbolic rituals and cultural traditions. Kazamias' study of the relationship between Ottoman Greek education and its link with Greek nationalism/national identity argues that "the syllogoi sought to develop cultural identity and national consciousness among the Orthodox Greeks, a political identification to complement the already established religious identification."\textsuperscript{96} Hence the expansion of schooling created cohesion among a scattered community. One of the primary methods of stimulating awareness of the national heritage was through language instruction. This was necessary given that at the time many Greeks in the interior used Ottoman in their daily lives.

The ideological principles of the Greek schools drew heavily on the support of the independent Greek state. Many young Greek men traveled to Athens to attend university and developed numerous educational links.\textsuperscript{97} Meanwhile, the Ottomans were suspicious of those teachers who came from the mainland and the curriculum.

The Greek teachers, particularly those who came from the mainland independent Greece, perceived their role not simply in strictly educational terms. Concurrently they looked at themselves as ethno-nationalist


\textsuperscript{95} Chassiotis, \textit{L'Instruction publique chez les Grecs}, 472.

\textsuperscript{96} Kazamias, \textit{Education of the Greeks}, 355.

\textsuperscript{97} Chassiotis, \textit{L'Instruction publique chez les Grecs}; Davison, \textit{Millet as Agents}.
Hellenists charged with the added mission of cultivating nationalist Hellenic sentiments, attitudes, and loyalties.\textsuperscript{98}

The prevailing attitude among the Ottomans was fear of nationalist values entering into the educational system. Eventually the Ottomans felt so threatened that they limited the use of instructional material from the mainland and prohibited Greek nationals from teaching on Ottoman lands. They claimed it promoted institutional disturbances.

The state did what it could to try and direct the educational system. In many cases officials refused to grant petitions to open or repair schools. However, change and transformation had taken hold of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, attempts made by the Ottomans to bring about national cohesion met resistance. Increasingly the Greek, Armenian, and Bulgarian minorities, saw themselves as belonging to an “other.” Capitalizing upon historic memory and identification with communal symbols, the Greek community is indicative of the individuality expressed by the minority populations. Although one cannot ignore the Ottoman influence, clearly many Greeks began to see themselves as Greek first and Ottoman second.

**Ottoman Armenians**

Indeed the Armenians are another example of an ethnic group struggling to free themselves from the regulatory guide of the Ottoman state. During the nineteenth century, ideas of reform and transformation began to blossom. Secularization of newly created communal structures began to challenge traditional social ideology and a Constitutional system emerged as a new form of governance. Although the new leaders moved forward with a vision of communal growth, secular ideas did not completely replace the role traditionally played by religious figures. Community leaders faced many challenges, not the least of which were social, political, and geographical differences.

\textsuperscript{98} Kazamias, *Education of the Greeks*, 363.
However, despite differences, by 1915 the Ottoman Armenians drew strength from the common traditions, culture, and economic aims that served as the principle guide for national advancement.

**Religious and communal hierarchy**

Leadership of the Ottoman Armenians was a power entrusted in the Patriarch of Constantinople. He served as the governing administrator and official head of the Armenian Apostolic millet.\(^99\) Vested with official power by the Sultan, the Patriarch acted as the intermediary between the community and the central Ottoman government. The Patriarch also served as a judge in the case of intra-communal conflicts.\(^100\)

As the leader of the Armenian Apostolic church, the Patriarch supervised all of the other religious leaders within the community. This was important because clerics were an important part of the communal hierarchy. They watched over the Armenian flocks in the villages and were often called upon to represent the community. As spiritual leaders their role was not to convert the people. Rather priests functioned as agents of a religious, social, and political organization (the church). Within this organization it was

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\(^99\) The hierarchical structure was such that the Patriarch of Constantinople fell under the leadership of the Catholicos located in Etchmiadzin. Additionally, there were Catholicoi (church leaders) situated in Sis and Aghtamar and a Patriarch in Jerusalem. But the Constantinople Patriarchate was the most powerful and influential in terms of the Ottoman Armenians.

\(^100\) The authority of the Patriarchate as communal leader was challenged many times particularly with the shift from a centralized Patriarchal control to a decentralized form of government by the creation of the national assembly, the constitution and the construction of local Armenian provincial governing committees gaining increased influence. However in general the Patriarch was seen as the individual with the most inter and intra communal authority. See, V. Artinian, *The Armenian Constitutional System in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1863* (Istanbul: 1988).
the smell of incense, the ancient language and ritualistic hymns that all stood as guardians of Armenian traditions.

Nearly every Armenian is imbued with a patriotism which is fiercely chauvinistic...yet his Church is essentially a nation, and not a spiritual institution...they go to hear their language, to hear their native songs, to see that which is in their opinion the last sign of what they imagine was their great all conquering empire.\(^{101}\)

The church embodied the nation by reflecting within the liturgy its legacy of grandeur and the Christian foundations of the Armenains. The classical language served as a link to the past and the clergy reflected the patriarchy of cultural traditions.

Communal domination by the Patriarchate also translated into control over the educational mission. Because the church was often the largest building in a community its rooms were used as schools. Furthermore, priests commonly taught within these institutions. However, by the nineteenth century this had begun to change. The amira class up to this point had played an authoritarian role in Armenian communal leadership. Never very high in number, these wealthy Armenian amiras frequently served as influential members of Ottoman institutions. For example members of the Balian family acted as the Imperial Architects and the Duzian family were in charge of the Imperial Mint. In addition to fulfilling important roles in the Ottoman government, the amiras built schools, cultural societies, churches, and provided financial support to the Patriarchate. In fact some claimed that the amiras used their monetary influence to install "their nominees on the patriarchal chair, or dismissed them at will."\(^{102}\)


This control over communal affairs by the amiras was eventually challenged by the middle class esnafs (guildsmen). The esnafs were organized based on professional association. Therefore, separate guilds were established for porters, tailors, bakers, and other professions. The struggle between the more conservative amiras and the esnafs soon found itself fixated on an educational institution, Uskudar Jemaran. When the esnafs tried to unseat the amiras from communal power, the financially sound amiras withdrew their support of the school. After a series of changes to the Patriarch peace was finally restored. However, this was not before the amiras had regained majority control over the communal administration.\textsuperscript{103}

This struggle for control was indicative of the general desire for change. Eventually this change did occur. During the last half of the nineteenth century increasing secularization resulted in a decline to the church's authoritative control. This did not mean the church disappeared altogether. Rather, reform edicts and pressure from the community forces changes to the governing structures. These ideas came from among others the sons of the wealthy Armenians. As young men who were sent to study in Paris in the 1840's, the students returned with visions of intellectual growth and freedom. Influenced by the French revolution, the young Armenian scholars expressed their views on national awareness and enlightenment in their words and deeds. Not the least of these deeds was assisting with the creation of governing regulations, frequently referred to as the Armenian Constitution.

The establishment of a national assembly and the approval of a Constitution had an incredible effect on the Armenians. Arpee goes so far as to suggest the new Constitution revolutionized the community.\textsuperscript{104} Approved in 1863, the Constitution


outlined and mandated the formation of a religious and political council and a National Assembly. In addition it established a format for electing the Patriarch and assembly representatives. Under the Constitution four councils - education, economic, judicial affairs, and the inspection of monasteries - became official establishments. Additional committees were created to oversee finances, wills, and the hospital. One of the most significant achievements of the Constitution were the regulations concerning education. Not only did the Constitution dictate a standardized curriculum but also formalized authority to administer examinations, created a process for preparing textbooks, and distributing diplomas.\(^{105}\)

The Constitution was a valiant attempt at national unification through lay participation. However, it proved quite difficult to provide for equal representation. The majority of the assembly came from Constantinople although almost ninety percent of Armenians resided in the interior provinces. Furthermore, women were completely excluded from holding office.\(^{106}\) Although women never became members, changes eventually increased the representation of the interior provinces. Provincial committees were also established to control local affairs.

Representation from the interior in the Constantinople based assembly was an important issue because life for provincial Armenians was very different from those who resided in the city. While all of the Armenian communities reflected variations on the financial compendium here the extremes were much more pronounced. Substantial


\(^{106}\) The long journey between the interior provinces and Constantinople made it difficult for representatives to travel back and forth. Therefore, it was common for an individual from a particular region who lived in Constantinople to be appointed to fill a seat in the assembly. On numerous occasions assembly seats remained empty.
merchant communities in the large cities enjoyed a comfortable middle class status. However, the majority of the Armenians in the provinces were poor scattered in villages of various sizes. Families often ate their meals with their hands or using bread while sitting on the ground. Utensils were reserved for the wealthy or for use on special occasions. These are just a few of the important distinctions the leaders had to take into consideration when devising communal policies.

From class issues to language usage, the question of geographical differences is a constantly reappearing factor in discussions of the Ottoman Armenians. Tensions between the center in Constantinople and those on the periphery (i.e. those in the provinces) were commonplace particularly when it came to social issues. Armenians in each of the provinces had their own style of cooking, views on the education of women, and form of dress. Seemingly this struggle could have unraveled any plans for a cohesive educational policy. This did happen to some extent on an administrative level when it came to religious differences. However, even with these differences a bond did emerge among a majority of the Armenians that allowed a unified educational system to emerge.

Language

The extent to which the Armenian language was used throughout the Empire varied. Distinct differences in dialect also emerged in various geographical locales. Unsurprisingly in the eastern provinces of Erzerum and Van, Armenian was the daily language used to conduct business and interact with neighbors. This was after all where the heart of the Armenian people resided and it was hoped Erzerum would become the capital of an independent Armenia. However, this use of Armenian was not constant throughout the Empire. In many areas the people spoke a mixture of Armenian and

Turkish. Meanwhile, in Cilicia Turkish was the primary language spoken within the Armenian community. The reason for this drastic shift was due to governmental regulations of the 1860’s. Laws closed seminaries and forbade the use of the Armenian language. This policy resulted in serious long-term regional repercussions when it came to schooling because many children seeking education at the Armenian schools in the 1880’s came from non-Armenian speaking households.\textsuperscript{108}

Meanwhile, linguistic differences emerged in the much more cosmopolitan and westernized Constantinople. Here the knowledge of a foreign language was viewed as an asset. Stimulating economic growth was a primary goal so those in the merchant class learned western languages in order to trade with foreigners. Similarly, many Armenians learned western languages in order to work at foreign consulates or as translators. Therefore, it was not uncommon for the Armenians of Constantinople to converse using a mixture of Ottoman, Armenian, and western languages.

All Armenians did not accept and embrace western languages. Poor peasants in particular challenged the relevance of learning a foreign language that really did them no good in their every day life.\textsuperscript{109} For those from the interior foreign languages were just not important. Many of the poor lived in little more than a single rented room or in clay brick or mud houses. Since most of the people survived by living off of the land they were much more concerned about how to feed their families rather than whether they should learn French, German, or English. Meanwhile, others felt the influence of the west would corrupt Armenian identity. Hence, maintaining the national language became a cause in the latter part of the nineteenth century. One of the reasons was to avoid assimilation through the increased use of Ottoman and the perceived imperialism of western culture.

\textsuperscript{108} Etmekjian, \textit{The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance}.

\textsuperscript{109} Therefore, many of the foreign schools came under fire from the community for teaching using western languages.
More importantly the knowledge of Armenian would encourage the preservation of an essential element of identity, i.e. the language. The dividing lines were clear. One side of the equation advocated language as a tool to preserve national identity, while the other sided with issues of economic benefit.

Standardization and increased use of Armenian was a crucial component of the social agenda. The growing movement for linguistic reform was a part of this movement. During the middle of the nineteenth century those who advocated the increase usage of the more popular vernacular ashkharhapar (modern Armenian) began to publicly vocalize their thoughts. Their goal was not to entirely do away with krapar (classical Armenian), a language primary utilized in the church, but rather have a standard language easier for people to learn and in which writers could develop a literary movement to communicate with the masses.

Much to the dismay of the Patriarch, Nahabed Ռվունիան (1819-76) purposed a radical reform of grammar and vocabulary. Despite the initial uproar, changes did occur. Classical Armenian remained in the church liturgy and very few writers continued to publish their works using the ancient language. As a continuing part of the educational curriculum, classical Armenian also provided a foundation for students who wanted to become a member of the clergy. Furthermore, advocates who supported classical Armenian emphasized the ways in which the ancient language would help to unify a dispersed diaspora. However, as with the rest of society, schools generally leaned toward the use of modern Armenian. Furthermore, with few exceptions, all of the Armenian literature and newspapers published in the last half of the nineteenth century used modern western Armenian.

During the nineteenth century the Armenian press in the Ottoman Empire flourished. Newspapers on a variety of subjects from politics to literature, provincial
news, education, and cultural information appeared on the street corners.\textsuperscript{110} While language reform brought national cohesion, modern literature also reflected cosmopolitan knowledge. During the nineteenth century many French novels were translated into Armenian.\textsuperscript{111} Similarly, French literature heavily influenced the romantic literature published by Armenian authors. Much of the poetry showed a remarkable likeness to the works of Hugo and Lamaratine.\textsuperscript{112}

The influence of the west became a part of the literary culture. However, the threat of other languages (both western and Turkish) was troublesome for many Armenians. An even larger issue was the threat western religious ideologies posed to national traditions. The challenge to authority and communal leadership structures in the eyes of the religious hierarchy touched on the very heart of sacred symbols.

**Religious Differences**

Until the nineteenth century in the eyes of the Ottoman government, the Armenian community was united under a single millet. This changed when the government recognized first the Catholics and then the Protestants as separate millets. However, the issue of religious differences did not suddenly appear in the nineteenth century. Rather

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item [\textsuperscript{110}] Some of the newspapers were: Dzaghig (Flower) established in 1886 which focused on politics, and literature about the nation, Masis (1852-1908) which included political works, advertisements and news from the provinces and included the work of many young intellectuals to Arevelian Mamul founded in Smyrna by the educator Matheos Mamourian. This sometimes bi-monthly and other times monthly publication contained education and cultural news. A.TerMinassian, "Sociétés de culture, écoles et presse arménienes à l’époque d’Abd-ul-Hamid II," *Revue du Monde Arménien Moderne et Contemporain*, 3 (1997), 7-30.
\item [\textsuperscript{111}] Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance*.
\item [\textsuperscript{112}] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Armenians had begun to feel the impact of the Catholics, more specifically the Mekhitarists, in the early part of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{113}

Mekhitar of Sepastia established the Mekhitarist order. He was born in 1676 in the Ottoman Armenian provinces and received his primary education from an Armenian priest. Formal education began at the Armenian monastery of Sourp Nshan. When he encountered Catholic missionaries, Mekhitar discovered his religious tenets were not in agreement with the tradition of the Armenian Church. Mekhitar came into contact with Catholic missionaries and eventually embraced Catholicism in 1695. Six years later Mekhitar decided to form his own religious order. This led to increased persecution by the Armenian Church leaders and forced Mekhitar to flee to Morea. Eventually arriving in Venice, Mekhitar was granted a small island in the lagoon to establish a religious order in 1717. Here he continued his teachings. Actively engaged in the production of religious literature (through writing and translations) and textbooks, Mekhitar's work focused on religion, Armenian history and language. During the eighteenth century the Mekhitarists through their publications and teaching brought about renaissance and change. What is particularly significant about their contribution is in the devotion to religious, educational, and literary development.\textsuperscript{114}

In the Ottoman Empire the Mekhitarists opened schools to promote their teachings. These schools brought western ideas to the Armenian community. One of the Mekhitarian schools established in 1857 was formed under an outline of an école secondaire moderne and German Realschule. In fact the school's vision was to provide courses that conformed with European standards so that students would be comfortable in pursing higher education within European universities. The mission was to prepare

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\textsuperscript{113} Catholic missionaries had been working in the region before the Mekhitarists.

\textsuperscript{114} See K.B. Bardakjian, \textit{The Mekhitarist Contributions to Armenian Culture and Scholarship} (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1976); Sarafian, \textit{Armenian Education}.  

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students to become members of the national society by providing religious, ethics, and scientific lessons.\textsuperscript{115}

Mekhitarian influence was not limited solely to schools and the publication of books. During the eighteenth century young Armenian students from Constantinople were sent to study with the order. This idea of educating students outside of Armenia expanded to include France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia. In these places students encountered freedom and new ideas. The Mekhitarists provide an example of the role of western education in the development of the academic agenda. This link between Armenian education and the west became even clearer in the nineteenth century. Early forms of education focusing on informal learning or monastic schools changed significantly. Private tutoring and schools connected with the church progressively gave way to more formalized educational methods.

Leading the way in the introduction of modern educational methods were the western missionaries. During the nineteenth century many of the newly arriving Protestant missionary organizations established churches, Sunday schools, work programs for women, Bible studies, and educational institutions catering to minorities.\textsuperscript{116} The French Jesuits opened a large number of primary schools conducting lessons in French and introducing students to the ideas of French culture through literary readings. By 1909 they had established schools catering to over 87,000 students.

\textsuperscript{115} Armenian school bulletins often listed the equivalent type of European institution. By doing so, the hope was that the Armenian schools were seen as emulating European institutions. Azkayin Varzaran Viennagan Mkhitarian Mkhitarisariants (i Pangalt'i) (Bolis: H. Madteosian, 1898); Venedigi Mkhitarian Hayarun Vardaranner Hayats Hantsk'ë (Venedig: S. Ghazar, 1955).

\textsuperscript{116} J.B. Piolet, Les Missions Catholiques Françaises au XIXe Siècle (Paris Librairie Lahure, 1901); Archives of The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
Likewise, Protestant missionaries from the United States began to travel to the Ottoman Empire in 1819. The first missionaries came to the region with the goal of converting Muslims to the Protestant faith. However, the missionaries soon realized their task was in vain and instead turned their attention to the Christian minority populations. Initially seeking to reform these churches, the goal of the missionaries was to provide religious awakening through Bible teachings.\textsuperscript{117} The American missionaries focused their efforts on establishing primary, theological, and secondary schools as well as colleges.\textsuperscript{118}

The colleges were geared toward the entrance requirements for American and European universities. Therefore, core courses included sciences, mathematics, philosophy, psychology and Western languages such as French and English, history, the Bible, Armenian, and Turkish. Moral ethics was also considered an important part of the curriculum. In the women’s section, missionaries also taught domestic economy, hygiene, cooking lessons, singing, gymnastics, sewing, and hanciwork. One student who left the Protestant school to attend one of the Armenian schools found the routine very different. At the new school the language of instruction was Armenian while at the

\textsuperscript{117} The ABCFM was incorporated in 1810 by a group of students from Andover Theological Seminary. On November 3, 1819 the first American missionaries, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons traveled to Syria where they arrived in January of the following year.

\textsuperscript{118} They had a significant impact on education and by 1909 had established 337 Protestant schools with 20,000 students from the Greek, Bulgarian, and Armenian communities. A sampling of research studies focusing on this issue include: C.A. Reed, “Problems of American Education in the Near East” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1921); M.A. Nosser, “Educational Policies of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Turkey, 1823-1923” (MA thesis, University of Chicago, 1924); R.D. Daniel, \textit{American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1960} (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1970); T. Nestorova, \textit{American Missionaries Among the Bulgarians: (1958-1912)} (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1987); F.A. Stone, \textit{Academies for Anatolia: a study of the rationale, program, and impact of the educational institutions sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980} (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984).
Protestant school it was Turkish. "The subjects included many religious and Armenian history classes which were not taught in our Protestant school."\textsuperscript{119}

The missionaries did help in the modernization of institutions. Many Armenians sent their children to missionary schools precisely because the quality of education was perceived as higher than the national institutions. However, attendance did not necessarily mean the students followed the religious teachings in earnest. In fact, the missionaries also knew that many of the students did not adhere to the Protestant faith. Many in the Armenian community resented the intrusion of these institutions and the challenge they brought to the traditional social structure. The church and communal leaders were fearful of the denationalizing effect of these institutions which did not emphasize the teaching of Armenian language, literature, or history.\textsuperscript{120} Therefore, the overwhelming perception was these missionaries posed a threat to the community and its traditions.

**Family and gender roles**

One area in which change emerged at a much slower pace was in the traditional familial unit. The structure of the Armenian family was both hierarchical and patriarchal. The *gerdastan* (family clan) extended beyond the nuclear family to include grandparents, aunts and uncles. The clan leader was almost always a male and usually named after the locale from which the family came, the leader's profession, or even a woman used as a


second name.\textsuperscript{121} Village life was divided along gender lines. The eldest women (\textit{dan digin}) controlled the domestic household. Meanwhile, the senior male family member referred to as \textit{nahabed} (patriarch) represented the family in the public domain.

Frequently members of the nuclear family lived together. This afforded little privacy for any of the family members. For the young, the rigid communal and family structure meant courtship was rare. Marriages were often arranged based on family connections without the bride and groom ever meeting.\textsuperscript{122} Thus the life of a new bride could be filled with sorrow or happiness based on the temperament of her husband's family. In many cases the woman was not allowed to speak to her father-in-law until after the birth of her first son. Although there was some exception, women were the controlling forces within the home.

As with many European societies, gender equality was not on the top of communal priorities. Frequently young girls in remote villages were purposefully left uneducated. This was because of the widely held belief education had corruptive powers. Parents also thought uneducated daughters had a better chance of being married.\textsuperscript{123} However, the presence of Srbohu Dusap and Zabel Yesayan marked the emergence of women into the literary world of the Armenian community. Along with others they raised awareness of issues related to the social status of women.\textsuperscript{124} Attention to the education of women gradually increased over the nineteenth century. Nonetheless change was not

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{121} Villa and Matossian, \textit{Armenian Village Life Before 1914}.


\textsuperscript{123} Villa and Matossian, \textit{Armenian Village Life Before 1914}.

\end{flushleft}
radical and gender inequality continued. Furthermore, as this investigation later shows, the educational agenda continued to perpetuate traditional identity roles.¹²⁵

**Transforming Empire**

By the end of the nineteenth century, undeniably society began to modernize and westernize especially in Constantinople. Merchant and wealthy European travelers had been descending upon the Ottoman territories bringing with them western influence through products and philosophical ideas. Western goods appeared in shops and people walked through the streets dressed in new styles of clothing. Meanwhile, newspaper advertisements sold Singer sewing machines and furniture from France. At the same time, interest in Ottoman political and economic affairs grew in Europe and the United States. This interaction with the west had a large effect on the Armenians and Greeks who engaged in trade and brought new traditions to the local environment.¹²⁶

Meanwhile, the ascension of Abdul-Hamid II (1876-1909) to power and the approval of a new Constitution in 1876, brought renewed hope for equality. This new Constitution called for free education. However, it also stipulated these schools would be supervised by the government. The only exceptions were allowed for religious


establishments. Following the approval of the Constitution, general elections brought further promise of change for the minority communities. However, this exuberance quickly dissipated. Before long the assembly and Constitution were suspended. For the next thirty years Abdul-Hamid ruled through tyranny.

The development of the Armenian national movement

With the suspension of the Ottoman Constitution and increasing secularization of the administrative bodies governing the Armenian community, Armenian political parties began to develop in the second half of the nineteenth century. These organizations spread their message through clandestine meetings, underground newspapers, and translations of books written by European socialists. Many young Armenian students and teachers became members of these parties.

The earliest of these political organizations appeared within the territory of Russian Armenia, in 1869. In 1881 the short-lived Bashdan Hayrenyats revolutionary society formed in Erzerum. Early in the 1880’s a group of Armenian and Georgian students joined together in Tiflis to form the People’s Will. However, these organizations turned out to be brief attempts at forming political parties. Shortly thereafter, in 1885, the first formal Armenian political party - the Armenakan society - was established in Van. The Armenakan platform called for mass cultural, political and military education.

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127 1876 Ottoman Constitution: For an examination of the ideology followed by the Young Ottomans see S. Mardin, The genesis of young Ottoman thought; a study in the modernization of Turkish political ideas (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000).


129 For a discussion of Armenian nationalism see ; J.M. Hagopian, “Hyphenated Nationalism the Spirit of the Revolutionary Movement in Asia Minor and the Caucasus
However, the organization remained active only until about 1896. Thereafter only a shell remained. Many of its members eventually became active in other parties. In fact quite a few joined the *Sahmanatragan Ramgavar Gusagtsut’ium* (Constitutional Democratic Party or Ramgavar). This new party was established in Egypt in 1908. The Ramgavar party platform advocated revolution but not as an immediate cause. Rather the plan was to wait until the Armenians had established the means to carry out this action.

The Hnchakian Revolutionary Party formed in 1887 by seven Russian Armenian students in Geneva was another political organization. Known commonly by the term Hnchak, the association clearly desired an immediate revolution and the independence of Ottoman Armenia. The membership consisted primarily of individuals from the lower and working classes together with students drawn from throughout Armenia, the Southern Caucases, and Europe. However, the strong socialist foundations meant that the party had trouble gaining widespread support from a community with a growing nationalist fervor.

The party that provided the missing nationalist link was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) known in Armenian as *Hay Heghapokhagan Tashnagtsut’ium*. Organized affiliates throughout Ottoman and Russian Armenia and in the diaspora shaped a platform that revolved around the economic and political national liberation for Ottoman Armenia. However, this did not necessarily mean independence. While the ARF had a socialist ideology, they were nationalists in their struggle. This national agenda would become the overriding factor in their platform.

The program of the party's first congress in 1892 created a framework of its vision. Here, the members reflected upon the importance placed on the role of education.

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The platform called for the assistance "in every manner the intellectual progress of the people. Make education compulsory." Therefore, the framing ideology included mass education and knowledge attainment in providing freedom to the Armenians.

The agenda and ideology of the political parties provided a rallying point for the Armenians. With members spread throughout various locales a general sense of national unity grew within the community. These organizations connected Ottoman Armenians with Russian Armenians and those already in the diaspora. The leaders, often young students themselves, understood that education brought knowledge and would challenge conservative communal traditions. Thus, educational institutions were often created under a renewed national agenda.

Rise of the Young Turks

While the Armenians were busy creating political parities, Abdul Hamid was working on developing and modernizing Ottoman educational institutions. However, he saw western imperialism and its influence on Ottoman life as misguided. Believing more in the role of Islam, during Abdul Hamid's reign censorship on the theater, the press and in education was rampant. Many Armenian writers chose to flee to foreign

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132 For an examination of the secularization of the educational system and the training provided to the elite see: J.S. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization in the Middle East (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973).

countries when the crisis reached its peak in 1896.\textsuperscript{134} By this time mistrust of the Armenians had grown immensely. Abdul Hamid recruited Kurds to serve as a part of regiments who participated in a series of organized massacres throughout the provinces. This bloodshed also extended to Constantinople where Armenians had gathered in protest. The widespread destruction and death earned Abdul Hamid a less than glowing reputation among European powers and the nickname the Red Sultan. When he was finally overthrown euphoria swept through the streets. The assent of the Young Turks to power in the early part of the twentieth century brought high hopes of peace and brotherhood.

At first the Young Turks sought to integrate the various minority communities into the governing structure. However, despite change, in the end modernization, westernization and secularization did not erase differences between segments of the population. This was especially true of those differences between the state and the minorities. Rather the division meant “disenchanted with the ‘purity’ of traditional patterns and modes of thought” on the part of the government.\textsuperscript{135} By 1910 the makeup of the Committee of Union and Progress’ (CUP) Central Committee had changed. Therefore, by 1912-1913 attempts by the Tashnags to work with the CUP had failed. The CUP membership had become much more nationalist in its focus. One of the leading members was Ziya Gokalp. His ideas for the Turkish nation focused primarily on a singular cultural tradition. Hence, the emergence of Gokalp’s Pan-Turkish nationalism was an ideology based upon religious, cultural and ethnic homogeneity within the

\begin{verbatim}
\textsuperscript{134} Oshagan, Armenian Review.
\textsuperscript{135} Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Modernity, 105-106. Shaw also reflects a similar argument in his work.
\end{verbatim}
Empire. Education and the development of an intellectual elite were understood to be critical to the process of reorganizing the Empire.

Primary education guidelines introduced in 1913 sought to promote Turkification through the centralization of knowledge and increased identification with the state. New regulations required teachers to have graduated from a normal school and assistant teachers licensed by the state. This also meant teacher training programs would follow a state approved curriculum. Similarly, regulations increasing the number of hours of Turkish language instruction also extended to the non-state and foreign missionary schools. The desire reflected in these laws was for the state to extend its control over the creation of national unity. A part of this would come through the educational system.

Following Turkish military defeats in the 1912 Balkans War many of the minority populations previously under Ottoman domination had emancipated themselves. Now, it was just the Armenians who stood in the way of pan-Turkism. In 1914 the Ottomans entered into World War I. However, nothing would prepare the Armenians for what was to come. On the night of April 24, 1915 police arrested the leading Armenian intellectuals in Constantinople. These men were sent into exile in the interior where most met their death. This was only the beginning of the widespread deportations and massacre of the Ottoman Armenian population. Property was destroyed, students were killed, and schools were closed never to reopen.


137 Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Modernity, 106-112, 57.

Conclusion

Relations between the Armenians and Ottomans evolved and expanded over the course of centuries. There were moments of friendship and warmth as well as tension and mistrust. Based on a glorious historic past, the Ottoman Armenians relied on shared traditions to unite across divided territorial boundaries. During the modern period the Ottoman government developed policies and practices to help govern the various ethnic communities within the Empire’s boundaries. Although the Ottomans maintained indirect control over these ethnic groups, rules of law were infrequently enforced and the main source of legitimization, particularly for educational institutions came from within the minority communities themselves.

The Ottoman Armenians created governing documents that provided a organizing framework and basis for change. Through transformation clear structures emerged as channels of national unity. Although the role of the church changed, giving way to new organizational structures namely political parties, it remained a central body. Literary works, newspapers, journals, theater and schools became avenues to transmit symbols and traditions to the general populace. What follows is an investigation of the educational system built by the Armenian community. Examining the structure of the educational philosophy, regulations, teaching materials, the faculty and students, will help to understand the relationship between these lessons and the development of national identity.

CHAPTER 4

THE FOUNDATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN ARMENIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: FROM CENTER TO PERIPHERY

Introduction

The educational agenda of the Ottoman Armenian community underwent dramatic change and transformation in the nineteenth century. Unorganized and highly informal structures consisting of separate educational establishments developed into a unified and systematized method for training the population. Educational centralization in Constantinople and the formation of a National Educational Council resulted in a systematic method for planting the seeds of educational ideals. The policies of the Council reflect the ultimate goal of increased knowledge based on a directive framework and the philosophy under its authority. Over the later part of the nineteenth century, the Council began to look beyond Constantinople and encompass the wider needs of provincial Armenians. In addition, the Council began to address issues of gender and class with the idea of encouraging the development of a unified national ideology.

Young Armenian Intellectuals

Young Armenians sent to study in the west heavily influenced the educational growth of the nineteenth century. Between 1840 and 1848 two groups of young men were sent to Europe, primarily France, for further education. The group included Nigoghos Balian (1826-58) and Krikor Ödian (1834-87) who later helped to write the Armenian and Ottoman constitutions. Supported by wealthy Armenians from
Constantinople, the hope was that further education would help to build a class of educated professionals - doctors, lawyers and architects. Very few of the students were trained as specialists in the humanities. Scholarships also supported poor students such as Nahabed Ṛustinian (1819-76) who studied medicine in France. Ṛustinian later played an important role in the development of the modern western Armenian language.

Balian, Ōdian, and Ṛustinian are just three of the students who returned from Europe in the early 1850’s. In their lives they integrated Armenian traditions with new ideas from the west. Having studied the pages of literary wonders, Lamartine, Victor Hugo and Comte, the young Armenians developed an acute understanding of western liberalism, progressive ideologies and a democratic political system. Not only had they seen and felt the sensation of the growing fervor along the banks of the river Seine, but they had also discussed the ideas of freedom with other scholars.

While in France, the young students also reflected on the status of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. They were dismayed by the lack of education. For at that time “90% of our people are illiterate and only 2% of the population is in school in the capital.”139 This realization pushed the young Armenians students into action as they began to formulate ideas for change and improvement to education. This desire was reflected in the formation of the Araradian Ėngerut‘iun (Ararat Society) in Paris with the following objectives:

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It is because of ignorance that our nation has reached this miserable condition...the happiness of a nation can only come through education...Happiness of a nation is contingent upon the education of its children...In order to provide such education, the four walls of a building are not sufficient...We need cultural and education societies to prepare qualified teachers, to publish books and periodicals, to promote reading.\textsuperscript{140}

The Araradian Ėngerutʿiun's mission foreshadowed the work of the forthcoming education council. For the members of the society, the development of education would help to raise the status of the Armenians. This meant formalizing the educational agenda through the production of textbooks and teacher preparation. The young scholars associated with the Araradian Ėngerutʿiun returned to Constantinople and quickly made their presence felt. They established themselves in the educational sphere and brought professional knowledge to the community. This knowledge they hoped would provide the necessary seeds for societal change.

**National Education Council and the Armenian Constitution**

In 1853, under the auspices of the Patriarchate, the young Armenians established a committee to promote knowledge among the masses. This committee was based on the model of the Academie Française and consisted of fourteen members including Nahabed Ṛsunian and Krikor Ōdian. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Vichenian, the group established a program to advance language learning, create schools, and promote educational activities. One of the major causes of the committee was to develop education for girls. The committee strongly believed that the education of women would bring substantial benefits to the nation.\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{140} "Panasiragankʿ: Haydararutʿiun Araradian Ėngerutʿian," *Arshaloys Araradian*, 23 June 1850.

\textsuperscript{141} Dr. Vichenian (1815-97) later became known as Dr. Servichen using a combination of his first and last names. He is not explicitly listed as the Chairman but rather assumed a
For ten years, the committee operated on an informal basis until the adoption of the 1863 Armenian Constitution. The Constitution formally established an education committee as one of the official branches of the Political Council. The Council was officially known as the Azkayin Usunmagan Khorhurt (National Educational Council) and became the backbone for the educational system. The explicit objectives of the Council were outlined in article 45 of the Constitution as follows:

The Educational Council consists of seven well-educated laymen. Its object is the general inspection of the education of the nation. Its duties are to promote good order in the national schools, to help the Societies that have for their object the promotion of the education of both sexes, to improve the condition of teachers and to care for their future, to raise well-qualified teachers and to encourage the preparation of good text-books.

The Educational Council gives certificates to those students who have finished their course in a national school.

It selects the text-books and holds annual examinations.

But the supervision of the religious instruction belongs to the Religious Assembly, which Assembly selects the text-books for religious learning and the teachers; holds examinations and distributes certificates.

The guidelines clearly distinguished between the responsibilities of the lay and religious leaders. The Religious Council was given full responsibility for the curriculum, development of teachers, examinations and textbooks related to non-secular issues. Control over religious examinations meant a member of the Religious Council, or a

role in serving as a leader of the group. Daretsoyts 1855 (Bolis: H. Miuwendisian Dbran). 92-98.

142 For a detailed discussion of the Constitution including the debate as to whether the constitution was a set of communal regulations, guidelines or indeed a constitution see Artinian, Armenian Constitutional System; H. Barsoumian, “The Eastern Question and the Tazimat Era,” in The Armenian People: From Ancient to Modern Time Vol II, ed. R.G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 175-201.

143 Lynch, Armenia: Travels and Studies, 457.
representative, was present and allowed to ask questions.\textsuperscript{144} Therefore, religious elements did maintain some level of control over the educational process that it had all but dominated in the past. Aside from these clearly enunciated constitutional regulations, the Religious Council adopted a provision stipulating all school directors must be members of the Armenian Orthodox church and receptive of its religious doctrine and wisdom.

Although religion was intertwined with, and remained a part of, the educational process, Christian teachings were now one segment of a larger movement. This followed a similar movement of educational secularization in France. While education broke with the church it also became a central feature of social organization. However, there was a struggle in this transition that reflected a clash in desire between the secular and non-secular. The liberal bourgeoisie in France suggested that some education was better than none while the conservative Catholics did not see the point in mass education. Therefore, with the push for mass universal primary schooling, religious education fell prey to compromise under the \textit{Loi Falloux}. The aim of the law was for the church to maintain control over religious education.\textsuperscript{145}

In the case of Ottoman Armenians, the presence of religion in the schools was also subject to compromise. This is not to suggest religious leaders capitulated without a fight. It was clear that religion would remain a part of the curriculum and help to ensure the transfer of national traditions to the students. Through religious study (including the music and church history), the idea was that students would develop a deeper awareness and understanding of the national ethos. Thus, with increasing westernization of the educational structure, the presence of the church actually served an important role. It

\textsuperscript{144} \textit{Hrahank Grōnagan Zhoghovo Azk. Ge trà. Varch'ut'ian} (Bolis: Sareyan, 1886).

provided a balance and helped to maintain the presence of communal traditions within academia.

Educational Council membership

Guidelines for becoming a member of the Educational Council were also an important part of the constitutional regulations. With leadership based on those who belonged to the Political Council, members would be men who resided primarily in Constantinople. Although the rules officially stipulated these men must be older than thirty-five years old, the age of Council members varied. Regardless, it is clear from the beginning that individuals governing the development of education were chosen from a certain strata and background. This ensured continuity between the empowered elite and those who would oversee communal academic growth.

