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ISTANBUL GERMAN HIGH SCHOOL

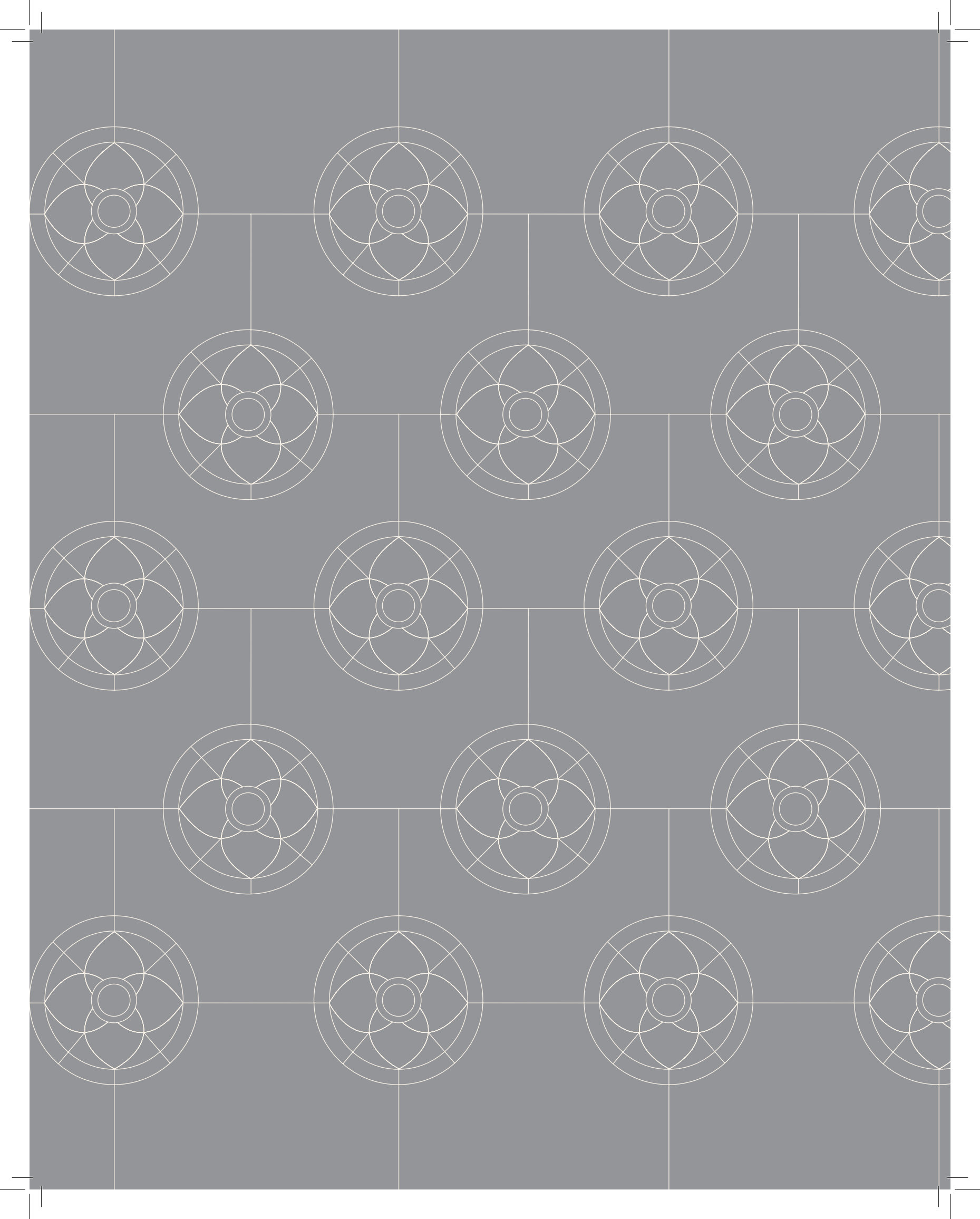
A 150 YEAR OLD SYCAMORE OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

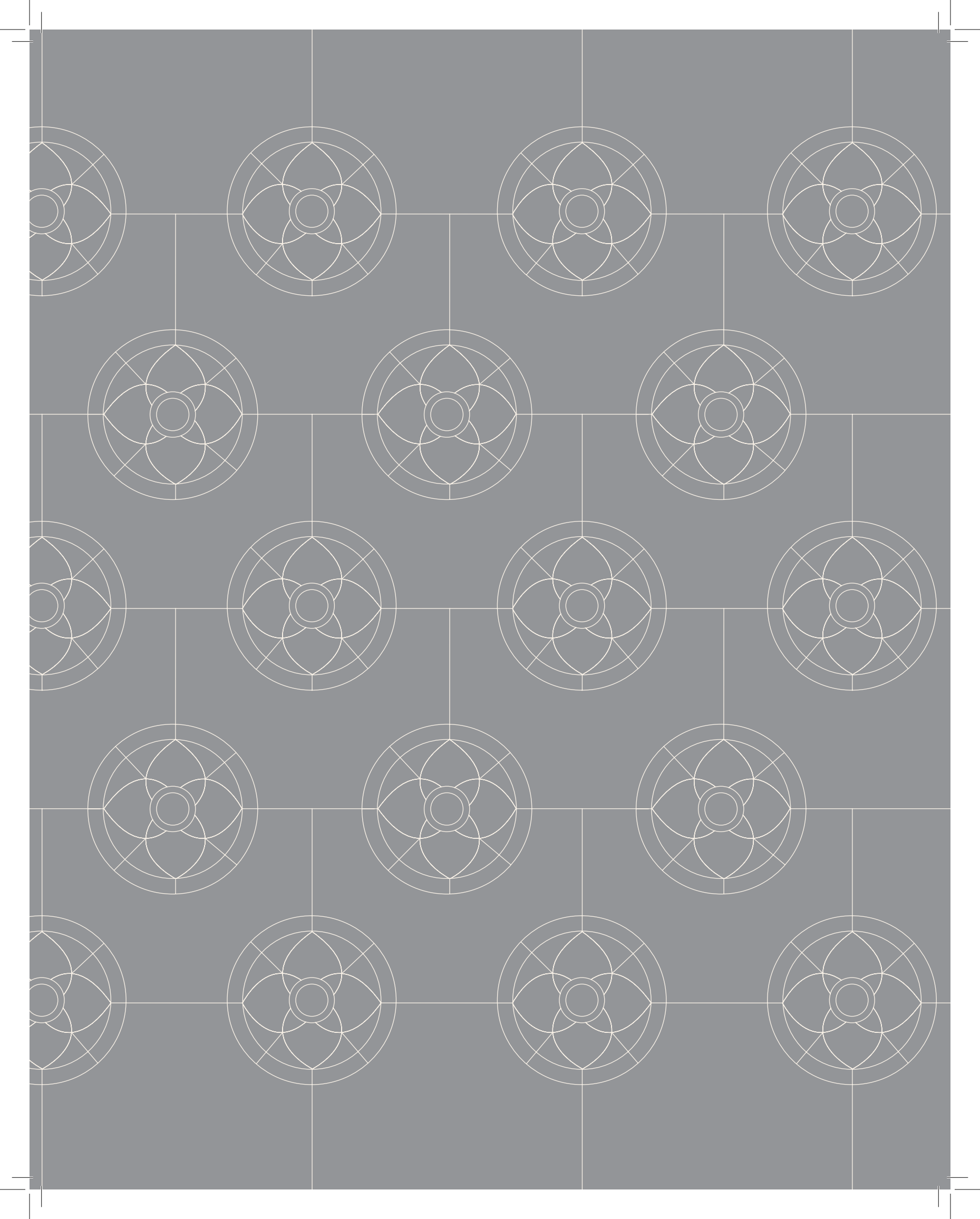


INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE ISTANBUL GERMAN HIGH SCHOOL

SELÇUK AKŞİN SOMEL







**A 150-Year Old Sycamore of
Education and Culture**

Istanbul, March 2021

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Project

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Association on the occasion of the German
High School's 150th anniversary.

Selçuk Akşin Somel

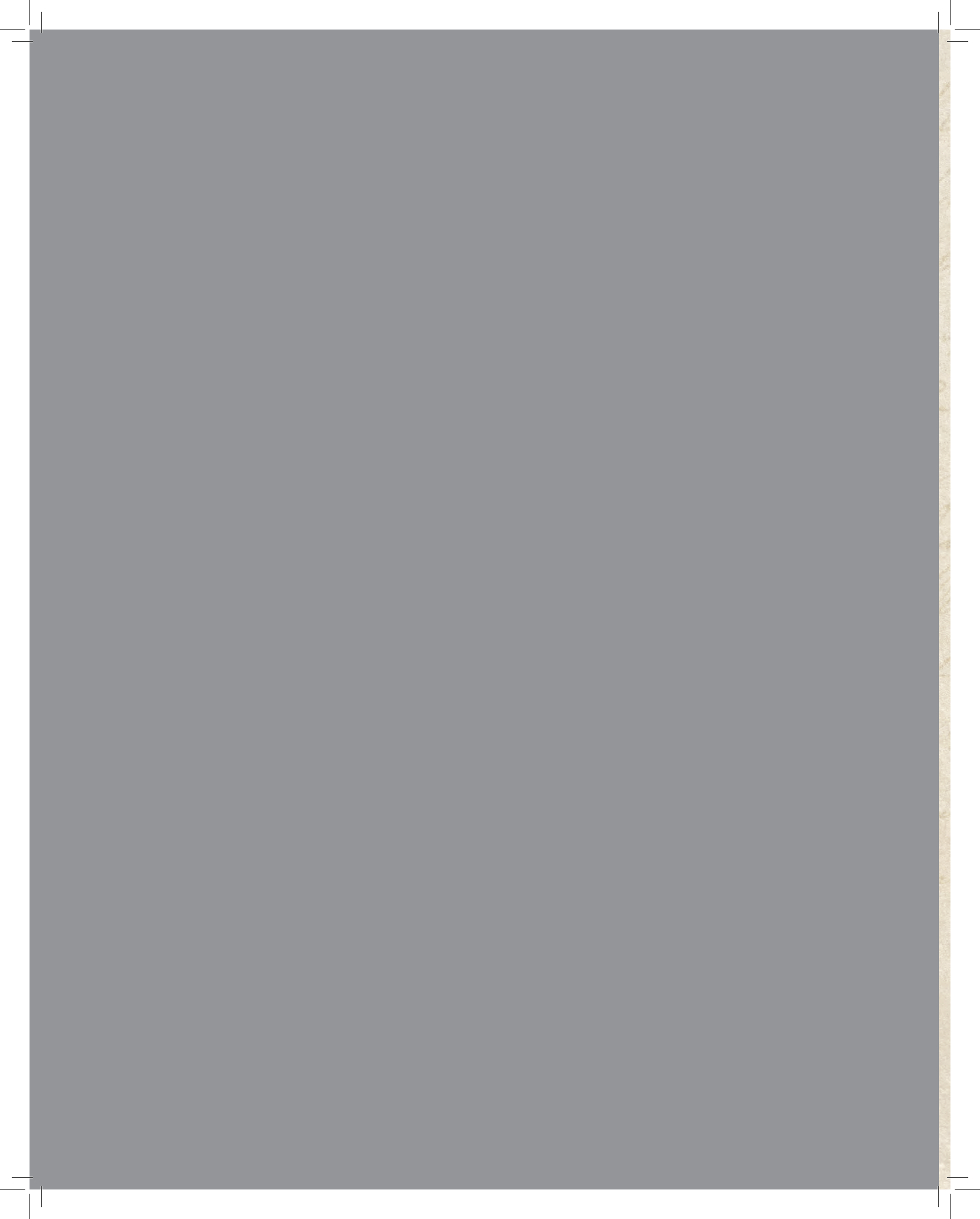
Selçuk Akşin Somel was born in
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Absolutist and Young Turk Regimes,
Central Authority and Neighboring
Communities in the Balkans, South
Anatolia and Arabia, and Nationalist
Movements in Southeast Europe.





