

BJES

ISSN 2306-0557 (Print)

ISSN 2310-5402 (Online)

www. http://bjes.beder.edu.al/

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN KOSOVO BY THE END OF
SERBIAN DOMINION AND IN THE BEGINNINGS OF OTTOMAN RULE****Nikollë LOKA^g****Article history:***Received: January, 2016**In revised form: June, 2016**Accepted: September, 2016**Published: September, 2016***Abstract**

The condition of education in Albanian territories before and after ottoman invasion of the country reflects the change of existing social structures and the beginning of the process of building new ones. These changes were reflected in education system as well. Due to the contradiction that Papati and catholic powers of Europe made upon Ottoman invasion in Balkan, the High Gate held a hostile attitude towards Catholic Church, while Patriarchana recognized the Ottoman rule and the rights of the orthodox people to govern a spiritual life for them. In the first years of Ottoman rule, the Catholic Church and schools financed from it, survived only in several civic centers and in rural areas where the authority of Ottoman administration was not settled yet. Meanwhile, schools that were kept from orthodox clerics still continued their activities, although they decreased in number, as a result of the dominion. In the meantime, with the beginning of the process of Islamization the first Ottoman schools were born. The presence of Muslim religious schools in Turkish-Arab languages, of catholic ones in Latin and orthodox ones in Slavic, influenced a growth in the educational level of population. But, the presence of Slavic schools in pressure conditions of Islamization made that a part of Albanian community to assimilate in Serbs. In these occurrences, religious education of this period was linked tight with the development of the events in the land and had a distinct political character. In this case it should be emphasized that due to the specifications of the historical development in Kosovo, Islamic education did not follow the natural process of transition to national education. In conclusion, it ought to be noted that, in the brink of the ottoman conquest and in the first years of the Ottoman rule, it continued educational tradition and Albanians had their clerics and their educated men, who performed the function of the teacher and they gave the education in foreign language the features of the environment and of the Albanian tradition.

Key words: Churches and orthodox Monasteries, Catholic Church, islamisation, slavisation, Islamic education, Serbian orthodox and catholic roman education, library, etc.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the history of the Albanian education there is little evidence for the development of education in medieval Kosovo, because schools in that period were mostly in Slavic, and they are regarded as instruments of assimilation used by Serbian rulers.

Efforts were made to treat Islamic and Catholic religious schools in the early Ottoman rule, but this does not give us a full view of those developments. Kosovo as a country of churches, cathedrals and monasteries during the middle Ages had developed education and educational developments that occurred in the beginning of Ottoman rule were following a tradition that existed before. Albanian population in Kosovo, in the last years of Serbian rule, during the XIV century, has been the Orthodox and Catholic. At that time the church had a monopoly on education and the educated people finished religious schools.

With the beginning of Ottoman rule, the population of Kosovo was subject to changes in religious composition, which were associated with changes in education. Catholic schools continued to survive, while the beginning of Islamization, initially in towns and then in the villages born the Turkish - Arab schools, through which would be established initial training bases of Islamic clergy and the state employees. The school itself in that period has served as integration mechanism of Albanians in the Empire.

1.1 Methodology

The study is based on literature review of resources, where is done selection and use of literature in an integral way in function of study goals. Search is located in the historical context historical of development.

1.2 Methods

Here they are used historical research methods and theoretical analysis to determine features of education and school in each period and the trend of educational developments.

2. KOSOVO IN THE SPHERE OF LATIN, GREEK AND SLAVIC INFLUENCE

Even though politically under Byzantium, Illyrian territories remained dependent from Rome until around the year 732, when Leo Izaurasi passed the Patriarchana of Constantinople, even though, the influence from the West went on even longer and Albanian territories remained portals that connected East with the West. Apart from Greek and Latin impact, Bulgarian and Serbian invasions made Slavic impact enter the