The policies governing the composition of the Education Council remained in effect until 1909. At this time educators began to raise questions about the membership. For Hovhannes Hintlian, a respected teacher at Getronagan, and others the debate centered around the absence of educators on the committee. Until this point, there were no special provisions to ensure that teachers and other educators were members of the Council. Therefore, a proposal was submitted to reconfigure the Council’s membership. Although it would maintain seven members, how those individuals were appointed would change. The new plan called for the Council to include at least three teachers. The remaining members would continue to include lawyers, doctors and representatives of the Political Council. After much controversy and resignations from the Council, the guidelines were finally redrawn to give a voice to educators.146

146 The academics added to the Council were Apraham Dēr Hagopian, a professor at Robert College and Mardiros Nalpantian the director of Getronagan. Deghegakir Hamaraduut’ian 1908-1911-i Usunmagan Khorhrt’o Azkayin Getronagan Varch’ut’ian
Aside from revising the regulations to provide for the inclusion of two educators, the Council’s work was divided into two branches. The mission of the first branch was the creation of an educational agenda. Under the expert guidance of educators, this branch focused on establishing course guidelines, dealing with pedagogical issues, educational reforms, graduation examinations, constructing training programs, and methods for lecturing. Meanwhile, the second branch was responsible for administrative tasks. The administrative branch organized academic rules and regulations, created standards for the provincial education councils, managed the schools in Constantinople, and served as the arbitrator in case of disagreements between District Councils and educational officials. In addition, charitable organizations fell under the jurisdiction of the Education Council. Therefore, the administrative branch was given the task of establishing regulations for society schools. Although each branch worked separately, they joined forces when it came time to approve the budget, teaching certificates, and final curriculum.\textsuperscript{147}

Organizational change and the inclusion of educators on the Council were indicative of the ongoing evolution of the educational system. Indeed the Council continuously maintained a structure to ensure the completion of administrative tasks. However, the changes brought increasing educational unification. The committee now included educators trained in the Armenian schools. In addition, it afforded the opportunity to include new methods and manners of teaching and learning. The link to the Political Council did remain but at the same time authority for knowledge construction was being transferred to those with the background to develop educational policies based on both training and experience.

\footnote{147}Madutsyal aɾ’k’aɾh’aɾan zhoghovn azkayin Getronagan Varch’ut’ian (Bolis: Osm. Kordzagtsagan Ėngerut’ian, 1911).

\footnote{147}Ibid.
Centralization of authority

Centralization under the National Education Council was the third important aspect of the constitutional guidelines. Through the elucidation of a dominant ideology and centrally mandated curriculum, the formation of an education council infused a sense of coordination and unification into the school system. The Armenian system in many ways mirrored the development of a centralized state system of education in France which had taken place only years earlier. In the early part of the nineteenth century, education in France was primarily church centered with state initiatives providing for military and technical education. Until 1848, there was a dual institutional system, one for the rich and one for the poor. Education for the bourgeoisie included secondary schools while the poor were limited to state supported primary institutions. While primary education remained local, secondary education was the responsibility of the state.

The clearly delineated centralization of Armenian education in Constantinople was also similar to the Parisian headquarters for the French system. According to Green, the development of national education in the nineteenth century was the beginning of universal mass learning associated with formal schooling. During the French revolution there was a consolidation of elementary schools in order to move toward mass educational participation. Secondary education expanded either through state or local authorities. At the same time the state increased control of education through the allocation of funds, licensing and inspecting schools, training and certifying teachers, overseeing certificates and the curriculum.148

The French also considered secondary education as important because it "forms and trains the enlightened classes of a nation."149 Furthermore, "in secondary education


149 Anderson, Education in France, 4.
the aim was to produce a homogenous nationally minded educated class and schools followed the same curriculum and examination program. Local variations in the syllabus were looked on with suspicion and this in turn stifled innovation."150 The curriculum of the centralized French primary school included reading, arithmetic, spelling and grammar as compulsory courses with drawing, singing, history and geography optional.151 The Loi Falloux, formally approved in 1850 also established a uniform system for lay teachers at the école normale including a set minimum wage.152 Further educational reforms of the 1880’s not only brought religious change but also helped to improve school conditions. Prior to that time in France there was little in the way of equipment, teachers were uneducated and often worked second jobs.

The experience of educational centralization in France provided an example for the Armenians. The Education Council was given the authority to create an educational agenda through the control of textbooks, preparation of teachers, and examinations. The Council, at least from a regulatory perspective, decided what knowledge they valued as important for national development. Moreover, the Council was granted the authority to verify this knowledge through examinations and by awarding diplomas.

Initial responsibilities

Following the basic guidelines of the Constitution, it was left to the Council members to determine how to interpret its authority. Given that the governing structure of the Armenian community centered primarily on Constantinople, the responsibility for developing a national education system sat squarely on the shoulders of a more western

150 Ibid, 5.
151 Ibid, 33.
152 Ibid, 45-50.
oriented leadership. Furthermore, it is not surprising that the Council focused most of its initial efforts on the improvement of education in Constantinople.

In 1864, as one of its first acts, the Council requested each district council in the city provide them with an information booklet describing the schools located in the quarter. This would also include the number of students, teachers, and a listing of the various courses.\textsuperscript{153} Armed with information about what was already offered in the schools, the Council could then begin to think about creating a centralized educational design. The proposed strategy was to draw upon existing elements while at the same time introducing new methods and materials.

Although only a small percentage of Armenians actually resided in Constantinople, the city served as the intellectual center for the community. An education census carried out in 1865 found that among the Armenians in Constantinople there were thirty-two schools for boys and fourteen for girls. The schools catered to over 4,000 male and 1,400 female students. The survey revealed that in these schools there were nineteen female teachers and 123 male teachers. Of the 123 teachers, thirty-nine taught at more than one school.\textsuperscript{154}

Intent on devising an educational plan, the Council used the survey as a starting point. They conceived a plan calling for students to begin attending kindergarten at age four and continue for three years. After kindergarten, children at the age of seven would enroll in a three-year primary school course followed by a two-year upper primary school. Also built into the guidelines was the concept of coeducation.

\textsuperscript{153} Deghegakir Azkayin Usumnagan Khorhrtots âr K'aghak'agan Zhoghov Getronagan Varch'ut'ian (Bolis: Hovhannu Miuwendishian, 1865).

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid.

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Although the Council established such guidelines, the age requirement was widely interpreted. After conducting several inspections, the Council found that some schools were admitting students as young as two-and-a-half to three years old. The general argument in support of admitting younger children was that they had the knowledge necessary to begin school. However, the Council refused to change the regulations arguing that some students were being sent to school unprepared.\textsuperscript{155} In addition to creating guidelines for kindergarten and primary schools, the Council also established a plan for secondary education consisting of two cycles. The first cycle was three years and the second two years.

Developing a regulatory system was only one of the Council's many responsibilities. It also approved district school leaders, requests for public lectures, the establishment of provincial education councils, requests for teaching certificates, and granted permission to open new schools.\textsuperscript{156} The advent of modernization and reform of instructive methods, management, teaching, governing structures, and examinations meant there was a need for constant inspections to ensure implementation.\textsuperscript{157} Although the actual implementation of inspections was quite scattered, it was clearly the goal of the central education authorities to establish methods of control over communal knowledge.

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{156} Ibid; Sbidag Dedr gam Masnagi Hamaraduut'ian Azkayin Varch'ut'ian Usumnagan Khorhrots 1879-80 Ami af' k'aghak'agan Zhoghovn azk Geutronagan Varch'ut'ian (Bolis: G.A. Baronian, 1880).

\textsuperscript{157} Members of the first education council included Simon Dadian-chairperson; Gosmant Gosmantian; Hagopig Manuélian-vice chairperson; Hovhannēs Vrt. Dēroyents; Kapriēl Krasērian, Simēon Mik'ayēlian-vice secretary; Stepan B. Boghos P'ap'aziant secretary. Ganonatrut'ian Enthanur Paregarkut'ian Azkayin Varzharants (Constantinople: Hovhannē Miuhendisi, 1864).
Philosophy of Education

Defining an educational framework for the Armenian schools meant the Council could proceed with the creation of guidelines to achieve its primary objectives. Furthermore, it helped to identify terms for advancement. Explicitly stated in the Council’s education outline was the goal of providing formal schooling to young Armenian boys and girls. In addition to this general guideline was the training of these students to provide for the health and spirit of the nation.\(^{158}\) Although this directive appeared to be quite straightforward, the notion was far more complex. The Educational Council, individual schools, teachers, and course offering would determine the meaning of the term “national duty.”

From the perspective of the Education Council, their desire was to see the physical, moral and intellectual development of students.\(^ {159}\) Therefore, implied in the general Armenian philosophy of education was the central German notion of Bildung. This philosophy would incorporate a complete process that in the end would lead to intellectual development.\(^ {160}\) The elements that would comprise this development were defined in large part by the Council’s regulatory guidelines. Students would achieve objectives of physical growth through exercise and attention given to health related issues. Meanwhile, moral growth would come through religious awareness and the teaching of moral values within the classroom. Armed with these two elements, students would achieve the final component - intellectual development through the acquisition of knowledge in a wide variety of disciplines. But the exact form of legitimate intellectual

\(^{158}\) Gazmagan Ganonakir Azkayin Grit’u’t’ian (Bolis: H. Asadur’an ye Vortik, 1910).

\(^{159}\) Dzrankir Ėnhanur Ŗrinats Azkayin Grit’u’t’ian Nergayatsial i Grit’agan Khorhortagané aṙ Azkayin Zhoghovn (Bolis: M. G. Sareyan ye V. Edner, 1881).

development was open to debate. Krikor Zohrab felt that knowledge should not be confused with learning a trade. To him this was quite a different type of knowledge. It was not intellectual training. However, with the focus on building a “healthy” nation others realized that education did not mean simply learning for the sake of intellectual development, but also to developing professionals, agricultural workers, and traders. These workers were a necessary part of the nation who would, through their own skills, benefit the people. Therefore, education as an intellectual enterprise expanded to include respect given to professional training. Hence, reflected in the core curricular guidelines were the four principles of physical, moral, intellectual and professional knowledge.

The generalized directives of the Education Council laid a guiding foundational framework. The guiding education principles did not expressly stipulate the establishment of a formalized, modern, western education system. Rather in a subtle manner the underlying structure began to dictate a specified form of knowledge based on these premises. It reflected the desired outcome by educators for the entire schooling process. How to achieve these objectives was the role of the curriculum.

At the level of individual schools, this general educational mission was often translated into a focused agenda. The expansion of education and the need for qualified teachers led to the establishment of Getronagan in Constantinople in 1886. The primary institutional objective was to prepare specialist teachers in a variety of disciplines. These teachers would work in the provinces and spread knowledge among the Armenian people. The school advocated in its basic mission a guiding philosophy “to transmit the third form of education. To improve the national moral ethics,

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161 Sbidag Dedr.

162 Bashdonakir, Ganonakir yev Haydakir Khnamagalut’ian Azkayin Getronagan Varzharanin Ghalat’io (Bolis: M.G. Sareyan, 1886).
knowledge of writing, and languages in the nation."\textsuperscript{163} Clearly the plan was for Getronagan and its graduates to show dedication to the Armenian nation and uphold moral virtues. Yet in deciding how this nation was defined and the knowledge used to understand its values, the school leaders showed the undoubted influence of western education. Not only was Getronagan's general academic outline derived from the Paris École Centrale but also global learning played an important role in teacher training.\textsuperscript{164} Exposing students to knowledge about other nations and peoples was a reflection of the increasing westernization of Constantinople. This also sent a clear signal to young students. An educated individual not only recognized the value of national knowledge but was also exposed to a wide array of international issues.

Hundreds of miles away from Constantinople, in Erzerum another school had also opened - Sanasarian Varzharan. Sanasarian was a private institution modeled after a German Realschule and recognized by the Ottoman government as a lycée. Although a private institution, Sanasarian was still very much a community organization. Its guiding mission reflected this attachment. To provide for the "Armenian homeland, [and] teachers for Turkish Armenian schools who could transmit the gift of vision" was the leading objective.\textsuperscript{165} To do this the school would provide a general education in religion, language, historical knowledge and fine arts.\textsuperscript{166} Furthermore, students would receive a Christian education in Armenian that emphasized the history and traditions of the


\textsuperscript{164} \textit{Azkayin Getronagan Varzharan Ghalat'ia 1886-1920} (Bolis: O. Arzuman, 1920), 9.


\textsuperscript{166} Sanasarian Varzharan Garno Usumnagan Deghegakir 1891-92 yev 1892-93 Darinneru yev dendedagan deghegakir 1892-93 darvo (Bolis: Nerses J. Aramian, 1894).
Armenian Church. Professional knowledge would also find a place in the leading mission through the training of furniture makers and locksmiths. To achieve its goals, Sanasarian also attempted to integrate global understanding with localized knowledge. Hence, at first glance this mission appeared to be no different from those schools sponsored by the National Education Council or Getronagan, but the end vision was indeed different.\textsuperscript{167}

The location of Sanasarian in the hills of Anatolia radiated a much stronger sense of national foresight. Far from the center of western influence, this meant outside ideas were filtered through much stronger Armenian interests both locally and from Transcaucasia. It was after all what the people knew as historic Armenian land. And, it was the home to secret revolutionary societies. Therefore, the interpretation of established missions not only varied but also depended very much on mitigating factors. Yet, despite differences in how to achieve the principal mission of the Education Council, they were united in one goal. For each school clearly encouraged its students to identify with the Armenian nation.

\textbf{Educating women}

One of the founding principles of the Education Council was to provide education for boys and girls. This was a major victory for women and reflected the progressive nature of some of the community leaders.\textsuperscript{168} This clearly articulated statement meant that at least on paper women would be included in the educational system. The underlying thinking was that Armenian women as part of the educated masses would play an

\textsuperscript{167} Sanasarian fell under the jurisdiction of the Catholicos in Etchmiadzin.

\textsuperscript{168} \textit{Gazmagan Ganonakir}.
important role in developing a national consciousness not only as reproductive members of the community but also as transmitters of national culture.¹⁶⁹

At first the attitude toward women's education was disjointed and confused. Questions were never really answered about what type of schools to create for girls and what would be taught. However, over the last quarter of the century this changed. Reforms in the 1870's stipulated that in addition to creating primary and secondary schools in each village and district, there should be a school for boys and one for girls.¹⁷⁰ The concept of creating separate schools for girls ten years earlier was the precursor to the inclusion of coeducational institutions in the educational outline. The word coeducation, however, was never defined. Therefore, in some instances students attended the same school but boys and girls were separated in the classroom. One of the reasons given for this separation was that female students needed a place for their "handiwork" and recreation.¹⁷¹ This reflected the fact that the development of separate identities among Armenian men and women remained ingrained in the learning process. Through the curriculum and textbooks it was clear that the Armenian community was intent on providing only basic schooling for girls.

Education was an important tool for the advancement of women and the mere fact that women were being educated was enough cause for many to celebrate. However, coeducation did not necessarily lead to equality. For most women, their formal education rarely passed the primary school level. A few schools, such as the Hripsimian School for Girls in Smyrna and later the Esayan school in Constantinople, did provide secondary education for women. The French, German, and American missionaries were also


¹⁷⁰ *Hrahank Paregarkut'ian Azkayin Varzharanats* (Bolis: H. Muihendisian, 1873).

¹⁷¹ *Dzrakir Ėnthanur Ėrinats*. 
actively involved in the development of secondary education for women.\textsuperscript{172} It is difficult
to determine the exact number of Ottoman Armenian women who did receive an
education because statistics reported for coeducational institutions were often aggregated.
However, from the histories of individual regions it is clear the attitude toward the
education of women varied by province. For example women in the vilayet of Kharput
had more opportunities for education than those in Gesaria where many families rejected
the notion of educating their daughters. The Education Council noticed these disparities.
They were concerned that girls schools were not being established in many of the
provincial cities and villages despite a directive to do so.

• However limited, the education of women did play a significant and increasing
role in the development of national consciousness.\textsuperscript{173} This was done first through
informal teachings in the family. These informal lessons included songs, household
chores, and the symbolism of holiday traditions. It was the expectation and role of the
mother to continue these traditions and to teach her children their meanings. Over time
the progressive increase of women’s participation in formalized education and the
teaching profession was a second way of influencing the development of young children.
Exposure to formalized learning meant an increased possibility that the lessons passed on
to others would develop a uniform understanding of national symbols. Therefore,
although communal governing structures and control remained patriarchal, Armenian
women played an important though often understated role in the educational system and
society.

\textsuperscript{172} See B.J. Merguerian, “Mt. Holyoke Seminary in Bitlis: Providing an American

\textsuperscript{173} For more information regarding women’s role in the family see Villa and Matossian,
\textit{Armenian Village Life}.
Education in Constantinople

The educational movement began to show results with growing numbers of students and teachers. By 1905 the number of teachers in Constantinople reached 300 and in the primary schools alone there were 3,175 male and 2,457 female students.\textsuperscript{174} Even more significant was the growth of education for women. In 1865 there were only nineteen female teachers in Constantinople. However, by 1897 there were fifty-nine. By 1908 the number had reached one hundred and twenty six. Therefore, in Constantinople education for women was beginning to show results. Women were beginning to find a place in the teaching profession. Their influence on child development expanded from the private sphere of the home to also include the more public domain of educational institutions.\textsuperscript{175}

Growth was not only limited to primary education. Constantinople became a center for Armenian sponsored higher education and specialty institutions. These schools included the independent Berberian College founded by one of the prominent Armenian intellectuals of the period Řêt’eos Berberian. Likewise the Shahnazarian School opened in 1866 with financial support from Garabed Vartabed and Nubar Pasha.\textsuperscript{176} The most prominent higher education institution in Constantinople was Getronagan Varzharan. The main force behind Getronagan was the Patriarch of Constantinople Nersës Varzhabedian. He felt that there was a pressing need to establish a communal sponsored

\textsuperscript{174} M. Nat‘anian, “Azkayin Varzharanats Vijagatsoytsë,” \textit{Masis}, 30 April 1905, pp. 151-2. There is some discrepancy in numbers. The official statistics of the educational council list an increase from 3,765 students in 1897 to 5,379 total students in 1908. According to the numbers there were 1,669 male and 1,324 female students in primary school with the enrollment in kindergarten classes at 1,260 boys and 1,126 girls.

\textsuperscript{175} Vijagatsoyts T‘aghayin Varzharanats Gosdaninubulso (1 January 1908), BNP: DC 2/5 No. 095.

\textsuperscript{176} Nubar Nubarian Pasha (1825-99) was an Armenian statesman who served several times as the prime minister in Egypt.
higher education institution. Therefore, working with the Armenian communal government, particularly the Education Council, Getronagan opened its doors in 1886. The school became not only one of the most prominent academic institutions within the Ottoman Armenian community but also a center for intellectual and national educational growth. In addition to the Armenian run institutions, Constantinople was the home to the first American missionary college in the Ottoman Empire, Robert College, which many Armenian students attended.177

**Provincial education**

Although education policies focused primarily on Constantinople, the majority of Armenians resided in the provinces. Hence, there was always the danger that the academic spirit developing in Constantinople with its western elements did not relate to the needs and reality of Armenians living in the provinces. Although there were early efforts to create provincial administrative guidelines, it was not until ten years after the adoption of the initial Constitution that attention began to shift to the Armenians living in the interior regions. Thus, it was the hope that intellectual growth experienced by the Armenian community in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries would not be confined to Constantinople.

Discussions surrounding provincial representation in the National Assembly naturally filtered down to the Education Council. In addition to demanding representation, Armenians in the interior provinces began to press for educational opportunities. A plan was eventually launched to extend the centralized educational plan to the wider masses - from those in the western provinces of Erzerum and Van to the

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southern cities of Aintab and Adana. Many of the provincial cities and villages already incorporated informal learning into community life. By 1874 there were approximately 446 schools in the provinces catering to over 20,000 Armenian students.\textsuperscript{178} However, this was only a very small percentage of the population.

In 1871 the Education Council began to collect statistics for the provincial schools. They requested that each region provide a report listing how many boys and girls were being educated, the classes taught in the schools, the number of teachers, and the amount of school fees.\textsuperscript{179} One year later, the Central Education Council outlined the responsibilities of provincial education councils to include:

- General education to every class in the nation
- Provide boys and girls lessons in their religion, language, history and other important subjects
- Oversee school reforms and teachings of the central government
- Open schools in villages that do not have schools
- Help to develop education societies
- Teacher development\textsuperscript{180}

Further discussions of how to expand and extend the educational system to cater to a wider population culminated in the revision of the Councils' educational objectives in 1875. The focus remained on Constantinople as reflected in the continued responsibilities of 1) communicating with district councils, 2) the management of national schools, 3) supervision of the national school in Ghalatia, and 4) the orphanage at the national hospital (Sourp P‘rgich). However, at the same time the Council also


\textsuperscript{179} Deghegakir Azkayin Grt‘agan Khorhro (Gosdantnubolis: H. Muihendisian, 1871).

\textsuperscript{180} Hamaraduut‘iun Azkayin Getronagan Varch‘ut‘ian 1872-1873, 7.
added to its duties increased communication with the provinces. Therefore, although Constantinople did not lose its prominence, the revised objectives reflected the expansion of educational concerns. It became clearer that the Education Council intended to extend at least elementary education to the masses. The Education Council required that each village or district provide a building to use as a primary school. If there was no appropriate building available the district was required to submit a proposal for constructing a school to the Armenian national committee. The objective of basic education was to provide young children with the fundamental knowledge for interpreting national symbols. Through the systematic construction of these Armenian schools, the plan was to manifest a national ideology within the communal educational structure. Although the interior provinces were given the authority to establish their own auxiliary education committees, this was always done with the understanding that the provincial bodies were answerable to the central Armenian authorities.

The substantial growth of provincial education during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected the success of the Education Council’s efforts. During this time the Patriarchate, local government, and National Education Council collected statistical records for the Armenian population. These records were for taxation purposes as well as to monitor community activities. According to the Patriarchate, in 1834 there were only 115 Armenian schools located in provinces. However, during the course of the century these figures rose dramatically. Figures displayed in Table 4.1 reveal a detailed picture of the overall change in the number of

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181 Hamaraduut’iun Azkayin Getronagan Varch’ut’iun Usumnagan Khorhrots 1872-1874 amin af azkayin k’aghak’agan zhoghovn (Bolis: S. Mikayelian, 1875).

182 Hrahank Paregarkut’iun T’aghayin Varzharants Gosdantnubolso (Bolis: Sareyan, 1886).

schools and students enrolled in Armenian sponsored institutions between 1872 and 1914.

Table 4.1: Armenian schools and students in the provinces 1872-1913

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vilayet</th>
<th>1872-1873</th>
<th>1901-1902</th>
<th>1913-1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erzerum***</td>
<td>173 (7311)</td>
<td>134 (9853)</td>
<td>322 (21348)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitlis</td>
<td>20 (786)</td>
<td>38 (2199)</td>
<td>207 (3909)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van</td>
<td>56 (3374)</td>
<td>192 (11304)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharput</td>
<td>81 (3370)</td>
<td>82 (6955)</td>
<td>204 (15632)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyarbekir</td>
<td>33 (1278)</td>
<td>14 (1749)</td>
<td>122 (9660)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebastia</td>
<td>22 (1164)</td>
<td>117 (13071)</td>
<td>204 (20599)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trebizond</td>
<td>35 (1791)*</td>
<td>74 (4607)</td>
<td>190 (9254)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angora</td>
<td>61 (5776)</td>
<td>60 (7979)</td>
<td>126 (21298)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cilicia**</td>
<td>19 (1332)</td>
<td>98 (10844)</td>
<td>176 (c. 35000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>446 (23026)</td>
<td>673 (60631)</td>
<td>1746 (153404)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*117 less in summer  
**Includes the vilayets of Adana, Aleppo, and Marash  
***Incomplete data  
****1901 data does not include cazas of Naran and Tortum; 1913 does not include Papert and Tortum.

Based on these figures, in 1872 there were approximately 23,000 students in the provinces as compared to 60,000 in 1901 and 153,000 in 1913. This resulted in an overall growth of 637% in the number of students receiving an education between 1872 and 1913. It is clear that formal education was supported in all of the vilayets. However, schooling did vary based on region. Whilst, Erzerum reflected the largest number of students and institutions, in terms of growth, Bitlis and Sebastia measured the largest percentage rise between 1872 and 1914.

The table also reveals that between 1872 and 1901 the number of students in Erzerum, Dyarbekir, and Angora grew but there was a decline in the number of schools. In Kharput the number of schools only increased by one. This was because many of the

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“schools” in 1872 were in fact held in rented rooms or homes. Therefore, in the later periods with increased unification of educational institutions village schools were consolidated into larger and more comprehensive institutions. Periodic decline in the number of schools was also the result of destructive fires, earthquakes, the scarcity of good teachers, and lack of money.\textsuperscript{185} Another pertinent aspect related to student numbers is the fact attendance fluctuated between the summer and winter months. This is because, during the summer, families needed the children to work in the field.

The statistics become more powerful when compared to general population figures. By 1913-14, approximately 10\% of the Armenian population in Eastern Anatolia was enrolled in educational institutions. Again, these figures vary by vilayet suggesting variation in the prevalence of education and the importance attached to formal schooling. Table 4.2 shows that in the province of Bitlis only around 4\% of the population was enrolled in formal education whereas in Angora the number was closer to 16\%. Both Trebizond and Kharput also experienced high rates of educational participation.

Table 4.2: Percentages of students compared to population figures 1913-1914\textsuperscript{186}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vilayet</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
<th>Percentage Educated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erzerum**</td>
<td>202391</td>
<td>21348</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitlis</td>
<td>218404</td>
<td>9309</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van</td>
<td>110897</td>
<td>11304</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharput</td>
<td>124289</td>
<td>15632</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyarbekir</td>
<td>106867</td>
<td>9660</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebastia</td>
<td>204472</td>
<td>20599</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trebizond</td>
<td>73395</td>
<td>9254</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angora</td>
<td>135869</td>
<td>21298</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cilicia*</td>
<td>308979</td>
<td>c. 35000</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1485563</td>
<td>153404</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes the vilayets of Adana, Aleppo, and Marash
** Does not include Papert and Tortum.

\textsuperscript{185} Etmekjian, \textit{The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance}, 165.

\textsuperscript{186} \textit{Archives du Patriarcat de Constantinople Documents Officiels et Rapports}. BNP: DOR 3/1; 3/2: 3/4.
A case study of growth in provincial education: Erzerum

In the early part of the nineteenth century, education among the Ottoman Armenian communities of Erzerum was limited by the fact that a large portion of the population consisted of peasants. Therefore, education was often viewed as a luxury with little practical meaning. Attendance was sporadic as students appeared in classes for a few months or would leave after one or two years of study. Only a few students continued on to higher education.

By the end of the century these early forms of education began to evolve into a more formalized system. The National Education Council served as a central academic coordinating body. Likewise the provincial education council, and benevolent societies, such as the Miaszial Ėngerut’iun provided the basis for educational growth and reform. New schools concentrating primarily on elementary education began to make use of educational materials such as textbooks, blackboards and desks. In the past schools had often been the product of informal settings - private houses, a church, or in the back of a local merchant shop with students sitting on mats.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, statistical records collected for the Armenian population in Erzerum, listed in Table 4.3, reveal a dramatic rise in education from 1901 to 1913 both in the number of schools and the number of students.\(^{187}\)

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\(^{187}\) For purposes of this dissertation, the statistics are for the sandjak of Erzerum primarily because these statistics are more complete for the time periods in question than for those available for the entire province. This sandjak includes the cazas of Erzerum, Narman, Khnus, Terchan, Sper, Kiskim, Pasin, Tortum, Papert, and Kghi.
Table 4.3: Educational Statistics - Erzerum Sandjak

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>6,938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>7,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>13,932</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The statistics for 1901 do not include the caza of Narman and Tortum. The statistics for 1909 do not include Kghi, Narman, and Tortum and the figures for 1913 do not include both Papert and Tortum.

As remarkable as this growth is, most likely the larger social context is also reflected in the reported statistics. For example, in 1901 a devastating earthquake struck Erzerum. Therefore, the figures for that year are probably under-reported because of widespread destruction. Furthermore, the tremendous growth between 1909 and 1913 was most likely affected by the new Ottoman Constitution. Immediately prior to the approval of the new Constitution there was widespread anxiety among the people. This unease also extended to the schools which faced low enrollment figures. However, the perception of openness and freedom that followed later led to increases in student attendance.

Educational Life in the City of Erzerum

The young people within the city of Erzerum soon found themselves with a widening variety of educational opportunities. New schools were built to accommodate increasing educational needs. By the beginning of the twentieth century

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189 For a general discussion of the educational institutions in Erzerum see, Ghazar-Ch'arek, Hushamadian Parter Hayk'i Garinabadum (Beirut: Dbaran Mshag, 1957); H.A. Tarbassian, Erzurum (Garin): Its Armenian History and Traditions (The Garin Compatriotic Union of the United States: 1975).
there were ten community-sponsored schools in Erzerum.\textsuperscript{190} These included the Ardznian School for boys established in 1811,\textsuperscript{191} the Getronagan Jemaran (Central School),\textsuperscript{192} and the coeducational Msrian,\textsuperscript{193} Dēr Azarian,\textsuperscript{194} Aghabalian,\textsuperscript{195} and Kavafian institutions. Throughout the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these schools expanded to accommodate the growing student population. The number of

\textbf{Figure 4.1}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c|c|c|c|c}
& 1872 & 1901 & 1909 & 1913 \\
Number of Students & 1310 & 1840 & 2168 & 2629 \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{190} This definition of community sponsored schools does not include those created by the Catholic or American missionaries.

\textsuperscript{191} The school was named in memory of the Ardzn city destroyed by the Seljuks in the 11th century.

\textsuperscript{192} The school was established in 1874. The faculty included three university educated teachers from Constantinople.

\textsuperscript{193} The Msrian school operated from 1888-1914 and was named for its benefactor. It had two buildings for both elementary and kindergarten education, a playground and dining hall. This was a coeducational school and students after graduation attended either Sanasarian or Hripsimian.

\textsuperscript{194} The Dēr Azarian school was a coeducational kindergarten and elementary school that operated from 1860-1914.

\textsuperscript{195} The Aghabalian school was named after its principal Mgrdich Aghabalian. The school provided elementary education to boys and girls until 1914.

101
students enrolled in Erzerum’s schools is shown in Figure 4.1. This reflects a two-fold increase from the period of 1872 to 1913.\footnote{196}

The most famous school associated with Erzerum was Sanasarian. It began in 1881 as a boarding school for boys with only nineteen students.\footnote{197} The school remained in Erzerum until 1912 when it moved to Sepastia.\footnote{198} It was organized as a German Realschule and licensed by the Ottoman government as a lycée.\footnote{199} According to the institutional regulations, the school’s role was to educate Armenian children in concurrence with the spirit and regulations of the Armenian Church. It was also supposed to provide education in crafts and industrial knowledge.\footnote{200} With this guide, Sanasarian was divided into two divisions. The first division focused solely on academic education and the second on crafts. On the one hand Sanasarian was a public institution within the Armenian community. It drew students from the masses and participated in the city’s daily life. Yet on the other hand, it was also a private institution. The school remained free from the jurisdiction of the National Education Council and therefore had more


\footnote{197} There were also a large number of day students.

\footnote{198} Given the substantial changes to the school when it moved to Sepastia, this dissertation examines Sanasarian only in the context of its time in Erzerum.

\footnote{199} For more information concerning the German schools see chapter seven or Albisetti, Secondary School Reform in Imperial Germany.

\footnote{200} See Himnagan Ganonratut’iun Sanasarian Varzharani (Bolis: Onnig Parseghian yev Vorti, 1910), Part A. Article 3.

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flexibility with its curriculum and organizational structure. Of all of the schools located in Erzerum, Sanasarian was the most visible because of its status as the only institution of higher education.

The Armenians of Erzerum had a progressive attitude toward education. This was apparent not only through educational opportunity for young men but also through the support shown by the Armenian community leaders toward schooling for girls. Many of the Armenian schools included coeducational lessons - a concept that countries such as France did not fully accept until the middle of the twentieth century. Likewise, the Armenians embraced the notion of women's education through the creation of girl's schools. The movement began with the establishment of the first of these schools in Erzerum, Sourp Tarkmanchats (Holy Translators), in 1870. The second school, Hripsimian, was created in 1875. The creation of these schools resulted in a substantial rise in the number of female students.

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201 Sanasarian was initially criticized for taking students from the national schools. However, the argument was posed that these national schools were not equipped to provide the same type of higher education and qualifications that students needed to study in Constantinople or other countries.

Figure 4.2 reflects this growth. During the period of 1872 to 1909, the number of female students doubled. In 1901, the figure even surpassed the number of boys. Although educational differences did remain, nonetheless, progress had been made in ensuring education was extended to both boys and girls. The expansion of the Hripsimian School from a middle school to include a high school and teachers’ preparation program provided further new opportunities for women.

Western educational institutions, both French and American, were also a part of the academic community in Erzerum. The Armenian Franciscan fathers operated a French lycée with a curriculum that included Armenian, Ottoman, and French languages, the sciences, and a string orchestra. The school attracted students from various religious backgrounds. A Catholic Boys school was also established in 1867 and a Girls school

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204 The school attracted Catholics, members of the Armenian Apostolic church and Turks (including the two sons of the governor Tahsin Pasha).
operated by the Armenian nuns was attached to the *Anarad Hghut'ian* (Immaculate Conception) convent. The curriculum in both schools included Armenian and French languages, sciences, and religion. Meanwhile, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missionaries financed a Protestant boys' and girls' school. While the religious component of these western institutions was clearly evident, they also continued to cultivate a national awareness among the students.

**Schools sponsored by benevolent societies**

By the twentieth century educational growth and expansion reflected the strength of the Armenian community in reaching out to the population. Furthermore, this system reflected diversity in institutional type and of the student body. In addition to the concept of community sponsored schools catering to boys and girls, more traditional monastic institutions continued to operate. The establishment of charity schools also helped to achieve the objective of providing an education to all Armenian children. Until the middle half of the nineteenth century, children from poor families had limited educational opportunity. Education during the early part of the century had clearly been the product of the upper class. It was the wealthy who could afford to send their children away to school or pay for private tutors. However, this began to change. Using a concept incorporated from the English tradition, the societies operated primarily in the interior provinces with the distinct purpose of providing educational opportunity for the poor.

*Antznvēr* (Altruistic) was one of the first societies to open in Constantinople. It began in the 1860's with the principal objective of educating provincial Armenians who

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205 The Protestant Boys school Mancheru Partzrakoyn Varzharan (Upper School for Boys) until 1897 was known as Masyats Varzharan.

had come to Constantinople to study the Armenian language.\footnote{For information regarding societies see H. Siruni, \textit{Bolis yev ir terê}, Vol. 4. (Antilias: Armenian Catholicosate, 1988).} The Antznvēr society reflected the general nature of society schools that existed in Constantinople. Their primary objective was to bring educational enlightenment to the masses. This meant promoting education for women, providing opportunities for poor students, and encouraging increased awareness of Armenian customs and traditions.

In Smyrna, educational societies assisted in the coordination of financial support for schools. With this support of the wider community organized under the leadership of charitable societies, education began to transgress class boundaries over the last half of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, these societies provided education in areas where there was no formal Armenian education. In these locales students were taught in Ottoman or Kurdish rather than the Armenian language.\footnote{\textit{Miatsial Ėngerut'iunk Hayots Nbadag Hayasdani yev Giligiots mēch Gr't ut'iun Dzavalel deghegakir Yergamia 1880 Junis 1 - 1882 Mayis 31}, (Bolis).}

Societies also performed an important task of transgressing gender lines by helping to develop educational opportunities for young Armenian women. This was especially true for girls from poor families. Azkanver Hayuhyatz Ėngerut 'iun (Patriotic Armenian Women’s Society) was established in Constantinople in 1879 for the purpose of providing instruction for young Armenian girls. Women served as the organization’s executive leaders. The role of the leadership was to collect donations, prepare the budget, and present reports. The Council established one school in Kghi and had plans to open schools in Van and Moush.\footnote{LPA: 133/110-11.}

Educational societies also stressed the need for teacher preparation. Madt‘ēos Mamurian and Bishop Melkiseteg established the \textit{Grtaser Ėngerut'iun} (Society dedicated
to education) in 1881.\textsuperscript{210} The society consisted primarily of graduates of the Hripsimian secondary school for girls in Smyrna. The members helped to establish a kindergarten in Smyrna. However, the society's principle ambition was to prepare female teachers.\textsuperscript{211} Meanwhile, \textit{Tbrotsaser Hayouhiazt} (Armenian women dedicated to the support of schools) founded in 1879, also dedicated its work to increasing the number of female teachers. The goal was for these teachers to help with the spread of education throughout Armenia. The society opened a school in the outskirts of Constantinople supervised by a committee of women.\textsuperscript{212}

While some societies confined their influence to a particular city, others reached a wider range of individuals. The most active Armenian charitable organizations were the \textit{Araradian}, \textit{Tbrosaerts Arewelyan}, and \textit{Cilicia} societies. \textit{Araradian} was created in 1876 for the purpose of opening schools in Van, Erzerum and Kharpuit. Meanwhile, \textit{Tbrosasirts Arewelyan} was created in the same year to support educational development in Moush, Bitlis and Dyarbekir. Five years earlier students and alumni of Nubar Shahnazarian College had established the \textit{Cilicia} society. In 1880, these three societies combined to form the \textit{Miatsial Ńegerut'iun Hayots} (United Society of Armenians).