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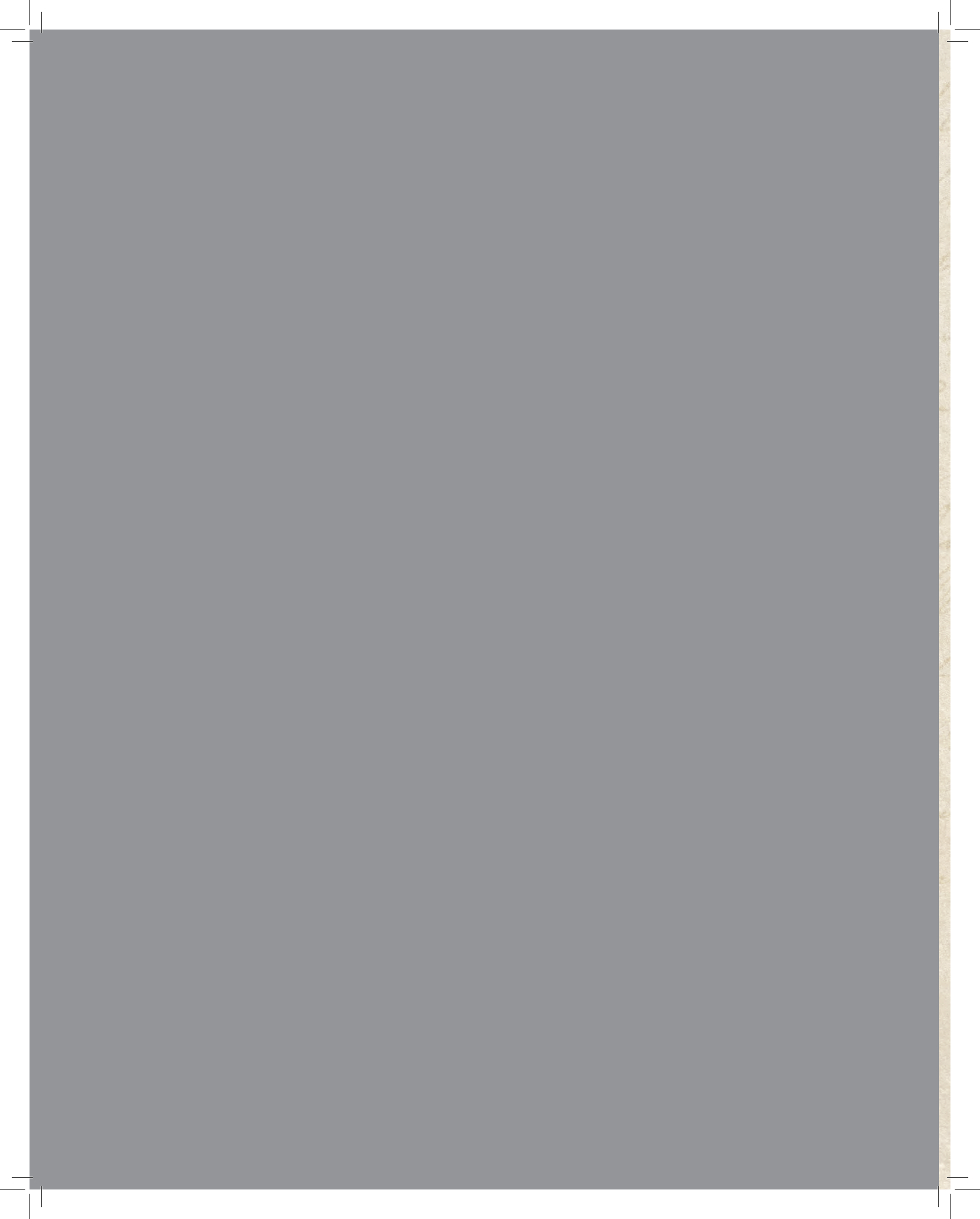




For 150 years the Istanbul German High School has been a beacon of the cultural and human ties between Turkey and Germany. Just as with our countries, the German High School has experienced and survived deep political and social changes since its foundation. Many of the Turks and Germans who graduated from this school have personally influenced and shaped the revolutions and changes that have taken place over the course of the last 150 years. What remains is the great interest that Turks and Germans hold for each other — in the past as in the present. In this school, the young people of the two countries learn together and from each other. For generations, experiences of “change, understanding, and commitment” have left their mark on the childhood and youth of students. It is our wish that the German High School continues to set an example for us in the future. Mutual curiosity, respect and the wish to understand each other better are the principles for the fruitful development of Turkish-German relations, which can be emboldened by appreciating the rich history in this special place, where these principles are based on a solid foundation.

Frank-Walter Steinmeier

President of the Federal Republic of Germany





Dear members and friends of Istanbul German High School, I sincerely congratulate you, the students, the teachers, the management, the Istanbul German High School Administration Association and the association's board of directors for successfully completing the 150th year of your school. You can be proud of this success which you have achieved together.

The pages of the historical account which you are holding in your hands reflect the long-standing tradition and versatility of Istanbul German High School. Throughout the 150 years of its existence, the German High School has significantly accelerated intercultural exchange between Germany and Turkey. In times when the relations between the two countries have been subject to temporary fluctuations, the school's successes, its bulging record of student exchanges and the hosting of the meeting between the German and Turkish Ministers of Foreign Affairs in 2018, to name only a few, clearly underline the lasting character of a long-term cultural relationship as well as its value, which cannot be expressed in numbers.

Established in 1868 as one of the first examples around the world of German Schools Abroad, this school has achieved outstanding successes since that day. For this reason, it has been deemed worthy of the quality label "Excellent German School Abroad."

Over the past decades, Istanbul German High School has not only produced well-known graduates, but above all responsible citizens of the educational elites of our two countries. I would also like to explicitly thank the teachers of the German School, who play a key role in the success of both the school and its individual students.

Istanbul German High School is of central importance in German-Turkish relations, which are quite complex and multi-faceted, since it puts mutual cooperation in the foreground, supports the efforts of both sides to show understanding for one another and provides opportunities for both to learn from each other. Since international understanding requires a common understanding and respect for the respective value systems of those involved, only those who talk to and discuss with each other can understand one another's history and culture. Istanbul German High School has succeeded in living by this attitude for 150 years.

I wish the best for your future and that of your school.

Michael Reiffenstuel

German Consul General to Istanbul



In 1868, when the world was not yet under the sway of concepts so vital in today's world like globalization, innovation, environmentalism, and space technology, the Ottoman State and Germany took action to set the cornerstone for a school to build together and decided to found the German High School. Although there were not many events of great significance in 1868, this was the year in which helium gas was discovered, the first illuminated traffic lights were activated in London, Maxim Gorky was born, and German King Ludwig I and composer Rossini died.

The “Cultural Bridge” constructed with our ally Germany through the opening of the German High School has pursued its mission at full strength for 150 years, and has achieved the task of filling the ranks of Turkish and German societies with hundreds and thousands of notable names. Meanwhile, the school's commitment to maintaining the highest level of quality has remained unabated to this day.

On its journey to reaching today's capacities, the German High School was forced to halt its operations twice due to the World Wars, but returned from these pauses strengthened and even more developed. In addition to providing instruction in two wonderful foreign languages, the school has made a name for itself thanks to the valuable individuals it has nurtured, primarily in the fields of science, arts, law, economics, and education.

The German High School takes pride in being an educational institution that has mastered the responsibility of being a “historical” school.

Our school has always preserved its deeply rooted cultural heritage, even while the values and quality of many central concepts are being eroded around the globe. This book, the product of much work and courage, which has been occasioned by the celebration of the school's 150th anniversary, will occupy an important place in our cultural heritage. The project of curating the school's own archive, which had unfortunately been delayed for too long due to a lack of interest in the past, has finally been initiated, thus laying the cornerstones of a heritage that we will proudly pass on to future generations.

With the pride of being the first Turkish President of the Board of Directors in the history of this exceptional school, I owe a debt of gratitude to my dear friend Serhat Hacıpaşalıoğlu, who is the brilliant architect of this history project, the archival work and all the other events surrounding the 150th anniversary, all the members of the board of directors for their contributions, our valuable staff of teachers, and the Consulate General of Germany in Istanbul. It is with mercy and love that I would also like to commemorate all of our teachers who contributed to our education and who are no longer with us.

Our wish is for future generations to continue to carry this precious flag.