place also. In 880, Pope John VIII permitted the usage of writing and of Slavic language in religious affairs, therefore, in the IX and X centuries Arber tribes were also using Latin, Greek and Slavic alphabet (Della Roka; 1994: 47). This impact increased or decreased depending on the position that Westerners, Byzantines and Slavs gained or lost. Kosovo Serb invasion which was followed with an autonomus Serbian church, served as a cause for the Orthodoxism to return into a tool for fulfilling political ambitions of Serbian conquerors and became an important instrument of slavisation as well. Serbs used religion for political interests and in particular periods of time they fluctuated between West and East.^h The process of conversion of Serbs through Latin clerics belongs to the years 642-731. The names of Serbian princes of the X century are rather of Latin than Greek origin: Stephan, Peter, Paul, Zaharia. Remnants of Latin influence may be noticed even after the union with the oriental church. Christianity first spread to slaves only superficially, as long as Latin prayers and church books were foreign for the country, and it spread more intensively just after slave language was included in religious sermons as well (Jireček; 2010: 205). As a western nation, Serbs gravitated towards western tradition of using popular languages in liturgy.ⁱ Since slaves settled initially in the midst of the population that used Greek as liturgy language, it did not seem necessary for them to use their language (Jireček; 1914: 206).

3. AUTOCEFALIA OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH AND SCHOOL SERBISIANATION

New Slavic bishoprics read liturgies in Latin, but the predications and oral instruction of people was made in Slavic from clerics and monks which were Slavic born. The issue was different with autochthonous Albanians which came after a lifelong coexistence with Latin and Byzantines, who possessed a long tradition of the usage of Latin and Greek in liturgy. In order to keep Slaves for herself, Rome did not show any antagonism toward Slave writing and permitted it in catholic churches. In the area of the later

^h The conversion of the Serbs from the Latin clerics regards to the years 643-731. The names of the Serb princes of the IX century are more Latin than Greek: Stefan, Peter, Paul, Zaharia. The residual Latin impact, can be spotted even after the union with the oriental church. In the XIII century in Rashka, a big monastery of the Saint Peters in Lim, the monastery Saint Peters of Campo (San Pietro de Campo) in Trebinje, the ruins of Petrov of the monastery in Čićevo, a province Saint Martin (San Martinus) in Canali (nowadays Pridvorje). Also, in the Drenovo village of Ptjropolja in the Lim valley a small church ruin is found with the fragment of a Latin inscription of the centuries IX-X.

ⁱ In the east were a lot of liturgical books in all the national languages: the Greeks, the Copts, the Ethiopians the Abyssinian Semitic, the Syrians, the Christian Arabs, the Armenians, the Georgians, the converted Goths in the Lower Danube, all of them honored the God in their languages.

catholic archdiocese of Tivar, since the X century there are expressively mentioned ‘*monasteria tam latinorum quam graecorum sive Slavorum*’, which differ from one another mainly from liturgics books (Jireček; 1914: 210). In the IX century in Serbia appeared Slavic church books. Slavic influence upon Orthodox Church gradually increased. Serbs, on the other hand, being under the influence of Bulgarian church, and of other western churches, were guided towards the process of autocephalousness. But in different periods of time, in order to gain more, they fluctuated between orthodoxy and catholicism.

Byzantin and Latin influence at Slaves went on for a certain amount of time. The Slaves themselves, despite the establishment of their alphabet, in different correspondences used Greek and Latin alphabet as well. Serbian princes’ stamps also contained Greek inscription, such as that of Pjetri of Dioklea and that of Stephan Nemanja. In these circumstances, Serbs managed to establish large state formations and through them to get factored, and lead forward their great cause. The Great Župan, Stephan, with the aid of Venice, got crowned as a catholic king from The Holy See in 1217, but the fall of Latin Empire soon degraded the relationship with West and he approached to the East (Jireček 1914: 331-334). Serbian nation rose as a Cesaro-papist symbiosis of Nemanja dynasty and of Serbian church apparatus. In order to gain a particular archdiocese, Stephan Nemanja the King, in 1219 sent his brother, monk Sava in the distant courtyard of Nikea to the Emperor Teodor Laskaris and the Patriarch of Constantinople. The rise of a new archdiocese was approved willfully and he was ordained ceremoniously as the 1st Archbishop of Serbia. Byzantin emperor intervened that Serbia to remain in its orthodox camp, despite that the appointment was made in contrary with statutes of Canon law, because Sava had not been bishop before. (Jireček; 1914: 335). In that time Serbia was dependent from Archdiocese of Ohrid and the only legal bishop was that of Rasha. Sava gave incentive to the development of education, therefore Serbian church declared him as saint patron of Serbia,^j and his days are remembered ever since in all Serbian educational institutions. Until the Kosovo War of 1389, the whole process of serbianisation of Catholic Church was completed.