The newly created Miatsial incorporated members of the three organizations into one leadership body. The leadership council carried out the primary work of preparing the budget and curriculum.\textsuperscript{213} With the unification of the three societies, by 1881 the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{210} Madt'ēos Mamurian (1830-1901) was born in Smyrna and worked there as a writer, journalist and educator. One of his most important works was the monthly Arewelyan Mamul.
\item \textsuperscript{211} Sisak, "Izmiri Paresiragan Ėngerut'iunkč," \textit{Arewelyan Mamul} (April 15 1899): 324-331.
\item \textsuperscript{212} LPA: 133/110-11.
\item \textsuperscript{213} A central council consisting of 72 to 80 members from various organizations supplemented the work of a leadership council. \textit{Miatsial Ŗngerut'iunk Hayots nbadag}.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Miatsial sponsored twenty-six schools for boys and eight schools for girls. These schools educated more than 3,000 students (2,512 male students, 800 female) and employed seventy-nine teachers. Furthermore, in Cilicia, the Miatsial provided textbooks for orphans. Money to support these institutions came from members of the Armenian community.

Ensuring the quality of societies and their schools was a difficult task. In 1887 the National Education Council established strict regulatory guidelines. This resulted in temporary suspensions, or removal from the approved list, for those who did not meet the national standards.\(^{214}\) Regardless of the attempts at quality control, deplorable conditions remained in many of the society schools. When a former Russian vice counsel visited a Miatsial school in a village of Alur outside of Van, what he saw were more than twenty 10 to 13 year old students in a large room with no chairs, carpet or blackboard. He remarked that it would be “better to close a school like this then to continue in this condition.”\(^{215}\) The school received little help from the villagers who did not want to send their children to school in the summer when they were needed to work in the fields. To these people bread was more important than education.

In the outlying provinces, societies had little money to provide teachers with training or education. Schools near Van were criticized for their poor teachers. Many of these teachers had received their own training in village schools. One individual openly criticized the “\textit{dked yev abigar}” (illiterate and incompetent) nature of the teachers.\(^{216}\)

\(^{214}\) In 1908-1911 the list of recognized societies included 18 names. Six others were required to change their regulations and five were removed from the list because of problems with regulations. \textit{Deghegakir Hamaraduut’ian 1908-1911-i}.

\(^{215}\) Vanetsi, “Miatsial Ėngerut’iants varzharank‘,” \textit{Arewelyan Mamul} (December 1884): 650.

\(^{216}\) Ibid, 649.
Poor villagers saw no point in sending their children to schools with a low quality of instruction. According to some people these teachers could not even read books. Since each teacher supervised approximately forty students little attention could be given to any one student.

The lack of teachers and quality reflected the financial difficulties of the charity organizations. The Miatsial often responded to criticisms by citing the lack of money in the provinces.\textsuperscript{217} The National Education Council did try to rectify the problem of poor instruction by introducing procedures for teacher certification. These reforms calling for the granting of teaching certificates through an examination process are discussed in chapter six. Nevertheless, striving to transgress class boundaries and develop an educational system, the society schools only met partial success. The society institutions continued to reflect a class hierarchy within the Armenian community through the quality of academic institutions.

\section*{Conclusion}

The concept of formal education among the Ottoman Armenian community experienced substantial growth during the nineteenth century. Its status of national importance became clearer with the official recognition and formation of an Educational Council by the 1863 Armenian Constitution. In the years to follow, the philosophical framework and guidelines established by the Council reflected a systematized agenda for educational growth. Although the principal leaders were located in Constantinople, over time educational policies expanded to encompass the interests of provincial Armenians. In bringing the two disparate parts together, education reflected a larger communal desire for change and development. Institutions were established in a similar manner that

\footnote{\textit{Miatsial Ենգերտ’ինք Հայոց նբադագ.}}
corresponded to the ideological stance of the elite. Through this centralized control, the hope was that education would promote identity, cultural responsibility and loyalty to the nation.
CHAPTER 5
THE CREATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

Introduction

Relying on a vast network of Armenian schools, the ultimate goal of the Educational Council was to construct an efficient organizational structure and curricular framework. The curricular framework evolved from the structural regulatory guidelines of the Council and individual institutions. The fundamental framework purposefully delineated the philosophy of the educational leaders. This chapter examines supporting policies and guidelines meant to help achieve these goals. This includes building educational support in the community to provide for school financing and the construction of schools. Drawing on this communal support, the educational leaders were in a powerful position to determine what knowledge was important. This process of legitimization began with the construction of admissions policies. The policies reflected the desire for student attainment of basic knowledge prior to beginning their formalized education. Furthermore, they suggest the value that policy makers granted to certain basic skills. More importantly, however, school financing policies, building construction, and admissions standards reflect a coordinated movement toward a national educational agenda.

School Buildings

Students were taught to recognize the centrality of the Armenian Church to the communal structure. This first became apparent to students not by studying the
architectural style of Armenian churches in the classroom but rather based on the building itself. Usually located in the center of the village or the Armenian quarter, the church was in many cases attached to, next to, or contained a school. From the beginning, the Education Council faced the realization that there were simply not enough schools. Many of the schools already in existence were housed in private homes or churches. Hence, the Council issued a directive stating that each district should open a school unless they already contained one sponsored by the community or a charitable organization. The directive also provided for districts with small numbers of students to join with other districts to create a school. Similarly, villages with fewer than twenty students were allowed to merge with a larger village. Therefore, in some cases smaller schools actually closed.218 These regulations were reminiscent of the French Loi Guizot of 1833. This law stipulated that each community had to maintain a school and schoolhouse but if a village did not have enough resources the state provided aid.219 At the secondary level, districts with a large number of students were also responsible for providing further education.220

Through the school building, the church retained a bond with education. For students the visual picture was one of the many invisible links between the church and education. This is nowhere more apparent than at Getronagan. Located at the base of the hill leading to Pera, the school was (and still is) attached to the church of St. Gregory. In the school courtyard students turned to see the entrance to the church appear before their eyes. This close proximity between the school and church ensured students would attend

\[218 \text{Dzrakir Ńihanur Ďrinats.}\]

\[219 \text{Anderson, Education in France 1848-1870, 30.}\]

\[220 \text{Ganonatur t'ien Ŋihanur Paregarkut'ian.}\]
religious services on major holy days. In doing so the students would recognize not only the overall symbolic nature of the church but also its rituals, celebrations, and language.

Getronagan was not the only school to have such a close attachment to the church. During its first few years of operation Sanasarian was housed in the Erzerum Aleichnortaran (Diocese). When Sanasarian moved to the newly built Hripsimian girls' school, it was still not far from the church. In fact, appearing in the background of this picture of one of Sanasarian's buildings is the church steeple.

Illustrations 1 & 2 Sanasarian School Buildings

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221 Sanasarian's move to the space occupied by the Hripsimian school symbolized its highly regarded status through the ability to displace another institution. At one point there was discussion of moving Sanasarian to Kharpox but the idea did not materialize.
The location of a new school depended on the placement of the church. In addition, for many parents, the concern was that the school be housed in the Armenian quarter. Housing a school outside of the quarter meant that during the walk to and from lessons young Armenian boys and girls faced the taunts and rock-throwing of Turkish children. Nevertheless the place of the school in the Armenian quarter gave increasing prominence to the status of education as a national communal responsibility.

By solving the issue of locale, educators could begin to think about the interior layout of the school. For many small villages a school meant one room. Therefore, the issue became one of organizing lessons for all of the students in the limited space. Students in many of these small village schools listened to their lessons sitting on floor mats. An essential part of each school was the courtyard.

Education was not only confined to one-room schools. Others began to reflect the educational growth and modernization. Materials such as chairs, textbooks, desks and blackboards slowly began to appear in the classroom. This was especially true for wealthier institutions located in the city. Sanasarian was lucky enough to be able to capitalize upon the resources of its wealthy benefactors. Therefore, the school was not
confined to one or even two rooms. Rather it continued to grow, including a new building used to house additional classrooms, a crafthouse, directors' offices, and physics and chemistry rooms. The laboratories were filled with science equipment brought from Europe.

This picture of one of Sanasarian's dormitory rooms shows students were not required to sleep on mats. Each student had a bed with sheets and blankets. The large room was filled with pictures reflecting the local nature and undoubtedly the institutional benefactor.

**Illustration 3 - Sanasarian Dormitory Room**

School Funding and Finances

By the late nineteenth century, education for all Armenian children became a communal responsibility. Intellectuals understood education to be an important component of the nation building process. However, before achieving this goal, education had to overcome class boundaries not only in terms of admissions and attendance but also through costs.
Communal financial backing was a clear necessity to ensure the successful development of a wide educational network. In many instances the sponsorship of wealthy community members helped to establish the earliest Armenian schools. Schools were named after benefactors; for instance Amira Bejzian in Constantinople and Mrgdich' Sanasarian’s mother in Van. Wealthy families also donated funds so others aside from their own children received an education. Although some institutions, such as Sanasarian, continued to operate with the support of a single wealthy benefactor, this alone could not fund an entire educational system. Rather the diversification of the educational effort meant school funding relied on student tuition and entrance fees, gifts, the payment of fines, education charities, and yearly contributions.\textsuperscript{222} In some locales collected funds at hantēses or relied on church donations.\textsuperscript{223}

Educational centralization brought the issue of financial support for building schools into the wider public domain. In addition to organizational plans, each district council submitted a school budget to the Education Committee. This budget was used to determine the amount of money allocated from the national budget for educational purposes and also ensured that poorer districts received outside help. If a district discovered they did not have enough money to open a school, the province and the central educational committee divided the costs.\textsuperscript{224}

Educational expenses proved to be a financial burden for many families. Attendance at some primary schools was free. However, others did charge tuition. Poverty in the provinces meant those schools that did charge tuition often had to reduce

\textsuperscript{222} Dzrakir Ėnthanur Ŗrinats.

\textsuperscript{223} A hantēs was a school assembly held usually on special holidays. Often these assemblies include recitations by students, plays, or musical events. Gazmagan Ganonakir.

\textsuperscript{224} Dzrakir Ėnthanur Ŗrinats.
payments to alleviate the financial burden. Frequently payment was arranged through a barter system. The exchange of goods meant tuition was calculated in terms of bags of wheat.\textsuperscript{225} Another method schools used to support poor students was selling writing supplies to those who could afford to pay and then giving these same supplies to poor students for free.\textsuperscript{226}

Many families would sacrifice their well being for the education of a child. The hope was that child (particularly in the case of a son) would bring honor and later financial reward. Investment in education at institutions such as Sanasarian required a larger commitment. Students were charged an entrance fee and yearly boarding costs. In addition, a yearly fee was charged to students who chose to study instrumental music as an elective. These costs covered teacher salaries, materials, and textbooks. Although theoretically this should have limited the number of students who received such instruction, in reality there were many students who benefited from free violin and piano lessons.\textsuperscript{227}

To alleviate the burden of educational costs, many students at Sanasarian relied on scholarships. In fact, there were nearly as many fee-paying students as those who enrolled for free. Consequently, by 1899 out of 678 admitted students, 393 had paid fees while 285 had attended for free.\textsuperscript{228} Getronagan also adopted a scholarship policy. Although the opening of the institution was delayed for several years due to the lack of funding, when it did open students were divided into three categories. This was based on


\textsuperscript{226} Nerkin Ganonakir Azkayin Varzharanats Hasdadial (Bolis: K. Baddadlian, 1890).

\textsuperscript{227} Sanasarian Varzharan Garo Usumnagan Deghegakirk 1891-92 ye 1892-93.

\textsuperscript{228} Hnakamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani 1901-1906 (Bolis: V. Yev H. Dér-\-Nersesian, 1908).
economic need.\textsuperscript{229} The policy of free education was regulated using an examination process. After passing the exam, students were also required to present to the Patriarchate a certificate stating their family was unable to pay for education.\textsuperscript{230} Hence, with the conscious support of school trustees, the Council and the Patriarch to educate all students, there appeared new inspiration to pursue further education.

Money received by the schools sustained the daily operating expenses and helped to achieve educational reforms. At Sanasarian money collected through tuition and other means covered equipment (furniture and medicine), supplies (student supplies included textbooks, science materials, and literature), and extracurricular materials such as the music room, book bindery, craft house, museum and library.\textsuperscript{231}

Salaries also constituted a large portion of school expenditures. Given the relatively secure financial status of Sanasarian and Getronagan, teacher salaries were much higher than those offered at village and charity schools. It is not surprising that institutional directors received the highest salaries at Sanasarian. The highest paid director was Hovsep Madat’ian who received 216 lira per month. The two other directors both received a salary of 192 lira per month. In general the salaries of faculty members

\textsuperscript{229} The first group consisted of wealthy students who could afford the full tuition. Other students were charged half tuition with the third group attending for free. \textit{Hamaraduut’iun K’aghak’agan Zhoghovots 1877-1878 Azkayin Getronagan Varch’ut’iian} (Constantinople: Y.M. Dndesian, 1879); \textit{Bashdonakir, Ganonakir yev Haydakir Khnamagalut’iian Azkayin Getronagan Varzharanin Ghalat’io} (Bolis: M.G. Sareyan, 1886).


\textsuperscript{231} A school dress code also meant a portion of the budget went to the cost of clothing. In addition to educational materials, the budget also helped to maintain a wide range of institutional costs. Among the operating costs were salaries, food, operational expenses (firewood, water, and cleaning), and record-keeping. These costs were an essential part of the operational budget. The payment of these bills was directly related to the opening of schools, particularly in the winter when institutions incurred high heating costs. \textit{Hnkamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani 1901-1906}. 
were much lower. For example, the Armenian teacher was paid 72 lira per month.
Meanwhile, the French teacher, paid a salary of 120 lira per month, was on a much higher level. This difference in faculty salaries between the French and Armenian language instructors reflected the realization of what the school needed to pay in order to attract a French teacher to Erzerum. Furthermore, this also meant the school felt teaching French was so important they were willing to pay to attract a teacher.

In addition to the wage differentials based on institutional type, teacher salaries reflected a gender gap. At the Miatsial sponsored schools, female teachers were clearly paid much less than their male counterparts. So, on the one hand there was a desire to attract women to the teaching profession. However, on the other, it was clear that regardless of ability or knowledge the worth of a female teacher was not equivalent to a man’s. Presumably the rationale for this difference was partially based on the fact that a male teacher would need to support a family with his salary.

Intangible assistance in the form of volunteer hours given to the construction and running of schools also reflected a societal commitment to the operation of educational institutions. It provided an opportunity for the Armenian people to feel a part of a shared national responsibility and to have a stake in its progress – on a material basis through the payment of tuition and on a non-material basis through activism.

Admissions policies

School leaders and the National Education Council served as the primary creators of institutional admissions policies. These policies functioned as the first right of passage into formal education. Yet, even more significant was the fact these policies clearly

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distinguished what the leaders valued as important foundations for the educational system.

The first step for a student was to present his/her baptismal record.\textsuperscript{233} This requirement is significant in its reflection of continuity between religion and education. Furthermore, it exposed those students who were not baptized within the Armenian Apostolic church. Students were also obligated to present a certificate of good health. At many institutions a parent or guardian was also asked to sign a pledge adhering to the school regulations. This requirement was based on the schools’ right to discipline students. Therefore, with this signature the parents gave their approval for teachers and school directors to discipline a child as they saw fit.\textsuperscript{234} In addition to these rules, students hoping to enter Getronagan had to provide educational background information, parental names, occupations, and the name of the district where they lived.

Completing these tasks led students to the next stage – the examination process. This varied by institution. At one of the Mekhitarist schools, for admission a student had to read a passage in Armenian and in French.\textsuperscript{235} Meanwhile, the first class of students admitted to Getronagan in 1886 were required to pass examinations in religion, Armenian language, history, geography, mathematics, Ottoman, French, penmanship and drawing.\textsuperscript{236}

\textsuperscript{233} Since birth certificates were not issued, baptismal records also served the role of showing the time period when a student was born.

\textsuperscript{234} \textit{Nerk’in Ganonakir}.

\textsuperscript{235} \textit{Azkayin Varzharan Viennagan}.

\textsuperscript{236} \textit{Bashdonakir, Ganonakir Yev Haydakir}. Although there was a clear admissions policy on paper, actual practice reflected different interpretations of the results. When one student, Hrachia Adjafian (1876-1953), applied to Getronagan he made a request to be allowed to skip the first year because he had already received basic educational training. His friend who applied at the same time made a similar request. The school management
Similar to Getronagan, the entrance examinations for Sanasarian reflected the need for basic knowledge. At first, these entrance examinations were relatively lenient. Students had to be able to read, write, and speak in Armenian and to complete mathematical problems. However, the desire to raise the academic standards led to a noticeable policy change in 1909. At that time, entering students were expected to pass examinations in religion, Armenian, Ottoman, mathematics, and science. However, the policy at the professional school remained modest. The only requirement was that a student be enrolled at Sanasarian or come from a national primary school.

Although these admissions guidelines were quite basic, they provide insight into the institutional frame and curricular leanings. Most of the schools required the knowledge of the local indigenous languages - Armenian and Ottoman. However, other subjects such as mathematics and reading were also viewed as important basic skills. Based on these foundations, schools could encourage students to expand their knowledge.

Student Backgrounds

Admissions policies were clearly devised to attract Armenian students. Although schools would occasionally accept Greek students (or those who were half Greek), requiring the knowledge of the Armenian language naturally resulted in a majority of students coming from Armenian homes. With this uniformity of ethnic background,

decided that each student needed to take the entrance examinations. However, according to Adjařian, after receiving similar scores the friend was placed in a higher class. Meanwhile Adjařian was forced to remain in the lower class until he proved himself worthy of advancement by passing further examinations. According to Adjařian, the reason for this discrepancy was that the friends' father and the institutional director were friends. See Hr. Ajaryan Gyankis Husherits (Yerevan: Midk Hrardaragh'ut'jun, 1967).

237 K’ařamia Deghegarik Sanasarian Varzharani 1906-1910 Garin (Ghalatia: Shant, 1911).
educational officials could presume a certain amount of local knowledge based on folklore and popular memory.

Hoping to attract students from the provinces, Getronagan placed advertisements in numerous Armenian newspapers and journals encouraging pupils to sit for the entrance examinations. However, for the most part Getronagan students came from Constantinople. The first ten years of Getronagan’s existence marked a steady growth in the number of students as reflected in figure 5.1. With this growth there was an increase in the class years as students in the earlier classes were able to advance into the next stages. This growth followed the general trend toward increased involvement in

**Figure 5.1**

Getronagan Students 1886 - 1915

education. Similar to other institutions, Getronagan was affected by societal turmoil. In 1896 institutional growth suddenly experienced a sharp decline due to massacres of Armenians in the provinces and general fear in Constantinople. Between 1896 and 1908 the school was often closed for many months, class years were cut due to a lack of students and the building was used to house refugees and emigrants. When Getronagan did reopen there were not enough students for an upper class so it began instead with
primary education.\textsuperscript{238} Enrollment peaked at the time of the new Ottoman Constitution in 1908 reflecting the general overall attitude of excitement. In addition, the formation of a new government brought hope for change. However, as further decline continued under the reign of the Young Turks, hope did not turn into reality.

The trend toward growing student enrollment met by societal turmoil was also evident at Sanassarian. Figure 5.2 reflects the changing school enrollment figures and also shows the number of students who left before the end of the school year.\textsuperscript{239} For the most part students did remain in school until the end of the year. The most apparent exception was in 1901 when a devastating earthquake hit the region. Families were forced to live in tents because of widespread damage and for fear of further aftershocks. The school also experienced a dramatic drop in 1891 due to a cholera epidemic.

\textbf{Figure 5.2}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{jw.png}
\caption{Number of Sanassarian Students}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{238} Azkayin Getronagan Varzharan Ghalat'ia.

\textsuperscript{239} K'\textit{s}anamia Deg hegakir Sanassarian Varzharani; Hnkamia Deg hegakir Sanassarian Varzharani; K'\textit{a}\textit{f}amia Deg hegakir Sanassarian Varzharani.
Enrollment remained low for several years. The lowest point occurred in 1895-96. This is not surprising given the Hamidyan massacres and the general feeling of fear among the Armenian population. At this time Sanasarian and the Armenian Church also came under suspicion for keeping guns for Armenian revolutionaries. At one point, Sarkis Soghigian saw the school was under the watchful eye of the governmental soldiers. He secretly went to appeal to the Russian and British counsels seeking assistance and protection. Yielding no results and with the school still in danger Soghigian invited the Turkish soldiers to inspect the school. However, before doing so, anything that the Armenians feared might be seen as suspicious was hidden or buried. This included teaching materials such as science equipment. Finding nothing, the school was able to remain open under the protection of government soldiers.\textsuperscript{240} Not until several years later did institutional enrollment again increase substantially. However, in 1912 Sanasarian closed and moved resulting in a new institution and structure erected in its place.

The principal objective of Sanasarian was to educate Armenian children. School notices regularly appeared in newspapers and journals in Tiflis, Constantinople and Smyrna. Despite these attempts to attract students from the larger Armenian population most of the pupils came from the interior, places such as Arabkir, Yevtokia, Trebizond and Van.\textsuperscript{241} Students from the Sandjak of Erzerum constituted the largest number from any one region and were the majority of those who attended the craft school.\textsuperscript{242} They

\textsuperscript{240} "Prof. S. Soghigian Mahe," \textit{Baikar}, 1935 May 28. GAT: Barsamian #276.

\textsuperscript{241} Arabkir 59; Trebizond 51; Yevtokia 31; Van 25. \textit{K'sanamia Deghejakir Sanasarian Varzharani; Hnkamia Deghejakir Sanasarian Varzharani; K'aramia Deghejakir Sanasarian Varzharani}. For a listing of students’ villages in the first five years see BNU, Fonds Ormanian, Serie II Erzerum, Annees 1880.

\textsuperscript{242} From 1881-1910 out of a total of 772 students at Sanasarian, 286 were from the sandjak of Erzerum (218 from the city of Erzerum, 26 from Khnus, 15 from Kghi, 14
came from a variety of backgrounds. This ranged from those born into wealthy established families to poor students supported by scholarship. Nonetheless, with the majority of the students hailing from the provinces, the school did fulfill one of its missions - to provide educational opportunity to young Armenians from the interior.

The fluctuation in student numbers at Sanasarian, Getronagan, and many of the Armenian schools reflected the fact that educational institutions could not escape their greater external environment. Although the Armenians had established a structure to regulate and operate the educational system within their own community, they had the inescapable role of being pulled by multiple obligations and influences including natural disasters and the greater Ottoman state.

Conclusion

The implicit and explicit educational mission was to create a schooling system for the benefit of the nation. The goal of this system was for students to complete their education and become leaders, workers, and individuals who understood moral, civic and intellectual responsibilities. Through the establishment of centralized regulations, the National Education Council brought organizational structure to this agenda. They created an outline for educational progress with the construction of school buildings, finance structures, and admissions policies serving as the guiding structure for the educational system. Although individual institutions interpreted this end in different ways, the concept of education was one that extended beyond educational leaders to the masses. Through the feeling of collective responsibility, the Council and the schools could begin to think about how the lessons taught in these institutions would achieve the objectives articulated by the educational leaders.

from Papert, 5 from the Erzerum plain, 4 from Pasen, 3 from Terchan and 1 from Kiskim).
CHAPTER 6
GUIDING THE CURRICULUM: THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERS
AND TEACHERS

Introduction

Trustees, institutional benefactors/founders, directors, and teachers all played an
important role in developing an acute sense of cultural awareness among the students.
They defined education, unified and systematized the academic outline and organizational
structure while at the same time promoting national consciousness. Although the
guidelines were created in centralized fashion, the implementation of regulations varied.
As this chapter reveals, important decisions shaping the educational transformation came
from the various institutional actors, in particular school directors.

This chapter also focuses on teachers and their training to show how the
background of educators influenced the curricular content. The majority of the teachers
and institutional directors were influenced by the local traditions having been born and
raised in the Ottoman territories. However, many were also graduates of Transcaucasian
educational institutions or sent for further education outside of the region. Therefore, the
ideas these teachers brought to the educational system reflected diversity as well as a
renewed national interest, historical, and geographical awareness.
Benefactors

Learned and wealthy men of the Armenian community were often called upon to serve as educational benefactors and school trustees. As donors these individuals provided the necessary funds for establishing schools. However, the extent to which they were involved in running institutions varied widely. Some benefactors were happy to leave operational issues for the educators to deal with while others were heavily involved in the creation of the institutional mission.

Mgrdich' Sanasarian (1818-1889), the benefactor behind the establishment of Sanasarian Varzharan is an example of the former. Born in Tiflis and of Vanetsi (from Van) descent, Sanasarian’s grandfather Kevork was a merchant who traveled to Persia and India buying jewels that he would later sell in Western Europe.\textsuperscript{243} Because there was no formal Armenian school in Tiflis when Mgrdich’ was born, he first learned to read from a priest by the name of Appa Melik. However, soon thereafter, the Nersisian school where Mgrdich’ received part of his primary education opened. Financial support from Mgrdich’ Sanasarian’s grandfather helped to established the Nersisian school. Hence, at a young age Sanasarian was instilled with the idea of donating money for educational purposes.

In his youth, Mgrdich’ Sanasarian had the vision of traveling with one of his friends to study with the Mekhitarists in Vienna. However, these dreams were never fulfilled due to the death of his father. Instead Sanasarian remained in the Caucases and eventually moved to St. Petersburg. There he became an ardent supporter of education using money from his grandfather’s estate. His desire was to help young students learn and to infuse them with an Armenian spirit and ideas of freedom. Sanasarian’s St.

\textsuperscript{243} His mother married Sarkis Jraghatsbanian who would later change his name to Sanasarian.
Petersburg home became known as a gathering place for students to discuss Armenian events or a place to come when they needed assistance.\textsuperscript{244}

Therefore, with Sanasarian’s educational ties it is not surprising he eventually decided to open a school in the homeland. His gift was unique because at the time it was rare for diasporan money to be used to establish an academic institution in Ottoman Armenia. The initial plan was to open the school in Van not in Erzerum.\textsuperscript{245} However, after much debate and upon the insistence of Archbishop Örmanian, Sanasarian eventually decided to open the school in Erzerum.

Although Sanasarian served as the school’s financial backer, he used a hands off approach when it came to academic operations. His input was limited to the institutional visions of Armenian education and the use of a German educational model.\textsuperscript{246} Sanasarian was content to leave the educational issues to others. The individual who Sanasarian relied on to guide the organizational structure was Garabed Yeziantz (1835-1905). Born in Moscow and educated at Lazarian Jemaran, Yeziantz entered Petersburg University where he became an expert in several Eastern languages. He reflected this linguistic expertise of Russian, French, German, and Armenian in letters to the various faculty members and institutional leaders. This love for learning foreign languages was something that Yeziantz constantly strove to instill in the school. Throughout his life,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[244] Ghazar-Ch’arek, \textit{Hushamadian}, 190.
\item[245] Sanasarian’s financial backing was not limited to opening an institution in Erzerum. He provided funding to Etchmiadzin’s Kevorkian Jemaran, established in Van the Sandukhtian girls’ school that natives of the city called Mariamian school in memory of his mother Mariam, and donated money to the newspaper Meghu Hayastani in Tiflis.
\end{footnotes}
Yeziantz was a staunch advocate of the need to offer language instruction at Sanasarian.\textsuperscript{247}

Aside from his linguistic knowledge, Yeziantz was also an educational expert. He resided in St. Petersburg, and worked at the education ministry. Eventually appointed to the city’s education committee, Yeziantz was awarded the title of state advisor by Czar Nicholas II (1868-1918).\textsuperscript{248} Along with the foundations of educational expertise and an appreciation for global awareness, Yeziantz also nurtured an inner yearning to maintain his Armenian heritage. Yeziantz transferred this into Sanasarian’s curricular outline where he played a crucial role in recruiting faculty to teach Armenian subjects. He relied on graduates of Kevorkian Jemaran in Etchmiadzin. Here Yeziantz felt some of the best scholars of Armenian language and history were being trained.\textsuperscript{249}

Most of Yeziantz’s input into issues ranging from school finances to the direction of intellectual development took place from a distance. Numerous letters were sent between St. Petersburg and Erzerum, however; the extent to which Yeziantz could actually influence the day-to-day institutional affairs or even understand the daily problems was quite limited. Regardless, his influence over the shape of the organizational structure and the curriculum was quite extensive. His guidance and the direction set by Mgrdich ‘ Sanasarian had an important impact on the institution. These two founding fathers planted the first seeds of western educational ideas within the school and developed the institutional bonds with Transcaucasia.

\textsuperscript{247}“Letter from Garabed Yeziantz addressed to Sireli Paregamar dated May 31, 1893.” GAT: Sanasarian #4a/7e.

\textsuperscript{248} Yeziantz did not limit his influence or input on education to only one institution. He also helped with the Kokoyian girls’ school in Nor Nakichevan, Hovhnanian-Mariamian girls school in Tiflis and many other projects. See K. Apulian, “Garabed Yeziantsi Anmoranali Hishadagin,” \textit{Giank’ yev Arvesd Darekirk’}, (1933): 89-97.

\textsuperscript{249} GAT: Sanasarian 1/2.
The case of Getronagan was very different. The initial vision for establishing a school in Constantinople came from the Patriarch, Nersës Varzhabedian. His primary objective was to establish a school for teacher education. After receiving this education, graduates would be called upon to serve the nation by providing education to Armenians in the provinces. Although Patriarch Nersës never saw this vision fulfilled as he died soon after conceiving the plan, the project did progress under the guidance of Constantinople community leaders and the Education Council. They established a society called the *Nersës Varzhabedian Usumnarani Ŭngerut’iun* (Nerses Varzhabedian School Society) to continue the work of the late Patriarch and more importantly open the school.\(^{250}\)

**Trustees and Management Committees**

In many cases, it was the trustees who were entrusted with the institutional management. Depending upon the organizational structure, in general these trustees provided oversight to the directors by controlling the finances, assisted with faculty hires, and contributed to the curriculum. Their control over financial matters meant school directors had to comply with or at least take into account the trustees' desires. Similarly the trustees by their influence over faculty hires could control who would teach the curriculum. The goal was to ensure values they found important were taught in the classroom. Hence, through a combination of these factors the trustees exerted indirect influence over the notions of the nation that permeated within the institutional setting.

The Armenian Patriarchate, Education Council in Constantinople, and trustees all played varying roles in the institutional development of Getronagan. The first Board of Trustees appointed in November 1885 included a mix of Armenian communal leaders

\(^{250}\) Uzunian, *Getronagan Varzharani*. 
and members of the Nersēs Varzhabedian Usunmarani Ēngerut‘iun. Among the ten members were Hovhannes Torosian, Hovsep Yusufian and Digran Paraghianian. The trustees were divided into two committees - an economic branch with four members and academic branch with six.

Getronagan drew upon the well-educated communal elite of the Constantinople Armenian community to serve on its Board of Trustees. One of these leaders, Hagop Hagopof, although born in Constantinople was an Armenian of Russian decent. He received his primary education at the Shahnazarian school and later studied at Robert College. Hagopof became the first Armenian to graduate from law school in Constantinople. Consequently he traveled to Germany for further education where he studied at Heidelberg University. As a respected lawyer and writer in the Constantinople based newspaper *Arewelk‘*, his western education and Transcaucasian roots brought a multitude of ideas to the institution. He wrote regulatory guidelines for Getronagan and many students relied on his knowledge to attain the skills necessary to enter law school.

Hagopof was an exception as most of Getronagan’s trustees were silent actors who worked behind the scenes. They were removed from actual contact with the students. Although Getronagan’s trustees were supposed to meet every Thursday, according to one former student they were barely seen within the school once a year. Student issues and the daily institution affairs were instead left to the management and faculty members except for a ten year period at the turn of the century when Patriarch

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252 Uzunian, *Getronagan Varzharan*.


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Örmanian allowed the trustees to run the school without a director. This was much to the dismay of many faculty members.254

Although the composition of the Getronagan trustees changed frequently between 1886 and 1915, its governance by members of the Constantinople Armenian community meant the educational regulations catered only to a particular segment of society. The schools’ mission was to draw students from the provinces and train teachers for Armenian schools throughout the Empire. However, the educational structure addressed the experiences relevant to provincial life only to a limited extent. Rather the institutional structure combined the local traditions of Constantinople with an abundance of western knowledge.

Sanasarian’s institutional governance was entirely different. It had been established as a private school and therefore not directly associated with the Armenian governing bodies in Constantinople. School management was divided among several branches - a local management committee in Erzerum, trustees situated in Constantinople, and the school administration. Each branch of leadership had clearly defined roles and responsibilities.

The continual presence of the church’s religious hierarchy on the school management committee did establish a link between Sanasarian and the national governing structures. This ensured the place of an important national symbol within the institutional framework. Maghakia Örmanian was actively involved in Sanasarian from its inception as the Archbishop in Erzerum (1880-1887) and then later when he served on the board of trustees as the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Constantinople based board of trustees also continued to reflect the symbolic role of the church.255 All of the board members were required to belong to the Armenian

Apostolic church. Their principal responsibility was to act as the school’s financial administrators. Therefore, in large part the trustees controlled many aspects of the institutional operations. Although Getronagan and Sanasarian were formed as separate institutions, their board of trustees came to represent one of the many links between the two schools. Many of the trustees served at both Getronagan and Sanasarian. For example, in 1910 the Sanasarian trustees included as the Chair Kapriël Noradungian; members Kevork Aslanian, Hovsēp Yusufian and Vahan Yesayan along with Hrant Asadur as an alternate, all of whom were involved in Getronagan. Hence, in addition to the links with Transcaucasia and the west, Sanasarian was connected to the intellectual elite in Constantinople. The connection between the two institutions was important because it represented a clear attempt to unify the educational system through the leadership.

Meanwhile, in Erzerum a local management committee and the institutional leadership managed the daily affairs at Sanasarian. This management committee consisted of representatives of the local Armenian community (including religious leaders) and the institutional directors. On many occasions relations between the trustees and management were filled with tension and power struggles. Differences

256 Ibid.
257 K’ašamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.
258 The local management committee in Erzerum in 1906 included Nersēs Vahanian, the archbishop’s representative, the chairman Taniel Kharchian, treasurer Partogh Lepian, Zakar Kherbegian member and alternates Hagop Ichkalatsian and Madiros Kavafian. The committee changed in 1906 promoting Smpad Sadetian, the archbishop of Erzerum to the leadership position. Abulian, Soghigian and Madat’ian the institutional directors also served on the committee.
between the reality of Erzerum and the life of trustees in Constantinople resulted in disputes over school policies.

School Directors

The National Education Council entrusted the daily affairs of the Armenian schools to an institutional director. The Council chose these institutional leaders from among their own ranks, academics in the district, or officials.\(^{259}\) Frequently the head of a small school was also one of the teachers. Meanwhile larger secondary schools often had both a director and a vice director. To ensure directors were actually qualified to hold their position, the Council required each individual to hold a license and certification from the Patriarch. To receive this certificate an individual either had to pass an examination or have worked as an apprentice with another director.\(^{260}\)

The regulations governing the responsibilities of school directors were specifically stipulated in the educational guidelines. The primarily responsibility of these directors was to handle the school’s daily affairs. This meant assuring the school adhered to the Council’s regulations, acquainting students with school guidelines, and providing the district council with information about the condition of the school each month. The director was also responsible for guaranteeing textbooks used within the schools were only those approved by the central Education Council.\(^{261}\) Basically, the objective was for institutional directors to implement regulations and reforms mandated by the Education Council, benefactors or trustees. Regardless of the fact that the directors answered to the trustees, it was often these school heads who played a significant role in determining the

\(^{259}\) Nerk'in Ganonakir.

\(^{260}\) Dzrakir Ėnhanur Ərinats.

\(^{261}\) Gazmagan Ganonakir.
knowledge and teachings within the institutional boundaries. Similarly on many occasions it was the institutional directors themselves who suggested educational reforms.

The Education Council regulations for choosing a director were meant to serve as basic guidelines for the elementary schools. Meanwhile, the most prestigious institutions chose their directors in a very different manner. At Sanasarian, instead of relying solely on the expertise of the established intellectual elite, in the 1870's Mgrdich' Sanasarian selected a group of nine young boys to send abroad, primarily to Germany, for further education. These boys he hoped would become the leaders of his school. They were trained not under the French educational model but rather with a German background. As one article in Masis reflected "Napoleon's fall woke us up, we began liking Germany, we got to know Schiller and Goethe and our young men went to Germany for higher education."263

While abroad these students frequently corresponded with Garabed Yeziantz. They provided Yeziantz with a detailed summary of the books they had purchased for the school as well as information about their studies in philosophy, mythology, logic, geography, and German literature.264 The hope was with this training the boys would contribute to the intellectual development of the institution.

262 This follows along with the European influence that became a part of educational activity in Constantinople in 1850's when the young Armenian boys sent to abroad to study returned with ideas influenced by the French revolution. Chosen from the Caucasus and Ottoman Armenia were Boghos Telp'ian, Hovsep Madat'ian and his brother, Sarkis Soghigian, Kevork Apulian, Setrag Mandinian, and Pilippos Vartanian. Mandinian and Vartanian later pulled out. V. Kuyumjian, "Anhedatsogh Temk'er Kevork Apulian," Haïch, 1933 October 10. GAT: Barsamian, #275.

263 Masis, No 2299 (1879) as quoted in Oshagan Armenian Review, 61.

264 GAT: Sanasarian 10/14.
At the same time students were receiving training in western educational methods, others were studying Armenian language, history, and literature in Etchmiadzin. This training was provided at Kevorkian Jemaran. These two groups, one with training in Armenian history, culture and linguistics, and the other with western knowledge converged upon Erzerum. Here they would begin the work of educating future intellectuals in the heart of historical Armenia.