M. Mithat Cın

Chairman of the Board of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association



It was in 1975, the day I first entered the Istanbul German High School to take the entrance exam, that it won my heart and became my favored school. Though many years have passed since that day, my childhood perspective has never changed. The school's education shaped my entire life, allowing me to see the world from a different perspective and making me a citizen of the world while allowing me to retain my Turkish values. This is why the Istanbul German High School has always been a world class school, and continues to be so today.

There are not many schools around the world that can look back at a 150-year history crowned with various successes. With a statistical record that has continued to improve every period along its historical journey, Istanbul German High School has set an example for other schools. Through its numerous graduates, it has left its trace in many different countries and sectors around the world.

In its role of bridging relations between Turkey and Germany, the Istanbul German High School and its students and alumni have played a key part in the friendship of the two countries and contributed to a growing understanding between them. Continuing its existence as a highly respected educational institution under the supervision of both Turkey and Germany, the school is today appreciated worldwide as a symbol of mutual understanding and respect between the two cultures.

I am proud to present to you and future generations this 150 Years History of the German High School, which was prepared with great care in three languages, Turkish, German and English. It is my wish that there will be many more 150 year- anniversaries for our school to celebrate.

A. Serhat Hacipaşalıoğlu

Chairman of the Board of the Istanbul German High School Alumni Association

INTRODUCTION

This book documents the history of Istanbul German High School and was commissioned to mark the 150th anniversary of the school. The research and writing parts of the project were carried out thanks to the initiative of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association and the contribution of Tarih Vakfı Foundation.

As someone whose field of expertise is the history of Ottoman education during the modernization period, it has been an enticing opportunity to be part of this project and write the history of the Istanbul German High School. Taking the school as a subject entails dealing with 150 years of history. Ideally it would have taken many years for such a comprehensive project to mature and be completed. But it has hardly been a year since the idea was first proposed and this book is therefore far from academic excellence.

At first glance, one might think that it would be easy to find information and documents related to this elite educational institution, which ranks among the most well-established and renowned high schools in Turkey and even Europe. However, such an impression would be misleading. It has been surprisingly difficult to find resources on the pre-1953 Istanbul German High School, especially the pre-1880s school. In this respect, one should not underestimate the share of the institutional breaks which the Istanbul German High School has experienced throughout its history. In the context of this project, we benefitted from national archives including the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz and the Bundesarchiv in Germany and from the Ottoman and Republican era archive groups, which are tied to the Presidency in Turkey.

It will become apparent when reading this work that the Istanbul German High School does not have one singular history, but three separate histories. The fragmentation of its history is closely related to both the ruptures in German

political history and the ups and downs in Ottoman/Turkish-German relations. To this, we can also add the influence of changes in the Turkish Republic's official education policies starting from 1923.

The first stage of the Istanbul German High School covers the fifty-year period from May 1868 until 1918. This period coincided with the time of German national unity and the transformation of the German Empire into one of the world's greatest states. Likewise, it largely comprised the eras of Abdul Hamid II and the Second Constitutional Monarchy. During these changes the Istanbul German High School remained a proud and confident institution representing the cultural and political power of a great state, looking to the future with optimism.

The total destruction and defeat of the German and Ottoman Empires in the First World War resulted in the closure of the Istanbul German High School in November 1918. The proud German Empire was replaced by the Weimar Germany, which was quashed by the conditions of the Versailles Peace. This was also the period when the National Struggle movement and the Ankara government, who rejected the Treaty of Sèvres, successfully fought for their independence, abolished the sultanate and founded the Republic of Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. When the Istanbul German High School was opened for the second time in November 1924, the authority it was responding to was no longer a multinational empire, but a nation state with Ankara as its capital.

Meanwhile, tormented by internal unrest, Weimar Germany was transformed into an expansionist totalitarian dictatorship after the Nazi Party seized power in 1933. In Turkey, the Ankara Government, which adopted the principle of Unification of Education (the Law on Unity of Education) in 1924, insisted on the strict compliance of private, non-Muslim and foreign schools with the directives of the Ministry of Education. The years between 1924-1944

therefore represent a period in the history of the Istanbul German High School during which it was stuck between the pressures of Berlin on the one hand and Ankara on the other. This second historical stage of the Istanbul German High School came to an end when Turkey cut its diplomatic relations with Nazi Germany in August 1944 as the end of World War II was approaching.

The new historical stage of the Istanbul German High School began with the third opening of the school in August 1953. By this time the world had completely changed again and political and economic conjunctures were now quite different. The new environment was shaped by the Cold War and the northern hemisphere was divided into two between the US-led NATO bloc and the Soviet Union-controlled Warsaw Pact and its allies. The western part of occupied Germany became a state in 1949 and turned into a liberal and pluralistic democracy that would be known as West Germany until 1990. In the same general context, Turkey transitioned to a multiparty system after 1945.

While Turkey embarked on new pursuits in terms of foreign policy after 1960 and strove to become a member of what was initially known as the European Economic Community, and later became the European Union, West Germany had become Turkey's largest foreign trade partner by 1964. This was paralleled by an increase of German capital investments in Turkey. These years also marked the beginning of the mass immigration of guest workers from Turkey to Western Germany. All these developments strengthened the role of the Istanbul German High School as a cultural bridge between Germany and Turkey.

In this third historical stage, we observe the Istanbul German High School abandoning its approach of nourishing the national culture of the German colony in Turkey and exercising one-way German cultural propaganda in Turkey. Instead it turned to the goal of playing a role in developing mutual dialogue between Turkey's cultural wealth and German culture in order to reach creative syntheses.

During the same period, the school transformed into an institution which instilled the liberal democratic values of cultural pluralism, freedom of expression, and civil courage. In other words, the Istanbul German School Istanbul stopped being a simple cultural extension of Germany and became a distinguished arbiter of cultural pluralism in Istanbul and Turkey.

At this point, it should be emphasized that the book you are holding in your hands is not the last word on the history of this long-established educational institution. On the contrary, this study will only have fulfilled its intellectual function if it succeeds in raising new questions and triggers further in-depth research. I am grateful to the institutions I have benefited from throughout this research for their help and support: Istanbul German High School Archive, Istanbul German Archeology Institute library and archive, Istanbul Oriental Institute

(Orient Institut Istanbul) library, Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), Prussian State Archive (Geheimes Staatsarchiv-Preussischer Kulturbesitz) and German Federal State Archive Berlin Lichterfelde (Bundesarchiv Lichterfelde).

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Merve Deniz Albayrak, Serhat Bozkurt, Sinan Çetin and Salih Gürbüz, who supported me during the research and writing stages. I would also like to thank Aysen Baybek from the Istanbul German High School archive. Finally, I am indebted to Klaus Kreiser, Ayşe Özil and Christoph Neumann, whose opinions I have benefited from. Undoubtedly, all errors in this work are mine alone.

Selçuk Akşin Somel

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III



**CHAPTER ONE: FROM NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL TO
BOURGEOIS SCHOOL OF THE IMPERIAL AGE (1868-1918)**

FROM NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL TO BOURGEOIS SCHOOL OF THE IMPERIAL AGE (1868-1918)

Istanbul as a Shelter: Escaping from a Central Europe in Flames

For centuries, artisans, traders, and artists from Central Europe had come to Ottoman-owned territories seeking a place to make a living. Over time they formed a German-speaking community in Istanbul. Many individuals and families among the German-speaking communities were emigrating to distant places such as the USA, Brazil and Chile, and to the Ottoman territory and Istanbul during the 19th century as a result of the serious political, economic and social turmoil which Europe was experiencing during that century.

In the Europe of those days, the participatory political principles such as liberalism, socialism, and nationalism, which had emerged with the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, had undermined the static, old order inherited from the Middle Ages. In the early 1800s, Central Europe was composed of larger and smaller principalities and kingdoms under absolute rule. Societies were governed by a strict internal hierarchical order made up of the landed nobility, the clergy, an undersized urban population, and a large mass of peasants dependent on the land who were under the control of the nobility.

Within this overall situation, only city states such as Frankfurt, Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck had a relatively more liberal bourgeois order.

Through the Napoleonic Wars, which wreaked havoc in Europe between 1803 and 1815, the participatory political principles of the French Revolution were introduced to the conservative German states. In addition to concepts such as constitutionalism, constitutional monarchy, parliamentarism, and rule of law, new notions like a nation's right to self-determination and nationalism had an impact on progressive German intellectuals, who were few in number. At that time, many urban intellectuals living in absolutist regimes like Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and Baden thought the political fragmentation of the German-speaking communities could only be overcome through political modernization and the founding of a unified German state based upon constitutional rule.

When the Congress of Vienna, which ended the Napoleonic Wars, tried, for better or worse, to restore the conservative and fragmented pre-war order, nationalist

German intellectuals faced severe repressions. The reconstructed traditional monarchies resorted to extensive oppressive campaigns in order to politically neutralize the nationalist intellectuals.

Considering the wider masses, the conditions of poverty and unemployment that were accompanying an increasing population growth caused German artisans to emigrate to other countries, the Ottoman territories



In 1870, taking advantage of the crisis that was unfolding in Spain around the succession to the throne, Bismarck provoked France into war. As a result of the Prussian army's siege of Paris, France not only lost its influence in southern Germany, but moreover had to concede the Alsace and Lorraine regions along the Rhine to Prussia. Following these dramatic developments, Bismarck declared the German Empire at the Palace of Versailles on January 18, 1871.

The Congress of Vienna, which ended the Napoleonic Wars, aimed to preserve the previous, politically fragmented geography of Central Europe with its conservative monarchies.

among others, starting from the 1830s. Towards the end of the era of Mahmud II and in the first decade of the Tanzimat, a colony of German-speaking Central Europeans began to take shape in Beyoğlu.

Back in Central Europe, a comprehensive social transformation was underway. The economic and social transformations relevant to mention in this context include the process of urbanization, developments towards industrialization, the emergence of a working class, and the integration of Germany through the construction of railway tracks.

In the face of all these radical changes, the ruling aristocracy, continuing to insist on the traditional separation between the estates, declared the preservation of the existing semi-feudal political framework as a vital cause.