^j The Serb Orthodoxy reflects in a high weight the philosophy of the huge impact in the lives of the Serbs. Since it won the autocephalousness in the XIII century, the Serb church has been in a close relationship with the state and political structures of the land. The orthodoxy concept like a “holistic of the Serbian identity” which is presented by the reigning of the Nemanjiceve dynasty lasted for more than a century. Johnson, Douglas M, and Eastwood, Jonathon. 2004. “*History Unrequited: Religion as Provocateur and Peacemaker in the Bosnian Conflict.*” In *Religion and Peacebuilding*. Edited by Harold Coward and Gordon S. Smith, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004, f. 224

Albanian orthodox must choose between serbisation through orthodoxy or the abandonment of this faith in favor of Catholicism that had penetrated from Ragusa and which developed in some important civic centers of Kosova. That phenomenon of conversion from orthodoxy in Catholicism was hugely widespread, is proved in the evidences with contents of articles in the Code of Stephan Dushan, according to which: "Catholicism is a Latin heresy" and that catholics are "half believing people". None of the Slavic orthodox people dare not pass in "azim", whereas if he does, he should go back again into "Christianity", otherwise it will be punished (Taranovski; 1995: 178). Those who performed Latin rite were punished to work in mines, while those who promote it were condemned to death (Ristelhueber; 1971: 36). The Latin priest would be punished if he converted any orthodox into catholic religion. Mixed marriages between orthodox and catholics ought to perish if the husband would not pass into the Slavic orthodox rite (Sovoljev; 1980: 174 - 178). Monasteries were the only educational and cultural centers (Čepić & Grbac; 2007: 30) which were primarily in Latin language, Greek and Slavic afterwards. Serbian conquerors repaired them and alienated into Serbian, putting them in service of their politic, because the church and the state consisted of a sole governing organism (Čepić & Grbac; 2007: 29) During Serbian dominion of Kosova, churches, monasteries and schools nearby them were inspected as instruments of serbisation, therefore provided royal favors (Ristelhueber; 1971: 36) and orthodoxy became state religion guaranteed by law (Tërnavaj; 1995: 178). Since the very first days of occupation (1189), Serbs devoted primary attention on the returning of the orthodox churches into Slavic orthodox ones (Berisha; 2015: 408-409).

Serbian Kings rebuilt Serbian churches into the foundations of the Albanian orthodox ones, in some countries through the change of liturgy from Greek into Slave, while on the other sides through reconstruction and alienation of the devastated churches. In the third decade of the XIII century Saint Church of the Apostles was built in Peć, upon the foundations of another older church. In 1307, Milutin had rebuilt Saint Paraskevi Church in Prizren, whose name was changed, dedicated as "The rise of the Lady in Heaven". Likewise, the monastery of Saint Stephen or Banjska near Mitrovica was rebuilt on the foundations of an old church by King Milutin about the years 1312 and 1317 (Gjini; 1992: 415).

The first bishops, almost all of them lived in monasteries, which does not coincide at all with the rules of western churches, according to which only a monk could become a bishop (Jireček; 1914: 36). High clerics came mainly from ruling families. (Sterk; 2004: 232) When the independent Serbian Archdiocese was formed, the archbishop who was at the same time the most remarkable monk, Sava, established seven dioceses, whose residences were in the monasteries. The monks translated texts from Greek, wrote history, and copied religious handwritings and scientific literature of that time also. Despite the difficult conditions in the aftermath, monasteries remained centers of spiritual life, literature and art (Radić; 199) beside them, there were also religious schools, where pupils except religious subjects also learned to read and write (Dragnich; 1978: 3; at Koliqi 2002: 93).