Many from the original group sent to the west chose not to return to Erzerum. However, one of the students sent to Germany who did go back, Boghos Telp’ian, was chosen as Sanasarian’s first director. Expertise from having already taught at an Armenian school in Erzerum was an important reason why he was chosen for the position. However, Telp’ian lasted less than a year in the job. He died in 1881. From that point forward Sanasarian’s management was left in the hands of the three others who had returned with the original group - Sarkis Soghigian, Kevork Abulian, and Hovsep Madat’ian. The three would rule as a triumvirate for the next twenty years by dividing the responsibilities for institutional management. Armed with a wide variety of expertise and having studied in Germany, England, Switzerland, and Transcaucasia the three would become the principal proponents of incorporating international awareness within the localized Armenian context.

The first of the three directors was Sarkis Soghigian, a native of Kharpoot. After completing his studies in Germany, Soghigian moved to Erzerum where he taught religion, French, German, and the piano. In addition to the teaching responsibilities, Soghigian represented the school leadership on the academic council. He was charged with implementing institutional reforms, writing newspaper articles, and corresponding with both students and parents. He also served an important role as the library director.

Meanwhile, Kevork Abulian took on the responsibility of financial operations and correspondence between the school leadership and management committee. He was born in Tiflis and a graduate of the Nersisian school. At a young age Abulian was sent to
Switzerland where he graduated from the École Normale of Zurich. He studied in Germany at various institutions from 1875 until 1881 and for a year at Cambridge University in England. Highly versed in languages Abulian’s knowledge extended beyond German to include French, English, Russian, Georgian, ancient Greek and Latin as well as classical Armenian. Abulian taught history and geography and was a lecturer in German and physical education. His use of the Socratic method in the classroom did not sit well with many of the students.\footnote{Kuyumjian, 	extit{Anchedatsogh}.}

Extensive reading of German and French literature influenced his teachings. So too did his constant travels to Germany on behalf of the school.\footnote{Following the Genocide, Abulian relocated to Paris and there, under his direction, he created the Sanasarian Miutiu (Sanasarian Society) alumni association.} Although Abulian worked hard to maintain the German connection, his own experiences as an Armenian were also influential. He understood the importance of establishing an academic institution in the heart of the motherland and realized that education was important not just for those in Constantinople but also in the provinces. Therefore, in addition to western knowledge, Abulian concentrated on the rejuvenation of the Armenian spirit.\footnote{M. Barsamian, "K. Apulian," 	extit{Haı̄ch}, 1933 September. GAT: Barsamian, #261.}

The third director and teacher was Hovsep Madat’ian. In charge of the museum and professional school, it was Madat’ian’s responsibility to integrate various learning experiences into the curriculum. As a teacher of natural sciences, health, German, drawing, chemistry, and geometry, Madat’ian’s methods did not win him friends among the students. One student felt Madat’ian taught the sciences in a “very strict and stupid form and it would be better if he didn’t teach so that students could actually learn.”\footnote{H. Shavarsh “Sanasarian Varzharan,” 	extit{Arewelyan Mamul} 20 (October 15, 1897): 682-685.}
Although Madat’ian was not involved in any of the Armenian political organizations he became the most controversial faculty member. After searching for a wife he decided upon the wealthiest girl in the city, Sophia Pasdermadjian whose family owned a Turkish bath. Through this union he became the uncle of Karekin Pasdermadjian also known as Armen Garo.269 This relationship with Garo, who at the time was a student at Sanasarian, later became an important point of contention. Madat’ian, known for his friendly relationship with Turkish official and his expertise with the Turkish language, earned the job of the institution’s governmental liaison. This was perhaps to the school’s advantage but to his disadvantage. Members of the newly formed Tashnag party, which included Garo and many other students, disliked Madat’ian immensely because they considered him to be pro-Turkish.270

This strained relationship was not limited to a conflict between the students and Madat’ian. Rather, as a whole tensions between the institutional directors and the students continued to grow. Speaking about the directors and his uncle in particular, Garo remarked, “that is how those stupid teachers treated our childlike souls...To think that to such monsters was entrusted our education at Sanasarian varjaran.”271 This was indicative of the tension between the growing intellect of the student body and their unhappiness with the perceived decline in ethics and institutional academic quality.

269 Armen Garo was the Armenian Ambassador to America from the first Independent Republic of Armenia. He wrote his memoirs Abrvatç Örer in Armenian later translated into English H.T. Partizian, Bank Ottoman: Memoirs of Armen Garo (Detroit, 1990).

270 Interview with Sola Injjijian. I would like to thank A. Nurhan Bediciyan for providing valuable information and pictures about his family as well as Linda and Janet for conducting the interview with Sona Indijjian, the daughter of Nevart Madat’ian, based on prepared questions.

271 Garo, Bank Ottoman, 59-60.
The schools' Constantinople trustees were great in name only because they have no knowledge of the schools' interior organization nor do they have any interest...Sanasarian benefactor Baron Yeziants, with whom I have met for the first time, does not have information about the difficulties of the school or about his leadership...The members of the leadership, S. Soghigian, K. Abulian, and H. Madat'ian...have been directors for close to fifteen years. You would think by this time they are tired and lazy. In this way many members are failing in their duties - to bestow wisdom upon the students.²⁷²

The student, Shavarsh goes on to suggest the leaders should only teach those subjects they know well. This article is indicative of the growing nationalist fervor among the students as well as their intellectual development. It also reflected a growing generational gap between students and their teachers. Student perceptions that their instructors lacked the ability to teach were not unique to Sanasarian. Rather it was indicative of a general trend in the growth of education.

The Sanasarian triumvirate remained in place for the first twenty years of the school's life. However, at the turn of the century things began to change. Claims that institutional standards were falling led the management committee to take control of the internal administration in 1902. A year later a professional committee was formed under the chairmanship of Sarkis Soghigian. The committee dissolved three years later when the trustees sent Krikor Zak'arian from Constantinople to examine the school. Zak'arian had extensive educational expertise. Educated in the Galatasaray Lycée in Constantinople, for several years Zak'arian headed the Aramian coeducational school in Kadiköy and worked at the Berberian College.²⁷³ He was also a member of the leadership committee of the Miatsial Ėngerut'ıun and the central Education Council.²⁷⁴

²⁷²Shavarsh, Sanasarian, 683.

²⁷³Galatasaray was formed as joint project between the French and Ottomans. The school was meant to provide an opportunity for all Ottoman subjects to study under the same roof, meaning that Muslims and non-Muslims would be educated together. For a more in-depth discussion of the school see L. de Salve, “L'enseignement en Turquie: Le
The trustees allocated Zak‘arian the task of reviewing the student outline and interior regulations. Soon after his arrival, the trustees decided to appoint Zak‘arian as Sanasarian’s director. He taught Ottoman law and political economy before returning to Constantinople after only two months. Illness took Zak‘arian’s life less than a year later never affording him the opportunity to have any real effect on Sanasarian.

During Zak‘arian’s absence, Professor Abulian was placed in charge of Sanasarian but only with the title of vice director. Anxious not to appoint Abulian as the permanent director, the trustees instead turned to Nshan Kalfayan. He taught classes on the rural economy, French, French Turkish translations, Ottoman, and botany (1907-08). However, unable to persuade Kalfayan to accept the permanent position, in 1909 Apulian and Soghigian were appointed co-principals with Professor Khach‘adurian the assistant school director.

This management strife marked the end of Sanasarian. The final years in Erzerum were marked by chaos and obvious discontent within the ranks. The management had ideas of how the institution should be run but lacked the ability to implement creative and innovative reforms. Similarly, the trustees in Constantinople had obvious directions that they felt the school should follow. However, they did not feel the school would meet these objectives by remaining in Erzerum. So, in the end Sanasarian moved to Sepastia.


274 Hnkamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.

275 Ibid.

276 K‘a‘amia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.

277 Ibid.
This move happened for two reasons. First, the trustees were concerned about the dangers of being on the boundaries of Russia. However, more importantly, the trustees felt it would be easy to repress student links to revolutionary activities. In order to initiate the move, the trustees in Constantinople decided to dissolve the Erzerum management. Balakian Vartabed was sent to Etchmiadzin to obtain the Catholicos’ permission to move the institution. From here he went to Erzerum under the guise of an investigator. He packed the belongings of the school and was ready to move when on July 23, 1913 the bells of the national church rang in alarm. The people gathered in the center of Erzerum to see the materials being removed from Sanasarian including the benefactor’s statue. Residents immediately drafted a petition that was sent to the Catholicos. The result was the Catholicos agreed a middle school should be kept in Erzerum in accordance with the benefactors’ wishes. Wanting immediate action, the people in Erzerum decided to open the new institution themselves. Called Nor (New) Sanasarian, this school opened in the same building under the leadership of Rosdom Zorian.

The new Sanasarian of Erzerum in many ways continued to replicate the old school. The new school followed the outline of the German Realschule and the class schedule included modern Armenian, krapar, Turkish, French German and other academic disciplines similar to the old Sanasarian. However, the new school also had a different feel. Led by the legendary Rosdom (Stepan Zorian), who was one of the founders of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, unlike his predecessors Zorian immediately commanded the respect of the students. John Yervant in his memoirs remarked, “For me, Rosdom was like God. I didn’t know exactly who he was but 


279 Ghazar-Ch’arek, Hushamadian.
everyone said a great man was coming from Tiflis to become the principal of schools...my mother dressed us in nice new clothes and ties. We were very young. We each had a place in the classroom to sit and listen to him. The respect shown to Rosdom is not surprising given the popularity of the national movement in Erzerum. He was seen as someone who understood and would bring hope to the people.

The evolution of education meant that power struggles and societal changes came to influence the perceptions of institutional directors. Regardless of the quality of the directors, they played a major role in developing Sanasarian’s course structure. Their experience and training served as a foundation for the school’s growth. The directors instilled notions of western training and Armenian culture within the institutional boundaries. However, despite the continuity in personnel, the growth of education also reflected a difference between the much more passive directors and the revolutionary spirit fostered among the students.

Whereas Sanasarian’s management was marked by stability of personnel but instability in terms of perceived ability, Getronagan’s leadership was the direct opposite. Getronagan attracted many high quality educators to the position of institutional director. These individuals brought visions based on their experiences in Constantinople and training from many of the top European universities. While these leaders had a love for Armenian cultural traditions, this was clearly one of many teachings they hoped to integrate into the classroom. As role models for intellectual advancement, the directors actively encouraged the students to look beyond the Armenians and embrace western ideas.

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Getronagan's first director was Minas Ch'eraz.\(^{281}\) As a child Ch'eraz attended the Shahnazarian school in Constantinople around the same time as Řet'eos Berberian, Yeghia Demirjibashian, Kevork Aslanian and other prominent members of the nineteenth century Armenian community in Constantinople.\(^{282}\) The director of the Shahnazarian school where Ch'eraz studied was Nersēs Varzhabedian, the future Patriarch and main driving force behind the establishment of Getronagan.

Ch'eraz was an intellectually gifted student and a man of ideas. As a student Ch'eraz benefited from the lectures of Patriarch Nersēs and Madat'ia Karakashian.\(^ {283}\) While still enrolled as a student in the upper class, Ch'eraz was also appointed as a lecturer for the lower classes. The lessons were influenced by his idols - Nersēs Patriarch, Khrimian Hayrig, and Krikor Ödian - who were all important leaders of the Armenian community.\(^ {284}\) Based on his visions for the future of the Armenian people, Ch'eraz helped to establish a kindergarten. Here he incorporated lessons on national history, language and religion into the learning process.\(^ {285}\) By the late 1870's, Ch'eraz had begun to distinguish himself as an important member of the Armenian community.

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\(^{281}\) Ch'eraz served for a period of three years from 1886 until 1889. He also served for ten years as the chair of the board of trustees.

\(^{282}\) Demirjibashian (1851-1908) was a popular writer. His works reflected the influence of classical Armenian and were published primarily in periodicals. Berberian (1848-1907) was born in Constantinople. An educator, Berberian started his own school in 1876. The institution moved to Cairo in 1924. The school closed ten years later. See Bardakjian, Reference Guide, 132-133; 464.

\(^{283}\) Karakashian (1818-1903) wrote numerous textbooks and was also a teacher at Getronagan.

\(^{284}\) Mgrdich' Khrimian "Hayrig" (1820-1903) was ordained a celebrate priest in 1854 following the death of his wife and child. He served as the Patriarch of Constantinople from 1869 until 1873 and late as the Catholicos in Etchmiadzin.

\(^{285}\) A. Bedrosian, "Minas Ch'eraz," Hayrenik Yekâmsia Ⅲ, a (Spring 1970).
Combining national political activities with education, Ch’eraz served as the translator for the Armenian delegation in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin and participated in the formation of the Miastsial Ենգերութ’յուն.

In addition to the study of religion, the Armenian language, and Armenian history, Ch’eraz’s vision of the Armenian nation also included a global perspective. His knowledge of French, English, and Ancient Greek was of great assistance. This interest in international issues continued while Ch’eraz was the director of Getronagan. Extensive travel that the position required meant Ch’eraz spent very little time dealing with daily institutional affairs. Rather his job was to promote the school abroad and gain exposure to a variety of new educational ideas. In 1888 he traveled to the Caucasus - Batum and then on to Tiflis and Etchmiadzin. Here Ch’eraz examined the Armenian schools. He came away with the conclusion they could serve as models for Getronagan. One year later Ch’eraz traveled to France and England where he delivered lectures on the topic of national politics. During this trip Ch’eraz decided to remain in the west. He sent the trustees a letter from Marseilles informing them of his resignation from Getronagan. Minas Ch’eraz had an extraordinary influence on Getronagan’s institutional structure and the students. He set the tone for the future of the institution to be based on local traditions as well as eastern Armenian and western foundations.

The flow of western ideas into Getronagan continued when a Swiss national by the name of William Filipēn was appointed as the director for one year. His stay was short and had little significant influence on institutional change. Reform instead became the primary mission of the next director Harutiuν Mosdich’ian (1890-1896). Mosdich’ian

286 Ibid.

287 Uzunian, Getronagan Varzharan, 32.

288 After leaving Getronagan Ch’eraz established a paper in London called Armenia and a parallel paper in France L’Armenie.
attended one of the Armenian primary schools before studying at Robert College, the American missionary institution in Constantinople. After graduation he furthered his studies at Oxford University.

During his first few years as director, Mosdich‘ian focused on the creation of a new program structure. The reforms he suggested included the use of western models for structuring the scientific branch. By 1893 he was able to convince the trustees to use the examinations of the Paris École Centrale as a model for Getronagan’s final examination. He also prepared detailed descriptions of teaching and lecturing methods. 289

Mosdich‘ian’s concerns about education did not only focus on Getronagan. Rather, he was concerned about the larger issue of centralization. He advocated the need for educational diffusion whereby each district or school accepted the responsibility of implementing the academic outline of the central Education Council. Furthermore, Mosdich‘ian felt that the Armenian people individually and as a collective should share educational responsibility. This meant not only providing leadership but also funding so that all students had the opportunity to receive an education. 290

Mosdich‘ian departed Getronagan in 1896 to return to England. Societal conflict and chaos had erupted around him. Many students, teachers and trustees were arrested and thrown into prison by the government. For the moment Archbishop Ormanian, who was the Patriarch, decided not to hire a director. Rather he conceived a plan for the trustees to manage Getronagan. This policy remained in place for over ten years (1896-1909). However, many saw it as an unwise decision because the lack of leadership meant further institutional chaos and disorganization.

289 Ibid.

Because there was no director, most of the burden to maintain academic stability fell upon the teachers. This led to the empowerment of the teachers in eyes of the students. The group of Hrand Asadur, Stepan Gurdigan, Apraham Hagopian and Hovhannes Hintlian served as the leaders of the academic staff.²⁹¹

By 1908 there was a renewed call to appoint an institutional director. For several months refugees had been housed in Getronagan and the school was not functioning to its full capacity as an academic institution. Further, without a director for over ten years, the power and authority of the position had greatly diminished. Therefore, Vahram Ghazigian along with a group of five teachers formed a committee to convey this message to the trustees. The end result was the formation of a new governing board and Dr. Mardiros Nalpandian appointed to assume the institutional leadership role.

Nalpandian had all of the qualifications sought in a director. He was young, had lived in Europe for a long time and eager to ensure Armenian culture remained a part of the school lessons.²⁹² Born in the interior provinces, Nalpandian received his primary education in the local Armenian community schools. Because there was no secondary school in his village, Nalpandian was sent to Constantinople where he graduated from Berberian Varzharan in 1894. Before continuing his studies in Geneva, Nalpandian worked for three years as a teacher at Berberian. After graduating with a degree in chemistry he taught at a university in Geneva and established the Haygazian school in Lozan. In 1904 he founded a monthly paper Kidut’iun (Knowledge). Convinced to return to Constantinople as the director of Getronagan, Nalpandian continued the work started by Mosdich’ian. His primary objective was to reorganize the school, particularly the scientific branch. Nalpandian felt that developing new methods was essential for

²⁹¹ Azkayin Getronagan Varzharan Ghalat’ia 1886-1920.
²⁹² Uzunian, Getronagan Varzharan.
intellectual stimulation. Therefore, he brought to Getronagan knowledge of provincial
life and training from various parts of the world.

Coincidentally Nalpandian’s departure from Getronagan coincided with the move
of Sanasarian to Sepastia. Many of the faculty members did not go along with the move
and instead found their way to Getronagan. One of these leaders was Asdvadzadur
Khach‘adurian. A prominent Armenian language professor at Sanasarian he served as
Getronagan’s director between 1913 and 1915. Devoted to the Armenian nation,
Khach‘adurian combined European knowledge with the reality of provincial life having
spent nearly thirty years in Erzerum. However, Khach‘adurian could do little as a leader.
In 1914 the trustees increased their institutional control and there were growing tensions
within the teacher’s council. A year later, the First World War brought major
institutional changes including the exile of many trustees and directors.

Teachers

School directors played important roles in organizational leadership. However,
perhaps the largest influences on students came not from these individuals but rather the
teachers. Trained in the Armenian schools, these teachers created and administered the
daily lessons. The gradual introduction of training programs and the implementation of a
“grading” system based on performance and ability reflected the quality and ideology the
Education Council expected teachers to uphold. As this section demonstrates the
responsibilities and the regulations governing teachers reflected the progress toward
achieving the goals of the philosophical educational framework. This knowledge would

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293 Getronagani Garevor Mēg Shrchanē.

294 Teachers were graded based on marks ranging from the lowest status of being
worthless up to kajalav or best. Ganonatrut’iun Ėnhanur Paregarkut’iyan.
be shared through formal and informal instruction as teachers encouraged students to pursue intellectual growth and helped to foster the awareness of national traditions.

**Responsibilities**

Numerous duties and responsibilities were bestowed on the Armenian teachers. As disciplinarians they punished student misbehaving in class. In the role of a moral guide teachers were expected to reflect in their values, speech and interactions examples for students to follow. Then as administrators they were responsible for maintaining attendance records, grading students, and collecting homework. However, the primary responsibility of the teachers was to help students develop their intellect.

School directors officially controlled what was taught in the classroom. Teachers were not supposed to give students an unapproved textbook without the knowledge of the director and at the same time they could not lecture on materials from outside the proscribed curriculum. When teachers had questions about the teaching methods, textbooks, student conduct, admissions, and examinations in the larger schools they were supposed to address these issues to the academic council. Led by the school director, the council would meet once a week to discuss pertinent issues. However, the policy to limit access to outside materials was ineffective. The fact remained that many teachers created their own lessons and educational materials.

**Teacher training**

The growing number of students and schools resulted in an increasing need for trained teachers. In order to meet this need, the Education Council encouraged the

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295 *Nerk'in Ganolakir.*

296 *Dzrakir Enhanur Orinats.*

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creation of teacher training courses. The goal of these courses was to ensure teachers were equipped with the basic knowledge necessary to create and administer lessons. Standardization of quality and knowledge also underscored the movement for a centralized educational system devoted to national awareness.

Attention to teacher training was one of Getronagan’s founding principles. Therefore, students in the upper level were taught pedagogy as a core course. Others received teacher training in Constantinople at special summer school courses offered at the Esayan school. Although the number of students who participated was never very high, those who did attend received instruction on school governance, pedagogy, Armenian history, and church relations. The very obvious intent was for teachers to be able to recognize important national elements while at the same time understanding basic educational principles.

Sanasarian also supported teacher training. Students and graduates often furthered their education at the institution’s expense. This began when Mgrdich’ Sanasarian sent the school directors for their initial training in the west. The policy continued throughout the school’s existence. Sanasarian continually sent its own graduates and teachers to foreign academic institutions for educational training. Numerous individuals, including Simon Aghabalian were sent to study in Germany and Vienna. Aghabalian was born and educated in Erzerum. He enrolled at Sanasarian and after graduating in 1892 became a teacher. The trustees decided Aghabalian should be sent to Germany for further training. Years later he was again sent to Europe, this time to Vienna, to study pedagogy and the sciences. A number of teachers were also sent to study in France. Such is the

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298 Among those teachers sent to other institutions to study were Aram Vahanian, carpentry; Hagop Melkonian as a locksmith; Kevork Chiyerchian, chemistry; and Levon Pasbanian, French.
example of Aram Hagopian, a Sanasarian graduate. After receiving degrees from the French schools in Paris Hagopian became a language teacher at Sanasarian. Both Aghabalian and Hagopian are indicative of the numerous young Armenians who returned from their educational training in the west with new ideas which they incorporated into the lessons.

After spending so much money sending students abroad for training, educators realized there was a need to offer a teacher training course based in Erzerum. Therefore, Sanasarian and the Erzerum Miatsial school joined together in order to create a basic outline for a teacher preparation course. The aim was to educate both male and female teachers to work in provincial Armenian schools. In addition, the primary objectives were to increase pedagogical knowledge and awareness of the rural environment. In order to be admitted to the course, a student had to have either completed a middle school degree or passed a series of exams. In addition, applicants were required to show they were indeed fit to be a teacher. This suitability was defined as an individual who as personable, had strong leadership qualities and was at least eighteen years old. Likewise, applicants had to prove they could lecture in front of an audience.

The course was arranged so that each year ten students from Sanasarian would be admitted free of charge. In addition to those students supported by the school, others had their tuition covered by private benefactors. During the first year of operation (1909-10), seventy-one students enrolled in the pedagogy course. Only twenty-six actually registered while the others were curious onlookers. The attendees included individuals associated with Sanasarian as well as leaders from the missionary institutions and other Armenian schools. The teachers also represented a cross selection of institutions. However, they were primarily Sanasarian faculty members.

During the first year of the training course the curricular outline focused on cultivating basic knowledge, psychology, and teaching methods. Equally important were health and hygiene classes as well as practical training including work and rural
### Table 6.1: Two Year Teaching Course Curriculum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Year Course</th>
<th>Hours Per</th>
<th>Second Year Course</th>
<th>Hours Per</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogical theory</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pedagogical work</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Moral ethics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of pedagogy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral ethics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>School health</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to philosophy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Practical work</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pedagogical instruction</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical work</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rural economics</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogical instruction</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural economics</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

During the second year, the students continued to receive pedagogical training as well as attend health and ethics classes. The primary difference between the first and second year focused on the practical orientation. During the second year students spent a majority of the time practically applying their classroom based knowledge. The hope was these courses would provide relevance to the general educational process.

Following the examinations students would receive a certificate indicating their level of achievement. Although the plans were in place, when the educational society backed out on the cooperation the program closed, lasting for only a year. However, the idea was significant because it clearly indicated educational leaders in the provinces realized the need for teacher training and had the desire to invest in improving the profession.

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299 K'ahumia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.
Certification

Attending special pedagogical training courses was only one method the Armenians used to raise the quality of teaching. A second procedure was teaching certification by means of an examination system. For those with no previous pedagogical training, certification served as a central method for quality control. The Council began to create these guidelines as early as 1864 by establishing a minimum age for teachers. These age restrictions were not strictly enforced. In fact it was common to find a young teenager teaching in a provincial school. The inability to enforce regulations is one of the reasons why certificates granted by the Provincial Councils were valid only within the region they were issued. In order to work in a different region or in Constantinople, a teacher had to apply to the National Education Council for approval. The need to reapply was not so much based on the age requirement but rather the fear teachers certified in the provinces were not as well qualified as those receiving their certification from Constantinople.

The Education Council established six types of teaching certificates: kindergarten assistant, kindergarten director, assistant teacher, instructor, assistant specialty teacher, and specialty teacher. Applicants were required to present a baptism certificate and a school graduation certificate. Symbolically, the baptism certificate was an important way of ensuring teachers had some sort of a link with the Armenian Apostolic church. Teaching candidates also had to present a certificate from the district priest or council attesting to the “cleanliness of conduct and words.” The hope was that these papers would help create a system for keeping track of teachers and eliminate unwanted candidates.

After presenting these administrative documents, individuals were examined based on criteria established for each type of certificate. All of the examinations included
written and oral sections. In addition, some required theoretical or practically applied knowledge. For example, to become an assistant teacher, the examinee had to complete a written essay, a dictation in Armenian, respond orally to questions on religion, ethics, and classical Armenian, and translate passages to and from Ottoman. Additional questions were asked about mathematics, history, and hygiene. This was the most basic examination.

Examinations for instructors were much more complex. Candidates were required to complete a composition in modern Armenian on the topic of morality or pedagogy, translate passages from modern to classical Armenian, converse and write in Ottoman, and complete arithmetic problems. The oral section included questions about religious knowledge, morals and pedagogy, modern Armenian grammar, Ottoman writings and grammar, Armenian Church history, Ottoman history, general history, European and Asian Turkish living, politics, geography, law economy, and the sciences. The final element of the examination focused on the practical application of this knowledge. During this section applicants were asked to explain a reading and create a school lesson.\(^{300}\)

These examinations reveal much about the knowledge basis of the teachers in the Armenian schools. This included knowledge of classical languages as well as modern Armenian and Ottoman. Religion played a central and important role in the cadre of teaching knowledge, as did subjects focusing on general world issues. Both mathematics and sciences provided a balance to the more humanistic and civic disciplines.

Regulations governing the award of specialty certificates were different for each subject. In addition to the written, oral and practical components of the general exams, questions were also asked about the specific field of study. Henceforth, examinations

\(^{300}\) Hrahank K`mmnut`ian Éndreliats Ušutsch`utian Azkayin Varzharans 1893-1910 (Bolis: Osmanian Kortsagtsagan Éngerut`ian, 1910).
were created for religious study, education, academic and scientific knowledge, ethics, Ottoman, European languages, drawing, handwork and exercise, Armenian Church and European music.

To apply for an assistant specialty certificate to teach Armenian, candidates had to produce a series of compositions in modern Armenian. Here applicants were required to show their competency on historical, geographical, and pedagogical issues. In addition, examinees were asked to translate works from a European language such as French or English into classical Armenian. The oral section focused on classical Armenian grammar, questions on the history of the Armenian language and translations. Applicants were also asked to prepare a history or geography lesson.\textsuperscript{301}

There were three differences between the examination for the specialist teacher and the assistant. During the oral segment, candidates for a specialty teacher were asked to prepare a lecture about an author of an ancient Armenian manuscript. They were also asked to answer general questions about Armenian, Greek/Latin and western literature.

Meanwhile, individuals applying for an Ottoman specialty certificate were also required to know Arabic and Persian. They were expected to translate written works from Arabic or Persian into Ottoman and be able to answer grammatical questions.\textsuperscript{302} For the European languages, examinations included dictation, composition, translations and grammar rules. Outside of being awarded a specialist certificate in a European language, the knowledge of western linguistics also found its way into the science examinations. For chemistry, trigonometry and geometry, teachers were required to know the French or English words for algebraic or geometrical terms.\textsuperscript{303}

\textsuperscript{301} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{302} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{303} Ibid.
School graduates could work their way around taking these exams. Graduates of an Armenian society school who had taken pedagogy classes could receive an assistant teaching certificate. Meanwhile graduates of state or foreign secondary school could receive a certificate provided that Armenian had regularly been used in the classroom. If not, the applicant had to hold a primary school certificate from an Armenian school. An individual could also receive a certificate after working for a number of years in an academic institution.\textsuperscript{304}

The basic principal governing these regulations was that the teachers had to have some sort of a background in the study of Armenian subjects. This would ensure the knowledge of national symbols. The teaching certificate process also combined the various aspects of western knowledge with the local conditions. However, the certificates themselves also reveal the expansion of the Turkish influence into the Armenian education system. New guidelines issued in 1911 required that one side of the teaching certificate be written in Armenian and the opposite side in Turkish.\textsuperscript{305}

In order to keep track of teachers eventually the Ottoman officials requested that the Armenians create an official list of specialist teachers. This information included the individual's name, birth date, whether they had studied at a foreign or state school and what subjects, the languages they could read, what year they had begun teaching and what schools they taught in. They also asked whether these teachers in addition to their teaching responsibilities, were national leaders, artist or authors.\textsuperscript{306} Although it is unclear

\textsuperscript{304} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{305} BNP: DC 2/5.
\textsuperscript{306} Deghegakir Hamaraduut'i an 1908-1911-i Usumnagan Khorh t'o Azkayin Getronagan Varch'ut'i an Madutsyal a'/k'aghak'agan zhoghovn azkayin Getronagan Varch'ut'i an.
what the Ottoman officials did with this information, clearly attempts were being made to closely monitor the Armenian schools.

The establishment of teaching certification guidelines reveals that on paper the Armenians were constructing a modern education system. These examinations provided a prime example of what was seen as important to the education system both in terms of disciplines, content, and structure. The objective of standardizing the teacher certification process was to ensure basic knowledge on the part of the teacher. Interestingly those applying for handiwork, drawing, music and exercise specialties were granted only a primary school certificate. This suggests these disciplines were viewed as holding little weight in terms of intellectual value.

Teachers and the construction of identity at Getronagan and Sanasarian

When it came to hiring teachers neither Getronagan nor Sanasarian followed these regulations. They had their own internal standards. However, they did adhere to the basic underlying principle of hiring well-rounded individuals whose background and experience would help to cultivate student intellect and an emerging national ethos. Sanasarian and Getronagan attracted some of the best Armenian teachers. They were strict because they wanted students to learn. Krikor Markarian was indicative of the attitude these teachers had toward teaching when he told his students during the first class “I am going to make a hole in your head and fill your brain with lessons.”

The teachers played a large role in shaping each school's pedagogical leanings. Many had been educated at the leading institutions for higher education in Europe and Russia. It was these experiences the managing committee and trustees hoped would become a part of the everyday lessons. At Sanasarian the faculty members were

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classified into three groups, the head teachers or directors, principal teachers, and assistants. Most of the assistant teachers employed at Sanasarian were graduates of the school. Levon Karakashian taught classical Armenian, geography, history, and penmanship; Mgrdich Barsamian drawing; and Vahan Srvandztians national history. Few of these assistant teachers ever stayed for very long. Instead new graduates were hired in order to gain additional training before being sent to teach in the provincial schools.

At both Sanasarian and Getronagan the Armenian language instructors were the most influential members of the teaching staff. At Sanasarian, the most well liked and active of these teachers was Asdvazdur Khach’adurian. Educated at the Kevorkian Jemaran in Etchmiadzin, Khach’adurian later studied at the University of Strasbourg. He taught ancient and modern Armenian, literature, history and geography. When students had few good words to say about the faculty he was one who did receive praise. I have “nothing pleasant to reminisce from my school life or of my teachers. Professor Khach’adurian because of the attention he gave to continuing the teaching of Armenian traditions earned praise from the students.”

Armen Garo also fondly remembered Professor Khach’adurian and Koryun Mgrch’ian.

The praise bestowed on Professor Khach’adurian’s work was due to the devotion his written works showed to Armenian subjects. In 1907 he wrote in French Hin Hayeru Badmut’iunē (Ancient Armenian History) which in 1909 was translated into Armenian. Not only did Khach’adurian play an active role in assuring the place of Armenian in the school’s curriculum. Khach’adurian was a member of the Armenian Revolutionary

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308 Shavarsh, Sanasarian.

309 Garo, Bank Ottoman, 56. Garo also footnotes this remark with a statement about Koryun Mkrtichian. “The latter died young. With warm temperament and endowed with poetic talent, he was loved by the student body.”
Federation central committee and eventually settled in Yerevan where he wrote several books and articles on Armenian history.\textsuperscript{310}

Professor Mgrdch’ian was also a dedicated Armenian teacher. A graduate of the Kevorkian Jemaran, Professor Mgrdch’ian reflected the vitality and creativity of the Sanasarian faculty. He was the author of a handwritten textbook used for teaching Armenian language. This is an important actuality given the ongoing desire to standardize textbooks and to ensure their approval by the central council. This shows outside materials did find their way into the classroom.

Devoted to teaching, Professor Mgrdch’ian became sick during the cholera epidemic, finished his last class on October 27 and died four days later. His death created an institutional crisis because Sanasarian was left without an Armenian language teacher in the upper class. Professor Khach’adurian was away and Erzerum was engulfed in a cholera epidemic. Attempts to find a teacher in Erzerum, Tiflis and Constantinople yielded no results. So teachers in the various disciplines were forced to incorporate the Armenian language lessons into other subjects.

In addition to modern Armenian, Sanasarian also offered krapar taught by Sarkis Manukian. A native of Kghi and a graduate of Kevorkian Jemaran, Manukian studied Armenian, philosophy, and religion in St. Petersburg. All three of these Professors Khach’adurian, Mgrdch’ian, and Manukian were united in the bond they created between the education of Armenians in Transcaucasia and the Ottoman Armenians. As graduates of Kevorkian Jemaran, these individuals came to Sanasarian equipped with knowledge of Armenian traditions from Transcaucasia and a strong identification with the Armenian cause.

Many of Getronagan’s teachers were also educated at Kevorkian Jemaran. Stepan Gurdigian graduated from Kevorkian in 1883 and became an Armenian and Ottoman language teacher at the school. He eventually worked his way up to the position of vice director (1887) and then director (1890). In this capacity, Gurdigian invited many teachers from Constantinople to visit the Transcaucasus. He finally left Kevorkian to become the head of the Ottoman division at Getronagan. In addition to Ottoman language and literature, Gurdigian also taught Arabic and Persian. His works are numerous including books, various journal and newspaper articles. Extensive knowledge also made Gurdigian a sought after individual to give lectures at other institutions.311

Getronagan and Sanasarian’s bond extended beyond Kevorkian and many of the same institutional trustees to also include other teachers. After studying and teaching at Getronagan Hrachia Adjařian became a teacher at Sanasarian. Born in Constantinople and educated in the local schools, Adjařian was a specialist in linguistics. During his school days, Adjařian and his classmate at Getronagan Arshag Ch’obanian, filled a notebook with words used by Constantinople Armenians. This interest in word usage continued after graduation. It eventually led him to Erzerum in order to study Armenian dialects in the provinces and the language used by the Laz. Adjařian taught at Sanasarian for only a short time as his various travels took him to Paris in 1895 to study Armenian language at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and in 1898 to Kevorkian Jemaran where he was a Turkish and Persian teacher until 1902. Adjařian remains famous for his many works including a compilation of comparative Armenian grammar in a seven-volume dictionary that he began at Getronagan.312

311 “Sdep’an Gurdigian (Gensakragan Kidzer)”: 362-4.

Intent on preserving traditions and drawing on the expertise of the Armenian intellectuals in Constantinople, Getronagan’s directors also felt that students should be skilled in both modern and classical Armenian. Therefore, both classes were taught at Getronagan with the hope students would recognize the importance of linguistic knowledge. One of the Armenian language teachers was Professor Apraham Dēr Hagopian, the head of the Armenian division at Robert College and later a member of the Education Council. Madat’ia Karakashian, the author of numerous Armenian language textbooks also taught classical Armenian while Arshag Ch’obanian who later became a prominent writer in the French-Armenian diaspora taught modern Armenian.

Yeghia Demirjibashian, a writer, taught the history of literature while Margos Nat’anian lectured in history and geography.\textsuperscript{313} Nat’anian incorporated Armenian and French poetry into the teaching materials. However, according to one former student he was not a very good teacher. During the first class year he would teach about the Haygazian and Arshakuni dynasties and in the second the Pakruduni and the Rupinian periods. At one point students also asked Nat’anian to teach modern Armenian history. However, he refused fearing that the inspectors or trustees would get word of the request.\textsuperscript{314}

Assured of the place of Armenian subjects within the curriculum, the schools also offered Ottoman language classes. Turkish instructors taught the initial classes. However, the schools were intent on training Armenian teachers to teach the Ottoman language. Sanasarian sent Khosrov Babayan and Serovbē Noradungian to

\textsuperscript{313} Uznian, \textit{Getronagan Varzharan}.