However, it was impossible for this old political order to keep up with an economy and a society that was rapidly picking up momentum. The growing structural tension between the existing political order and the changing society, further catalyzed by the great drought and famine of 1846-47, culminated in the 1848 Revolutions - a huge political and social explosion which disrupted Europe.

Starting in France and spreading all the way East, reaching Wallachia and Poland, this wave of revolutions shook the main guardians of the conservative order in Prussia and Austria to their core. The nationalist German intellectuals seized the opportunity and gathered in the city-state of Frankfurt to form the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848. Their aim was to establish a constitutional, democratic and united German state. However, these German intellectuals were unable to develop a common and potent political will. Conservative forces like Prussia and Austria, who were concerned about maintaining the status quo after having forfeited their political

initiative, were able to recover, occupied the city of Frankfurt and abolished parliament. In other words, the urban intellectuals of Germany failed to carry through a liberal bourgeois revolution.

This bitter defeat drove many German-speaking intellectuals away from Central Europe, scattering them to the four winds. Part of this group of migrants from the cities, which included merchants and craftsmen, came to the Ottoman Empire and made Istanbul their new home. When these Germans came to settle in Beyoğlu, they brought with them a certain political experience and ideological package. Another German population also migrated to Istanbul after 1848-49, adding to the artisans who had previously been forced to migrate to the shores of the Bosphorus by unemployment and hunger.

The German Colony in Pera During the 19th Century

In the 19th century, a substantial German-speaking population from Central Europe migrated to different regions of the world, including the Ottoman territories, in search of a livelihood due to a combination of economic crises, famine, epidemic diseases, political turmoil and wars in Central Europe. This group of people, which largely consisted of artisans, mostly crossed the Balkans or Russia before settling in the south.

While it was initially mostly single men or men who had left their wives at home that came to the Ottoman territories, starting from the second half of the 19th century women and children also began to immigrate to the Ottoman city centers, together with their husbands and fathers. This migration was encouraged by the Ottoman Empire's need for trained technical personnel and its policy of tolerance towards non-Muslims, as well as the fact that the Capitulations rendered foreigners from Europe almost untouchable.



Politically fragmented Central Europe after the Congress of Vienna

As a result of these migrations flows, the total number of German-speaking artisans in Istanbul approached 1,000 in the mid-19th century. It is known that 300 among these 1,000 people came from the member states of the German Customs Union (Deutscher Zollverein), 20 of them from the other states of northern Germany and the remaining ones from the Habsburg Empire. However, the number of businesspersons and civil servants did not amount to more than 50 among this group. The latter were employed either in the embassies or in the offices of the Ottoman State. Since most of the people in the German-speaking colony did not stay permanently in Istanbul, the community was subject to constant change and differentiation.

In addition to the larger group of artisans, there were also German-speaking people who came to Istanbul in the late 18th and mid-19th centuries for different reasons and who subsequently left their mark on the city. Artists, military advisors and researchers such as Anton Ignaz Melling, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Helmuth von Moltke, Heinrich Samuel Kiepert and Heinrich Schliemann are just a few of them.

If we look at the German colony of Istanbul in the 1850s, we find that its members came from quite different regions such as Bohemia, Istria, Bavaria, Prussia, Switzerland, Saxony, Franconia and Württemberg and that they had different origins in terms of social class. Another important marker of internal differentiation was the sectarian divide between Protestants and Catholics.

There are different answers to the question of who was part of the German colony in the period 1868-1870, when the German School was first opened. In a correspondence regarding the school sent to Berlin in early 1873, Dionys Gillet, then Consul of the German Empire in Istanbul, reported from a Prussian perspective that not a single Prussian had settled in Beyoğlu around the beginning of the century, and that approximately 500 people had been under Prussian patronage in 1860. Gillet stated that this number had

risen to 764 by 1870, that 880 individuals had already been registered in the consulate records, and that at least 300 German nationals were living in Istanbul and its immediate surroundings.

In contrast, according to an information brochure which was prepared in 1867 by the German-Swiss School Association's Board of Directors in order to obtain financial support from the German countries, there were approximately 500 men in the colony, most of them married. They were located in Beyoğlu, Galata, Istanbul and the areas along the Bosphorus. In terms of their occupational distribution, they can be broken down into 150 merchants, an important share of upper and lower level craftsmen, and a small percentage of scholars and civil servants. Some of the latter worked in the Ottoman service, and there were high ranking officers among them. Regarding their distribution according to denomination, five out of ten were Catholic, four out of ten Protestant and one out of ten Jewish. Finally, with respect to their origins, half of the colony had come from Northern Germany, the rest from Southern Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

From another source, in news from 1866 that appeared in the Freemason Newspaper (Freimaurer-Zeitung), published by the Mason circles in Germany, which took great interest in the German School project, the definition of the German colony not only referred to those whose native tongue was German, but also to all those who were close to Germans in terms of language, customs and traditions – which also included the Jewish population. According to this article, the total population of the colony was 2,000, if women, children and servants were included. More than half of the colony resided in Beyoğlu, a share of it in Galata as well as in Yeni Şehir to the north of Beyoğlu, in Pangaltı, and even in Zeytinburnu in the south. With respect to their professions, the largest group among the colony were accountants and other employees working for the roughly 20 German and Swiss companies in Istanbul as well as for other companies. To this number can be added car

workers, machine workers, gardeners, and jewelers. There were also about 40 German governesses and female servants, who were employed in Levantine households.

The Formation of the Protestant Community in Istanbul

Since Protestantism was of decisive importance for the foundation of the German School and remained one of the school's dominant traits until recently, the development of the Protestant community in Istanbul should be briefly examined.

For the children of Catholic families from Bohemia, Istria, and Bavaria, educational institutions in Istanbul were available, opened a long time previously by different Catholic sects, in particular by French and Italian monks. However, up until the mid- nineteenth century, the Ottoman State had not officially granted Protestantism the status of a religious community (millet). Protestant Germans were therefore facing a serious lack of schools. Starting from the 1830s, American Protestant missionaries had opened some small "schools" to spread their religious beliefs. But these institutions, which were established mainly for Armenians, were often no more than a Bible course and instruction was given in Turkish or English. The Protestant Germans did therefore not consider these establishments as proper

schools. In 1850 however, the year the Sublime Porte legally recognized Protestantism, a Protestant community school was opened in the guesthouse of the Prussian Embassy.

The number of Protestants in the German-speaking community in Istanbul in the mid-19th century is estimated to have been between 200 and 300. In 1840, a German Protestant community began to take shape in Beyoğlu. But the nature of this community was still informal in those years. The German Protestant missionary Wilhelm Gottlieb Schauffer (1798-1883), who worked for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, played an important role in shaping this community. While one purpose of the German Protestant community was to establish a church to provide a place for its members to worship at, another aim was to ensure that there would be a priest - at that time, they had to visit foreign, particularly Swedish, Protestant chapels and priests in order to worship. In addition, the community had the goal of opening a school and establishing a hospital.

In time, this Protestant community in Istanbul would come under the influence of the Prussian Kingdom. In 1843, a priest from Prussia came to Istanbul to serve the Protestant community in Beyoğlu. In the same year, King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia (1795-1861), taking the community's demands into consideration, provided financial assistance to support the creation of an "Embassy Preacher

Office" (*Gesandtschaftspredigerstelle*) within the Prussian Embassy. At the same time, this Protestant pastor was officially taken under Prussian protection. The German Protestant community was thus officially recognized by the Prussian state and close ties were woven between their community and the Prussian Kingdom. On December 2, 1843, for example, the first religious ceremony of the German Protestant community in Istanbul took place in the Prussian Embassy building. Baptisms, marriages and deaths within the community were also started to be registered in this period (in 1844).



Friedrich Wilhelm IV, King of Prussia in 1848

The Protestant Shelter or Charity

As a result of the increase in the number of German-speakers in Istanbul and the ongoing migration to the city, a comprehensive institutionalization was sought to meet the social and economic needs of those arriving in the city. For example, on September 1, 1844, an association called «Protestant Shelter» (*Evangelisches Asyl*, later renamed *evangelisch-deutscher Wohltätigkeitsverein* [Charity]) was founded to support the German artisans who were coming to Istanbul and in need of help. The aim of the association was to provide financial support to the newly arrived Germans until they had found a job and help them receive treatment when they got sick. Missionary Schaffer was among the board members of the association. In 1846, shortly after the establishment of this charitable organization, the Protestants, discontent with the political fragmentation among Germans around that time and as a means of finding a solution for it, also gave Catholic Germans the right to join the association.

The German Hospital

The above-mentioned institutionalization was followed by efforts to establish a German Hospital. In the first phase of this search, a building was rented on Yüksek Kaldırım Street in Galata district, and an 8- bed German Hospital was founded which began operations on April 6, 1846.

At this time, the German colony was also deeply affected by the failure of the wave of nationalist-democratic revolutions that had started in Central Europe in 1848-49. As a result of the political divisions that ensued among the Beyoğlu Germans, the liberals in the “Charitable Society” demanded the abolishment of the religious character of the association. These conflicts between the liberal and religious Germans of Beyoğlu over the association’s identity divided the latter into two. While the German Hospital fell to the liberals’ share, the Protestants were left with no choice other than to set up a separate hospital for themselves. In short, up until the great Beyoğlu fire

in 1870, two separate German hospitals existed in the district simultaneously. In the Protestant hospital, the staff was made up of Kaiserswerth deaconesses.

In addition to this division, there was another important development for the Protestant community in 1850. In this year, Protestantism was officially recognized as a confessional community (millet) by the Ottoman Empire.

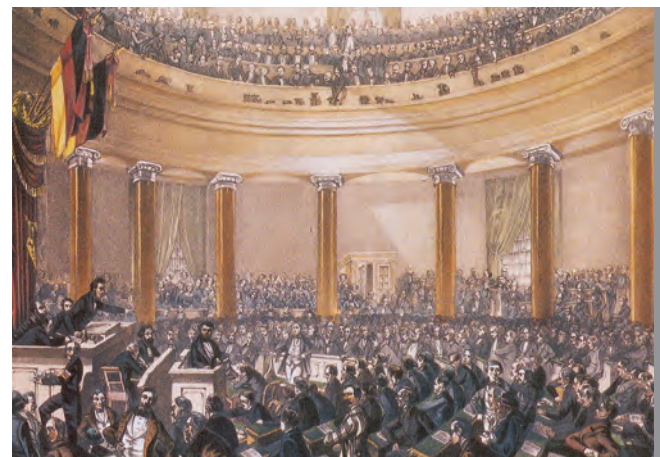
The Founding of the Teutonia Association

Another step taken to meet the social needs of the growing German population in Istanbul is the opening of the Teutonia Association. This association was founded in 1847 to satisfy the need for a space to socialize for artisans and merchants, who had come from Germany and were now residing in Beyoğlu.