Saint Sava stimulated the development of education, which evolved much during Dushan's rule. One of the biggest educational centers mentioned in Medieval Serbia were orthodox monasteries in Sopocani, Studenica and Patriarchana of Peč (Maletić; 1968: 16). After the passage of Serbian church in Patriarchate in 1346, (Avramović, Rakitić, Menković, Vasić, Fulgosi & Jokić; 2010: 16) its residency was settled in Peč, turning this city into an important center of Serbian church and a tool for the slavisation of Albanian territories. In this city, in the first half of the XIV century appears in documents a school in Slavic language (Koliqi; 2002: 49-50). There are also evidences of educational activity in orthodox monasteries in Prizren, Decan, Gracanice etc, but basic knowledge about writing and reading are given in the churches. The plans and programs of these schools were not unique, but they were depended from school and teacher's ability. Only boys were taught lessons in these schools (Koliqi; 2002: 50). Pupils learned Slavic, arithmetic, reading of the church and classic literature. There were cases when Albanians were part of the various state functions, and were forced to use the Serbian language, which was official, but as catholics and orthodox also had Albanian as a mother language (Tërnavë; 1995: 216) and in daily use was Albanian. Obviously, Latin language in Albanian catholics, by all means, had the same role as Slavic church language did on the orthodox population of that territory. Albanian orthodox people who continued their orthodox schools in Serbian language and followed church career, were subject of the process of slavisation, (Koliqi; 2002: 50) and created a social stratum that was losing so much the more, its cultural identity (Bozborë; 2002: 31). Along with serbianisation of the orthodox church, prevailed the

violent conversions in orthodox, who ensured forced conversion and ethnic assimilation. In this case, there occurred abandonment of the first name and the taking of a new one from Slavic onomastics (Xhufi; 2006: 277).

4. CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS DURING SERBIAN RULE

The spreading of Catholicism among Albanian population in Kosovo was made as a response to attempts of Serbian rulers and the Serbian church for forced slavization. Passing into catholicism, Albanians maintained better their ethnic identity, but surely there arose also problems such as in ‘‘Albanian division’’, not only because of the Serbian mentality, according to which, ‘‘a catholic only can be identified as an Albanian’’, (Богдановиц; 1990: 72-73) but also because of the Albanian mentality of that time, since religion had an important role in medieval period.

In the pre Ottoman period in Kosovo the Albanian catholic churches emerged. In the XI – XV centuries in mining and commercial areas, there are churches mentioned in Pllane, Bellasice, Berevnik, Trepca, Novoberda and Janieva (Berisha 2015: 444) As it seems, they were formed primarily for the miners and foreign traders who worked in them, but who also served for Albanians who converted in Catholics. Announcements for the presence of catholic churches are given in the letter from Pope Benedict XI (written in Lateran, in November 18th 1303) where catholic churches were mentioned in Beskove, Rudnik, Rognjoze near Banjska, Trepča and Gračanica. Whereas in the two letters of Popa Clement VI addressed to Stephan Dushan, on 6 and 7 of January 1346, among the churches under the jurisdiction of the Kotorri diocese are mentioned the church of Prizren, Novoberda, Trepča, Janjeva (Berisha; 2015: 444) and that of Pristina. In certain periods of time, catholic dioceses are mentioned in Prizren and Scopje (Berisha; 2015: 444 - 478), which means that catholic people in Kosova had increased and the number of catholic churches was greater than those that are now mentioned in the documents. It says that clerics of these churches were Albanians or Kotorri people, (Jireček; 1914: 49), which indicates the presence of the schools that prepared clerics, to, serve at least for primary education, nearby catholic churches in the Kosovo of that time. Further education was done in schools near benedictine monasteries, which were in other Albanian territories.

Albanian catholic clerics served in many important cities, where foreign people worked, without leaving aside churches in Albanian villages, where the need for Albanian clerics

was certainly huge. There were two churches in Novoberde, that of Saint Nikolla and of Saint Maria. There are also known the names of some priests, one of them from the years 1421-1422, it is surely known that he was Sas '*domus Parcus quondam Pauli Theutonicus*'. Afterwards, there comes a Novoberdian, Nikashin, the brother of Martin Verla. Then come to a row of Albanian catholic priests, presbiteri Ginus, filius Georgii de Nouaberda; dominus Marc caput Apis; Dom Gjoni; domnus Mëhill Martini de San Paolo de Pollato; Dom Gjergj Gega and dom Nicola Progonoich, and dom Nicola de Tanus de Nouamonte (Berisha; 2015: 457). The presence of the large catholic population and of catholic clerics in Kosovo, immediately after the Ottoman conquest shows that Catholicism and religious catholic schools were present even during Serbian occupation. Catholic churches and schools were the sole instrument that Albanians possessed in that time, to oppose the serbianisation of Albanians.