\textsuperscript{314} Ardavazt Ark’ebisgobos, \textit{Aramiani yev Getronagani Usutsich’ners (Dagavin T’arm Hishadagner)} (Marseilles: Y. Armen yev êng., 1949).
Constantinople for Turkish language training so they could teach at the institution.\textsuperscript{315} Meanwhile, after graduating from the Galatasaray Lycée in Constantinople Mihran Khortumjian was asked to teach Ottoman and French at Sanasarian.\textsuperscript{316}

Students also had the opportunity to study a third language. The choices were English, German, or French. In theory, at Sanasarian the German language should have had a strong link. Many of the Sanasarian faculty knew German from their academic studies and based classroom teachings on the German educational model. However, the German influence, unlike the French, was limited. Although the teachers were “very German in their training” according to Levon Karakashian, there was a certain attitude of the Armenian instructors that he did not associate with the Germans. Activities were not mechanical so that when the students left their class there was no system of lining up and they entered the dining area in an orderly fashion only because the entrance was narrow.\textsuperscript{317}

Attempts at German language instruction were also made at Getronagan. At the beginning of the twentieth century with German economic expansion into Turkey the school decided to offer German language courses. The teacher was Dr. Hagop Topchian. Born in Aintab, Topchian was one of several young boys sent to study at Kevorkian Jemaran and later to a European university for teacher training. The plan was for these students to return to Aintab and open a secondary school. However, rather than return home, Topchian earned a doctorate in Germany at Halle University and was invited by

\textsuperscript{315} In 1906-07 Khosrov Babayan, a Sanasarian graduate taught politics in the Erzerum middle school before moving to Constantinople for training in teaching Ottoman Turkish. After receiving a university certificate he returned in 1909 to become the main Ottoman teacher. See Karakashian, \textit{Sanasarian Varzharan}, VI, no. 5.

\textsuperscript{316} He taught at Sanasarian from 1887-1890.

Patriarch Ōrmanian to teach at the Armash seminary. Later Topchian moved to Getronagan where he specialized in Armenian literature.

Topchian suggested the school offer courses in German. He felt German was an important language for students to learn and there was a need given that classes were already offered in French and English. Topchian agreed to divide the instructional responsibility with Mik‘ayēl Shamdanjian. Shamdanjian was a graduate of Getronagan and had also studied in Germany. The plan was for Topchian to teach the introductory course and Shamdanjian reading and translations.\(^{318}\) Offered as an elective, the study of German never attracted much attention. In fact Hovhannēs Hovhannēsian was the only student to study German at Getronagan.\(^{319}\)

Attempts were also made to teach English at Getronagan by hiring faculty members from Robert College. However, at Getronagan these teachers did not encounter a warm and welcoming environment. There was a general dislike for the English language among the teachers who also felt it was a useless class.\(^{320}\) The distasteful attitude toward English was reflective of the general loathing of the missionaries. Primarily English speaking, the missionaries were seen as a denationalizing threat. Therefore, in a school so closely associated with the Armenian communal leadership it is not surprising workers had such a negative attitude when it came to teaching English.

Despite the fact neither English nor German could attract a strong following, nonetheless knowledge of a western language was viewed as extremely important for communal modernization. It would bring economic benefit to the community through the

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\(^{318}\) Topchian later became the director of the Melkonian school in Cyprus. Ardavazt, *Aramiani yev Getronagani*.

\(^{319}\) The knowledge of German came in handy for Hovhannēsian who later became head of the Anatolian railway society.

\(^{320}\) Ardavazt, *Aramiani yev Getronagani*, 162.
ability to converse with foreign officials and work in merchant houses. The western language to dominate the Armenian schools was French.

The primary objective was to hire a native speaker to teach European languages. However, attracting teachers to fill these positions was a constant problem. Off the beaten track, Erzerum was not exactly a haven for foreign workers. Therefore, the retention rate of these faculty members at Sanasarian was quite low. Many stayed at most only a year. This meant the use of European teachers was sporadic. Instead the school relied primarily on Armenians with training in western languages.

Likewise, Getronagan hoped to provide students with instruction by native teachers. The understanding was that this would provide a deeper knowledge of French culture. Getronagan was much more successful than Sanasarian in achieving its goal of hiring native teachers. After all Constantinople was a much easier place for a foreigner to live. One of the French teachers taught three times a week in the morning before going to his other job as an inspector/examiner of the Ottoman public administration. Another teacher was the young Max Magnus whom students remembered for his blond hair. This was in stark contrast to the dark coloring of most of the locals. In addition to French, Magnus also taught trigonometry and cosmography. Unfortunately his teaching abilities did not leave a positive impression.

Since it was not always possible to hire a native, Armenians were also employed as language teachers. Hovhannes Hintlian taught students grammar and translations once a week. Hintlian was fondly remembered for his creativity in teaching foreign languages. For example, students were often asked to write French compositions. This must have

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322 *Getronagani Garevor Mēg Shrchanē.*
provided a welcome break from lessons that only required the memorization of words and phrases.

The curricular content, individual experiences, and the teachers all played a role in shaping the students. Kevork Sarafian who was educated in Aintab recalled the influence of his French teacher on his educational development and in particular literary mind.

My teacher of French, who taught our class in our senior year, was another man of highly brilliant intellect who, more than any other person, influenced the shaping of my mind and the formation of my literary taste. Haroutune Arslanian... was extremely gifted, full of humor, imagination, sympathy and an exquisite sense for poetic creations. Every morning he entered the classroom with several issues of *Les annales politiques et littéraires*, distributed them among his students for outside reading. He also took from his pocket a sheet of paper on which he had written a French poem or a bit of French poetic prose, and read it to his students. 324

Religion was also an important part in the institutional curriculum at Sanasarian and Getronagan. Patriarch Ōrmanian often visited the theology classes at Getronagan. So too did Archbishop Madteos Izmirlian who taught religion and ethics before becoming Patriarch and Catholicos. In addition to the subjects of history, geography and languages, at both Sanasarian and Getronagan students were also taught modern westernized methods in the sciences and mathematics. This symbolized the creation of not only a national culture but also one that was undergoing increasing modernization. Offering science classes at one point increased the governmental suspicion of Getronagan and its teachers. By 1895 one half of the school was already closed. Those classes that were offered were done so under very tense conditions. Many students had been arrested and a newspaper produced by young teachers was met by government suspicion. Then a year later, some of the teachers were arrested and the police closed the chemistry division. One of the teachers, Iknadios Muradian was accused of building dynamite for bombing in his laboratory.

Sanasaran also offered practical training through the establishment of a professional school. Here students advanced skills that had an immediate relevance to the local environment. Sukias Seylanian as the director of the professional school was recruited from Tiflis. Others worked on a part time basis while still engaged in their trades as carpenters or locksmiths.\textsuperscript{325} Two of the graduates who finished the professional school were sent to the artistry school in Tiflis for further training. One of these individuals Aram Vahanian returned not only with new skills but also a renewed national spirit. This enthusiasm was reflected in Vahanian's involvement in subversive student activities.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Leadership of the Armenian educational movement was not isolated to one or two individuals. Rather it incorporated numerous individuals from benefactors to trustees, school directors and teachers. As a leader of the educational movement, the National Education Council provided a guide for unifying and systematizing the selection process for teachers. The policies highlighted a structure for teaching based on the general educational mission. However, the experiences at both Getronagan and Sanasarian show that classroom activities were often left in the hands of the individual school directors and the teachers. These individuals played an important role in developing student knowledge of the local and global environment. They capitalized upon and incorporated their own experiences into their teaching to create foundations for intellectual growth.

The quality of teaching varied greatly. Yet, the teachers at Getronagan remained many of the important names in Armenian circles of literature and culture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These faculty members viewed their role as

\textsuperscript{325} \textit{Sanasarian Varzharan Garno Usumnagan Deghegakirk 1891-92 yev 1892-93}, 26.
developing intellectuals that encompassed a love for western traditions but also understood the local environment of Constantinople. However, the teachers and their ideology were very different from their colleagues at Sanasarian. The much more cosmopolitan Constantinople with its western leanings provided a buffer for the Armenian lessons. In the heart of the interior the leaders of Sanasarian encouraged global awareness but with a knowledge that focused foremost on the national traditions and life of the provinces.
CHAPTER 7

FORMAL CLASSES AND INFORMAL LEARNING EXPERIENCES

Introduction

Formalization of the educational system went far beyond creating an organization structure for schools. Rather, armed with the end goal of achieving national advancement, the Education Council devised a strategy to accomplish this objective. A major part of the plan was integrated into the creation of a centrally organized curriculum. On a national and institutional level, schools began to offer classes that reflected the basic knowledge education leaders hoped to cultivate within the school setting. These courses reflected the dynamics of the local environment, in particular the Armenian community, elements of the Ottoman state, and reflections of western influences. As the class structure changed over time, the courses underscored the systemization of knowledge under a single structure. The curriculum was also restructured in a way that began to address not only the relevance of intellectual knowledge to national growth but also more practically oriented education.

Outside of the classroom, informal learning experiences also played a significant role in identity formation. The theater, libraries, holiday observances, and school outings all contributed to the development of an educated student population. Participation in these activities increased awareness and identification with the national symbols. They embedded in the curriculum ideological directives for the learning experience and, in some cases, worked in conjunction with the formal curriculum to encourage students to develop a multifaceted global consciousness.
The school day

The school schedule varied in each institution. It depended on the number of students, teacher availability, and the courses taught. In general, however, students in the Armenian schools faced a rigorous schedule. Six days a week students and teachers would travel from their homes to the local school. On three of the days classes were held in both the morning and in the afternoon. Lectures lasted fifty minutes with a ten-minute break between classes. The plan called for each class period to be divided into two segments. During the first half of the class the teacher would review the previous lessons. Following an informal examination, teachers would introduce new materials.\textsuperscript{326}

At Getronagan, the guidelines differed slightly. Students attended four classes per day. Two classes were taught in the morning and two in the afternoon. The day began at 9 a.m. and ended at 3 p.m. with a one-hour lunch period. This schedule, according to the school information booklet, followed the model of European institutions.\textsuperscript{327} Sanasarian also devised its own class schedule. Boarding students awakened each morning for singing and prayers. In the winter, the students could sleep until 6 a.m. while in the summer they were awakened at 5. After morning studies and breakfast, students had four classes - each lasting 45 minutes with a 15-minute break. Following lunch, students had free time until afternoon classes began. At the end of the day, time was set-aside for those students who elected to study music.

The Education Council created an extensive list of classes they expected schools to teach each week. These lessons ranged from language to history, mathematics, and the arts. Therefore, it was the duty of the school directors to determine how to establish regulations and meet the demands of the curriculum.

\textsuperscript{326} Gazmagan Ganonakir.

\textsuperscript{327} Bashdonakir, Ganonakir yev Haydakir.
Guidelines for establishing the formal curriculum

In order to create a listing of required courses, one of the new Education Council’s first tasks in the 1860’s was to survey all of the schools in Constantinople. The objective was to find out what was already being taught in the Armenian schools and to determine changes or additions to make to the curriculum. The survey conducted in thirty-two boys’ schools revealed that reading was considered a basic requirement and offered in all of the schools. Likewise, Armenian grammar, arithmetic, and choir were highly valued classes taught in a majority of the schools.\(^{328}\) The attention given to language and music reflected the importance placed on the recognition of national traditions through educational foundations. Furthermore, the study of arithmetic reflected a skill which communal leaders hoped would bring economic advancement. Over one-third of the schools also offered religion, Armenian history and politics. Again these classes indicated the importance already placed on teachings about the Armenian people. However, the classes also recognized the growing desire to incorporate global knowledge into the classroom setting. This was by teaching not only about Christianity but also integrating lessons on a multiplicity of religious philosophies.\(^{329}\)

The survey also reflected the presence of foreign language classes in the Armenian schools. Only one school taught English. However, this is not surprising given the primary western language used within the Ottoman Empire at the time was French. There is no doubt the twenty-one schools that offered French language courses also understood its importance. Conversely, Ottoman was not as highly valued. In fact, only twelve schools reported that they offered instruction in the subject. This evaluation

\(^{328}\) Armenian grammar (29 schools), arithmetic (27 schools), and church singing (27 schools).

\(^{329}\) Religion (17 schools), Armenian history (16 schools), and politics (12 schools).
suggests ongoing support for westernization among the Armenian community and underscored the importance of French as a language for economic advancement.\textsuperscript{330}

The Education Council used the Constantinople school survey to help shape a general course outline divided into three general segments. Kindergarten classes comprised the first sector of this education system. The primary objective of kindergartens was to develop basic learning skills. This meant the recognition of letters, numbers, and singing. In addition to kindergarten classes, the Council also created a curricular guideline for primary and secondary education.

The aim of the primary and secondary school course guidelines was to establish a clear outline of those lessons the Council felt would help achieve its educational mission. From here, the Council could then offer amendments based on perceived needs at a given time. In the primary schools, religion, science, literature and history instruction were all prevalent subjects. In 1873, the study of religion expanded to include morality particularly relating to the nation and family. Attention given to the teaching of Armenian language also continued to expand. Courses were offered in classical and modern Armenian. Similarly, the number of hours per week devoted to Armenian history and geography grew. According to the Council’s rules, mathematics and arts (drawing and music) were also viewed as essential to developing a cultured population. Therefore, many of the schools integrated these subjects into the weekly schedule.

In addition to the nationally recognized curriculum, each charity organization created a course outline to govern their schools. The six-year plan adopted by the Miatsial schools focused first and foremost on the development of national ideals. This included Armenian language classes. The focus on teaching Armenian marked one of the

\textsuperscript{330} Some schools also offered specialized subjects if teachers were available. Hence, four schools offered philosophy, one Armenian poetry, and one archeology. \textit{Deghegakir Azkayin Usunnagan Khorhrtots.}
primary differences between these village schools and the central education guidelines. Because so many Armenians living in the provinces spoke Turkish rather than Armenian, the Miatsial schools did not begin to teach Turkish until the fourth year. By focusing attention on the native language, the schools could begin to educate the masses about their national heritage. During the first year of schooling, the primary goal was to increase student awareness of how to phrase and respond to questions, words, and singing. Armenian was not the only subject taught at the Miatsial schools. The curriculum also included drawing, ethics, bookkeeping, physics, geometry and politics classes.\textsuperscript{331}

\textbf{Secondary School Curriculum}

The secondary school course outline expanded the primary education offerings. The curriculum followed a five-year plan based on an European model. The Council, Getronagan, Sanasarian, and other institutions encouraged the teaching of a wide range of subjects. Each year of the secondary school cycle also followed a different course outline. Required classes included history, religion, geography, philosophy, chemistry, choir, and languages.\textsuperscript{332} On the one hand the course outline recognized the desire to link the Armenian school curriculum with tradition while on the other it radiated a vision of the future through evolution and change.

Recognition of such subjects as religion, art or chemistry provides very little understanding of what was actually taught in each of the modules. Rather, it leads to questions about the specifics of the class structure. The key to understanding this question is based on a two-part answer. The first deals with the more general course

\textsuperscript{331} \textit{Deghegakir Yergamia Miatsial Ńgerut'iants Hayots 1880-1882} (Bolis: Getronadeghi, 1882).

\textsuperscript{332} \textit{Hamaraduut'iun Ažkayin Getronagan Varch'ut'ian 1872-1873}.
outline for each subject. What this course outline reveals is a very noticeable and systematic directed plan to expand lessons and types of learning opportunities. The second element, which is examined in chapter eight, is the teaching material used to support the general class structure.

**Humanities and Social Science Classes**

Humanities and social science subjects constituted a large proportion of the curriculum. Primarily literature, history and language courses, these subjects were viewed as critical elements in the construction of national identity. These classes were important to identity because they integrated classical learning with contemporary knowledge, the local with national and international issues.

Although students did have some flexibility in their choice of a second language, there was no alternative to the language of instruction. Educational guidelines specifically stipulated that all school lessons except for foreign languages in the fifth and sixth classes would be taught in Armenian. The only exception was in provincial areas where students did not know Armenian. Here classes were in Ottoman or Kurdish until students were able to understand Armenian lessons.\(^{333}\)

At Getronagan, the lower level Armenian language courses focused on building the basic knowledge of reading, grammar and spelling. Meanwhile, in the upper grades classes included translation and composition as well as the critical analysis of modern and classical Armenian literature. Instruction in classical Armenian was meant to encourage historical knowledge and in particular awareness of the language used in the Church. However, the attention given to studying such an ancient language was not without its critics. Although there was general agreement about the importance of classical

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\(^{333}\) *Dzrakir Ėnthanur Ėrinats.*
Armenian, there were those who felt that too much attention was given to its study in the course outline. These same people felt that not enough attention was given to modern Armenian language classes.\textsuperscript{334}

The issue of language was important. It marked a clear difference between the Armenian sponsored institutions and schools created by missionary organizations. At the missionary or western sponsored schools, Armenian was often combined with another language. Therefore, at one of the Mekhitarist schools the instructional language was both Armenian and French.\textsuperscript{335} At Central Turkey College, Turkish and English were the primary languages of instruction. However, at the Armenian sponsored institutions, from basic knowledge to more advanced communicative skills, the primary objective was to encourage the teaching of the national language.

The extensive use of Armenian could have resulted in a very isolated people. However, the omnipresence of foreign languages in the school curriculum meant quite the opposite. Students were encouraged to recognize the value of language learning. In private schools such as Berberian Varzharan language classes included French, English, Turkish and Latin. At Sasasarian students could chose from one of two foreign languages - French or German.\textsuperscript{336} These languages were rational choices given that French was commonly used throughout the Ottoman territories, in trade and governmental affairs. German was also valuable for trading purposes and popular among those professors who had been trained in Germany. Although Sasasarian was modeled after a German-style institution, the majority of students chose to study French. Some

\textsuperscript{334} "Azkayin Getronagan Varzharanê," Arewelyan Mamul 12 (July 1, 1894): 382-4.

\textsuperscript{335} Azkayin Varzharan Vienanagan Mkhit'ariants (i Pangal't'i).

\textsuperscript{336} Beginning in 1885 students could choose French as an elective. Four years later German was added as an alternative third language.
students did ask for English classes, however, when it came time to enroll, no students signed up for the class, so it was dropped. 337

At Getronagan, French was also the most popular foreign language. German and English received little attention. The “official” reason was that few students expressed an interest in studying these languages. However, the real reason was that additional fees were charged for German or English. This was regardless of whether the student paid tuition. Therefore, learning English was perceived as a language for the rich children and an obstacle for the poorer students. The lack of alternative language learning at Getronagan was a serious issue for some students. Those who wanted to further their education in a German or English speaking university found desire hampered by the lack of knowledge. 338 This was called to the attention of the trustees in a public newspaper article about the classes offered at Getronagan. 339

All of the Armenian secondary schools offered Ottoman classes. Similar to other foreign languages, students learned the basic tools for speaking, reading, and writing. Although Ottoman would help students to navigate within the local environment it was not studied with the same vigor as French. The reason is most likely due to the fact that knowledge of a European language could provide economic gain whereas Ottoman language skills would not really bring opportunity for advancement. The upper level Ottoman courses also included the teaching of Persian and Arabic. Because Persian and Arabic heavily influenced the Ottoman language, the teaching of these two languages provided students with a solid base to improve their knowledge of Ottoman.

337 Sanasarian Varzharan Garno Usnunagan Deghevakirk 1891-92 yev 1892-93.
338 Azkayin Getronagan Varzharané.
339 Ibid.
In addition to languages, courses in history and geography also helped to increase national awareness and global knowledge. Unsurprisingly, within these history and geography classes the first lessons focused on the lands of Armenia. After instilling local knowledge in students, educators then felt it was safe to include teachings about other continents and peoples. Hence the history curriculum included the teaching of general world studies, ancient and medieval history of the Persians, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, as well as aspects of modern European history. The study of Ottoman history was also included in the curriculum.

Religion, Art & Music Classes

Religious knowledge was also an integral and central component of the formal curriculum. Under the Constitutional guidelines, the Religious rather than Education Council determined the class structure. The guidelines called for schools to include lessons on Christian teachings, history of the Old and New Testaments, and morality. During the fourth year, attention turned to the history of the Armenian Church, its organization, rituals and faith.\textsuperscript{340} Meanwhile, students in the final year of religious instruction studied philosophy and theoretical interpretations of the Bible.\textsuperscript{341}

Communal and church leaders considered religion classes important to the reinforcement of the church’s national meaning. As a part of the lessons, these leaders encouraged students to participate in the church services. However, the church leaders

\textsuperscript{340} Mentioned later in this chapter is the fact that students were also informally taught the importance of religious rituals and church services. *Deghegakir Hamaraduut’ian Grönagan Zhoghovo Azk. Getronagan Varch’ut’ian 1906 Sept 20\textsuperscript{th}-1908 Sept 20 ař azkayin ēnthanur zhoghovn* (Bolis: H. Asadurian & Vortik, 1910).

\textsuperscript{341} *Deghegakir Hamaraduut’ian K’aghak’agan Zhoghovots ařAzkayin Ėnthanur Zhoghovn 1885-87* (Bolis: Sahag Nigoghosian, 1887).
knew that mere attendance did not necessarily mean adherence to Armenian Church traditions. Therefore, in order to assess student attitudes toward the church, at one point the Patriarch sent inspectors to the Armenian schools. Not only was he concerned with student attitudes toward the church but also whether tradition was preserved, and students were participating in religious services.\footnote{Hamaraduut 'iun Grōnagan Zhoghovots ař Azkayin Ėnthanur Zhoghovn (Bolis: M. Sareyan, 1888).}

Choir classes were just one way schools encouraged the preservation of tradition and participation in religious services. The aim was to increase student awareness and understanding of church rituals through the knowledge of hymns. However, this desire would be realized for only one half of the population. Since singing courses were meant only for male students, it was boys who were taught that they had an obligation to serve the church as communal leaders of the nation. Meanwhile, girls learned that their place was in the home. Therefore, the creation of a link between the church and young boys reflected the perceived importance of continuity in the patriarchal control of communal governance.\footnote{At the upper level courses in advanced mathematics, geometry, and trigonometry were open to both boys and girls but the reality was that few women ever reached that level of education in the national schools. \textit{Hrahank Parəgarkut'ian Ɂ'aghayin Varzharants Gosdantnubolso}.}

Although church hymns tended to dominate music classes, educational leaders also realized the need for art and popular music to promote cultural awareness. While the religious content of the music brought wisdom, comfort, and blessing, the general feeling was that the inclusion of popular music would help students to understand the thoughts of the people.\footnote{H. Deradurian, “Yerazhshdut'iunn Mer Varzharannerun Mēch,” \textit{Masis}, 1894 August 16, 172-4.} Therefore, the curriculum gradually expanded to represent not only
religious ideology but also popular songs. Incorporating music into the educational system was viewed as both soulful and spiritual. The hope was that the knowledge of traditional music could reach into the individual soul and thus the soul of the nation.\textsuperscript{345}

In addition to Armenian works, European ideas also entered into the music lessons. Students were taught German and French musical traditions and exposed to musical instruments from the west. At Sanasarian, students had the choice of studying the piano or violin as an elective instrument. Although technically they were suppose to pay for these classes, in reality many received free tuition in order to encourage the development of cultural values.

**German and French influences in the class structure**

The commingling of regional studies with knowledge about the west through literature, language, music and history changed over the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. What the curriculum reflected was a growing westernization. For example, a comparison of the course hours for third-year students at Sanasarian in 1884-1886 and 1907-1909 reveals this change. During Sanasarian's first years of operation, a few courses specifically focused on the west, an hour here and there. However, evolution and reform meant as students continued to receive instruction in both Armenian and Ottoman subjects, there was a significant increase in foreign language instruction, grammar, translations, and world history.\textsuperscript{346} This occurred not only with the


\textsuperscript{346} The Armenian classes included modern and classical Armenian, grammar, and in 1906 - national history. The Ottoman classes included Ottoman, Ottoman history, and grammar. Included in the western division were the French and German languages, history (which was later to become general history in 1906), French/Turkish translation, and grammar.
addition of individual courses but also the integration of western knowledge into traditional subjects.

Western influences in the curriculum are not surprising. Sanasarian was a private institution and modeled after a German Realschule school, therefore it combined the ideals of the Education Council and its own directors with influences of the German educational system. The German system by the late nineteenth century was divided into gymnasias and realschule institutions. The gymnasium curriculum reflected the ideology and classical training of Wilhelm von Humboldt who was responsible for many educational reforms. Course offerings included Latin, Greek, mathematics, physics, religion, geography, and German. The classical languages remained a dominant part of the curriculum until the 1870’s. There were two types of Realschule institutions - the first class and second class.

The first class was a nine-year school referred to as a “semi-classical” school. Although the patrons of the schools were often wealthy individuals, the student population consisted of children from commercial rather than professional families. These schools also taught Latin, but much less than what was offered at the gymnasium. Meanwhile, the second-class realschule was a six-or seven-year institution that did not offer Latin. The realschule offered few benefits to its graduates except to prepare boys for technical institutions but not for the university. Therefore there were those who argued that the practical nature of the realschule made students unprepared for German scholarship.

By combining classical education with practical training, Sanasarian reflected many of the realschule’s policies and curriculum. When Sanasarian first opened, there were classes offered in religion, Armenian, history, geography, natural history, arithmetic, drawing, singing, and physical education. At that time there were only twenty-six hours of instruction per week and no alternatives to the core courses. However, in the following years, increasing student enrollments and growth in the class years resulted in changes to
the variety of subjects and the number of class hours. Hence, the course outline expanded to offer classical Armenian, Ottoman and Ottoman History, French/Turkish translations, geometry, and the piano and violin as electives. Courses were later added in church history, physics, chemistry, bookkeeping, algebra, trigonometry, health, and political and rural economy.

The German model of education propounded by the directors of Sanasarian did not extend to similar institutions. Rather the prevailing attitudes influencing the Armenians in curricular construction and educational reforms came from the French. In fact, class requirements in the Ottoman Armenian schools drew heavily on the example of the French system. In France the social purpose of education was one that focused on moral and intellectual development rather than occupational or social mobility. By the later part of the eighteenth century, moral and religious instruction was a part of each primary school course. However, at the secondary school level religion remained a separate subject. The classics were also an integral part of the curriculum through the teaching of Latin and Greek but more so in the study of literature and philosophy. Except for a brief period between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the curriculum in France focused on traditional classical education. The basic approach was to cultivate the mind by producing an image that would help to maintain the cultural homogeneity of the educated class.\textsuperscript{347} Although this classical education was open to both boys and girls, one of the major differences was that the female students did not learn Latin.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, tension remained between traditional ideas and vocational needs of the middle class. By the middle of the century curricular reform in French education finally resulted in the inclusion of science education and modern languages. The teaching of sciences was at first perceived as holding little real

\textsuperscript{347} Anderson, \textit{Education in France}, 26.
value for the cultured man. Therefore, rather than being taught on its own, science lessons were integrated into the study of other subjects. Gradually the amount of money allocated to the sciences did increase over time. This helped to improve equipment used in the classes. Educational reforms in the 1850’s also reflected a movement from classical to modern languages. These reforms made it compulsory for each student in the third form of the lycée to study three years of English and German. Hence, language instruction began to reflect a desire for professional enhancement rather than literary development. The reforms were similar to the regulations proposed by the Armenian Education Council. While the Council continued to embrace the study of classical language, the members also realized the need for additional language learning.

In France, by 1880 educational funding increased and there was a renewed focus placed on studying the French language. The underlying objective was for children to learn the duty of patriotism to their country through intellectual knowledge. Schools also began to introduce the teaching of history and geography as a way to encourage and stimulate identification with the nation. Again, the parallels between the French system and the Armenian desire for national awareness are clearly evident. Similar to the French, the Armenians encouraged history and language lessons as a way to instill national understanding.

When the Armenian Education Council established Getronagan, they had in mind this French model. The initial course outline was divided into two parts. The first course of study consisted of three years and the second two years. Core courses included religion, languages, history, mathematics, and literature. The trustees encouraged the teaching of western ideologies, Armenian traditions, and knowledge of the Ottomans. During the third year, the offerings expanded to include Arabic and Persian in the Ottoman language course, science classes (chemistry, physics, and the history of science),

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law, health, and merchant trade. In the higher grades courses were offered in philosophy, psychology and political economy.\textsuperscript{348}

\textbf{Professional knowledge - trade and crafts}

Both Sanasarian and Getronagan considered the integration of practical knowledge into the formal curriculum an important educational element. At Getronagan professional knowledge relied on the practical application of the academic core. This was achieved in two ways. The first devoted a section of the curriculum to commercial trade. This division focused on the development of skills needed for working in the business setting. Professional knowledge was also reflected in teaching training courses. Following Getronagan's institutional objective, the fourth year course schedule included a pedagogy course.\textsuperscript{349} (See Appendix A for the 1886 planned course outline.) The pedagogy classes instilled in students the knowledge of various teaching styles, particularly ideas from the west. Further, it reflected a movement toward knowledge that could be practically applied once a student had graduated.

Meanwhile, at Sanasarian the term professional or practical knowledge had a completely different meaning. Professional knowledge was its own branch of the school and in effect meant learning a trade. In a special room reserved for the professional school carpentry tools lined the walls. Here students learned to bind books and to make furniture - chairs, desks, cupboards, picture frames, and trunks. Eventually the courses changed to include locksmith and cabinet making professions.\textsuperscript{350} Sanasarian's craft

\textsuperscript{348} Uzunian, \textit{Getronagan Varzharani}.

\textsuperscript{349} \textit{Deghegakir Hamaraduu't ian K'a'ghak'agan Zhoghovots}.

\textsuperscript{350} \textit{K'a'rania Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzherani}.
school catered to far fewer students than the academic division. However, it still served the general purpose of providing practical knowledge to local students.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the curriculum at Sanasarian as a whole began to change. There was a clear movement toward the introduction of subjects with a practical focus. For instance, one of the new subjects was the study of the rural economy.\textsuperscript{351} This class was meant to address local economic issues and reflected a desire to increase the practical relevance of classroom learning experiences.

\textbf{Science and mathematics classes}

The study of sciences and mathematics was also encouraged as a part of the curriculum.\textsuperscript{352} Useful for practical and also more academic purposes, basic arithmetic was usually considered a core course. Eventually this class gave way to the study of more advanced concepts such as geometry and trigonometry. Bookkeeping and accounting courses were also offered and seen as particularly beneficial for engaging in trade.

Science courses ranged from physical science, to chemistry, and physics. Training also included psychology, zoology, botany and the history of science. Frequently these courses were conducted in a European language. This was to enable students to pursue future studies at a university level or because there were simply no Armenian terms to explain important technical concepts.\textsuperscript{353}

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\textsuperscript{351} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{353} Uzunian, \textit{Gentronagan Varzharani}, Article 18.
Although scientific knowledge was an important part of the curriculum, there were those in the community who felt that too much attention was being taken away from other classes. Still others criticized the poor academic quality of physical science classes. These criticisms focused on the fact that teachers did not give homework in advance and it was not collected.\footnote{Azkayin Getronagan Varzharané.}

**Curricular guidelines for girls' schools**

Earlier in the dissertation the discussion touched upon the subtle distinctions between schools for boys and girls. When it came to the curriculum these differences were even more pronounced. The survey, conducted by the Education Council of the Constantinople Armenian schools in 1865, also included detailed information about the fourteen girls' schools. Similar to boys' schools, reading was considered a valued subject. Likewise the most popular subjects taught were Armenian grammar, arithmetic, religion, and Armenian history.\footnote{Armenian grammar (13 schools), arithmetic (11 schools) religion (10 schools) and Armenian history (10 schools).} The clear objective to instill knowledge of the Armenian nation in young girls did not really differ from the principal aims of the boys' schools. At six schools, girls were taught French and, based on availability courses were offered in politics, general history, logic, and ancient Armenian history. Again, this was quite similar to the boys. However, interestingly, there is no mention of Ottoman language instruction. The most likely reason was that since men represented the family in the public domain it was not really necessary for women to study advanced Ottoman. Rather, the knowledge of French language and culture would provide western enlightenment. This later made one writer lament that the use of French rather than
Armenian in the schools caused the young Armenian girls to forget their heritage and to become French.\textsuperscript{356}

The primary difference in the curriculum at the boys' and girls' schools revolved around the teaching of embroidery. This class, offered in eleven girls' schools, highlighted the importance attached to young girls learning the skill. In this class girls learned to make clothing for the family or intricate lacework to decorate the home.\textsuperscript{357} The Armenians were not the only people to attach importance to the teaching of embroidery. In fact, a similar class was taught to young girls at schools in England at the time. In addition to sewing and needlework, by 1878 English schools also began to offer young women courses devoted to the domestic economy. These courses were supported by the development of textbooks for teaching purposes.\textsuperscript{358} The textbooks reflected the basic course outline which included the study of cooking, washing, clothing, heating houses, and managing sick rooms. This domestic economy class most likely influenced Armenian secondary institutions which also later offered a similar course to young girls.

As mentioned earlier, based on the 1865 survey, the Education Council developed a centralized curriculum for primary and secondary schools. Contained in these guidelines were distinct differences in subjects taught to boys and girls. During the first and second years of school, Ottoman language remained an optional subject for women. In the third year the language was taught only to boys. By 1886, needlework and domestic economy courses replaced singing classes.\textsuperscript{359}

\textsuperscript{356} Masis, No 2299 (1879) as quoted in Oshagan Armenian Review, 61.

\textsuperscript{357} Deghegakir Azkayin Usurnagan Khorhrots.


\textsuperscript{359} Hrahank Paregarkut’ian Azkayin Varzharanats (Bolis: H. Muihendisian, 1873); Hrahank Paregarkut’ian T’aghayin Varzharants Gosdantnubolou.
Charity schools such as the Tbrotsaser Hayouhiatz whose primary purpose was to promote intellectual growth among women, pursued a somewhat different agenda. During the five-year course plan, the opportunity to study needlework was augmented by Armenian language, religion, history, geography, French (beginning in the second year), mathematics, natural history, morals and manners, and writing lessons. These courses reflected the values and identity that the leaders wanted to foster in young Armenian women including expected behavior and manners. Since the Tbrotsaser schools were devoted to teacher training, at the end of the five-year course, students could also choose to enroll in a one-year pedagogy program. Here, students learned about the theory and practice of teaching and how to prepare and give lectures.\textsuperscript{360}

Curricular Reforms

The twentieth century brought increasing educational centralization to the Armenian system. Council directives dictated to schools the number of hours that should be devoted to each subject. During the first few years, schools were required to spend most of their time teaching modern Armenian language, religion, mathematics, music, penmanship and object lessons. Armenian and mathematics were offered every day whereas other classes required substantially lesser amounts of time. The strategy was to stimulate the growth of local knowledge at a young age so that students would develop a greater sense of national awareness. Language and religion were viewed as two subjects necessary to instill such knowledge. Equipped with these basic foundations, the higher classes shifted their focus to offer a wider variety of subjects. Although modern Armenian remained a critical part of the curriculum, new courses in history, economics and politics and an increase in the number of hours devoted to foreign languages (Turkish

\textsuperscript{360} LPA: 133/110-11.
and French) meant students would encounter a broader educational experience. The overall focus of the curriculum on Armenian subjects and developing greater world knowledge meant that Turkish subjects although offered did not play a central role.

However, this began to change following the introduction of the new Turkish Constitution in 1909. State policies required that Armenian schools abide by regulations stipulating the number of hours of Ottoman language instruction. Inevitably this led to an increase in the number of hours devoted to Ottoman history and language instruction. This also meant that teachers took time away from Armenian lessons to ensure that students could also express their ideas in Turkish. At the same time, Armenian school officials became increasingly aware of the possibility of state inspections to ensure that they were abiding by governmental regulations.

In addition to changes required by the state, Armenian schools, and in particular Getronagan, implemented their own reform policies. Many of the ideas came from the French educational model. Back in the 1850’s the French system of academic learning had divided into two sections. The scientific segment focused on mathematics and sciences whilst the literary sector focused on the classics, Latin and Greek. The two sections also shared a set of courses. The common subjects of history, geography, French, modern languages, and logic provided basic educational foundations. Combining these basic fundamentals with the scientific branch the goal was to help prepare medical doctors as well as individuals with more practical careers in industry, commerce and agriculture.

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361 Gazmagan Ganonakir.

362 K’aráamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.

363 BNU DC 2/5.

364 Anderson, Education in France.
Reforming the Armenian system meant the Central Council devised a plan to divide secondary schools into four branches of learning—scientific, literary, pedagogical, and merchantile. The merchantile or commercial division was focused on trade and commerce. An integral component of this division was the study of languages, primarily French. The rapid increase in trade with German-speaking populations meant there were increasing demands for students with the ability to speak the language. Students studying commercial trades also enrolled in various types of mathematics courses. Specific subjects such as algebra, commercial math, bookkeeping, geography, and a course designed to familiarize students with trading products were meant to further practical awareness. There was a general awareness that the commercial sector was meant only for male students. In fact during the second year of study the course on commercial geography was offered only to male students.

The division devoted to pedagogical studies served the primary role of teacher training. The courses in this track focused on ethics, pedagogical practices, and school health. Meanwhile, the scientific course outline focused primarily on the local environment through the development of agricultural knowledge and local history. The general purpose was to encourage the respect of local concerns. The final division concentrated on literary knowledge and the creation of an intellectual class. Psychology and the history of ethics were just two subjects areas meant to achieve these goals.\(^{365}\)

Changes made to the Getronagan curriculum in 1897 reflected the central curricular guidelines. The school simply used different names to identify each division. Rather than scientific, literary, pedagogical, and mercantile, the divisions were called scholastic, academic, scientific, and commercial. The commercial courses focused on communicative skills in foreign languages and skills associated with business enterprise.

\(^{365}\)Gzmagam Ganakir.
letter writing, creating books, banking, and commercial regulations. The scholastic division focused on Armenian language and literature, non-Armenian literature, Armenian and civic history. The purpose of this division was to train and develop Armenian specialists who also had an acute sense of global knowledge. (See Appendix B for curriculum outline)

The creation of a formal curriculum by the National Education Council and individual institutions established basic learning skills. It highlighted, through the various disciplines, courses that would work toward the development of the educated masses. Aside from formal classes, informal learning within the school setting also played a critical role in student development. These experiences provided an alternative form of learning outside of the structured setting and played a large role in allowing students to express their own identity.