In the beginning, this space is a single room. Subsequently the association continues to move between short-term rental buildings until 1872. Frequent fires force it to move. Originally a place where humble craftsmen gathered and drank beer, by the late 1850s, the association turns into an elite venue, where traders, fabricators and teachers are clinking their champagne glasses.

The Austrian School

Another issue requiring a solution was the education of the increasing number of German-speaking children. In 1847, Austria took the initiative to establish a school that would teach in Italian until 1875. Italian



The Frankfurt Parliament of 1848

was probably the mother tongue of a significant share of the multinational and Catholic empire's subjects in Istanbul. The school, which was run under the auspices of the Austrian Embassy in Istanbul and administered by the Embassy Preacher, addressed Catholics. It is also known that the Austrian Ambassador had plans for the construction of a school for Austrian girls in Istanbul in 1858.

As is clear, although the German-speaking Protestants brought a number of civil institutions into being, they did not yet have a school of their own. According to some observers from Germany arriving in Istanbul, Beyoğlu Germans were gradually losing their cultural sense of belonging because their children were not being taught the holy truths of Protestant belief. Hanseatic Cities Representative Andreas David Mordtmann (1811-1880), famous for his Oriental studies, made a similar observation in 1848, complaining that the Germans residing in Beyoğlu mainly spoke Greek, Italian and Turkish with the locals, that many of them married local women and that they did not speak German with their children.

Opening of the Protestant Community School

The voicing of these kinds of concerns led to the decision by the German Protestant community to open a second school, following on from the Austrian school. Another contributing factor was the increasing number of German-speaking artisan families and children. The community opened the German Protestant Community School, which began its work on 12 December 1850. Since the school did not initially have its own building, the first lessons were held in the guest house of the Prussian embassy (*Preußisches Gesandtschaftshotel*). Mordtmann, mentioned above, was one of the members of the School Board (*Schulvorstand*).

¹⁰ Old German currency.

In 1851 the Protestant community also opened both its first library and a women's working group, while the German Protestant Community School Association (*Schulverein*) rented a separate place. The number of students enrolled in the school rose from only three in the beginning to 26 in the same year. Given the need for resources for the construction of a school building for the German Protestant Community School, advertisements were published in various magazines published across Germany in order to raise funds through donation campaigns.

By 1854, an official decision was taken at the discretion of Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm to establish a church belonging to the Protestant community as well as a building belonging to the German Protestant Community School. Meanwhile, as a result of the donation campaign launched across Germany and in the Ottoman Empire, 58,254 Thaler¹⁰ had been collected. This sum was used for the construction of a building, whose ground floor was allocated for classrooms and whose upper floor, after 1860, was reserved for the Protestant community and church meetings.

The main building of the German Protestant Community School was on Aynalı Çeşme Street. The education offered at the school, an institution under Prussian protection, scarcely went beyond the religious framework. It was therefore not very popular among the majority of the German-speaking population. Due to its close ties with the Prussian Embassy, families from other German countries did not want to send their children to the school. And due to the emphasis on Protestantism in the curriculum, German-speaking Catholics did not show great interest in the institution either. Ultimately, the school was a simple neighborhood school exclusively for boys.

The German Protestant Community School, whose number of students remained limited during the time of its existence, never managed to go beyond being an educational institution with four grades. Moreover,

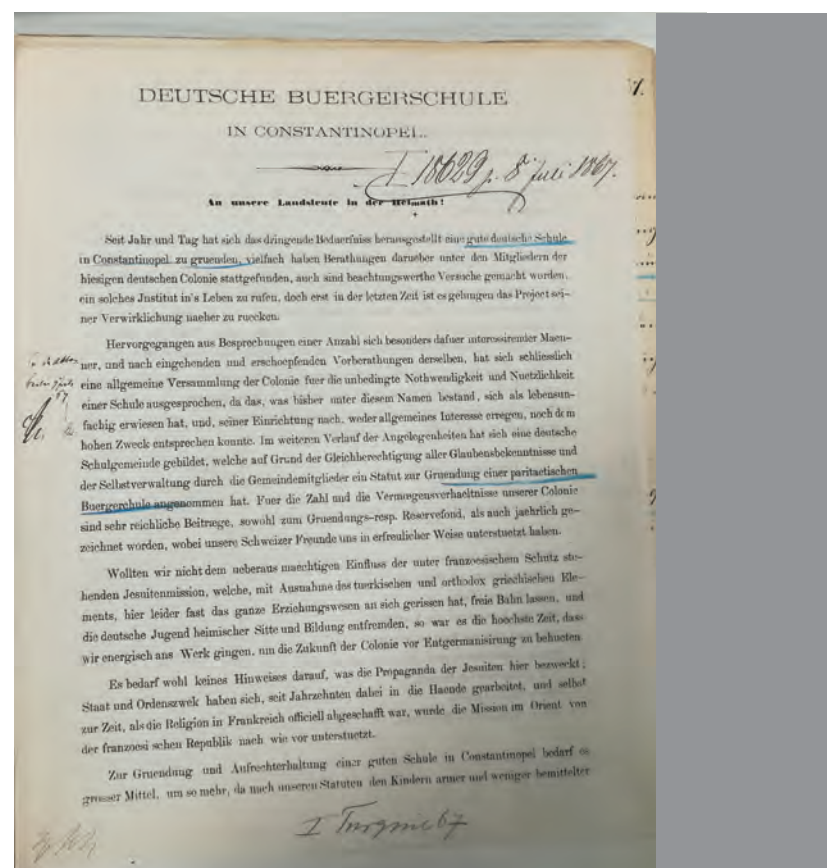
the teachers working there were quite incompetent and caused various complaints.

Increasing dissatisfaction on the side of non-Prussian German and Swiss Protestant parents who sent their children to this Prussian school led them to search for alternatives.

In Search of Alternatives to the Protestant Community School

In the Istanbul of the 1860s, as mentioned above, there existed the Austrian school and the German Protestant Community School sponsored by the Prussian Embassy alongside the French, British and American educational institutions. While the language of instruction at the Austrian School was Italian, the school under the auspices of Prussia was administered by the embassy priest.

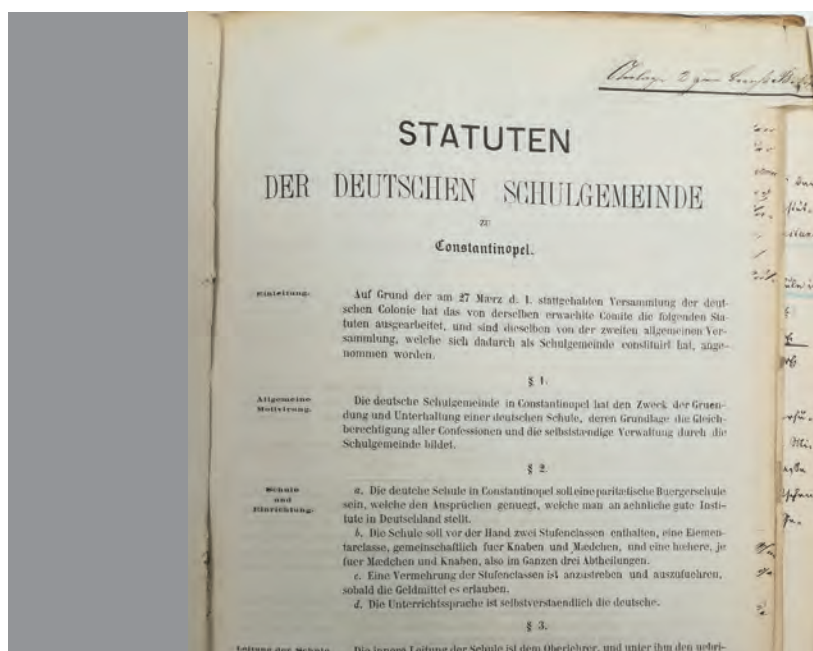
Because of the stringent sectarian character of the aforementioned schools and the fact that they did not teach German language and culture, a group of German-speaking Protestants sought to open a new school. This group of young craftsmen and merchants from Switzerland and Germany, who were devoted to the liberal-democratic ideals of the 1848 revolutions, discussed a draft for a school that was consistent with egalitarian principles beyond sectarian boundaries and did not, in the narrow sense, commit itself to the subjects of any particular state. As a first step leading to this process, the Swiss craftsmen and merchants founded the Swiss Club (Cercle Helvetia) on July 15, 1857. In 1859, progressive members of the German colony created a chapter of the German National Association (Deutscher Nationalverein), a political organization which supported the idea of a united Germany founded in Eisenach, in Beyoğlu. It can be assumed that there were also some Swiss members among them. Some of the former members of the organization's Istanbul chapter, which existed until 1867, would later serve as members of the Board of the School Association, which ran the German School's operations, and demonstrate their skills in lobbying activities and press affairs.



The Call for the Opening of the School from 1867

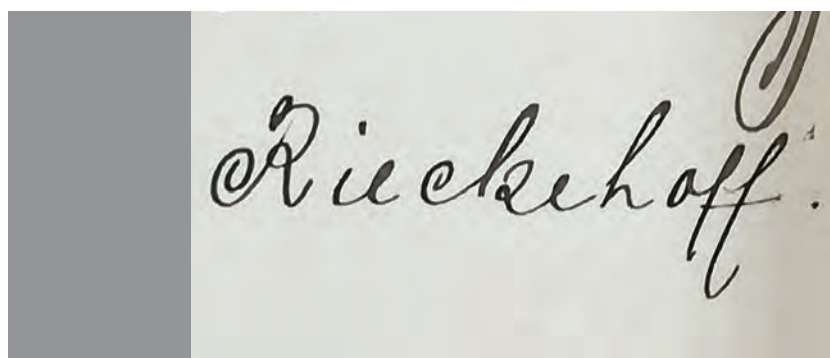
The call's heading reads "German Neighborhood School in Constantinople" and the subtitle "To the Citizens in our Homeland." The declaration calls for financial support to open a non-denominational school, emphasizing the German colony's lack of an educational institution of its own and the negative influence of the French Jesuit institutions.