5. EDUCATION IN THE FIRST YEARS OF OTTOMAN RULE

5.1 The spread of Islam in Kosovo

In the first years of Ottoman conquest and thereafter, Turkish-Arabic language schools rose and there came transformations toward Ottoman model of society. As agents of change were first military forces, then employees of administration and clerics, and then immediately behind them, teachers who were in charge of the education of believers into devoted muslims. The penetration of Islam in the Balkan begins with the battle of Maritsa in 1371 and continues on with the battle of Kosova in 1389, where the ottomans penetrated in most of the peninsula. During this period, they submitted local rulers but did not intervene directly in governance. After the battle of Kosovo, intervention became even more direct, thus, in 1392 the Turkish military garrison was settled in Skopje and in 1399 in Zvecan fortress, in north of Kosovo, where there are evidences that Turkish conqueror named Feriz as governor (Malkolm 2001: 86). Also, from 1410 there were official Turks, who worked together with Serbians in Trepča (Jireček 1914: 9-10) the city of miners. By the end of this process, garrisons settled in the main towns, and the ottoman administration that dealt with governance was created. In this period, an ottoman court was formed in Pristina, and there are evidences upon the activity of Turkish custom officers between the roads Pristina-Novipazar (Jireček; 1914: 8). The occupation took a full view from 1439 to 1444 when Turkish rule was set upon the territories of Serbia (Malkolm; 2001: 94). With the conquest of Constantinople, Sulltan

Mehmet II did not destroy the center of orthodoxism, on the contrary, for their interests, selected Patriarch Georges Scholarius naming Gennadius II, who promised that he would serve according to the interests of Ottoman state. Ever since, Patriarkana was settled in the place called Fanar and was in fostering of the Ottoman Sultans (Koliqi; 2002: 69). With the destruction of the Medieval Serbian state, only clerics of Serbian Orthodox Church were recognized from ottoman authorities (Milosavljević 2008: 100). They were permitted to continue governance of their own believers, who took the status of a second hand population, but regardless of this, violent crossings in Islamic religion were rare (Malkolm; 2001: 97). The elimination of Christian nobility brought the impoverishment of monasteries, even though Turkish did not destroy them physically. During Ottoman conquest, monasteries were the only places left as educational centers, where "learning was cultivated in the old Slavonic" (Sedlar; 1994: 474). Even under the Ottoman conquest, when Serbian Patriarchate was taken off, orthodox Christianity kept its national identity of Serbians as their prime characteristic (Casiday 2012: 134). In 1459, Turkish omitted Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate in Peć, and settled the Serbian church under the administration of Ohrid Archbishopric, (Phillips; 2004: 19) considering it as a simple bishopric (Bogdani; 1993: 59).

Since ottomans controlled initially cities only, islamization began from them as well. Cities started to work as more economical and cultural administrative centers of a new political system. In them, the majority of administrative and military force were concentrated, adjoined from muslim clerics together with religious institutions which were being multiplied rapidly (Anamali, Korkuti, Prendi & Islami; 2002: 589). Among Kosova cities which were being converted in Islam faster were mentioned: Vuciterna, Pristina and Prizren, (Norris; 1993: 49) following the other cities afterwards. Pristina, being a simple village, 47 years before the First Battle of Kosova of 1389, had started to become a Muslim city in the XV century. Suchlike, islamization progressed in other cities too. Peć in 1845 had 33 Muslim homes and 104 Christian ones; Scopje 623 Muslim homes and 263 Christian ones. Prizren, on the other hand, had four large Muslim quarters and nine little Christian ones (Norris; 1993: 49). In the very beginning, due to the needs of soldiers and of administration, religious objects were raised in the city castles, while in the second phase, in public environments of the cities. After the Qarshia mosque, was built immediately after First Kosova battle of 1389, other mosques were built as well: Sulltan Murad's mosque in Scopje in 1436; Isak

Beu's mosque in Scopje in 1438; Sultan Mehmet Fatih's mosque in Pristina in 1461(Koliqi 2002: 72); Bajraklia mosque in Peć , built in 1471, all of them financed from Ottoman emperors. The Gazi Ali Beg's mosque in Vuciterne, and Haxhi Hasan Beu's mosque built from 1462 to1485 in Peć, all founded from Ottoman governors. Whereas, Llapi mosque was built in Pristina in 1470. It has been financed from a devoted Muslim inhabitant of that place (Riedlmayer).