Informal Learning

Informal educational activities provided students with supplemental forms of learning outside of formal courses. These experiences included, among others, oral traditions and work ethics passed between friends or from family members that encouraged the recognition of symbols and traditions. For the purpose of this work, informal learning will only include those experiences connected to the schools. Therefore, this section focuses on school outings, celebrations, the theater, and access to literary works in a wide array of subjects and languages as markers that stimulated and encouraged creative thought, provided an escape from societal tensions, and an opportunity to express frustrations. All of these activities reflected and illuminated a curious mixture of local, regional and international ideas. Student participation and

activism in music performances and theatrical plays reflected a desire to incorporate new ideas and literature from the West into their lives. Yet, they also highlighted the continued role of Armenian traditions.

Libraries and museums

Libraries played a supporting role in communal education and the development of literacy. Students, teachers, and parents in Constantinople and many of the provincial villages used the books and newspapers contained in these institutions as resources to further their knowledge. The establishment of libraries in the larger cities of Smyrna and Constantinople was an important step toward educating the masses. It also facilitated the dissemination of information about the Armenians among the various regions. The Hay Entertsaran (Armenian reading room), established in Smyrna in 1869 included a large collection of books and newspapers. Many were either donated or purchased abroad. The shelves contained an assortment of English, French, Turkish, Italian and Armenian language newspapers. Furthermore, the library held a collection of several hundred books in a variety of languages from Armenian to French, English, Greek, Turkish, German, and Italian. Getronagan also had its own library filled with Armenian, Ottoman and French language books. It provided a source of knowledge and inspiration for the students. Within its confines students could read works brought back to the school from the western travels of the institutional directors and those from the collection of Patriarch Nersēs. Another benefit was the use of maps, globes from Berlin, and physics equipment from Marseilles.368

367 Deghegakir Hay ŋEnt'ertsadan Izmirniots 1900 (Smyrna: G. Tatigian, 1901), Deghegakir Hay ŋEnt'ertsadan Izmirniots 1902 (Smyrna: G. Tatigian, 1903), Deghegakir Hay ŋEnt'ertsadan Izmirniots 1904-5 (Smyrna: G. Tatigian, 1906).

368 Uzunian, Getronagan Varzharani.
In the interior provinces, libraries helped to transmit news from Constantinople to the wider Armenian population. Sanasarian had its own library for students with a collection of over 7,000 books, archival documents and highly prized manuscripts.\textsuperscript{369} Given the connection between Sanasarian and German education, it is not surprising that the largest number of its books were written in German. In addition there was a substantial collection of Armenian books and to a lesser extent French, English, Russian and Ottoman publications. These holdings reflected western influence including the European education of various faculty members, the presence of the local language and the influence of the Caucases. Teachers used these library books to supplement class materials. For the students the library meant an opportunity to read works outside of the assigned class texts. In addition to the formal school library, which expanded and was named after Garabed Yeziantz following his death, the students at Sanasarian opened their own library. After forming the \textit{Ashagerdagan Miut’ian} (Student Society) in 1908 the library opened with 400 volumes. The books were primarily Armenian and French language texts.

Whilst the primary objective of these libraries was to foster literary knowledge, material objects found their home in museums. One of the most highly prized museums in Anatolia was housed at Sanasarian. Under the directorship of Hovsep Madat’ian, the museum was open to Sanasarian students on Friday and on Sunday afternoon. In the collection, students viewed displays of animals and materials from various locales throughout the Empire. With this museum, students developed not only an appreciation of the sciences but also increased their awareness of regional and geographical differences. The museum was considered an important treasure to the Erzerum Armenian

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\textsuperscript{369} Armenian 1450; French 1102; German 2900; Turkish 398; English 119; Russian 55; books held by the student society 400; bound and unbound manuscripts 942; Total 7366.\textit{K’ar’amia Deghega’kir Sanasarian Varzharani.}
\end{flushright}
community. Hence, it was the one piece of Sanasarian that the people of Erzerum fought the hardest to keep when the school moved to Sepastia.370

**Holidays, school assemblies, and special events**

Holiday observances and special events also played an important role in the informal learning process. As a part of the academic calendar, schools observed the important holy days of the Armenian Church. In addition to church attendance on recognized religious holidays, Sanasarian students were also required to attend worship services every Sunday and on feast days, and to fast during Holy Week. This link between informal learning and the church served the purpose of ensuring its role as an important communal institution. However, the church was only one part of the holiday festivities. On New Year’s Day and Christmas at many schools, students were treated to gifts of fruits and nuts. Students and teachers prepared musical pieces, poetry readings and speeches and the local priest offered his blessing. Each year Sanasarian sponsored school festivals to mark Easter, Christmas, and the beginning of Lent. Teachers and students merrily played the piano and violin in front of crowds often attended by over two hundred guests. Usually presided over by the Archbishop, local priests and community leaders, these performances reflected the success of the formal school lessons and a chance for joyful celebration.

In addition to these celebrations, holidays symbolized significant markers in national history. Schools ensured that Vartanantz day, the day of the Holy Translators, the Transfiguration of the Holy Cross, and the anniversary of the Armenian Constitution

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on May 24th were all etched in the students’ minds. These holidays reflected the role of historical memory in the informal academic teachings.

The Armenian schools also recognized important Ottoman state holidays such as the Sultan’s enthronement and later the day marking the Ottoman Constitution. At Sanasarian a celebration was held to mark the coming of the Young Turks and a month later at the school, all of the students in Erzerum, both Armenian and Turkish, gathered together in a display of unity between the two groups. Acknowledging the new constitution and the anniversary of the Sultan’s enthronement represented the few outward marks of the Ottoman influence on the schools’ otherwise Armenian calendar.

More serious forms of celebration were school graduation ceremonies and assemblies which symbolized the end of the year. In front of community leaders, including representatives of the Protestant and Catholic communities, graduates presented speeches and readings in a variety of languages. At one of the Getronsagan graduation ceremonies a representative of the Mekhitarists and the head of the Protestant community

371 These days are significant for the reflection of historical remembrance and religious connections. The Feast of the Transfiguration also known as Vartavar day falls between Theophany and the Resurrection. It is said that during this time Jesus preached and performed miracles. Vartanatz day commemorates the war fought against the Persians in A.D. 451. Its celebration signifies the struggle for independence and religious freedom. The feast of the Holy Translators signifies the translations of texts into Armenian following the creation of the Armenian alphabet.

372 *Hrahank Pargarkut’ian T’aghayin Varzharants Gosdanntubolso; Hamaraduut’iun Azkayin Getronagan Varch’ut’ian Grönagan Zhoghovots 1908 Nove 3-1910 October 13 Yergamia Shrchan i ač azkayin Yeresp’okhanagan Zhoghovn* (Bolis: Osm Kortzagtsagan Ėngerut’iun, 1912); *Gazmagan Ganonakir.*

373 *K’arəmia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.*

appeared with his wife. The presence of teachers, guests, and newspaper correspondents also ensured increased awareness of educational endeavors among the general public.  

In addition to the celebratory nature of graduations and *hantêşs*, schools also held more solemn *hokehankisd* (memorial) services. These days followed the Armenian tradition of honoring the memory of those who had died. On these days the schools remembered institutional supporters including founders, important teachers and benefactors by holding a church service in their honor. Each year Sanasarian marked the death of the institutional benefactor, Mgrdish’ Sanasarian, with a service and the presentation of wreaths and flowers as a symbol of respect. Later in the year the academy held a second service to remember other supporters and financial benefactors.

These *hokehankisd* services played an important role in the informal learning process. Not only did students learn the history of their school but also remembered important contributors to the establishment of the educational institutions. The *hokehankisd* services were also an important part of societal tradition. They represented the reverence toward local customs felt within the institutional environment.

**School Trips**

Following the year-end graduation ceremonies students at boarding schools returned to their villages for summer vacation. Many students chose to remain at school while others stayed because their parents could not afford to pay the cost to return home. These summer months provided the students with yet another opportunity for informal

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375 Ibid.

376 Those who were remembered included Arakel Zhadurian who had donated 12,000 rubles to the school, Garabed Yeziantz’s aunt and Sanasarian supporter Mariam Mardirosian, and Garabed Yeziantz.
learning. At the end of the year and during the summer, Sanasarian students participated in organized excursions led by the faculty to the villages surrounding Erzerum.

The aims of these short excursions were for students to enjoy the fresh air of the mountains, and to familiarize the pupils with the surrounding rural economy. On one occasion, Nshan Kalfayan traveled with a group of fourth-and fifth-year students to Illichei. His goal was to teach students about the rural economy and practical work.\textsuperscript{377} The effect of this and other excursions was that it strengthened the connection between the students and the historical lands.

The longer excursions to the Garmir Vank' (Red Monastery) and Srdadzor did more than just expose students to the local elements. In a relaxed atmosphere, students could express their own identity and develop ideas outside of a structured environment.\textsuperscript{378} Travel was on foot with the journey to Srdadzor taking four to five hours. According to one student’s memoirs, the “brave and strong” students achieved this distance in half the time. Along the way students listened to their professors discuss memories of European life and their recollection of Armenian history.\textsuperscript{379} These stories encouraged students to develop an underlying awareness of the glorious Armenian past and the successes of their people. During the trek, students would sing songs, eat on the banks of the Euphrates river, and walk through many remote villages. In his memoirs, Mgrdich Barsamian reflected on the emotional bond students felt with the nature and the beauty of the land.

\textsuperscript{377} This was during the 1907-1908 academic year. \textit{K'ar'amia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani}.

\textsuperscript{378} Students traveled to Gamir Vank in 1882, 1883, 1884 1907 and to Srdadzor in 1883, 84, 85-08. In 1906,1907, 1908, 1910 only the middle students traveled there. Excursions were canceled in 1889-90 because of a large earthquake and again in 1893-94 because of a cholera epidemic.

\textsuperscript{379} Karakashian, \textit{Sanasarian Varzharan}, VI, no. 6.
Years later Barsamian longed for what he called the Armenian water and honey, Armenian fish and meat, Armenian bread and milk students enjoyed on these hikes.\textsuperscript{380} Students would bring their violins so that others could “listen...to the sounds of European melodies.”\textsuperscript{381} They slept in tents, awakened each morning by two violinists from the upper class. Together the students sang $A\grave{r}av\grave{a}d \ Lus\circ\ A\grave{r}ek\circ\ Ac\grave{t}ar$ (Morning of Light, Righteous Sun) and $Agh\grave{o}\grave{t}\grave{t}\grave{a}\grave{r}\grave{a}n\acute{e} \ Patsvets\acute{a}v$. Music continued throughout the trip with students often singing Armenian songs. In the morning students swam in the nearby lake and then were called by a bell for breakfast in one of the tents.

Illustration 4 - Outing to Srdadzor


\textsuperscript{381} Sanasarian Varzharan Garno Usunnagan Deghegakirk 1891-92 yev 1892-93, 26.
After breakfast students surrounded themselves with reading material. They read the European literature of Goethe, Schiller’s Wilhelm Tell in French and German, Gorki, Tolstoy, and Ibsen. Armenian newspapers including *Murch* from Tiflis, and books written by Leo, Aharonian, Isahagian, Papazian, Tumanian, and Raffi reflected the exposure to the ideology and thought of Armenians in Transcaucasia. Similarly, students read journals from the west - *Arewelyan Mamul* from Smyrna and *Masis* from Constantinople - as well as Krikor Zohrab’s newest novel and the poetry of Tekeyan, Siamanto and Varujan.\(^{382}\) Hence, the growth of written works in modern western Armenian that occurred as a result of the literary reforms in the middle of the nineteenth century became important learning materials outside of the classroom. These literary works provided teachers and students with alternatives to textbooks. Furthermore, through novels and newspapers students increased their awareness of social and political issues.

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\(^{382}\) Karakashian, *Sanasarian Varzharan*, VI, no. 6.
The trip to Garmir Vank was equally exciting. Tradition had it that the Vank was built by Nersès the Great in the fourth century and was well known for the red bricks in the dome. In addition to being a place for monks and pilgrims to rest, the monastery was also a cultural center with its own orphanage, hospital, and school. In fact it was here that the founder of the Mekhitarists, Mekhitar of Sepastia, once served as a teacher.

As one young child from Erzerum remembered the days:

...we all went to a place called Garmir Vank...where for two or three days we spent some time, Rosdorn came, too. Some did gymnastics, others gathered flowers. The priest was there too; some prayed with him and took communion...There were very strict rules regarding the speaking of Armenian. Anyone using Turkish words was reprimanded...I remember the Sanasarian boys, the big boys coming to hear him.383

The use of the native language and the respect shown to an Armenian political leader reflected the true sense of national spirit at the time.384 Even if students did not remember what they were being told, it was the memory of these experiences that played a role in the expansion and formation of national knowledge. Similarly by capitalizing on this informal setting, students were able to explore their attitudes and connection with local traditions on the one hand while on the other increasing their knowledge of western and eastern thought through books and discussions.385

Theater

During the later half of the nineteenth century, the theater became an important avenue for expression in the Armenian community. Theatres appeared almost

383 Yervant, Needle, Thread, 8.

384 Stepan Zorian (Rosdorn as he is known under his assumed name) was one of the three founding fathers of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

simultaneously in Constantinople and in Tiflis. In the schools, students also used the stage to express their thought and creativity in an informal setting. Many years after the first Armenian theaters opened, the Sanasarian students also decided to create their own informal theatre. Beginning in 1891 the student society began to stage productions which reflected Armenian, Ottoman, and western influences in the subject matter.

The first plays included the works of Hagop Baronian - *Adamnapoyzhn Arewelyan* (Oriental Dentist) and *Medzabadiv Muratsganner* (The Most Honorable Beggars). Baronian (1843-1891) died around the same time that his first plays were performed at Sanasarian. However, he left a remarkable legacy for the students. His works were a satirical reflection of social life using comedy and humor. Focusing on contemporary problems in the Armenian community, works such as the “Oriental Dentist” represented an evolution toward realist literature. Using his literature to highlight important societal events, Baronian also produced many satirical biographies of famous individuals. The importance of his work in depicting the misery of the Armenians in the provinces and his comical work is probably one of the reasons Baronian was extremely popular among students. They staged the Turkish translation *Yerguoriagneré* (The Twins) and again the following Christmas *Medzabadiv Muratsganner*. In February, another of Baronian’s works, *Goshtagarneré* (The shoe makers) was chosen for production.

When an earthquake struck Erzerum in 1901, the theater closed for the entire school year. However, it reopened the following year with the Sanasarian student society again actively involved with staging dramatic productions. In 1904, the mixture of Armenian, Turkish and French was reflected in the performance of *Vayreni* in

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387 *K’sanamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.*

388 *Hnkamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.*
Armenian, a French play that had been translated into Turkish, *Deli-Bagh*, and in French, *L'avocat Patelin*. In the years to follow students performed the drama *Tēbi Azadut ‘iun* (Toward Freedom), and *Charshēlē Artin Aghan* a comedy about European and Ottoman mores. On another occasion students performed Lewonian's *Anonts Mahe* (Their Death) and in 1906 *Metzabadiv Muratsganner* and *Khechoyi T‘uzé* (Khachig's Fig). Two years later the students presented *Othello* and the tragedy, *Shoushanig*. These plays reflected the growing student knowledge and awareness of literature in wide variety of languages. While providing comical entertainment, school theaters were also an outlet for students. On stage students could, in a non-threatening manner, express frustrations over social conditions and escape from the confines of textbook and classroom learning.

**Music and sports**

Sports activities and music lessons played a dual role as part of the formal and informal curriculum. They were formal in the sense that most of the schools included music lessons and exercise as a part of the course curriculum. However, informally, students also participated in these activities outside of the classroom.

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389 Ibid.

390 *K‘ařamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.*
In addition to the exercise classes, in 1902 Sanasarian held a field day with running, swimming, gymnastics and wrestling competitions.\textsuperscript{391} Throughout the winter Sanasarian students had the opportunity to ice-skate at the back of the school. A concept imported from Europe, for the students ice-skating was a great form of entertainment. It also allowed them to interact with the foreigners living in Erzerum. In a relaxed atmosphere, students and European consulates with their families found themselves landing on the ice with a jolly laugh.\textsuperscript{392} Throughout her life, Nevart Madat’ian talked about the beauty of the Erzerum winter and especially ice-skating in the garden dressed in a white fur coat and skates her father had purchased in Germany.\textsuperscript{393}

\textsuperscript{391} Hnkamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.


\textsuperscript{393} Interview with Sola Indijjian.
Illustration 7 - Sanasarian students skating in Erzerum

Music was also an integral part of informal education. It encouraged students to learn traditional tunes while at the same time to broaden their awareness of musical genres from other settings. Informal music became a part of daily life through morning song, the summer vacations, and attendance at church services. In addition, Professor Ghoyinian in 1905 organized an orchestra at Sanasarian. This group began to play at school holidays and graduation ceremonies.\textsuperscript{394} Aside from the violin, the orchestra included seven instruments brought from Europe in 1909.\textsuperscript{395} Open concerts for members of the local community meant that students were able to pass on the beauty of the various sounds to the general public.

\textsuperscript{394} Hnkamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.

\textsuperscript{395} K'afamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.
Conclusion

Formal classes established a clear structural directive for the educational system. It was a path on which schools developed a curriculum that would preserve language, religion, and history. The content and sequencing of these courses had a direct role in student awareness of the glorious nation with a rich historical past. Teaching classical Armenian language and religion solidified communal cultural symbols in the minds of young students. Societal change did influence the curricular objectives. Religion expanded to include more than just biblical lessons. The classes also focused on the development of moral and ethical values. Change to the curriculum also focused on the expansion of lessons to include European awareness with geography, history, and foreign language classes serving dual roles. These classes provided exposure to a multitude of political, social, and economic issues. In addition they were an opportunity for Armenians to compare themselves with other cultures. Clearly the Armenian schools
were required to ensure the curriculum met state regulations in the teaching of language and history. However, the lack of emphasis placed on the teaching of Ottoman related subjects suggests there was much more interest in socializing students with the knowledge of Armenian traditions. General courses in history, literature, sciences, mathematics, and the arts also supported the central educational mission. The objective was an educated student population that recognized the importance of the nation but also could operate outside of this setting.

Students combined these formal lessons with their own creative expression in the informal setting. Students integrated traditional rituals with their everyday life experiences on stage, in the sports field, and on school outings. School outings served a much deeper purpose than exposing students to the fresh air in the mountains. In the formal setting students read materials that were not a part of the approved curriculum. Historical memory came to life through the emotional bond students developed with their natural surroundings. Holidays also provided a solid link between the schools and the Armenian historical past. Whether solemn occasions or a day for festivity, religious and cultural holidays served as symbolic cultural markers. On a calendar heavily influenced by Armenian events, respect was also shown for several Ottoman holidays. This served as a reminder of the state looming in the background.
CHAPTER 8
FROM CURRICULAR CONTENT AND TEACHING MATERIALS TO
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The curricular guidelines approved by the Education Council embodied lessons and materials meant to instill in students a broad sense of knowledge. An abundance of these lessons prepared by teachers and school directors relied on textbooks specially designed for the Armenian schools. Throughout the later part of the nineteenth century textbook publication increased significantly helping to shape the content of the course outline. Relying on an extensive examination of textbooks from history, language, literature, religion, and the sciences, this chapter provides insight into these valuable educational materials. Instead of focusing on one or two textbooks in each subject, the purpose is to show the breadth of knowledge and how the curriculum laid a foundation for building a unified system reflecting the philosophical educational framework. Heavily influenced by the authors who shaped what was perceived as legitimate knowledge for the teacher and the learner, there are three distinguishable characteristics of these textbooks. First, they instilled in the learner knowledge of the Armenian nation - historical, cultural, religious, and territorial awareness. Second, this knowledge was locatable in a larger global context centered on modernization of the educational agenda. Third, religious texts supported the secularization process by moving away from purely biblical teachings to incorporate ethics and moral values.
A final element of this chapter focuses on the reinforcement of knowledge through the construction of an examination process. These assessments signified a 'rite of passage' for students and marked the stamp of approval given by the Education Council and the community. The award of diplomas and merit certificates marked an achieved end reiterating the attainment of intended learning objectives.

Regulating Textbooks

Ten years prior to the formal establishment of the Education Council, communal leaders adopted a plan encouraging the preparation and publication of textbooks. The efforts to increase the number of available textbooks intensified with the formal establishment of the Education Council. One half of the Council devoted its energies to the development of educational materials. The goal was to create at least one textbook for each subject. The Council quickly began to fulfill its mission. By 1864, the membership had already approved an Armenian history textbook written by Stepan P'ap'aziants. During the same year, a survey of textbooks revealed teaching materials already available for grammar, reading, letters, geography, arithmetic, logic, and science classes. Furthermore, textbooks for penmanship, religious history and Turkish were already under commission.

396 Daretoys, 93-94.
397 Dzrakir Ėnhanur Ərinats.
399 Deghegakir Azkayin Usumnagan Khorhrtots.
The Education Council signified its approval of a textbook by placing a label on the front cover or in the inner pages. Only these textbooks were supposed to be used in the schools in order to avoid “unwanted inspections” by the state. There was some flexibility to this strict rule. The Council granted school trustees the authority to find suitable materials if teachers thought important information was missing from textbooks. However, on several occasions teachers altogether circumvented these rules using unapproved textbooks in their classrooms.

Thirty years later a second textbook survey revealed the magnitude of growth and diversity. A catalogue of approved textbooks listed fourteen categories containing over one hundred textbooks. This inventory ranged from materials to support language learning - Armenian language and literature, Ottoman, French, and English – to religion and philosophy, mathematics, history, geography, economics, physical sciences, health, bookkeeping, and penmanship. Only a few textbooks from the pre-1880 period appeared in the catalogue. Instead the majority of the publications occurred in the late 1880’s and early 1890’s. There are two reasons to explain this sudden growth. First, many textbooks were written at a time when the number of schools and students began to increase. Second, earlier textbooks were often republished. For example, one of the most

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400 Based on the Armenian Constitution, authority to approve textbooks devoted to spiritual matters was delegated to the Religious Council. The Mekhitarists whose schools were not controlled by the Armenian Patriarch also established their own system for approving textbooks.

401 BNU 2/5.

402 Deg hegakir Hamaraduut ‘ian K’aghak’agan Zhoghovots.

403 The following is the breakdown of textbooks - religious studies (12), Armenian language and literature (35), Ottoman language (40), French language (9), English language (4), mathematics (13), history (8), geography (9), economics (4), philosophy (2), physical sciences (6), health (1), bookkeeping (1), and penmanship (2). Tsutsag Kordzadzeli Tasakrots Hayots, (1894). BNP Cote P.J.3.3, No. 19262.
sought after texts was *Ažkayin Badmut’iun* (National History) written by Stepan P’ap’aziants. First printed in 1860 it was later reproduced in many subsequent editions. This growth in the number of texts and their content is an important concept in terms of nation building. These publications would provide an outlet for the dominant written language and a method of communication to promote national consciousness.404

An overwhelming majority of the textbooks were written in Armenian. A couple of publications did use Armenian letters with Ottoman words or a mixture of Armenian and French. Language textbooks were the primary exception. All of the texts for studying the Ottoman language were written in Ottoman. The same was true for French and English lessons. Although a couple of textbooks were published in Smyrna, Venice, and London, these were clear exceptions. The printing houses in Constantinople published a majority of the textbooks. Textbooks were advertised by publishers on the back of other books distributed by their printing house. In addition, some of the larger publishers also created textbook catalogues.405

Although educational materials were an important part of the school lessons, they were also expensive. Schools, particularly those in the provinces, often did not have the money to pay for these valuable resources. Frequently, students had to share their books with others and teachers had to make do without.406

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405 The goal of the Tavidian textbook publishers in Constantinople was to provide educational support. This was considered an official agency to guide academics and institutional directors in the organization of textbooks that followed stated guidelines.

406 *Deghegakir Hamaraduut’ian K’aghak’agan Zhoghovots*. 

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Textbook Format and Content

Textbooks published between the 1860's and 1915 were heavily influenced by the education and life experiences of the writers. Among the authors were prominent educators of the Ottoman Armenian community - Րեթես Բերբերյան, Հովհաննես Հինթլիան, Մադթեոս Մամության, Գուրգեր Մարկարյան, և Մադաթիա Կարաշաշան. The most prolific writers were Madtèos Mamuiian and Madat’ia Karakashian. Both produced Armenian language and literature textbooks. Karakashian, in addition to eight Armenian language and literature books, was the author of Armenian history, philosophy, and religious history textbooks. These authors often integrated their own background and training in the interpretation of materials. These visions of what the authors considered important concepts for the learner also exposed their personal biases in terms of pedagogical style and subject matter. For example, Kapamajian in his textbook on Armenian history focused the objectives of his work on understanding

the source of the nation, its organization, beginning years, fatherland, boundaries of the fatherland, the situation of the land, weather, climate, expansion, produce, commerce (trade), professions, culture, customs, character, description, domestic life, religion, ethics, rituals, prejudices, physical and moral superiorities or weakness, governmental manner, laws, classes, communications, politics, wars and their causes or product, and the source and causes of national sources.

Clearly Kapamajian viewed history as a reflection of the political, cultural, and geographical boundaries. All of these components in his view were important parts of the

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407 Hintlian (1866-1950) worked in several Ottoman Armenian schools and was an avid writer on education. He started the paper Nor Tbrotse with K. Malatian in 1909.

408 Tsutsag Kordzadzeli.

409 M. Kapamajian, Tasmirk' Hay Azkayin Badmut'ian (Bolis: Hovsepia Kavafian, 1879-80), 27.
nation. Therefore, history would include lessons highlighting the Armenians as an ancient and noble people with strong cultural traditions.

Textbooks were also important because they provided a format and structure for classroom lessons. The textbooks used by the Armenians contained four pedagogical styles. The earliest textbooks used primarily, but not exclusively, in the lower grades contained catechism lessons. These texts began with a question which was followed by an answer students were expected to internalize and memorize. The second type of textbook consisted of short stories followed by a general conclusion. Used in the middle level classes, these textbooks did allow students some measure of creativity and interpretation.

Meanwhile, textbooks for the upper grades advanced these earlier styles. In addition to stories with short passages, each chapter ended with a series of concluding questions. The presence of these questions encouraged students to develop their own interpretations of the lessons. Modernization and the introduction of new technologies in the twentieth century resulted in the integration of pictures into the textbooks. Furthermore, these more advanced works included suggestions for further reading and assignments for students at the end of chapter.\footnote{Prof. H. Hagopian, Azkeru Badmut’iun - P. Hador (Bolis: H. Madteosian, 1912).}

**Armenian Language and History Textbooks**

Memorializing and imagining the nation, the thematic construction of Armenian history, geography, and language textbooks reflect a framework closely aligned with the philosophical goals of the Education Council. Ancient history, territorial bonds, diaspora and dispersion all figured prominently in the interpretation of Armenian identity. Meanwhile, cultural history also played an important role within the confines of religious
discourse, educational institutions and communal leaders. These lessons served as a foundation for the popular depiction of the Armenian nation based on a clear logic of historic sentiment, territorial boundaries, and cultural unity.

Ancient History

Historical memory of an ancient people was an important part of the Armenian based textbooks. Most of the historical focal points were categorized based on general discussions of the dynastic periods. The general agreement among the ancient history texts was the focus on six principal periods - the Haigazian, Arshakuni, Gurabaghad and Vosdigan, Pakraduni, and Rupinian.\footnote{411}

The study of national history meant that knowledge of famous battles (e.g. the Vartanantz War with the Persians) and figures (e.g. Vartan Mamigonian), already considered important components popular memory, was strengthened as the result of textbook learning. History textbook also highlighted the role of Armenian rulers.\footnote{412} For example Drtd II (A.D. 217-252), who ruled during a period when the Romans and Persians struggled to control Armenia, was considered a brave king for defending his people.

The placement of Armenia and the kingdom of Cilicia all served as general focal points of events with historical significance to the Armenians.\footnote{413} The city of Ani, established as a capital in the tenth century was memorialized for its beauty and numerous churches. Meanwhile, Sis under the reign of Levon II was considered a place where

\footnote{411} S.B.B. P'ap'azians, \textit{Tasakirk' Azkayin Badmut'ian} (Bolis: Kavafian, 1874, 5\textsuperscript{th} printing).


\footnote{413} Ibid; I.K. Aslanian, \textit{Nor Ashkharhakrutz'ian} (Bolis: Aramian, 1874).
Armenians would be protected from foreign invasions. Students came to recognize these cities as an important and integral part of Armenian greatness and political power. However, the glories of Armenian heroes were also tempered by pain and suffering. This reflects the final component in the study of ancient history - the downfall of the Armenians later subjected to foreign rule after the fall of Cilicia.

These lessons focusing on the ancient past predominated the study of Armenian history. For the Ottoman government the subject was much less suspect than modern subjects. However, even lessons that identified the Armenians as an ancient people served an underlying purpose of strengthening student awareness of their nation. An integral part of communal socialization, was the uniform presentation of the past and agreement of subject matter. This uniform approach by the author's of these textbooks meant regardless of the city or village where a school was located, students would be exposed to common knowledge.

Nature

The logic of nation construction was equally reflected in the discourse of lessons surrounding nature and territorial bonding. History, language and geography textbooks stimulated the learner to identify with the territorial nation. This identification with the territory reflected important geographical boundaries, national landmarks, the recognition of cities, mountains, and rivers.\textsuperscript{414} Students were also taught the old names for cities and provinces in order to understand geography for its important historical meanings.\textsuperscript{415} They learned the divisions of the Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire based on

\textsuperscript{414} H.H. Beyezian, \textit{Ént'atsk' K'aghak'agan Ashkharhakrut'ian A. Dari} (Bolis: Nshan G. Berberian, 1889, 2\textsuperscript{nd} printing).

\textsuperscript{415} P'ap'aziants, \textit{Tasakirk}, 5\textsuperscript{th} printing.
diocesan borders of responsibility outlined by the Patriarchate.\textsuperscript{416} With few maps or pictorial images, students often used their imagination to interpret the lessons. Geography lessons were also meant to have a practical purpose. Based on these teachings student would also learn populations for each city, what street they lived on and what type of fruit was available in the region.\textsuperscript{417}

In an abstract and emotional sense, nature also meant living on and bearing the fruits of the land. Most often reflected in language lessons, food and the different seasons were incorporated into short stories and poems. The most obvious example was a handwritten textbook used as a study guide for teaching Armenian language at Sanasarian. Contained in the book \textit{Ughetsoyts Mayreni Lezvi Dzrakir} (Guide to the Mother Language; a programme) are numerous poems reflecting the presence of nature, the death and birth of seasons primarily winter (snow) and spring.\textsuperscript{418}

Identification with the land in a historical and emotional sense reflected the goal of understanding the nation. Drawing the learner’s attention to the historical territory brought increased attention to the significance of national symbols, markers and boundaries. Emotional bonds - the smell, the air, the feel of the land and the mountains, strengthened this relationship. These natural surroundings became an important part of identity by creating a picture of what was home.

**Diaspora**

For those in the “homeland” not only did they recognize this great bond with the land but also the dispersion of a diaspora and territorial loss. At the time lessons did not

\textsuperscript{416} Beyezian, \textit{Ent'atsk' K'aghak'agan}, 9.

\textsuperscript{417} Ibid, 10.

\textsuperscript{418} G. Mgrdch'ian, \textit{Ughetsoyts Mayreni Lezvi Dzrakir}. GAT: San Fond, 768-78.
label the people as diasporans but rather Armenians living in other lands. The reason for the inclusion of this history into the lessons was first for students to recognize the reasons for dispersion. Second, to confirm the place of Armenians in relation to other nations and ethnic groups.419

Students reflected on the status of Armenians as a diasporic people based on territorial divisions. The lessons focused on the division of Armenians among the boundaries of Persian, Russian and the Ottoman lands.420 Likewise, school lessons recognized the dynamics of the separate governance and organizational structures for each of the Armenian communities. Karakashian divided the Armenian refugees/immigrants into five divisions—Persia, Russia, Poland, India, and Ottoman state lands. Pasmachian’s textbook also reflected a conscious awareness of Armenian migration outside of the region. Attention was drawn to a discussion of Armenian emigration to Poland, Hungary, Moldova (Romania), and India.421

The common vision of dispersion reflected the vibrant cultural characteristics of these communities. It also highlighted the shared identity between those in the Ottoman region and Armenians in the diaspora. Hence, the lessons focused on the contributions of diaspora communities and individuals to the nation, especially with relation to the development of educational institutions. For example, textbooks acknowledged the wealth of Armenian merchants in India and the establishment of cultural institutions. Armenian history textbooks written by the Mekhitarists also listed among important

419 Khachgunts, Badgerazart Hayots.

420 Ibid.

421 S. Kapamajian, Nor Badmut’iun Hayots Hamařōd (Bolis: K. Baghdadlian, 1900): 128; G.H. Pasmachian, Nor Tasakirk’ Hayots Badmut’iun P. Dari (Bolis: Kradun B. Balents, 1913, 2nd printing); P’ap’aziants, Tasakirk. 5th printing.: A.M. Karakashian, Badmut’iun Hayots (Bolis: H. Kavafian, 1888, 2nd printing).
diasporan educational institutions the Mooradian school in Padua and the Rafayêlian school in Paris. The Mekhitarists started both of these institutions.\textsuperscript{422} The message these lessons meant to convey was the influence of education not only in the Ottoman Armenian lands but also throughout the diaspora would help to strengthen Armenian identity.

These lessons also focused on the strong leadership qualities of individuals trained at the diasporan Armenian schools. Therefore, lessons about Lazarian Jemaran and the Nersisian school included information about the many graduates who had become famous authors, scientists, and national leaders.\textsuperscript{423} Through these lessons students learned about educated individuals who started the first Armenian paper, theater and also served as provincial teachers.\textsuperscript{424} The point was to take pride in the achievements of diasporan Armenians, to create an invisible solidarity and to understand important cultural symbols of each Armenian community.

**Cultural History of the Ottoman Armenians**

Knowledge, symbolism and an understanding of cultural organizations did not only focus on the diaspora. A major component of the Armenian textbooks consisted of lessons devoted to local cultural history and the contribution of individuals to the Ottoman Armenian community. In addition to Amira Harutiun Bezjian, the Dadian, Balian and Duzian families were singled out in the textbooks for their charitable contributions. Meanwhile, others were recognized for their intellectual contributions. Pasmachian’s textbook includes a short biography of important figures from the historical

\textsuperscript{422} P‘ap’azians, *Tasakirk*, 5\textsuperscript{th} printing

\textsuperscript{423} Khachgunts, *Badgerazart Hayots*.

\textsuperscript{424} Ibid; P‘ap’azians, *Tasakirk*, 5\textsuperscript{th} printing.
to the modern period. Writers, educators, and community leaders such as Khachadur Apovian, Garabed Shahnazarian, Mik'ayel Nalbandian, Mgrdich Beshigt'ashlian, Nahabed Rusinian, Step'anos Nazarian, Ghevont Alishan, Krikor Odian, Krikor Ardzruni, Ret'eos Berberian, Raffi, and Tserents are just some of those intellectuals legitimated by the community. For the students this list reflected not only the role of Ottoman Armenians but also individuals with direct links to the Armenian communities of Transcaucasia. The hope was students would relate to these famous individuals as communal leaders and would be influenced by their works.

Concentrating on cultural aspects of the local communities to a large extent meant the cultural achievements in Constantinople. For example, a catechism lesson in one of the geography textbooks asked:

Q: What is the condition of Armenian education in Turkey?

A: It has improved, principal provincial cities have primary, specialty and reformed schools, the society and Sahagian school in Erznga, Sanasarian in Garin and S. Vartanian in Aintab. Bolis is better than the provinces, every district has a primary school the secondary schools are Getronagan and Aghchgants Arvesdanotsn. The specialty schools that are well known are Berberian, Mezburiyan, Kurkhenian, Der Sahagian, Mirjianian, and Meshhudijian.

Reflected in this answer was the author's perception that the schools in Constantinople are better than in the provinces. Notice that there was no mention of the American

425 Pasmachian, Nor Tasakirk'. Nalbandian (1829-1866) was an author, publishing many works in the newspaper Meghu in Constantinople. His writings focused on reform and patriotism. Nalbandian and Nazarian (1812-1879) worked together to found the periodical Hiwsisap'ayl (1858,62, 1864). Alishan (1820-1901) was a well-known writer who produced most of his poems in classical Armenian. Raffi (c1835-88) wrote numerous short stories focusing on social injustices, moral corruption and other subjects based primarily in the setting of Iran and Tiflis. Taught by the Mekhitarists, Dzerents (1822-88) wrote novels based on Armenian history. See Bardakjian, Reference Guide, 137-39; 116-18; 144-48; 124-25.