This group of people, who partially defended the ideals of Freemasonry, included names like J.H. Rieckehoff, Johann Caspar Hirzel, Ferdinand Neeff, Gustav Wülfing, G. Gerdes, S. Kurlaender, W. Heintze, Heinrich Lange, and Glaser. A notice bearing their signatures was issued, which made a call for donations for the founding of the school. One of the basic demands was that the school association about to be established would be autonomous. This was largely due to the influence of the Swiss members. A 'Provisional Committee for the Foundation of a German School' (Provisorisches Comité zur Gründung einer deutschen Schule) took shape within the German colony in Istanbul in 1864. Its aim was to set up a non-denominational "Bürgerschule" that would appeal to all German speakers, including Austrians and Swiss. At this point, it is necessary to examine the



The School Association Regulations of 1868

This is the first page of the oldest regulation of the School Association, which had been established before the German Neighborhood School was opened. The text states the aim for the school, which was to be opened as a primary school, and expanded to the extent allowed by its financial possibilities, while emphasizing that the language of instruction in this non-denominational school would be German.



Rieckehoff's signature, 1875

concept of the "Bürger". In Turkish, this concept can mean "citizen", "people of the neighborhood" as well as "bourgeois". Since there was no German state before 1871, there was no German citizenship either. On the other hand, the bourgeois classes were the driving force behind the liberal revolutions and secular nationalist movements in the Central Europe of the 19th century. The native German speaking traders, who came together in Beyoğlu in the 1860s with the aim of establishing a school, were a nationalist group who sympathized

with the liberal revolutions and stood aloof from sectarianism. It is however doubtful whether those in charge of designing the school would have attached a potentially political meaning such as "bourgeois" to the educational institution they were about to establish. After all, the main goal was to open a school that would provide education to the entire German-speaking colony of Beyoğlu.

Considered in the context of the time of its foundation it is most likely that the Turkish term for "neighborhood" would best reflect the "Bürger" attribute of the school. After 1879 however, as will be seen below, the gradual increase of the German School's educational quality in the period under Mühlmann's direction would justify taking the term "Bürger" to mean "bourgeois." Further below we will see that the school would sometimes also be referred to as the German- Swiss School due to the collective efforts of the German and Swiss merchants that brought it into being.

In addition to primary education, by 1867 the school was supposed to offer a higher level of general education. At this stage, however, such an attempt did not materialize, since the financial resources which were required to reach this goal far exceeded the individual financial support that colony members were able to offer.

In the process of the fundraising efforts, a trade representative of the Baden-Principality named Georg Treu or Georg Frei [his real name is unknown] applied to his country for financial support in April 1866 in order to establish a "neighborhood school" in Istanbul. However, his request for support for the amount of 3,000 florin was rejected by the Ministry of Interior of the Principality of Baden with reference to the political situation and financial difficulties at the time. Georg Treu/ Frei tried to raise money by mobilizing the Masonic lodges in the German petty states of the time. But despite his important services to the German School, Treu/Frei was in all likelihood excluded by the German colony in Istanbul and was not elected to the school board. The Prussian-Austrian War that broke out in

1866, was an event that shook the German colony even bringing it to the point of division. Some of the German petty states supported Prussia in this war, while others supported Austria. This put a serious strain on the colony and delayed the opening of the school. Another reason for the delay of the school's opening was the cholera epidemic that decimated Istanbul. The epidemic seriously disrupted Istanbul's economy and commercial life and led to financial difficulties for the German and Swiss businessmen, disrupting their vision of establishing a German school.

An All-New Alternative in the Field of Education: The Foundation of the German Neighborhood School in 1868

By 1867, the German and Swiss merchants and artisans had reached a decision regarding the school's design. However, apart from financial difficulties, it was obvious that the school needed a building.

When the topic of opening a German School was first brought up, the first place that came to people's mind was the building of the German Protestant Community School.

However, the designers of the school opposed any sectarian identification and designed an educational institution where children from all kingdoms and principalities whose native language was German, as well as Swiss and Austrian children, would enjoy equal rights. The German Protestant Community School, however, was a strictly sectarian institution under the patronage of Prussia, which followed a sectarian policy in those years.

Nevertheless, the founding committee of the German School sought ways to cooperate with the German Protestant Community School and a meeting was held to that end on 27 March 1867. In this meeting, held in the hall of the Teutonia Club, no agreement with the Protestant community was reached regarding what shape the school's charter, the School Association and the association's governing board were to take. The founding committee of the school was designing a non-denominational neighborhood

school (paritätische Bürgerschule), which gave equal rights to sects. However, the suggestions of the Church Board of the Protestant community were diametrically opposed to this vision.

The School Association, which was designed according to the school's founding committee, was supposed to be composed of parents and free elections were to be held in order to choose a board of directors from among them. But those responsible for the school project did not want to work in a foreign country without any diplomatic protection and without public financial support in the long run. The draft regulation therefore also included an article stipulating that a few representatives from the German states, especially the North German Federation, would be part of the School Association's Board of Directors.

The Protestant communities envisaged that the diplomatic representative would have a veto right with respect to any decisions and that the Prussian embassy pastor would automatically be Chair of the School Association's Board of Directors and School Inspector, respectively. In addition, the school was to have a sectarian identity and only Protestant teachers were to be employed.

The founding committee of the German School also received a negative response from the Protestant community regarding its proposal that the latter would leave the school building to them for 5 or 6 years. The head of the Protestant church delegation was also the Prussian embassy pastor. Upon being unable to come to an agreement with this school, which was under the influence of the Prussian state, the German School's founding committee was forced to go in search of a place to rent.

In this period, two institutional developments can be observed in the context of the German School project. One of them is the establishment of the "Provisional Committee of the German School Community" (Das provisorische



The surrounding areas of Galata Tower in the 1870s.

When the German School was established in Beyoğlu, the surroundings of the Galata Tower had not yet become the scene of intense construction. In this photograph from the 1870s, one can see the last remains of the historical walls of Galata.

Comité der deutschen Schulgemeinde). In May 1867, after the merger with the German Protestant Community School had failed, this Provisional Committee prepared a letter concerning its intention to open a school and sent it to the German states. In this letter, written in a nationalist tone, financial assistance was requested to ensure the preservation of the national cultures of Istanbul Germans. The letter complained about the French Jesuit influence in Istanbul and asked for support to contain it.

This Provisional Committee quickly changed its name to the “German-Swiss Neighborhood School Council” (Schulrat der deutschen und schweizer Bürgerschule). Given the influence of different languages and cultures on children of the German colony in Beyoğlu, the prospective school’s aim was to properly teach them their German mother tongue so that it would not be forgotten and to preserve their sense of national belonging by ensuring that they firmly acquired German culture.

The other institutional development was the establishment of the “German-Swiss School Community” (Deutsch-Schweizer Schulgemeinde) on 1 December 1867. However, representatives of neither the Protestant community nor the Prussian embassy were present at the respective meetings.

The certificates of formation of the Neighborhood School were drawn up in January 1868. The group of committee members who wrote this document consisted of merchants including Johann H. Rieckehoff, Friedrich Neeff, Gustav Wülfing, G. Gerdes, S. Kurlander, W. Heintze, Heinrich Lange, and Grosse as well as the Prussian embassy pastor Pastor Hülse. Among them, people like Rieckehoff, Neeff, Kurlander, and Lange played a decisive role in the School Association until the mid-1870s. Wülfing, on the other hand, would go on to dedicate great interest and support to the institution’s financial matters until the beginning of the twentieth century,

when the German School became a fully-equipped high school.

In April 1868, 66 candidates applied to become teachers at the school, which gained the status of a legal entity on March 28, 1868. Two of the teachers selected from among the candidates came from Germany, in the capacity of head teacher (Oberlehrer) and primary school teacher (Grundschullehrer) respectively.

On May 1, 1868, the school was officially founded. Its official name at that time was “Non-denominational German and Swiss Neighborhood School” (Paritätische Deutsche und Schweizer Bürgerschule). According to Felix Theodor Mühlmann, one of the later principals, Rieckehoff, due to his efforts and initiative, was the real founder of the German School (Eigentlicher Gründer der Schule).

May 1, 1868 is henceforward honored as the “German School Day” (der Deutsche Schulfesttag) and celebrated as the official day of the school’s foundation. Since then the so-called “May Festival” (Maifest) has been organized every year on the occasion of the anniversary of the school’s foundation, a tradition that still continues. Especially before 1918, participation in this festival was not restricted to the Beyoğlu German colony, but was open to the broader society. In the meantime, in the first decades of the festival, a steamer was rented to take the students on Bosphorus tours.

The Struggle to Survive: Major Challenges in the First Years

From the moment of its opening, the Neighborhood School faced two opponents in terms of the student population it was targeting: the German Protestant Community School, under the auspices of Prussia, on the one hand and the school of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in Beyoğlu (Nationalschule) on the other. Both of them were basically neighborhood schools, the Austro-Hungarian School had four grades, while the Protestant

Community School had three.

Classes at the Neighborhood School effectively started on May 11, 1868. During this period, education took place in rented facilities in 2 classrooms with 2 teachers and 23 students. The purpose of founding the neighborhood school was to provide primary level education only for children whose native language was German and who were living in Beyoğlu. The head teacher of this school, which did not officially have a director, was H. Adolf Engelking. Engelking headed the school from 1 May 1868 until 30 November 1874. He was born on September 24, 1834 in the town of Langenhagen in the north of Hanover. After his term at the Neighborhood School, he returned to his country and worked as a principal (Rektor) of a primary school in Münster, Westphalia.

Engelking was an important figure in the history of the German High School because, from the beginning of his duty as head teacher, he very consciously prevented any tendencies to infuse the school with a sectarian identity and resolutely emphasized the principle that children from different denominations should receive education together. By adhering to the founding principles of the Neighborhood School, Engelking was part of the reason why today's German High School has a more secular identity compared to other foreign schools in Istanbul.