5.2 Islamic education system in Kosovo

The education and the spreading of Islamic culture recognize two phases of organization. In the first phase, mosque was the first school taken as a place where all scientific knowledge was taught (Mustafa; 1997: 50). There the early converters took the first lessons about Islam. Of course, the lessons in mosque were of a distinct religious character, and aimed at bestowing the elementary knowledge about Islamic religion. The passage of mosques in public environments in the cities marks a new phase in the process of islamisation of the mass, since they served the new converters from the Albanians. In this case also, the mosque, it has educational functions. The ottoman authorities were interested in education since they were seeking for translators and there was a need for involving the native into state administration, as an efficient mechanism for the integration of Albanians. Around the Albanian territories ottomans founded also some other educational institutions, from the simplest to those of a higher level. The institution which gave the elementary religious lesson was *kuttab*, where pupils were taught to recite verses from *Quran*, without memorizing them. This lesson was considered to be the first grade in the forming of a child (Hefner: 5). There is a possibility that in the beginning, kuttabs have been created in particular location, inside the mosque, freeing the mosque itself from educational function. Due to the nature of this formation, these schools must have been massive and have been used mainly for the young ages. Nearly in the same period with kuttabs, *mektebi* are also created, which were active a bit after the foundation of the mosques. Through them, Albanians took knowledge of the Turkish-Arab languages, and learned about elements of Turkish-Arab culture that were necessary for their integration in society. Mejtpejs have existed in every important Muslim locality, where mosques were found. In these mektebi the lesson was organized from the imams of the mosques themselves, which in the beginning were imam-mualims, while the population called them "*ixhazetli*" or imams

Istanbul (Mustafa; 2013). Mejtseps were named after imams, who served as teachers of those, and had opened them. As it is known, wherever Ottoman Empire was spread, education was in the language of the Empire, and the imams, who practiced the profession of the Muslims, in the beginning, undoubtedly, came from the Empire areas (Mustafa 2013). In mejtseps, the lessons were given to children of different ages. The turn of work was suchlike: in the beginning children were taught *Elifbaja* (Arabic primer), then following to *Jasine* (sura from Quran which were taught by heart). In higher grades, mathematics, Turkish calligraphy, Arabic, cosmography, etc., were taught as well. Mejtseps were usually built from any humanitarian or *waqf* (local vakuf) was used. The teacher's wages came from tax and endowment funds. In countries where not mosques or mejtseps, constantly go mualims (teachers) to teach children (Shllaku; 2002: 35-36). The education of women and men in Islamic schools was done separately, but despite particular mektebi for girls and boys, some other mixed mejtseps were opened (Shllaku; 2002: 36), which indicates the right conception of the position of girls in Islamic society of that time. Also, there existed other schools as well (*Dar al hadith and Dar al-qurra*) in which a subject was taught only: Tradition and proper reading of Quran learned by heart (Ramadani 1998: 104). Since the middle Ages, around the years 1000-1500, the institution most directly involved in the transmission of Islamic knowledge is the medrese, a kind of seminary for Islamic sciences. Now, in the language of the Arabs of the Middle East, the term "madrasa" refers to a general or religious school, while earlier by this name was called an institution that gives lessons to intermediate and advance levels in Islamic sciences. Learning in madrasas included recitation of verses from the Quran, interpretation of the Quran, Arabic grammar, Islamic jurisprudence, sources of law and didactic theology. Ottoman medreses, starting from the era of Mehmet II, included rational sciences in their formal education.^k In some environments, medieval medreses taught secular subjects as well that included arithmetic, astronomy, medicine, philosophy and poetry (Hefner: 5). First *medreses* in Albanian territories date from the XV century, primarily in Skopje with the madrasa named Isak Bej in 1445, and then following with Isa Bej madrasa in 1469, and in Prizren also in XV century... (Redzepagić 1988: 52-56; Ahmeti 1997: 80-85). Even