426 Beyezian, Ent'atsk' K'aghak'agan, 198.
missionary colleges in this answer. In fact this was quite common. When the question of educational conditions among Armenians was raised there was barely a mention of the role of the Protestant missionaries. This suggests that these colleges were not categorized as “Armenian” and the desire was to draw attention to the success of the internal community.\(^{427}\)

Education was not the only aspect of cultural history taught in the school lessons. Rather textbooks also mentioned the role of charities such as the Kalfayan orphanage, Sourg P’rgich Hospital in Constantinople and the Sourp Lusavorichi Hospital in Smyrna. This discussion reflects a basic principle of helping others in need. In addition to the attention given to individual responsibility, the ideological discourse also focused on the role of communal governing structures. Hence, lessons focused on the role district councils played in establishing and maintaining communal support structures.\(^{428}\)

Through these cultural lessons, students in the provinces learned about life in Constantinople. Similarly, textbooks also provided an opportunity for those in Constantinople to learn about life for Armenians in the provinces. For example, one of the questions in Kapamajian’s textbook asks: What are the conditions in the provinces? The answer given is “the conditions in the provinces are very sad because there is limited education however the hope is that the Miatsial Êngerut’iun, Azkanver Hayuhyatz, and the Tbrotasaser Dignants would bring reforms to the local schools and give a new impulse to national education.”\(^{429}\) However, some cultural institutions in the provinces – schools in Sepastia, Van, Agn and the Armash seminary - were looked upon with pride. Further lessons highlighting the role of Khrimian Hayrig in printing Artsvi Vasburagan (Eagle of

\(^{427}\) H.S.V. Dër Movsesian, K’nnagan Badmut’iun Hayots Badgerazart (Venedig: S. Ghzar, 1914).

\(^{428}\) Beyezian, Ênt’atsk’ K’aghak’agan.

\(^{429}\) Kapamajian, Nor Badmut’iun, 132.
Vasburagan) and the formation of societies reflected the expansion of Armenian cultural life outside of Constantinople.\(^{430}\)

Religion

Religion was also integrated into Armenian history and geography textbooks. Karakashian in his lessons introduced students to church leaders. This included the various Armenian Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Cilicia and Aghtamar. The lessons also focus on the works of the Catholicos as the head of the Armenian church.\(^{431}\) The presence of religion in the history textbooks was an important element because of the important role Christianity played as an embodiment of Armenian identity.

Teaching about the Armenian Church was often done in relation to other religions. Therefore, attention was drawn to the Monophysites, Muslims and Pagans.\(^{432}\) Although the Armenian history textbooks do mention the role of the Mekhitarists and Catholics, the first time that Protestants appear is in 1910. The reference in this textbook is not with regard to religion but rather opening schools for poor children.

There were, however, differences in the historiography based on religious affiliation. For example, Örmanian suggests that the histories written by the Mekhitarists were incomplete. By mixing spiritual values and general history his premise was that the study of national history was written from a particular point of view.\(^{433}\) In effect this reflected the ideological biases to which all textbooks could be subject.

\(^{430}\) P'ap'aziants, *Tasakirk*, 5th printing.; also detailed in Karakashian, *Badmut'ium Hayots*.

\(^{431}\) Karakashian, *Badmut'ium Hayots*.

\(^{432}\) Aslanian, *Nor Ashkharhakrut'ium*.

\(^{433}\) Örmanian, *The Church of Armenia*.
Modern History

A final aspect of Armenian lessons focused on contemporary historical and political issues. Many textbooks did not dare to deal with contemporary issues. It was difficult to get such textbooks approved and the authors were often required to justify the material before it was published. The traveler H.F.B. Lynch recalled during his journey how "the history of the Armenian church and nation is imparted under great difficulties and without the aid of books. These would be confiscated by the Censor." Therefore, instead of facing these daunting regulations modern history was often taught subversively or in the religion classes.

On many occasions earlier editions of a history textbook were reprinted in their original format without any updates. An example is P'ap'azians' textbook on Armenian history. His text ended at the Armenian constitution even though it was repeatedly republished into the twentieth century. Where P'ap'azians ended foreshadowed what would come in the future. He even mentioned that throughout the last period of history the Armenian nation was entering into a new struggle for life and progress under state trusteeship. It was this concern for the condition of Armenians in Turkey that was mentioned in later textbooks written by other authors.

This shift between historical memory and current political issues meant that textbooks opened up a new chapter in the Armenian schools. Teaching modern Armenian politics meant the study of laws, communal governance and regional issues. Karakashian's and Pasmachian's textbooks began to address important political events related to the Armenian people. These included the National Constitution, the new

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434 Deghegakir Hamaraduut'ian K'aghak'agan Zhoghovots, 9.
436 Kapamajian, Nor Badmut'ium, 131.
Ottoman Constitution, the conditions of Armenians in Turkey, the Congress of Berlin and the Treaty of San Stefano. It was not until the twentieth century, after the demise of Abdul Hamid, that textbooks began to openly discuss the problems Armenians faced. For example, a textbook from 1911 discussed massacres that took place under Abdul Hamid and the resulting protests in European capitals. Another textbook also provided students with information about Armenian revolutionaries including the formation of the Hnchag party and the Armenian Fedayi’s. The image portrayed in these later texts was one of Armenian suffering and the movement toward political organization.

The themes emerging from the Armenian history, geography and language textbooks reflected a desire to educate students about the rich cultural history. Building on historical memory, awareness of the natural surroundings and religion as a communal structure, the objective was for the students to identify important markers of tradition – the Armenians as a noble people, place names, and the role of the Church. However, on the same level students increasingly became aware of the problems the Armenians faced living under Ottoman rule. Students also learned to identify with the complexity of the Armenian people and their divisions. Based on these lessons, students were already being exposed to global issues.

**Transnational Knowledge**

Education for international understanding was a crucial element of the overall philosophy taught in the Ottoman Armenian schools. Textbooks went about achieving this goal, using one of three methods to introduce the concept to students. First, foreign

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437 Pasmachian, *Nor Tasakirk*; Karakashian, *Badmut’iu Hayots*.


439 Khachgunts, *Bazgerazart Hayots*.
concepts were gradually introduced in textbooks by using French or English words to explain a term for which there was no Armenian equivalent. A second method was the translation of English or French language textbooks directly into Armenian. For example, a political economy textbook was translated from French specifically to use for teaching law. In the introduction, the author claimed there was not a school or class of educated people in Europe without the knowledge contained in this book. Since many European schools used a similar textbook, the suggestion was if you want to be as advanced as the Europeans you should learn this subject.\textsuperscript{440} Sometimes European textbooks were used in the classroom without translations. This was true of two French language textbooks Belèze’s \textit{Livre de lecture} and F.J.C.’s \textit{Grammaire Française} used at Sanasarian.\textsuperscript{441}

A third approach utilized for increasing global understanding was the introduction of historical, geographical and linguistic knowledge in class lessons. Educators felt teaching about international issues would benefit the community both intellectually and economically. Therefore, western knowledge was also expressed in world history and foreign language textbooks.\textsuperscript{442}

European influence was also reflected in educational modernization. One textbook suggested alternatives to the traditional schools. Students were asked what do you find in a classroom? The answer provided was desks, pens, paper, books, pictures on the wall and ink. These objects were only just being introduced in a few of the Armenian schools. This same textbook also showed how to set up a classroom. This included

\textsuperscript{440} G.S. Utujian, \textit{Sgpunk’ K’aghak’agan Dndesut’ian} (Bolis: Masis Lrakrots, 1873), 73.

\textsuperscript{441} Sanasarian Varzharan Garno Usumnagan Deghegakir 1891-92 yev 1892-93.

\textsuperscript{442} H.K. Palakashian, \textit{Ashkharhakrut’iun Badgerazart} (Bolis: V. Minasian, 1903, 4\textsuperscript{th} printing), Introduction to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} printing.
clocks and desks looking out the windows. In this same textbook another lesson taught how to construct a classroom. Based on what they had learned, students were required to draw their classroom in notebooks. With the placement of windows, doors, and desks, students began to learn about architectural drawing. However, the point to be made is the encouragement given to the creation of new types of knowledge. For example, the western influence in educational formation, entered in a story about Les écoles d'aujourd'hui (The Schools of Today). The story contained in the French language textbook told students to

ask your parents about schools of the past, it was the poorest house in the villages, the aspects of the school were miserable, the room was small and somber the students were in bad air but today we have good schools and good teachers, there are large windows, the air and light are good everyone is happy they have atlases and books

The main goal of this lesson was to help students understand that similar changes could be made to the condition of Armenian schools.

History

Historical analysis was understood not just for the sake of national knowledge but rather a broader global understanding. The intended purpose of world history textbooks was to extend knowledge from Europe to North America, Africa, and Asia. Similar to the Armenian textbooks, historical teachings encompassed political and social (cultural)

\[443\] Ibid, 8.

\[444\] Ibid.

\[445\] For the prayer see, K.M. Merminian, Gt’aran Franserên Lezvi Gymnase de la langue Française Tbrotsi Kirk’ A. Dari (Bolis: M.Sarceian, 1903), 10.

\[446\] Kh. Simonian, Kaghghierên Lezvi (Bolis: Nshan G. Berberian, 1886), 79-80.
issues including language, literature, and music. Lessons extended from ancient to modern times. Regional studies and lessons on ancient Roman and Greek history were understood as important elements in contextualizing ancient Armenian history. The Greeks figured prominently in the discussions as students spent an ample amount of time studying about ancient Greece and Greek mythology. Students also acquired knowledge of the Romans. Lessons encouraged students to learn about the Coliseum and the Pantheon, schools and universities of Rome. One assignment required pupils to create a picture of the condition of Roman villages.

The study of European countries also played an important role in curricular content. Although Sanasarian was heavily influenced by the German tradition, in general it was the French who received the most attention in terms of historical teachings. Napoleon and French history graced the pages of many textbooks. Political conditions from England to Germany, Sweden, Norway, Spain, and the Balkans also entered into the discourse. So too did an understanding of the imperialist tendencies of these states. Lessons about Africa focused on the European influence of the French, English, Germans, and Spanish.

Lessons on the Americas were divided into North and South. Students learned about the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln and the end of slavery. The study of Asia included the influence of the British in India and the rejection by the Chinese of western


\[448\] Hamaṙōd Tasakırk Ėnthanur Badmut‘ian (Venecig: Mkhitarian Dbaran, 1897).

\[449\] Dzalian, Hamaṙōd Badmut‘iun.

\[450\] Markarian, Hamaṙōd Zhamanagagits.
assistance. Another textbook, used in the forth class of the primary school, included material on European and Asian Turkey, Egypt and other regions that formed the Ottoman Empire. From these textbooks emerged a pictorial image of the world. Students combined geography with history as they learned about the continents. However, with few maps included in these textbooks, students were often asked to use their own imagination to create a picture of actual locale.

This world understanding was enhanced by attention drawn to the role of famous individuals in the cultural history of each nation. Sculpting, architecture, painting, and music all centered on lessons about famous artists. Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Verdi, and Rossini were depicted as important figures in the world of music. Likewise, European educators and philosophers such as Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire and the French writers Victor Hugo, Lamartine, and Emile Zola were all revered as important characters in the European setting. French language textbooks also contained the writings of many of these famous authors. Although the French received the most attention, students also learned about the British poet Lord Byron, Charles Darwin, Germans, Italians and Russians (Pushkin and Lermontov). Scientific achievements rendered the contribution of Louis Pasteur as an important advancement in the field of medicine.

451 Ibid.


453 Markarian, Hamařöd Zhamanagagit.

454 Ibid.

455 Ibid.
Meanwhile, the invention of the steam train, the phonograph and the telephone also increased student awareness of modernization.\textsuperscript{456}

Textbooks also introduced lessons focusing on religious differences. One author listed the four major followings of Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Pagans. Noticeably absent was detailed information about the various religions that followed the Christian tradition. Included in the description of each religious sect was a listing of the approximate number of followers. According to the textbook the Buddhists, with 500 million followers, and Brahmins were classified as pagans.\textsuperscript{457}

Teaching about language usage constituted a final element of cultural knowledge. English was conveyed as an important trading language while Arabic was depicted as the “richest among the Asian languages” and French was portrayed as a smooth and cultural language used throughout the world.\textsuperscript{458} Although most of the attention focused on English and French, German, Russian and Chinese were given passing reference. Students also learned where these languages were spoken. Hence, students gained from these lessons an understanding of colonial history.

Languages

Foreign language instruction was an important part of the curriculum. French language textbooks appeared as early as 1816 when the Mekhitarists published \textit{Hamai\textordmasculine\textael} K'eraganut'iun Kaghghiagan Lezvi (Concise French Grammar). Textbooks were also developed for learning English, French, German, Ottoman, Persian, and Arabic. The most elementary textbooks provided an introduction to the alphabet and grammar.

\textsuperscript{456} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{457} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{458} Ibid.
instruction. Lessons gradually advanced to include sentences and questions such as “<Charlie, what is it that makes you so sweet,> said a loving mother, one day, to her little boy.” Increasing levels of expertise resulted in the need to produce more advanced texts. Therefore, new textbooks for the upper grades began to incorporate poetry and short stories. In these textbooks there was an apparent attempt to integrate the west with the local environment, although not always successfully. Some texts used Armenian names while others maintained English names to describe individuals. Similarly, French names were also used rather than the Armenian translation. Therefore, the Armenian name Bedros became Pierre or Peter.

Language textbooks were filled with a combination of historical teaching, business, moral stories, object lessons, proverbs, and grammar. Animals were often used to explain morality lessons which followed biblical meanings. ‘Thou shalt not steal’ and ‘loving thy brother’ were just two of the biblical stories that tried to promote the understanding of moral values in the students. Another story discussed conduct toward relatives and the family. In the words of the textbook “brothers and sisters, being brought up together; eating at the same table, playing at the same sports, and united by the love of one father and one mother, are always expected to love each other.” The role of parents, especially the mother as a protector and provider was consistently highlighted in the language texts. The following poems, the first from an English textbook and the second from a French textbook reflected the status and role of women both in a local and western perspective.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{459}}\text{S.M. Kasabian, \textit{Tbrots Ankghier\textendash Lezvi Shrchan A} (Bolis: H. Kavafian, 1887), 9.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{460}}\text{Ibid, 37.}\]
My Mother
Who fed me from her gentle breast,
And hushed me in her arms to rest,
and on my cheek sweet kisses pressed?
My Mother

When sleep forsook my own eye,
who was it sang sweet lullaby,
And rocked me that I should not cry?
My Mother

... 
When thou art feeble, old and gray,
My healthy arm shall be thy stay,
And I will soothe thy pains away,
My Mother

And when I see thee hang thy head,
It will be my turn to watch thy bed,
And tears of sweet affection shed,
My Mother. 461

La Maman
Qui nous aime des a naissance?
Qui donne a notre frere enfance
Son doux, son premier alimen?
C’est la maman.

Bien avant nous qui donc s’eveille?
Bien apres nous quel ange veille,
Penche sur notre front dormant?
C’est la maman.

Aussi, qui devons-nous sans cesse
Benir pendant notre jeunesse,
Cherir jusquau dernier moment?
C’est la maman. 462

Mme A. Tastu

Both of these poems focus on the role of the mother. They characterize the tenderness
and care of the mother toward her child as well as love and affection. This theme of duty
and family responsibility was also an integral part of the moral and philosophy
textbooks. 463

In addition to moral stories, foreign language texts taught students necessary
commercial skills. One English language textbook taught students how to write
recommendations, promissory notes, and answers to advertisements. 464 Likewise these
textbooks carried forth the work of historical understanding by intermingling knowledge
of the past and cultural awareness with language. French textbooks incorporated
historical facts about Napoleon Bonaparte, Sir Issac Newton, Confucius, and the

461 Ibid, 22, 29, 35.

462 Merminian, Grt’aran Franserên, 28-29. Although this text contains grammatical and
typographical errors, the form used here is reproduced directly from the textbook.

463 V. Dz. V. Shahlamian, Paroyagan Grt’ut’ian (Bolis: H. Madteosian, 1904).

464 Kasabian, Tbrots Ankghierên, 34, 44, 53.
geography of Africa.\(^{465}\)

Language textbooks also made sure to raise student consciousness of the important writers of the time. Short stories by Victor Hugo and Lamartine graced the pages of French language textbooks. It was poems and short stories such as Lamartine's that advanced language lessons instilled in the students. Therefore, learning became not just grammar, reading and composition but also incorporated the study of geography, history, and morality. Moreover, it became an important element to understanding other civilizations.

Ottoman History & Language

Education for the purpose of local, regional and global awareness meant there was a grave need to publish textbooks on the history and language of the Ottoman Empire. In some instances Ottoman history and language was integrated into the general modern history and geography lessons.\(^{466}\) However, for more advanced knowledge new textbooks were written. The Ottoman language textbooks followed the lead of the other foreign language textbooks. Students learned short stories, grammar, words, methods of translation, and how to write letters.\(^{467}\)

Given governmental requirements that Armenian schools teach Ottoman history, educators embarked on the publication of new subject textbooks.\(^{468}\) Instead of using already published textbooks in the Ottoman Turkish language, educators felt it was

\[^{465}\text{Kh. Simonian,} \text{Kaghghierēn Lezvi} (\text{Bolis: Nshan G. Berberian, 1886}); \text{Merminiar,} \text{Gṛt'aran Franserēn.}\]

\[^{466}\text{Dzialian,} \text{Hamaṛōd Badmut'iun.}\]

\[^{467}\text{M. Apigian,} \text{Keghetsig Krvadzk' ou Lēṭ'avfi Asar Masn P} (1912, 10\text{th} \text{printing}).\]

\[^{468}\text{K. Markarian,} \text{Budgerazart yev K'ardisavor Ösmanian Badmut'iun} (\text{Bolis: Osm. Kordzagtzagan Ėngerut'iun, 1912}).\]
important for students to learn from Armenian works.\textsuperscript{469} The most widely used Ottoman history textbook was Krikor Markarian’s \textit{Osmanian Badsıf'tun} (Ottoman History). First approved by the educational council in 1889 for use in the third and fourth class years, this book traced the rule of each Sultan.\textsuperscript{470} After the first printing the book was revised and republished in 1912 to include the reign of Abdul Hamid and the present conditions of the Armenian people.\textsuperscript{471}

In this depiction of modern history students learned lessons about the Tanzimat reforms and the relations between Ottomans and European powers.\textsuperscript{472} Lessons on the Treaty of San Stefano and the articles of the Treaty of Berlin granting Armenians rights to their provincial areas were also incorporated in the Ottoman history textbooks.

Markarian’s textbook also outlined the rise of Abdul Hamid II, the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 and the Russian War in 1877-1878. According to Markarian’s treatise, Abdul Hamid was a despotric ruler. His thirty-three years of rule was the darkest period of Ottoman history as “life became intolerable especially in Bolis with massacres organized against the Armenians with more than 300,000 killed in Hayasdan.”\textsuperscript{473} The lessons further described the Armenian massacres in 1895 and the financial loss of property, the Armenian occupation of the Ottoman Bank and then massacres again in 1896.\textsuperscript{474} The arrival of the Young Turks was treated with great joy. The lessons centered on the formation of Armenian political organizations portraying their need to relieve the

\textsuperscript{469} M. Ashjian, \textit{Badsıf'tun Osmanlı} (Bolis: Zarkarian, 1886).

\textsuperscript{470} K. Markarian, \textit{Hamaıōd Osmanlı Badsıf'tun} (Bolis: Sareian, 1905).

\textsuperscript{471} Markarian, \textit{Badgerazart yev K’ardisavor}.

\textsuperscript{472} Kapamajian, \textit{Nor Badsıf’tun Hayots}.

\textsuperscript{473} Markarian, \textit{Badgerazart yev K’ardisavor}, 273.

\textsuperscript{474} Kapamajian, \textit{Nor Badsıf’tun Hayots}. 

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suffering of the Armenian people. Markarian’s textbook also included maps detailing the boundaries of the Ottoman State. Over the centuries even with the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in Eastern Anatolia the maps included reference to Armenia.

Students also studied the various ethnic populations living within the Ottoman territories. From Kurds, Arabs, Greeks, Avshar, Cherkes, to the Laz, Assyrians, Jews, Yezidis, and Chaldeans students learned about the other people who lived throughout the Ottoman Empire. History textbooks also included cultural lessons. Ottoman literature, the influence of western literature and the establishment of the theater were important aspects of these lessons. Armenians - such as the Duzian and Balian families - also entered into section of the Ottoman history textbooks which highlighted the contributions of various individuals to the Empire. Although these textbooks encouraged the Armenian students to develop a passive knowledge of Ottoman culture and history, it was clear much more attention should be given to the study of national (ie Armenian) history.

Science & Mathematics

Language, literature, and history textbooks were not the only subjects to inculcate knowledge for national benefit. Science and mathematics were also an important part of this curriculum bringing modernization and new ideas to the people. Some of the lessons used to teach these subjects actually served a dual purpose. For example, a text by Mādt'ēos Mamurian used to teach basic reading skills also incorporated science and mathematics lessons. He stressed the need to recognize animal sounds, the different

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475 Markarian, Badgerazart yev K’ardisavor, 275.
476 Ibid, 89, 163, 168.
477 Kapamajian, Nor Badmut’iun Hayots.
478 Markarian, Badgerazart yev K’ardisavor.
senses, types of jobs, and nature. Other stories focused on water, astronomy and temperatures. Students also learned about Benjamin Franklin as a poor boy who created important works because he wanted to study.

The stories of nature and history reinforced many gender stereotypes. For example, attention was drawn to a father cultivating the land so that the woman could have the ingredients to make bread. Another story taught about the danger of being out in a storm. This particular story told of a brother and sister who were out in the field. The sister was afraid of the clouds and wanted to go home because she saw lightening. However, her ‘brave’ brother told his young sister not to worry as they waited out the storm under a tree. Finally, when they returned home the father discussed lightening with the children.\footnote{M. Mamurian, \textit{Ch'orrort Ŋt'ertsaran Gam Kidelik' ou bardik' dghots badgerazart} (Smyrna: Mamurian, 1902, 8\textsuperscript{th} printing).}

Specific textbooks were created for more advanced courses such as chemistry, physics, geometry and algebra.\footnote{Examples of these textbooks include: V.S. Hazaredian, \textit{Desagan yev kordznagan, Yergrach'ap'ut'iun} (Bolis: Nshan Berberian, 1887); H.S. Khanjian, \textit{T'vapanut'iun} (Bolis: V yev H. Dér Nersesian, 1912); A. Nigoghosian, \textit{Pnagan Kidut'iunk'} (Bolis: N. Berberian, 1909); S. Ferajejian, \textit{Badgerazart Gentanagan Pnakhōsūt'iun} (Bolis: Nshan Berberian, 1893).} At Sanasarian these textbooks were German - Kiessling and Pfalz’s \textit{Wiederholungsbuch der Naturgeschichte}, Traumueler \textit{Naturhistorischer Schulaatlas} and Dorner’s \textit{Leitfaden der Physik} for natural sciences and physics; Foedter’s \textit{Anfängsgründe der Algebra}, Hentschel, \textit{Aufgaben zum Zifferrechnen}, Lowe \textit{Kaufmännisches Rechnen}, Mehler’s \textit{Elementarmathematik} and Schloemich’s \textit{Logarithmen} in mathematics.\footnote{\textit{Sanasarian Varzharan Garno Usunmagan Deghegakirk} 1891-92 yev 1892-93.} Although this might lead one to immediately believe only German texts were used, the reality was in many cases these texts were
supplemented by works in Armenian. One teacher went so far as to create his own handwritten natural science textbook which included chemistry lessons.\footnote{482}

Textbooks were just one type of educational material used in science (and geography) classes. Physics and chemistry, particularly at Getronagan and Sanasarian, were taught in laboratories equipped with science equipment transported from the west, maps and globes. These materials served as symbols of educational influences from the west and the ongoing modernization.

**Religion, Philosophy and Moral Values**

Religious texts were some of the first books published for use in the Armenian schools. Most of these works were written by members of the clergy and focused on the Bible and Christianity. In the last part of the nineteenth century substantial changes were made to the religious curriculum. In 1897 the Education Council divided the religious curriculum into two branches. The first sector focused on religious study of the Armenian Church using books such as Dareagan Šent'atsk' Grōni Usman (Yearly study of Religious Knowledge) and Hamařōd Grōnakidut'iun (A brief course on religion). The second half of the curriculum focused on ethics and moral values. Obviously heavily influenced by the development in moral education during the period of European Enlightenment, the textbooks reflected a general theme of social ethics and responsibility toward the family, society, the nation, the land, and religion.\footnote{483}

The initial lack of textbooks to use in the Armenian schools meant during the first few years an influx of translations, many from the French, served as materials for the

\footnote{482} Usumn Pnagan Kidut'iants. GAT: San Fond, 769-782.

middle and upper classes. The objective of the authors and translators of these textbooks was to instill lessons of moral teachings through religion, benevolence, love, politeness, customs, work ethic, and health. One of the authors even provided teaching guidelines for what he viewed as a textbook to be used not only for moral ethics courses but also in reading, Armenian language and world knowledge classes. He divided the text into a cycle of sixty-four classes and suggested the book be used over a two year period.

Religion was one component of the moral ethics and philosophy classes. Lessons in an 1882 textbook on philosophy included references to God. Likewise, the study of man and laws focused on the integration of the body, mind and spirit. Meanwhile lessons on the Bible provided religious guidance as well as taught the meaning of prayer. In one story students were taught about a boy who was worry about his parents who did not pray. The young boy was frightened he would also turn out the same. A final element of religious lessons was the awareness of responsibilities toward the individual and the family.

A second theme focused on benevolence, responsibility and duty. Madt'ëos Mamurian’s reader encouraged students, especially boys, to understand their responsibility toward God, parents, and friends. Moreover, he suggested by learning how to read and write students would be working toward fulfilling these responsibilities. Students were also told to stay away from personal vices of luxury, greediness,

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\(^{485}\) Shahlamian, *Paroyagan*.

\(^{486}\) Abatsoytsk' Jshmandut’ian (Bolis: Aramian, 1882).

\(^{487}\) Shahlamian, *Paroyagan*.

\(^{488}\) Mamurian, *Ch’orrort Ént’ertsaran*. 
drunkenness, and smoking. Instead the moral teachings were aimed at encouraging students to help others, both the poor and the sick. One story explained how a rich person who did not share his money was bad.\textsuperscript{489} Another tale reflected on a school friend who did not have books and wore old clothes because his father had died. The friend asked his own father to help this poor boy. The moral was that a student should learn to help others in need.\textsuperscript{490}

Lessons also centered on the theme of love. In one of the books students were asked whom they loved. The response provided by the textbook was “I love my mother because she prepares delicious food and sweets. I love my father more because he brings money to buy sugar. I love my older brother because he brings me toys and he protects me when my mother wants to hit me.”\textsuperscript{491} This notion of familial love was an important part of the lessons. It also reflected the strong tradition of the family among the Armenians. Therefore, students learned not only at home but also in the school to respect elders and love relatives, brothers, and sisters.\textsuperscript{492} According to the lessons teachers also deserved respect and obedience. Students could reflect this behavior by displaying good manners and opening the door for their teachers.\textsuperscript{493}

Students also learned to love people for who they are and to be a good friend. In one story, a Persian played the role of a good friend. Another story reminded students to

\textsuperscript{489} Shahlamian, \textit{Paroyagan}.

\textsuperscript{490} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{491} Ibid, 41.

\textsuperscript{492} Ibid; S. Karamajian, \textit{Paregirt' Aghchig} (Bolis: H. Madteosian, 1900) (translated from French).

\textsuperscript{493} Karamajian, \textit{Paregirt'}. 

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always tell the truth and not to take the “fall” for someone else. Textbooks for girls paid close attention to friendships and communication. According to the lessons a good girl was always polite to her friends. This meant not to be a hypocrite, to speak with honesty, not to lie and not to steal from friends.

The treatment of friends was directly related to lessons on social customs. These customs required girls to behave properly in social situations. Girls were also taught to wait until spoken to and to set a good example for younger siblings. One of the textbooks teaching social customs was dedicated to the memory of Pēt‘eos Berberian’s wife Zaruhı.

The objective of this text was to provide spiritual knowledge and encourage the development of customs, politeness, and benevolence among young Armenian girls. This was just the beginning of lessons centered on the responsibilities of women within the domestic sphere. Working on needlework and linens by hand conveyed the message of important work. At one point the lessons mentioned how wonderful it was to enter the school and see all of the girls busy making linens. A young girl was also judged as good if she helped her mother wash the clothes. Similarly, the basic judgment was girls should make the home a pleasant place, maintain a happy spirit and fill the rooms with fresh flowers. Evidently, Berberian’s wife exuded these important qualities. In a loving tribute he focused on her educational achievements and marveled at her ability to maintain a house and raise their five children. Zaruhı signified to Berberian the

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494 Shahlamian, Paroyagan.
495 Karamajjan, Paregirt’.
496 Shahlamian, Paroyagan.
497 Karamajjan, Paregirt’.
498 Shahlamian, Paroyagan.
499 Karamajjan, Paregirt’.
encompassing nature of these moral texts. Although Zaruhi was educated, she was not a school teacher in the official sense. Rather she did domestic work for the boarding school and took care of the essential needs of mothering. Included in this role of a mother was the role of an informal teacher for their children. Berberian concluded by praising the book as one that young girls could read to understand the many things that Zaruhi stood for. And, he also added that the boys would be thankful for this good work that guaranteed the future beautiful girls and mothers - Armenian girls would know the truth of goodness.\footnote{500}

Students were also taught to create a healthy work ethic. Laziness was seen as a bad quality to adopt. One story told of a boy instead of doing his lessons spent time playing with his little sister.\footnote{501} Yet another lesson about laziness focused on India. The story began by saying that “the inhabitants of India are usually lazy” and a European asked why one man was so active. The individual responded that from nature, the birds and animals he had learned to appreciate the need for activity and a disdain for laziness.\footnote{502}

Health and hygiene was the final theme of the moral textbooks. These were extremely important lessons given the constant threat of disease and that Armenian schools were frequently cited for their unhygienic conditions.\footnote{503} Hence, students learned about the need for general cleanliness. At the end of one section was a summary of the

\footnote{500}{Ibid.}
\footnote{501}{Shahlamian, Paroyagan.}
\footnote{502}{Mamurian, Ch’orrort Ént’ertsaran, 144-7.}
\footnote{503}{Karakashian, Sanasarian Varzharan, VI, no. 5.}
main points highlighting that a good girl was very clean and that it was shameful to be dirty. \(^{504}\)

Religious and moral textbooks reflected in their teachings the ideological goals of the educational leaders to build a nation based on a set of principles and values. These textbooks along with the others used in the Armenian schools radiated the principle objectives of the educational philosophy. National foundations of historical awareness, intellectual growth, and moral values reflected the range and variety of textbooks and the content impressed upon the learners.

Examinations

Devised methods of examining students on their subject knowledge served as a culmination of school lessons. Initially the Council required students to take daily tests in addition to monthly and yearly exams. Marks ranging from worthless to the best were entered into the log book each month. \(^{505}\) This policy of constant examination eventually proved to be too much for teachers. Ten years after the policy was established, the Council changed the examinations to a quarterly schedule. \(^{506}\) However, even this method proved to be too cumbersome for teachers. Therefore, the schedule changed to yearly and half year examinations. At the same time the school year changed to a September to June calendar.

Under the new guidelines which called for written and oral examinations, only the written examination was given at the half year and both a written and oral at the year-end. The Education Council together with a committee of specialists prepared the thirty

\(^{504}\) Karamajian, *Paregirt'*.  

\(^{505}\) 0 worthless; 1-3 weakest; 4-6 weak; 7-9 average; 10-12 good; 13-15 better; 16-18 excellent; 19-20 the best. See: *Ganonatrut 'iun Êthanur Paregarkut 'ian*.  

\(^{506}\) Deghegakir Azkayin Usunmagan Khorhrtots.
question exams. Among the specialists were a school head or capable teacher and a member of the educational council or someone appointed by them. The examination schedule corresponded with the curricular outline. For example, in 1904 the yearly examinations included ethics, religion, modern Armenian grammar, classical Armenian, Ottoman, French, geography, physical science, scientific history, laws, and general history. However, according to the Council the most important subjects were Armenian, Turkish, French, and mathematics.

The month of June was a busy time for the Armenian schools. Students participated in written and oral examinations in front of their teachers and school trustees. Examinations were widely attended by communal and church leaders, education and religious council representatives, the district religious body, the district council, and other individuals invited by the trustees. The parents were also allowed to request an invitation. The day also provided an opportunity for students to talk about institutional memories. In Erzerum the yearly examinations at Sanasarian turned into a holiday for the people of the city. At the ceremony one of the members of the management, usually Sarkis Soghigian, spoke to the students. The speech was filled with advice for the future. Meanwhile, leading clergy offered prayers and hopes for the school.

507 Gazmagan Ganonakir.

508 BNU/Arch Patr Const DC 2/5 112-123; According to the examination schedule for the in Constantinople, in 1898 the schedule was divided based on the class year. By the time students reached the upper class they were being examined in Krapar, French, Ottoman, and Persian along with bookkeeping and sciences. GAT: Azadyan Fond, #1985.

509 Deghegakir Hamaradut’ian K’ag’ak’agan Zhogovots.

510 Bashdonakir, Ganonakir yev Haydakir; Hrahank Paregarkut’ian T’aghayin Varzharans Gosdantnubolso.

511 Hnkamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.
Diplomas

The official acknowledgment of educational achievement was awarded in the form of a graduation certificate. Educational systemization reflected the centralized nature of report cards and diplomas. Listed on the coeducational secondary school report card were all of the courses included in the general educational curriculum. Listed by subject matter were grades for language, religion, mathematics, science, history, singing, and exercise. Separate marks were also granted for Armenian reading, grammar, literature and history of Armenian literature. Likewise for historical knowledge students were graded separately for national (Armenian), Ottoman, and general history. Report cards at Getronagan were graded from one to ten (see appendix E).

There was a clear distinction between grade certificates and the graduation diploma. School diplomas underscored the relevance of Armenian, European and Ottoman influence in the educational system. For example, primary school certificates were written in French, Armenian and Ottoman (see appendix C). Changes made to diplomas reflected greater societal change, particularly the growing Turkish influence. New regulations required all certificates, such as one from 1913, be written in Ottoman (see appendix D). In addition, provincial councils could no longer grant certificates.

The graduation certificate from the national school was granted by the educational council and signed by the Patriarch. Meanwhile, the diplomas from specialty schools such as Getronagan reflected institutional preferences. Getronagan’s diplomas, granted by the trustees of the school, were written only in Armenian (see appendix F).

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512 Nerk’in Ganonakir.

513 The diplomas and certificates from the American missionary schools were also very different. Usually there diplomas were written in English. On one, from the American School for Girls in Erzurum, the top states, “sent ont thy light and thy truth”, a clear mark of the Protestant influence (a note of thanks to Haig Manoogian for providing a copy of his mother’s diploma).
Combining the Education Council guidelines with its own leanings, the Sanasarian diploma was written in Armenian, French and Turkish. The certificate listed where and when a student was born, how many years the student had been at the school and the date of graduation. It also listed the subjects for the school and the grade that the student received, stamped with an official school seal and signed by all three directors (see appendix G).

**Conclusion**

Materials used in the Armenian schools varied widely in subject matter and pedagogical style. Monitored by the Education Council, the lessons and knowledge conveyed by the use of textbooks sought to perpetuate a conscious understanding of Armenian historical memory and cultural traditions. In addition to the recognition of historic symbols, the textbooks had a broader educational purpose of cultivating awareness of larger global issues. This included the study of European political, cultural and social issues. Moral and religious texts also provided a clear pattern of socialization. However, what is apparent from these textbooks is that within the formal classroom students were exposed to only a passive knowledge of Ottoman history, laws, and language. This was enough to provide economic benefit to the Armenians through trade but distant enough so the people did not assimilate.

Authors of these textbooks played an integral role in the educational process. Each writer brought a different approach to the subject matter. They incorporated their own educational experience with interpretations of historical fact, moral philosophy, linguistics, and the sciences. In the end it was these educators who measured achievement through examinations. They also maintained a pivotal role in the approval of diplomas.
CHAPTER 9
FROM STUDENT ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVISM TO EXPRESSIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Introduction

Realizing philosophical goals established to guide educational development was the main objective of community leaders. The mission and purpose of education was clearly exposed in each aspect of the curriculum. Uniformity of lessons and standardization of curricular content reflected the educational vision. However, whether the educational mission was achieved lay in the question of how the learners understood these lessons and reflected upon their underlying philosophy. Supported by institutional policies, the curricular content, and teachers, the hope was learners would reflect an understanding and awareness of the ancient history, national symbols, cultural traditions, and religion. They would also show appreciation for the land and uphold moral and ethical values. However, at the same time educational goals exposed a desire for the learners to look beyond just the Armenian case. Awareness of global issues was actively encouraged.

The question of how the course content, lessons and teachings manifested themselves in the students’ visions and expressions is central to the final chapter of my dissertation. This analysis centers on issues of organization and activism by investigating three components. First, school life, activities and organizations. Second, reflections of national consciousness in student writings and third characterizations of the graduates. What each of these elements show is how many of the Armenian students at the end of
the nineteenth century were becoming increasingly involved in political and communal activism. This activity reflected the growing knowledge and wider visions the Armenian students fostered through educational development. It combined what students were taught in the formal setting of the classroom with the informal realities of everyday life in the Armenian communities.

School Life

Life for students in the Armenian schools was carefully monitored. Controlled by rigid regulations, educational officials hoped students would learn to respect tradition and through self discipline set examples for others to follow. It was the role of the school to ensure students learned and displayed in their actions honor, respect and high moral values. For example, students learned to respect their teachers, elders, and community leaders. Hence, education reified not only expectations of certain socialized behaviors but also ensured tradition remained a part of the student’s lives.