Despite its modesty, the school's popularity rose in a short time. The fact that parents in the colony were dissatisfied with the low quality of education and the strictly sectarian approach at the German Protestant Community School and the Austro-Hungarian School, which had been operating until then, probably played a significant role in fostering this interest. It was for this reason that many members of the colony had chosen to send their children to British and American missionary institutions, especially Robert College, before 1868. With the opening of the Neighborhood School, a school which offered German education and was able to meet the educational demands of the parents came

into existence.

However, the school did not yet have a building of its own and therefore had to change places frequently. We don't have any information about the places that the Neighborhood School rented in the surroundings of the Galata Tower in these early years. The only thing we can tell is that it was not affected by the great Beyoğlu fire that broke out in June 1870. Since these rented places were naturally not designed for educational purposes, it is more than likely that they were inadequate options. In 1871, the Neighborhood School was probably using the Teutonia building. Looking at the minutes of the staff meeting (Protokoll der Lehrerkonferenz) held in the first days of April 1871 dated 5 April 1871, we see that the expansion of the existing classroom was under consideration through combining it with the adjacent conference room. In addition, the rented building's capacities were shrinking as a new class had to be added with each new year.

In the first years after its foundation, the building was not the Neighborhood School's only problem; there were also serious deficiencies in educational equipment. For example, teachers applying to the school board (Schulrat) in 1870 requested the procurement of a few mounted animals, physics and chemistry apparatus for science education, and a globe.

Again in the same period, responsibility for the social security of the teachers, who had come from different states across German territory, was assumed only and solely by the School Community (Schulgemeinde). This created a financial burden on the School Community that was difficult to handle. Moreover, even though the above-mentioned great Beyoğlu fire did not inflict any direct harm on the school, a quarter of the assets of the German and Swiss business sector literally turned to ashes and the German colony became poor. This gave rise to problems regarding the monetary donations that the Neighborhood School

was supposed to be receiving.

In the Beyoğlu fire, the German day nursery burned down too. The nursery temporarily operated in the Prussian Embassy complex. It then moved to Bebek and continued its existence on the premises of the American missionary. Kaiserswerth Protestant nuns were serving in the nursery during all of these phases.

Another difficulty lay in the fact that the Head of the School Association's Board of Directors was not a pedagogue but a trader located in Istanbul, leading to occasional conflicts between the professional educators and the Presidency of the Board with respect to the school's goals and principles. Such a situation would arise from time to time until 1918.

The Regulation on Public Education of 1869

Since the school had restricted itself to the children of the German colony as its main target, from its foundation, the Neighborhood School did not see any need to communicate with Ottoman authorities such as the Sublime Porte (*Babîlî*) or the Ministry of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye*),

As far as the Ottoman Empire was concerned, the Sublime Porte did not pursue any obvious policy regarding the schooling process within the colony, either during the years of the foundation nor in the decades that followed, because the capitulation regime protected foreigners from European countries and did not leave the Ottoman State any area to intervene in.

But starting in 1857 there were some limited legal attempts to monitor foreign schools. By 1869, we encounter a comprehensive law on education, known as the Regulation on Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*). The law included both Muslim and non-Muslim community schools and foreign educational institutions into a common legal framework. Foreign schools, which were dealt with under the title "Private

Schools" (*Mekâtib-i husûsiye*) in the law, could obtain a license from the Ministry of

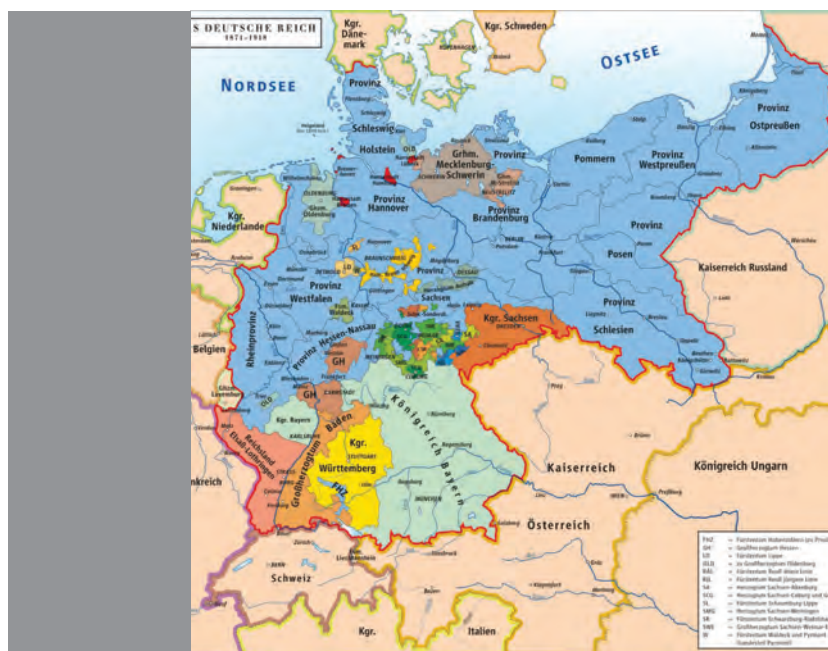


1862 Otto von Bismarck

Education under certain conditions.

Nevertheless, it only became possible for the Sublime Porte to really intervene and apply this regulation to foreign schools during the reign of Abdul Hamid II, especially in the 1890s. But even in this period, the Porte had a hard time dealing with the schools that took refuge in their capitulation rights. As an example, one can refer to a report prepared by a Non-Muslim and Foreign School Inspector named Abdullah Hüseyin in 1887. In his report, Abdullah Hüseyin complained that the legal regulations regarding the inspection of non-Muslim and foreign schools were insufficient, and that foreign schools had resisted obtaining official licenses and did not allow inspections by declaring that they were under consulate protection.

The German School would receive a license from the Ministry of Education in 1897 in accordance with the 1869 regulation.



1871 German Empire

Even though Bismarck established a German political union under the umbrella of the German Empire in 1871, a strongly decentralized model would persist in German politics. Local kingdoms and principalities maintained their regional influence on issues such as education.

The Neighborhood School Faces a New Situation: The German National Revolution in Central Europe

During the time the German Neighborhood School was founded, radical political transformations were taking place in Central Europe. Despite his conservative aristocratic worldview and strict opposition to the 1848 revolutions, Prince Otto von Bismarck, who was appointed chancellor of the conservative Prussian Kingdom in 1862, was well aware that nationalist movements around the world were gaining strength. Taking advantage of this situation, Bismarck developed the long-term vision of a united German Empire under the leadership of Prussia. To achieve this political goal, he had to overcome a number of challenging obstacles: The Austrian Empire was opposed to a Prussian- led German union; Denmark controlled the German population in the Schleswig-Holstein region; large and small Catholic German states did not want to be subject to a Protestant Prussian authority; and, most importantly, the neighboring French Empire under the rule Napoleon III was against a united and strong German union for strategic reasons.

Bismarck managed to overcome all these obstacles with a series of Machiavellian alliances, tactics and wars. Launching an allied attack against Denmark in 1864, Prussia and Austria started the Second Schleswig- Holstein War. As a result of the war, Denmark had to leave the dukedoms of Schleswig, Holstein and Saxe-Lauenburg to the joint administration of Prussia and Austria. The subsequent Prussian- Austrian War of 1866 had its roots in the competition between both countries for hegemony over German territory in general. Although Habsburg Austria had the support of southern German kingdoms and dukedoms like Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg, it suffered a heavy defeat in this war and was forced to waive its claims on the future Germany. As a result of this war, the Prussian Kingdom annexed kingdoms, dukedoms and cities such as Schleswig, Holstein, Hanover, Hessen, Nassau, and Frankfurt and founded the North German Confederation in 1867.

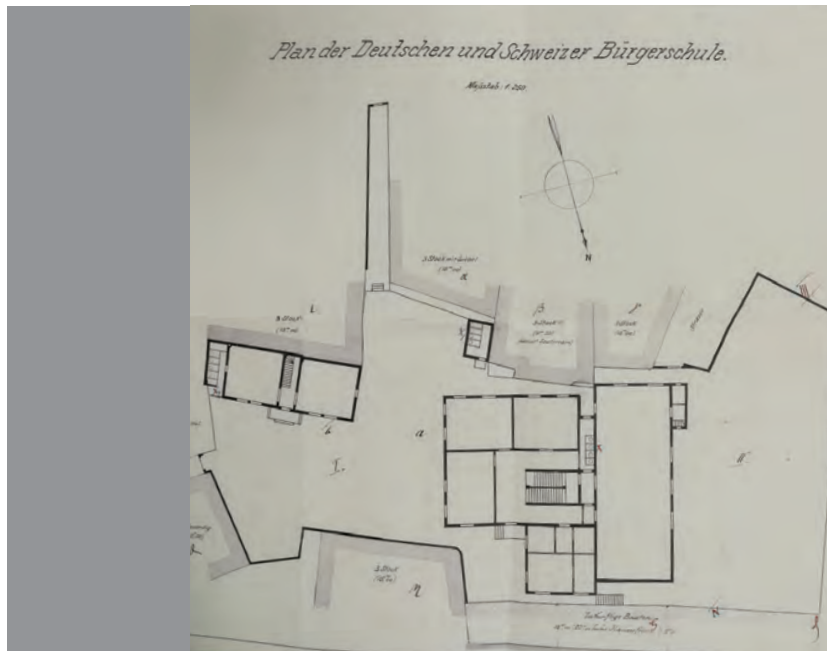
The final war that secured German unity was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870- 71. Taking advantage of the crisis that was unfolding around the succession to the throne in Spain in 1870, Bismarck provoked France into forcing it into war. As a result of the Prussian army's siege of Paris, France not only lose its influence in southern Germany, but moreover had to concede the Alsace and Lorraine regions along the Rhine to Prussia. Following these dramatic developments, Bismarck declared the German Empire at the Palace of Versailles on January 18, 1871.