^k Ikmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Instituion of Science, in Turkish studies in the History and Philosophy of Science, edited by Gürol Irzik and Güven Late Ottoman and early republican science, Springer 2005, 280

medrese funds came from donations of local notables, who left *waqf* - vakuf property (Hefner: 5). *Medreses* did not prepare islamic believers, but clerics and civil administrators, therefore the rise of medreses should be seen as an indicator of integration in Ottoman society of the time. There is a difference in time between the beginning of the process of islamization and the rise of *medrese*, which in the aforementioned cities it goes up to fifty years, long enough to change the character and for conversion of the cities in Ottoman. It is understood that the main direction of these schools was to prepare the teachers of Islamic worship (*imams, vaize, and muezzins*) but also judges and civil servants. After finishing high school, students received a diploma, and the right to exercise the aforementioned professions, which was recognized (Telegrafi 2006). In these madrasas these subjects were taught: Interpretation of The Quran (*Tafsir*), the science on Islamic tradition (*ilm al-hadith*), Dogmatic (*aqaid*); Right under Sharia (*fiqh*), sources of Sharia (*Usul al-fiqh*), the right of inheritance under sharia (*faraid*). An important part was the Arabic language, its grammar and syntax and lexicography, rhetoric and metrics were taught as well. Schools of higher rank were *themanije medreses*, in which one of these three groups of sciences were objects of study: Legal sciences of Islam, the Quran or interpretation of scholastic theology and rhetoric with other related sciences (Ramadani 1998: 104). The lessons were taught from muderriz (*müderis*) who were highly educated people, most of whom were educated in various Islamic educational and cultural centers. Some of them taught only one subject, while others taught many (Kaleshi 1962: 94). Confirmation of vassalage to a noble range of Albanians against Ottoman sultans, and the beginning of acceptance of Islam by them and their subordinates, had paved the way for more rapid integration into the social life of the Empire. The so called '*gulam-i mir*' system, allowed boys of Albanian nobility, distinguished as social stratum and formed ever since in the preottoman period, to get educated in the most important institution of '*Enderun-i Humajun*', where the staff was prepared for the highest administrative functions of the state (Catalogue of the Arabic 1963; Norris; 1993: 57; Kaleshi 1962: 94 at Krasniqi 2009). A part of those who have continued that school, before have completed basic education at home, in Kosovo. Part of the ottoman educational system were libraries also, called '*kutubhane*'. Ottoman libraries settled in Albanian territories, begin with the oldest public library, that of Ishak's Beu madrassa in Scopje, build around 1411, following afterwards with many other libraries in various centers, which have obviously

influenced the development of culture and the rising of the education in the Muslim population of these areas (Mehmeti). But alongside with these large public libraries have existed even smaller, ranging in mosque libraries. The creation of the libraries from imams at that time is a testimony to their commitment in the education of the population. Also, every *mektebi* and *medrese* had its own *kutubhane* (library) (with books and manuscripts. Besides the books closely with religious thematic, which accounted for the majority of them, in old libraries existed books in the field of logic, linguistics, rhetoric, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and so on. For the Islamic education and culture, of a great importance were tekkes, which began to establish in Albanian territories since the XVI century. They had their their own schools where teaching was developed, enriched libraries with Arabian and Persian literature, and also dormitories for the housing of the students (Koliqi; 2002: 76). Education through masjids brought in Albanian environment rich Persian culture, which influenced the cultural developments in Kosovo and other Albanian regions. Islamic education in Albanian lands during the early years of Ottoman rule began the integration of Albanians in Islamic and oriental culture, since the learning of the three important languages of that time: Ottoman language as the language of administration, Persian as the language of literature and Arabic as the language of religion. The first Islamic intellectuals among Albanians have completed their studies in the main centers of the Empire; however, there is a possibility that at least some of them, to have received initial training education at home. So at the end of the XV century and early XVI century, the poet Suzi from Prizren has been known, who with his ‘‘*Gazavetname*’’(Book of occupations), which remained an example in this kind of literature¹ (Levend; 1956). Suzi’s contemporary, Messiah from Pristina (1470-1513) is undoubtedly one of Turkey's most original poets. Gib rightly stresses that he has brought something new in Turkish poetry, what should thanks his Albanian origin (Gibb; 1902: 16). He has created a new gender of poetry called *Şehrengiz*, which after him will be spread widely. His song *Râiye-of bahariye*, best known as *Bahariye* is too early translated into Latin, and then in English, German, Italian and in Serbo-Croatian. It is the only Turkish poem, which has entered in World Lyrical Anthology. Shortly after him, in the glorious period of the Magnificent Sulejman, Jahja bej from Dugagjini

¹ In Prizren it's found all literature dedicated to Suzi. The Suzi tomb and his mosque still exist there.

lived and created, whose poems are considered to have derived from Dugagjini's nobility (Gibb 1902: 116 - 133). In his poetry he will remain the classic poet. Even today, no anthology of Turkish poetry can be imagined without his poems. Some of the first Islamic intellectuals came back in Albania and despite their other duties that they performed; they also played a role in opening of the ottoman schools.