Prayer

Allegiance to uphold cultural traditions was also reflected in the continued place of religion in educational activities. At the opening of the school year each September the teachers, directors, and the students gathered with community religious leaders. These ceremonies always began with and closed with a prayer.514 At Sanasarian and many other institutions, students were exposed to prayer not only at special ceremonies. Every morning and evening the students recited prayers including the Hayr Mer (Lord's Prayer). As a part of the daily ritual, the presence of prayer symbolized the interrelationship between schooling and the Christian faith as a primary ideological directive of

514 Hnkamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.
educational institutions. Furthermore, it signified the desire to impress upon students a collective communal spirit through the Church.

**Dress**

The implementation of dress codes at some schools also reflected the desire to instill in students qualities of honor and dignity. However, at the same time the dress reflected the changes in the greater society, particularly the ongoing westernization. Pictures taken of students who attended upper level institutions reflected the pride with which students were expected to carry themselves. As a cross between local styles and western influences, the picture of Sanasarian in chapter 5 shows the students in the yard with their school jackets and many wearing fezes. The yearly graduation picture from Sanasarian below shows students in their uniform surrounded with what were perceived as important school objects - books, violins, science equipment, a globe, and Mgrdich' Sanasarian at the center.

**Illustration 9 - Sanasarian Graduates**
Illustration 10 - Sanasarian Students

Meanwhile, students from Getronagan, such as those shown below, were photographed in western style clothing and without a fez.

Illustration 11 - Getronagan graduates
Dress also told a great deal about the financial picture of an institution or region. Students pictured at a school in Sis were dressed in barely more than rags whereas those from Getronagan and Sanasarian were always dressed in nice clothes. The presence of strict regulations in terms of dress code meant that some students were turned away from the opportunity for education. An article published in the Constantinople press described how poverty made it difficult for a young boy who had lost his father to even pass cleanliness examinations at school.\textsuperscript{515} This story and other similar tales reflected the simple fact that although there was a strong desire to extend education to the masses, for poor students the opportunity for schooling remained a challenge.

Dress reflected not only institutional character but also individual traits. For example, Vahan Ch'eraz, the brother of Getronagan's director always stood out from the other students. He would wear a blue beret that he had purchased while living in Europe with his family. This hat was just one reflection of the western influences on Vahan's character. Having studied in Europe, Vahan was fluent in English and French. However, this also meant that he did not speak Turkish very well. Therefore, the other students could hardly contain their laughter when he entertained them with stories about his childhood in London.\textsuperscript{516} This individuality shown by Vahan Ch'eraz also reflected the life experiences that helped to shape fellow classmates.

\textbf{Behavior and Activism}

School officials closely monitored student behavior and academic progress. One student in the southern village of Kilis recalled how teachers printed little tickets with different colors. There was one which was given to you when you did something bad, and another one which was given to

\textsuperscript{515} Mosdich'ian, \textit{Giank'ê Mer Varzharannerun Mêch}.

\textsuperscript{516} Getronagani Garevor Mêg Shrchanê.
you when you did something good, and there was another one which was
given to you in exchange for ten tickets of good-behaviour which was
known as the "Ticket of Honor." At the end of the semester the boys who
received so many "Tickets of Honor" were especially announced and
honored.\footnote{Sutherland, The Adventures of an Armenian Boy, 89-90.}

Punishments could be leveled for everything from a practical joke to what teachers or
school directors felt were harmful activities. Students would lose awards, free time or the
privilege of talking with their friends during school hours. If the behavior continued the
student would be called to the director’s office for a lecture or face expulsion.\footnote{Hrahank Paregarkut’ian T‘aghayin Varzharants Gosdantnubolso.}
The system of rewarding and punishing students empowered teachers and school directors
who could devise codes of conducts and implement regulations. Although the hope was
this would ensure schools and students did not stray from the overall educational mission,
those who made the rules could not ensure complete compliance.

Although students were expected to behave in a manner approved by school
officials, this did not bring an end to their political involvement. The growing activism of
the student population was something school officials attempted to control as best they
could. Students were often expelled from school only to be readmitted once tensions
died. At Sanasarian one incident of unrest pitted students against the school directors.
Following summer vacation, Hovhannes Abgarian returned to school with a gun. One
day when Abgarian and Armen Garo were secretly cleaning the weapon, Hovsep
Madat’ian happened to glance through a window. However, he did not see both of the
students. Garo, knowing Abgarian was from a poor family and as a non-paying student
would immediately be expelled, forced his friend to hide.\footnote{Garo was also Madat’ian’s nephew. He spent several years studying at Sanasarian but
never graduated. He traveled to France to continue his studies and there joined the
revolutionary movement with other Armenian students studying abroad. In 1895 he
returned with 26 others and took part in the Bank Ottoman occupation in 1896.}
Despite Madat’ian’s demands, Garo refused to reveal his friend’s identity. Therefore, as punishment Garo was forced to kneel in a corner of the classroom and given only plain bread and water. This went on for two weeks. Meanwhile other students “would take turns standing watch at the door to alert me should a teacher make his appearance; this would give me a chance to rest my feet a little. As for food, they would secretly bring me pieces of meat or cheese.” 520 Given the option either to name his accomplice or leave the school Garo chose the latter. However, it was not just Garo who decided to leave. Rather, he started a revolt among other students. Following in Garo’s footsteps the students took off their school belts, which served as a sign of attendance at Sanasarian. The students walked away from the school with the feeling “instead of cultivating feelings of comradely dedication and loyalty among us, they would rather develop us into egotistic and distasteful creatures.” 521 This activity reflected the growing divide between the students as activists and the school directors. However, this also reflected the loyalty shown by the students in their willingness to defend each other.

This was indicative of the same sentiment students showed in their willingness to defend the nation. Erzerum was a focal point for Armenian politics and the Sanasarian students were at the center of this activity. Under the leadership of Ardashes Hovsepian and Hovhannes Siuzmejian (and assisted by the carpentry teacher Aram Vahanian), the students formed a group called the Əngeragan Sird (Heartfelt Camaraderie). Students and teachers under the auspices of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation held secret meetings and wrote letters to other schools in an attempt to establish a network.

This was in conflict with school regulations stipulating students could not bring books and materials from the outside to class. Nor could they take material home without

520 Garo, Bank Ottoman, 59.

521 Ibid.
permission.\textsuperscript{522} However, students often tested the rules. In spite of regulations they brought papers and pamphlets to show their fellow classmates. Hence, a second crisis erupted when the school directors at Sanasarian caught students attempting to solicit outside material.

Ardashes Hovsepian, also known by the name Malkhas, came to Sanasarian in 1887 but stayed only two years. As a result of Hovsep Madat'ian's encouragement and with the promise that he would be sent to Germany to study five years later Malkhas returned to Sanasarian. At the same time Hrachia Adjaian was one of the Armenian teachers. The two eventually became friends and Hovsepian spent many hours engaged in conversation with Adjaian and another student, Hovhannes Shavarsh.\textsuperscript{523} After leaving Sanasarian Adjaian continued to maintain contact with the students. However, since the students were constantly under the watchful gaze of the institutional leaders these letters were discovered and quickly raised an alarm. Malkhas and Shavarsh were called in front of the institutional directors and for two hours questioned about their correspondences. They were asked who they had written letters to in the Caucasies, when they received Adjaian's first letter, the number and names of students involved with their monthly, and who had brought revolutionary papers into the institution. The directors were particularly curious about correspondence with the Nersisian school and Kevorkian Jemaran. They were anxious to know how students had received letters since all of the incoming materials went through the director's hands. The students refused to respond to the questions and were given until the next day to bring Adjaian's letter and their paper. Madat'ian also threatened to expel the students if they did not meet the demands.

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\textsuperscript{522} \textit{Nerk'in Ganonakir.}

\textsuperscript{523} He was also known by the pseudonym Tokadtsi
The next day the group was called and in addition to Shavarsh and Malkhas three others laid their school belts on the table.\textsuperscript{524} Committed to each other and their cause the students left Sasarian. Malkhas went to Samson and in 1896 traveled to America. He returned to Geneva in 1903 before finally returning to Constantinople at the time of the new Ottoman Constitution. Meanwhile, Shavarsh went to Paris to further his education. There he started the paper \textit{Haymansaran} (University).

Student activism reflected the continual discontent of the Armenians in Erzerum. From the establishment of a secret revolutionary society, Bashdyan Hayrenyats, in 1881 to the students of Sasarian, the attitudes and actions of the people pointed towards the desire for change and improvement. In addition, a sense of unity drew the students to seek and establish connections with other Armenians.

\textbf{Student writings}

Newspapers and journals in Constantinople, Tiflis, and Smyrna provided an outlet for students to express their emotions, experiences and opinions through written articles. Erzerum was to be no exception when the student organization at Sasarian, the Sasarian Ashagerdagan Miut’iun (Sasarian Student Society), began to publish a handwritten journal. Under the label \textit{Sird} (Heart), the school’s academic council granted permission to start the journal in July 1904. Contents ranged from translations to copies of articles from other newspapers, original writings, and pictures. Paylag Sasasar was one of the few who signed his articles. Most others preferred to remain anonymous by

\textsuperscript{524} Malkhas, “Hrach’ia Adjarian,” \textit{Hayrenik’}, 13, 14, 17 June 1953.
using pseudonyms. For example one student called himself *K'avařatsi* (one from the provinces).^{525}

Many of the articles focused on the conditions of Armenians in the provinces. These included reports on the conditions of Armenians in Van. Meanwhile, a discussion of Apovian’s *Vērk’ Hayasdani* (The Wounds of Armenia) reflected general societal attitudes and students’ personal experiences. The focus was on the pain and suffering of the Armenians, unity and patriotism. However, this solidarity and patriotism was not toward the Ottomans but rather the strength of the Armenian national identity.

At the beginning of the new year an entire issue was devoted to the future with the call, almost a plea, for joy and happiness. It is ironic the writer of one work signed the name *hoys* meaning hope. The introduction to the volume is a picture of a young woman with a sword in her hand accompanied by a poem labeled, *Maghtankher* (Wishes). Therefore although there was hope for peace and prosperity, the sword also reflected the realization that reforms might not come easily.

Student writings also reflected the societal despair. The following poem highlighted the role of the nation in the consciousness of young Armenians of the interior provinces of the Ottoman Empire and more importantly their attitude toward the Turks.^{526}

Haverun
Herik’ ē, Nayir paw ē mer danchank’
Herik’ gretsink’ tsaw vishd dařabank’
Yegêk’ têm tênenk’ t’ourk’ in anasdvadz
Hargaw mez g’okne p’r’ich’n vohormatz
Herik’ ē nayir mnank’ hbadag
Vodnagokh ëllank’ vad T’urk’in vayrak

To the Armenians
It is Enough! Look, enough of our suffering.
Enough! We endured pain, misery, agony
Come on, let us resist the godless Turk
Of course, the merciful savior will help us.
It is enough, Look! We remain subjects.
Being trampled by the lowly and violent Turk.

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^{525} *Sanasarian Varzharani (Garin) Ashagerdagan “Sird” Gisamya Hantesi 1904-5 t.*
GAT San Fond, Box #4.

^{526} Ibid, 538.
This combination of despair and a fighting spirit remained an omnipresent theme throughout. Other poems included Hayrenik’ yev Azadut’iun (Homeland and Freedom), Hishenk’ oo kordzatrenk’ (Let’s Remember and Carry Out), and Kordziche: Badger Heghapokhagan Gianke (The Activist: A Scene from Revolutionary Life). One poem written by K’ava/atasi is labeled Têbi Panag (To the Army). The first and last verses of this poem are:

You are still waiting, why boys?
You should soon go to the army
There await our brothers,
Hurry! Boys! Don’t you know.

Let us die for freedom
Let us fight with heart like the brave
Let us save the homestead of the fatherland.527

This poem was indicative of the mood in the provinces, particularly Erzerum. Clearly this was a call to fight for the land, the Armenian homeland. To fight and die for freedom of the homeland was the call made to young Armenian students. Another article suggested there was no hope to be found relying on foreigners to come to the rescue of the Armenians.

In addition to the conditions of the Armenians in the provinces, students also focused their writings on important historical figures. Mik’ayël Nalbandian, Leo, Khachadur Apovian, Avedis Aharonian, Step’anos Nazarian, Mgrdich’ Beshlign’t’aslian, and Khrimian Hayrig were the subject of long and detailed biographies.528 Awareness of these national leaders, writers and intellectuals reflected the knowledge classroom lessons

527 Ibid, 518.

528 A historian, Leo (1860-1932) is known for his works documenting Armenian life. This includes biographies of famous individuals and histories of schools in Karabagh and Erevan. Avedis Aharonian (1866-1948) is a writer known for his short stories. See Bardakjian, Reference Guide, 191-2; 186-87.
manifested in the students. Identification with important historical figures also signified an instilled knowledge of Armenian history. However, the greatest reverence was reserved for individuals associated with the school, more specifically the founding fathers. Special editions were devoted to the death of Garabed Yeziantz and another celebrating the anniversary of Mgrdich Sanasarian’s death. These special issues were filled with poems and short pieces of creative writing about the memory of these important individuals. Tributes to the institutional founders, but noticeable absence of mention of the school directors, suggests who the students felt deserved their praise.

Given the increasing secularization of society, it is not surprising few students decided to write about religion and the church. A popular topic though was immigration and romantic visions that turned into despair and loneliness outside of the homeland. The longing for return to the homeland was reflected in two works. First, Dznntavayris (To My Birth-Place) and second a poem Têchnigi me Veratartzê têbi hayrenik’ (A Bird Returns to the Homeland).

Although a special issue was devoted to Armenian women, this did not necessary mean the students believed in equality. The focus was on a woman’s life, motherhood, and work in the domestic sphere. However, in at least one article, Armenian women were described as lazy and lacking in ability whereas the men were brave and strong.

Personal memories revealed the influence of life experiences on students in Hushadedrs (My Memory Book). Also in one of the volumes was a farewell to graduating students. Reflections of class lessons were also illustrated in writings on moral themes, the need for students to obey their parents, and desire for practical knowledge. Several writings also focused on education – one on equity in teachers’ salaries and another on pedagogy. Many of the pedagogy lessons were translations of German works, an apparent reflection of the institutional directors.

Numerous translations appeared under the label Odar echêr (Foreign Pages). Popular were the works of Maxim Gorki including “Vagabond” and translations of
German works from Goethe. In addition, musical translations from German and foreign poetry such as Schiller’s “The Hunting Song” and Herder’s “The Fighting Song.” These pieces reflected the very clear role of western knowledge.

Science and history lessons also had a western angle. One piece, entitled Mdkı Gatlınır (Drops of the Mind) focused on the sciences and the work of Erasmus and Darwin. A second article discussed zoology and a third nutritional herbs. World history lessons about the Prussian people and a translation about the life of gypsies (Knchuneru Gıank’en) reflected a greater global knowledge.

As it turned out the journal’s first year would also be its last. Publication ceased in 1905. However, these writings remain a brilliant reflection of the student’s educational experience and creative ambitions. The articles demonstrated the instilled knowledge of school lessons ranging from history to science, literature, and music. These lessons when combined with the personal experiences of the students reflected institutional achievements that went far beyond the educational philosophy. The goal was to encourage students to recognize national symbols and develop a conscious understanding of the people. Indeed this had occurred. Identification with a cultural identity, religious symbols, and national heroes, the students in Erzerum represented a fulfillment of educational objectives.

Graduates

School graduation was an exciting time of the year. It offered a chance for reflection, to witness student achievements and for educational leaders to take pride in meeting learning objectives. Unfortunately many students never reached this point. Few graduated because poor families needed an extra hand to provide income or young women were quickly married off. This point was reflected in the graduation rates of
Sanasarian and Getronagan. Approximately one quarter graduated from Sanasarian and only about 15% from Getronagan.529

Graduation was the final opportunity for educational leaders to stress the importance of school lessons. One student distinctly recalled the day graduates of the Aramian school in Kadiköy were invited to the Patriarchate to receive their certificates and meet Patriarch Ormanian. Present at the ceremony were Rēt'eos Berberian and various members of the Constantinople educational community. During the ceremony educational leaders impressed upon the students the notion they should pursue further education.530 Hence, the rhetoric reflected the ongoing trend of community leaders toward creating a highly educated population.

Other graduation ceremonies illustrated the very lessons students received in the classroom. Guests at Sanasarian’s graduations were presented programs written in Armenian and French. The ceremony began with the college band playing the imperial anthem followed by a march for the graduates. The program consisted of speeches and musical selections. Two students in addition to Professor Soghigian spoke in Armenian. Assuring a balance between the nation and the state, two other students and Professor Madat’ian presented speeches in Turkish. The desire to highlight the knowledge of foreign languages led to Armenak Madat’ian presenting his address in French. Similarly the multiple influences appeared in the musical selections. On the piano and violin the brother and sister team of Nevart and Armenak Madat’ian played Mozart and Wagner. Others presented a popular Irish song and two choruses in French and German. A song for the Sultan and “The Caliph of Baghdad” were also a part of the program. The evening

529 K’ātēmēa Deghēgak’ir Sanasarian Varzharani; Azkayin Getronagan Varzharan Ghalat’ia 1886-1920; Uzunian, Gentronagan Varzharani.

530 Ardavazt, Aramiani yev Getronagani.
closed with the singing of an Armenian religious song, *I Khachanish Paydēn* (From the Wooden Cross) and a closing prayer.\(^{531}\) These speeches, prayers, songs, and presentations were symbolic examples of the Armenian influence. Yet they also demonstrated Ottoman and western influences. Hence in revealing student achievements the event reflected the Armenian, Ottoman and western ideology permeating within the institution.

In addition to being a time to reflect student achievements, graduation was an opportunity for look forward into the future. Equipped with education and knowledge, graduates of the Armenian schools were quick to become writers, business merchants, and government officials. Among the many graduates of Getronagan were Hrachia Adjār Ian, Arshag Albōyajian, the poets Misak Medzarents, and Vahan T'ēk'ēyan.\(^{532}\) While attending Getronagan these students furthered their talents. For example both Vahram Karakashian and Misak Medzarents were considered the class poets.\(^{533}\) The tradition of a class poet carried on into Medzarents's later work. Born in the Agn village of Pingian, as a student Misak studied krapar, English, French, and Persian. This linguistic knowledge reflected in his poetic works published in the Armenian newspapers *Dzaghig* and *Masis* under a variety of pseudoymns.\(^{534}\) His work was filled with symbolism and helped to refine Western Armenian poetry.

\(^{531}\) BNU, Fonds Ormanian, Serie II Erzerum, Annees 1880 (see Appendix H for the program).

\(^{532}\) Although born in Constantinople, T'ēk'ēyan (1878-1945) was known as a poet of the Armenian diaspora having spent many years in Europe before permanently moving to Cairo. Arshag Albōyajian (1879-1969) wrote several treatises on Armenian history, literature and education.

\(^{533}\) *Getronagani Garevor Mēg Shrchanē*.

Another Getronagan graduate, Arshag Ch’öbanian, also developed a refined talent through his education. Raised in Constantinople by his two aunts following his mother’s early death, Ch’öbanian began his education in the Beshigtash Makruhian school. Here he began reading various types of poetry from Hugo, Shakespeare, and Dante to Alishan, Bëshigt’ashlian and translations of French into Armenian. Ch’öbanian also started to learn French. When just thirteen, Ch’öbanian published his first poem - a work dedicated to his mother. Ch’öbanian was admitted to Getronagan after Minas Ch’eraz read the notebooks filled with his poetry. As a student, Ch’öbanian published his works and numerous French translations in the Armenian newspaper Arewelk’. After graduation he continued to write for Hayrenik’, Arewelk’ and Masis and also worked alongside Hrant Asadur as a teacher of Armenian literature. Ch’öbanian’s first book was printed in 1891, Arshaloysi Dzayner. This was primarily a compilation of his previously published works. Less than a year after the book’s publication, Ch’öbanian enhanced his knowledge by traveling to Paris and other European cities. When he returned to Constantinople, Ch’öbanian taught historical literature and a course on French literature at Getronagan as well as at the Mezburian girls school. His works continued to be published in Dzaghig and his public lectures in French on the history of Armenian culture and literature were well known. However, the return would only be short lived as he traveled on to Etchmiadzin, Tiflis, and Baku before finally settling in Paris.535

Ch’öbanian later reflected upon his education and the role of France in the development of Armenian identity:

Mais l’influence française qui, grâce, avant tout, à la splendeur et au charme de l’histoire de France et au prestige magique du livre français, a toujours prédominé en Orient, devint bientôt prépondérante dans l’âme arménienne, et la culture française fut adoptée par notre peuple comme la plus conforme à son tempérament, la plus chère à sa sensibilité. Dans

toutes les écoles arméniennes de Turquie, de Perse, le français est obligatoirement enseigné, depuis trois quarts de siècle, comme une seconde langue maternelle, comme la langue de la culture modèle. Toutes les phases de la littérature française, ont produit leur contre-coup chez nous...L’histoire de France nous est chère et familière comme la nôtre propre. Les grandes personnalités de glorieuse histoire n’ont rien d’étranger pour nous; elles ont souvent été des guides, des modèles pour notre jeunesse...Nous aimons les grands écrivains français avec la même affection intime que nous portons à nos maîtres nationaux...Le rôle éducateur, ennoblissant, joué chez nous par des livres commes Les Misérables de Victor Hugo ou les romans chevaleresques d’Alexandre Dumas père, en particulier Les Trois Mousquetaires, est inestimable.\textsuperscript{536}

Here Ch’obanian drew attention to the role of literature, history and the study of the French language in the Armenian schools. At the same time it reflects his own work and devotion to the study of the French language, history and people.\textsuperscript{537}

Ch’obanian, Medzarents, and the other graduates of Getronagan reflected in their works the general nature of Constantinople with its vibrant and cosmopolitan life filled with increasing westernization. Meanwhile, the situation of the provinces was very different. Indeed many Sasarian graduates also became educators, community, and business leaders, merchants, railroad and tobacco workers. However, these students had been imbued with the spirit of the provinces. Many students in turn used their educational training to spread their ideas among the greater Ottoman Armenian population in the interior provinces. An overwhelming number of Sasarian’s graduates chose to remain in Erzerum and the eastern provinces - especially in the large cities such as Samson, Trebizond, and Van. Born and raised in the region many refused to abandon their attachment to the land. As table 9.1 reflects, some did move - but not to

\textsuperscript{536} A. Tchobanian, La France et le Peuple Arménien (Paris-Nancy: Berger-Leviault. 1917), 10-12.

\textsuperscript{537} See also E. Khayadjian, Archag Tchobanian et le mouvement Armenophile en France (Marseille: Centre National de Documentation Pedagogique, 1957).
Constantinople or Russia – but rather to western countries such as the United States, France,

Table 9.1: Locations of Sanasarian graduates-1910\textsuperscript{538}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erzerum</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provinces (Van, Samson, Arabkir, Trebizond, Smyrna, etc)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western countries (Switzerland, France, US, Germany, Italy)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantinople</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia &amp; Transcaucasia</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and Germany. These graduates, along with those from Getronagan, formed part of the literate and artistic base of the expanding Armenian diaspora. For example, Vahan Habeshian, a graduate of Sanasarian, was sent to study pedagogy in Germany in 1909 at the expense of the Constantinople trustees. Habeshian became the author of many books on pedagogy and taught at the Melkonian school in Cyprus.\textsuperscript{539} Another influential Sanasarian graduate, and Tashnag leader, who relocated to Paris was Haig Serengulian.\textsuperscript{540} Vartan Makhokhian finished his studies at Sanasarian and soon thereafter went to Germany to become a painter.\textsuperscript{541} Two graduates Hovhannes and Setrak Hanesian from Erzerum were sent by their parents to Berlin to study medicine and chemistry.

\textsuperscript{538}  K’ařamia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.


Educational leaders hoped other parents would follow the Hanesians' example in realizing the value of education.\textsuperscript{542}

The occupations of Sanasarian graduates varied widely. However, as table 9.2 reveals, the largest number worked as educational leaders in the provinces. Many provincial cities were asking the directors to send graduates to teach in their schools. One wealthy Armenian went so far as to pay the tuition of a student from Gurun so that the local Armenian school would have a teacher.\textsuperscript{543} The presence of so many graduates in the

\textsuperscript{542} Sanasarian Varzharan Garno Usumnagan Deghega:\textit{kir} 1891-92 yev 1892-93.

\textsuperscript{543} Ibid.
### Table 9.2: Occupations of Sanasarian Graduates - 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Number of Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational Leaders (Directors, Teachers)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants, Commissioners, Peddlers, Shopkeepers</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaders (Railroad, Tobacco, Gov't, Health, School, Factory, Etc)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students (Pedagogy, Doctors, Agriculture Law)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists (Carpenters, Locksmith, Tentmakers)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Died(^{545})</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer, mathematician, Economist</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottoman Representative, Painter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Leaders (Vartabed and Priest)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digin(^{546})</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Profession</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>235</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teaching profession meant Sanasarian met one of its principle objectives of providing educators for provincial Armenian schools.

Sanasarian also achieved another institutional goal by encouraging students to develop a consciousness of the nation. This translated into student involvement, as members and leaders, in the Tashnag party. Student members included Levon Karakashian,\(^{547}\) Stepan Shehrerian,\(^{548}\) Khachadur Grdodian,\(^{549}\) Hovhannes Boghosian,

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\(^{544}\) *K'ar'amia Deghegakir Sanasarian Varzharani.*

\(^{545}\) Of those who died there were four teachers, three artisans, one merchant leader, one merchant, and one with an unknown occupation.

\(^{546}\) Nevart Madat'ian's labeling solely as a housewife by the school records is erroneous. She moved to Constantinople and worked for most of her life owning her own business. While she was a mother and wife she was also very much a businesswoman and thus should have been included in the second category of merchants. Her categorization as a digin however reflects communal attitudes toward woman's work.

\(^{547}\) Karakashian was a native of Erzerum. He was educated at Sanasarian and became a lecturer teaching Armenian, geography, national and general history. During the Genocide he was deported. He survived and became the director of the Azkayin Miutium (National Society) in Aleppo from 1919-1925, director of a national school in Beirut and teacher at the Melkonian Institute in Cyprus. He wrote several articles in the Hayrenik monthly and published a book on the local Erzerum dialect.
and Antranig Yesayan.\(^{550}\) In the 1900 graduating class, ten students had links with the Tashnag party. Vahan Kuyumjian who was from Agn was a teacher and later worked for the newspaper Azadamard. Also involved in political activity was Nshan Tashjian, a writer from Kharput. He later taught in Mezreh before emigrating to the United States.\(^{551}\) Aram Aramian, a native of Erzerum who served as a community leader on the district council in 1892 became a member of the ARF committee in Erzerum. In this capacity he helped to organize the young people of the city.\(^{552}\)

Sanasarian graduates often left the institution with a renewed desire to work in the interior provinces. They were filled with the knowledge of Armenian language, history and literature and the Ottoman society in which they lived. Yet, they were increasingly affected by a combination of ideas from Transcaucasia and western approaches to education, pedagogy and thought. The school in large part managed to achieve its principle objectives. Students were imbued with a national spirit and ready to serve for the good of the nation.

\(^{548}\) Director of Hrip'simian girls school in Erzerum and the Miatsial Ėngerut'iun in Kghi.

\(^{549}\) He was an ARF party member who after graduating from Sanasarian returned to Sepastia where he spent 14 years working as an educator in the Sepastia national orphanage and national schools. (Barsamian Fond #288)

\(^{550}\) Yesayan taught at Sanasarian.

\(^{551}\) Dr. N.D.S. T'ashjian, “Sanasariantsinere Tashnatsut'ian mēch,” Hayrenik ' Amsakir, IX no. 4: 126-133.

\(^{552}\) Ibid.
A Lone Woman

The one area where both Getronagan and Sanasarian failed to embrace the educational objectives established by the central Council was in the schooling of women. The only woman to attend and graduate from Sanasarian was Nevart Madat’ian. Born in Erzerum, Nevart was one of Hovsep Madat’ian’s four children. At the age of seven Nevart became a student at the school where her father was the director and her brothers were also students. She lived at home rather than in the dorm with the other students. Although Nevart did attend lessons along with the other students, she would be walked to classes and during the recreation sit with the teachers. At school Nevart perfected her knowledge of Armenian and learned how to play the piano. Although she had a desire to attend the university her mother was against the idea. Hence, Nevart’s formal education never advanced further than Sanasarian. However, because of her own education, Nevart was fiercely independent and believed strongly in educating her own daughters.

553 A majority of the information in this section comes from an interview with Sola Indjijian. There is a claim made in a communication printed in the Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies that another woman graduated from Sanasarian. However, I have found no other information to substantiate this assertion. See A. Ter-Stapanyan, “New Material about the Mamikonean Family,” Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies, 11 (2000): 178.
Nevart eventually moved to Istanbul in 1910. She married a fellow Sanasarian student but was later granted a divorce by the Patriarch and remarried. She worked in the family business and was very active in the Sourp P'rgich Hospital. She spoke Armenian at home and knew French having studied the language while a student at Sanasarian. From a region where the use of Armenian was predominant it is not surprising her husband did not speak proper Turkish. To her daughter she was a strong woman, an avid reader, and an extremely hard worker. She loved Erzerum especially in the winter with the beauty of the snow and the recollection of the place where she and other students learned to ice skate.

Nevart Madat'ian personified the desire many young Armenian women had for further education. Through lessons they increased their linguistic skills and were instilled with a thirst for knowledge. However, Nevart also reflected the slow process of change.
Few Armenian women living in the provinces ever progressed further than primary school in their formal education.

**Conclusion**

The students and graduates of Sanasarian and Getronagan represented a small minority of the thousands of Armenian young people educated in schools scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire. The Armenian educational system was heavily influenced by a wide variety of internal, external and organizational factors. The primary influence came from the established and evolving communal economic and social structures. Under the leadership of the Constantinople Patriarchate and a Constitutional structure, the Armenian community established methods and manners for developing an educational system. Central to the construction of this education system was increased awareness of national symbols, rituals, history, and territory. Although the system was subject to Ottoman political, social, and economic influences, clearly the Empire played no more than a secondary role. More important to fostering national consciousness was the knowledge of western subjects.

Guided by a philosophy of education clearly delineated by a central Educational Council, a system of schooling took hold of the Armenian community by the end of the nineteenth century. The schools extended from the east to the west, north to south led by rules and regulations created in Constantinople. Differences abound in the implementation of educational regulations. However, the overall vision of the Armenians remained constant. To provide education for all young Armenian boys and girls. At the core of this educational system was the curricular content and classes taught to students.

Stressing the study of Armenian subjects - language, literature, religion and history, the objective was to strengthen the identification of the people as a part of a community. Modernization and westernization had a large effect on the Armenians and
the schools. With this knowledge, the end goal was to achieve economic advancement by exposure to foreign languages and the study of world history. Textbooks served as the primary teaching tools. These materials and their authors played an important role in impressing upon students visions of nationhood.

The primary responsibility for developing and later implementing the centrally constructed regulations fell upon educational leaders, school directors, and teachers. Their experiences and training heavily influenced the educational process. A large number were educated at western universities and in Transcaucasia. Many returned to teach at Armenian schools in the interior provinces. Those who did return as teachers and institutional leaders played a significant role in stimulating intellectual ideas among the masses and building a national consciousness among the Armenian students.

Regulations, teachers, and the curriculum all operated under a guiding philosophy manifested in the educational process. However, the ultimate test of its success relied on how learners identified themselves. Quite clearly reflected in organization, activism and written works, the Armenian schools inculcated in students a conscious identification with the Armenian nation. The strength of this relationship varied by individual and region. However, despite these variations, the outcome remained constant. Young children educated in the Armenian schools developed a clear allegiance to their heritage, people, and nation.
CHAPTER 10
CONCLUSION

The relationship between education and national identity explored in this dissertation has concentrated on how the Ottoman Armenians through a rapidly expanding schooling system renewed and strengthened communal awareness of historical traditions, language, religion, and cultural symbols. Beginning with the creation of the National Educational Council, this study has traced the development of the Ottoman Armenian schooling system, the establishment of charity schools, increasing support for the education of women, and the evolution of the formal curriculum.

Three conclusions have emerged from this case study analysis. First, that numerous factors contribute to the dynamics between the center and periphery with respect to the creation and application of educational policies. Therefore, although using a similar approach to the educational philosophy, the curriculum that emerges in one locale may differ from another. Second, textbooks and other resources are important teaching materials. However, it is educators who hold the primary power in educational construction and interpretation of these manuals. Finally, relying on an inclusive examination of the curriculum – formal and informal educational activities, the development of policies, procedures, and the interpretation and reinterpretation of content - one can conclusively argue that education plays an important role in the development of national identity.

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Schools are guided by a philosophy of education which serves as a foundation for the construction of institutional policies. Based on this mission, schools are constructed or reformed to meet intended educational goals. In addition to the direct influence of educational leaders on the underlying framework, other factors such as geographical and class issues are equally important in the construction of educational principles, policies and procedures. These influences help to explain why centralized policies are often interpreted or enforced in different ways. For the Ottoman Armenians, the structure of a unified and centrally directed educational system encouraged the study of religion, history, language, traditions and cultural symbols. Although schools reverberated a consistent mission to build an educated populace, differences emerged in the presentation of materials and the way in which students internalized national symbols. For example, the cosmopolitan influence in Constantinople reflected in the educational system a much stronger interest in the study of the west than what emerged in Erzerum. The evidence presented suggests that external factors played an indirect role in the development and reform of the curriculum. Furthermore, the findings also suggest that learner interpreted these lessons in very different ways.

School trustees, benefactors, and teachers are important and powerful influences in shaping the curriculum. Involved in the development of textbooks and other educational resources, it is these individuals who determine the actual content of what students learn and the teaching methods used in the classroom. Hence, along with textbooks and other resources, educators help shape the curriculum and legitimate knowledge. Additionally, trustees, teachers and institutional directors serve as connections between policy guidelines and the actual curricular content.
The final conclusion of his dissertation answers questions surrounding the position of Ottoman Armenian education with the realm of nation building theory. In chapter two the nation was defined as “a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.” The Ottoman Armenians constructed an educational system utilizing all of these factors. The schooling system was a vehicle that encouraged students to identify with certain cultural traditions, national symbols, economic aims, and to some extent political ideology. However, learning about the nation meant recognizing their own cultural traditions and a more worldly knowledge. As the analysis revealed, western educational models provided the Armenians with examples of how to construct and reform schools. Furthermore, positioned within the historical context of the Ottoman Empire, through regulatory control there was a continual yet subtle presence of the state in the educational system. Through textbooks, school theaters, music societies, and school outings the Armenian schools reflected in the lessons each of the three elements - Armenian traditions, western influences, and the Ottoman state. Through exposure to formal lessons and informal activities, learners identified with and interpreted the nation in many different ways. Therefore, this thesis draws upon the ethno-symbolic approach in that education is a tool used to revitalize and reinterpret cultural traditions and the constructivist where education is a way for the state to homogenize society.

"4 Smith, National Identity, 14.
APPENDICES
**APPENDIX A:**
Getronagan Planned Curriculum 1886

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Year</th>
<th>Second Year</th>
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<th>Fourth Year</th>
<th>Fifth Year</th>
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* Listed as planned for that year but no hours provided.
## APPENDIX B:
Getronagan Revised Curriculum: 1897-1915

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<th>Core Courses</th>
<th>Fifth Year</th>
<th>Sixth Year</th>
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**Academic Division**

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**Scientific Division**

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<td>Biology</td>
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## Commercial Studies

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<td>Commercial Arithmetic and Mathematics</td>
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<td>Accounting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Commercial Geography</td>
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<td>Commercial Knowledge</td>
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<td>Commercial Laws</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Office organization</td>
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<td>Commercial Correspondence</td>
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<td>Study of Goods/Merchandise</td>
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<td>Political Economy</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Budget</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Chemical Analysis</td>
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<td>Statistics Reports</td>
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<td>Knowledge of Employment</td>
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<td>Banking</td>
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<td>Mechanical Engineering</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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APPENDIX C:
School Graduation Certificates
APPENDIX F:
Getronagan Graduation Certificate
APPENDIX G:
Sanasarian Grade Report and Graduation Certificate
Programme.
De la séance de Distribution des Diplômes
du jeudi 30 juillet 1903.

Marche Impériale, par la Fanfare du Collège.
Discours en l'âne, par Diliran Arsenian.
Quatrième Sonate en mi bémol de Mozart, piano et violon,
par Anik der Bogopian et Am. Vfandarian.
Discours d'adieu en arménien, par Yeghige Sevianian.
Lohengrin de Wagner, Chœur des Novices, piano et violons,
par plusieurs élèves.
La Dernière Rose, chant populaire irlandais, avec et violon,
par M. E. Lavony-Madarian et Am. Madarian.
Discours en l'âne, par Sérgue Aradoungian, piano et violon.
Le Calife de Bagdad de Boieldieu, par plusieurs élèves.
Discours en français, par Dimitri Madarian.
Valse, Chœur en français, par C. Oshitchian et H. Karakachian.
Discours en arménien, par Garast Ulshtchian.
Chœur de la Sérénité "de Gantz, chant en allemand par plusieurs.
Le Christ du Malin" de Grégor, chœur en allemand... id.

La séance est suspendue pour 10 minutes.

Hymne à Sa Majesté, chœur en l'âne, par les élèves.
Discours en l'âne, par M. Madarian, directeur du Collège.
Distribution des Diplômes.
 Allocution aux Laureats, en arménien, par M. Solkian.
Chant religieux, en arménien, accompagné par l'orgue.
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BNU/Arch Patr Const DC 2/5.

BNU, Fonds Ormanian, Serie II Erzerum, Annees 1880.

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