5.3 Catholic schools in Kosovo in the first centuries of Ottoman rule

In the new conditions, after Ottoman occupation, orthodox schools among Albanians from Kosovo were at the least not to be mentioned. With the approach towards religion of the former Serbian invader, who thanks to the political strategies had usurped the orthodoxy, Albanian orthodox from Kosova had not much to do. A part of them passed in Muslims and catholics, remaining Albanians, while the others, in order to remain orthodox, were assimilated in Serbians, as their names indicate so. It shows their surnames of holding today, despite gaining Slavic suffix. The complete unification of orthodoxy with serbianisation which occurred after the recognition of Sultan to Peć Patriarchate, made Albanians from Kosovo to abandon orthodoxy and now, with remorse, we are talking about the loss of Albanian orthodox tradition which is in the foundation of our authoethony in Kosovo. After the ottoman invasion, Catholic Church was confronted with problems of survival. Catholicism survived even longer in some important economical centers, and in rural areas that were far from administrative centers. During this time, in Kosovo came Franciscans missionaries, who later built their centers. The presence of Albanian catholic clerics from Kosovo in the XIV – XV century in the important urban centers, it shows that here had education institutions; at least clerics had taken their primary education in the schools nearby their parishes. Even educational developments in the upcoming centuries bear witness that beside catholic churches, primary education has been given to children who would become clerics.

6. INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION: THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE FIRST YEARS OF OTTOMAN RULE

Islamic and catholic religious schools in the wake of the Ottoman occupation and later contributed to the spread of education among Albanians. Islamic schools, as more massive in that period, influenced the creation of the reading culture, since Islam as a religion of the book ought to be learned through reading of the Quran. In these schools a

new Albanian elite was formed, which was integrated in the ottoman system of the state. Especially the elite of the local levels was linked to the fate of its, regardless of the political usage of Islam from ottoman authorities, its ethnic awareness somehow weakened, that somehow weakened their ethnic consciousness, a phenomenon that had repercussions later in the period of the birth of nationalism and the formation of national states. Muslim religious schools played a positive role in the creating of Albanian intellectuals of the time. Regardless of the usage of Arabian alphabet, lessons surely must have been explained in Albanian, for the fact that pupils did not understand Arabian or Turkish. Teachers talked Albanian language and educated the pupils with love for own country. Islamic schools served for the creation of the Albanian Muslim clerics, which generally remained tied to the fortunes of his people. Those schools created a stratum of people who took in charge to finish administrative duties, or who continued on their studies, thus, becoming known throughout the Empire. In conclusion, it ought to be noted that, the first years after the Ottoman invasion were accompanied with fundamental changes in the social organisation. These changes were reflected even in the education. Because of the opposition that the Papacy and the European catholic powers made to the Ottoman invasion in Balkan, The High Gate held hostile to the catholic schools. Even though the Patriarchate recognised the Ottoman invasion and was recognised the right of the management of the spiritual life of the orthodoxes, the schools that the orthodox cleric kept were reduced in number. Meanwhile, with the transition of a portion of the population in Islam, the first Ottoman schools were opened. In these conditions, for only the features of our country, like nowhere else in Balkan, in the first years of the Ottoman invasion we have a variety of religious schools: catholic schools, orthodox schools and Muslim schools. In this case it should be emphasized that due to the specifications of the historical development in Kosovo, Islamic education did not follow the natural process of transition to national education. This delay, of course, influenced our national destiny as well. In this period in Europe in schools were brought the popular languages. Different from the western countries, because of the invasion circumstances, this process in the Albanian regions was developed with delay. However, the presence of the Muslim schools in the Turkish-Arab language, the catholic schools in the Latin language and the orthodox schools in the Greek and Slavic languages influenced the increase of the educational level of the population. It continued educational tradition and Albanians had their clerics and their

educated men, who performed the function of the teacher and they gave the education in foreign language the features of the environment and of the Albanian tradition.

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