All these events had an impact on the German colony in Istanbul in increasing the nationalist sentiments of its members. These developments probably caused discomfort to the republican Swiss, who had made important contributions during the foundation of the German Neighborhood School. The initiative for this school, shaped as it was by the liberal democratic ideals of the 1848 Revolutions, was now confronted with a conservative



The School Building in 1872

The construction of the first building owned by the German School was completed in April 1872. Classes commenced on 28 August 1872. F.T. Mühlmann, who came to Istanbul as school director in 1879, described this building in the Kuledibi neighborhood as spacious, airy and with a sea view. Starting from the 1880s however, the German School, the light-colored, three-story, detached building in the foreground of this picture, was surrounded and covered by tower blocks and thus cut off from its windy and healthy environment.



Layout of the Kuledibi School, 1872-96

and authoritarian empire founded under the leadership of Prussia.

In the context of the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, the Swiss in Beyoğlu exercised their influence in changing the name of the German School Association, which was an organic part of the Bourgeois School, to the German-Swiss School Association. This can be seen as an attitude taken against the increasing weight of the German Empire, particularly since the Swiss traders had contributed the large amount of 12,000 gold marks at the start of the construction of the school building in 1870.

The Effects of the German Empire on the Neighborhood School

The effects of the national revolution in Central Europe soon began to make itself felt in the German colony and the Neighborhood School in Istanbul.

In the Prussian Kingdom, which was part of the German Empire, the “School Supervision

Act” (Schulaufsichtsgesetz), which authorized the state to supervise private education and training institutions, was adopted on March 11, 1872, as an

element of the Kulturkampf initiated by Bismarck. With this law, the local clergy was divested of the authority to control schools. The administration of the Istanbul Neighborhood School was able to resist the sectarian demands of the Protestant clergy in Istanbul during the merger negotiations with the German Protestant Community School, which would start shortly after, with reference to this law.

With respect to the direct material effects, the newly established German Empire’s vivid concern for the cultural interests of Germans abroad created opportunities for the Neighborhood School to develop physically. Indeed, the German Empire started to provide official aid to the German School starting from 1874 and continued to do so until 1918. Initially amounting to an annual 21,000 Reichsmark (RM), the annual aid allocated to the German School was later reduced to RM 9,000 because the founding of other German schools abroad lead to an increase in requests for assistance. Nevertheless, in order to pay off the remaining debt from the building construction, a topic which will soon be touched upon, an additional aid of RM 60,000 was obtained from the German Empire in 1874.

By 1874, it was clear that the expenses of the Neighborhood School, which consisted of 9 classes and 10 teachers by this point, could not be covered by the German colony alone in the absence of this aid. After all, the school’s revenues consisted of a total of 33,000 marks, 24,000 marks tuition fees and 9,000 marks of voluntary donations. In contrast, the school’s expenses amounted to 54,000 marks. In other words, there was a deficit totaling 21,000 marks. It would not have been possible for this school to survive if it had not been for the annual financial support from the German State. The amount of 21,000 marks that was initially provided by the German Empire must have been determined based on this deficit.

The First Permanent Building: The Kuledibi School

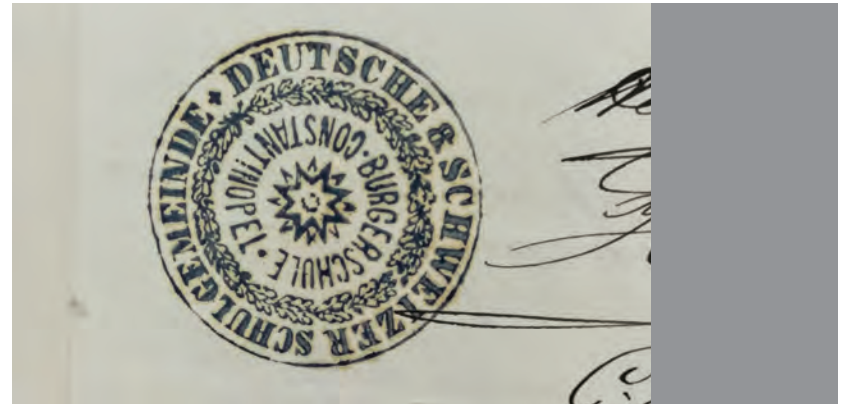
There was a steady increase in the number of students attending the Neighborhood School after 1870. According to Mühlmann, while the number of students was 47 in 1869 and 63 in 1870, this number suddenly skyrocketed to 133 in 1871 and 147 in 1872. The high prestige created by the German nation that had just come into being with the achievement of the German political union played a large role in this increase.

However, as a result of this increase, in the 1870-1871 academic year, the rented buildings started to become completely inadequate. Under these circumstances, the School Association asked the German colony once more for donations and assistance to build its own school building, since the land price and construction expenses exceeded 100,000 gold marks in total. The German colony was able to collect only a little more than half of that sum. The School Association itself went into debt in order to procure a share of 57,000 gold marks at an interest rate of 5 percent. The Swiss Solidarity Association "Helvetia" also contributed 650 Ottoman liras (12,000 marks). Another 24,000 marks was spent on additional land purchased by the School Association to establish a children's playground. School construction and land costs ultimately became affordable in 1874, when German Emperor Wilhelm I. donated 60,000 marks.

On 2 October 1871, the day construction works were begun, the construction of the school near Galata Tower was mentioned in La Turquie newspaper: "L'école allemande de cette ville" (The German school of this city). The architect of the school was M.F. Cumin, who lived in Istanbul. The building had three floors and a total of 11 classrooms. In the same complex, there were also facilities that served as teacher lodgings.

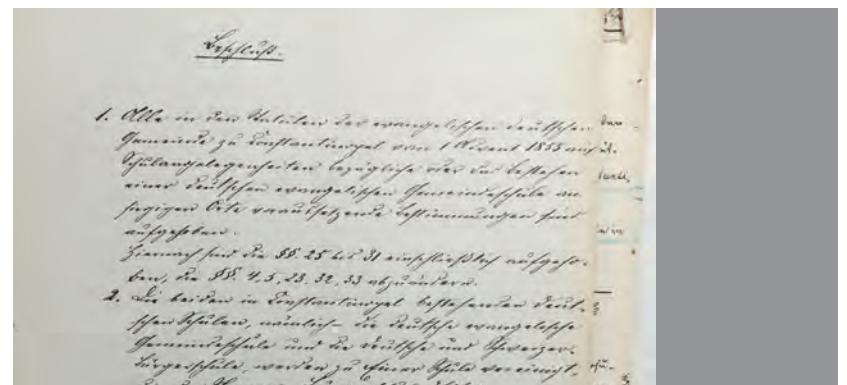
In 1872, the school's final name became the German-Swiss Neighborhood School (*Deutsche und Schweizer Bürgerschule*)

and on August 28, 1872, the first lesson was given in the school's first own building close to Galata Tower. Engelking gave an opening speech titled "Religious Education in the Non-Denominational School" (*Der Religionsunterricht in der konfessionslosen Schule*).



The School Association's Seal, 1874

While describing this school building, which would be used until 1897, Mühlmann emphasized that one basically needed to talk about two buildings, one of which was comparatively larger, separated by a courtyard. These buildings were built in a solid manner using quality stone material. The floor of the inside corridors and the flat roof of the larger building were bituminized. The staircase in this building was made of flagstone up to the top floor. A cistern was installed under each of the two buildings, thus generally covering the water needs of both the students and lodging residents. The water from the well sunk in the school courtyard was salty and only used for cleaning the rooms.



1872 Document Regarding the Decision to Merge the German School and the Protestant Community School

This document, dated December 6, 1872, contains the merger conditions of the German Neighborhood School and the Protestant Community School that had existed since 1855.

passed far ahead of the former in only five years. In comparison, the Neighborhood School was educating twice as many students, obtaining three times as much in revenue, and receiving three times as much in donations. The conditions of the Neighborhood School had in fact improved so much that in 1871 it was able to acquire a plot of the best located land in lower Beyoğlu and to move into a newly built building in August 1872. As a result, despite the vigorous efforts of the official authorities for the development of the German Protestant Community School and the extensive financial support provided from Germany, this institution was on the wane, whereas the other, the Neighborhood School, though lacking any advantages, was thriving and prospering. It appears that Gillet was engaging in propaganda-making for the Neighborhood School vis-a-vis the bureaucracy.

In his report, Gillet also included the schools' number of students and their respective nationalities. Accordingly we know that 61 of the 100 students studying at the German Protestant Community School were German and German-speaking Austrians, 9 were English, 4 were Italian, 5 were Greek or Rûm and 1 of them was Armenian. In the Neighborhood School, 60 of the 145 students were German, 51 were German speaking Austrian, 13 were Swiss, and the rest were made up of different nationalities.

According to Gillet's report, even though the German colony had the financial means to support a school at primary level, it lacked the resources to support a larger institution which offered higher education, which is why state support was absolutely necessary.

For the German Imperial officials, who clearly acknowledged the situation described, it became almost imperative to merge the two schools. If they were to have kept operating separately, they would have been unlikely to survive financially on their own over a longer period of time. They would also not have had the chance to become a higher-level educational institution. We can observe



No Aid Arriving Despite the State's Promise, 1874
It appears that even though the German Neighborhood School started to receive state aid on an annual basis in 1873, some irregularities occurred in the beginning. In 1874, the School Association's directors Rieckehoff, Neeff, and Suhle sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin, expressing their feeling of panic and stating that they "are in great anxiety because the promised support has not yet reached them and that they expect a relieving news."

that Berlin followed a cautious and careful policy towards unifying the schools. Indeed, in order to make the merger more attractive, the German Emperor gave the message that the Neighborhood School and the German Protestant Community School would be provided with a generous financial aid package if they merged.



Goedel's Signature, 1879

While German Imperial officials believed that the merger of the two schools was necessary for a sustainable education, the German Protestant Church opposed this idea. Underlying this rivalry were not only sectarian but also class-related factors. While the German Protestant Community School had the characteristics of a neighborhood school founded by tradesmen and artisans who made up the majority of the German colony, the Neighborhood School, which was founded later, offered an education that would appeal more to the traders.

Despite this disaccord, the ground for the merger of the two schools was prepared. The representatives of the German Swiss Association and the Protestant community met on 9 January 1873 to negotiate the merger. The meeting was interrupted because the Protestant clergy wanted to have authority over the unified school. However, a compromise was reached between the two schools through the proposal of reconciliation presented by Consul Gillet. This stated that the Protestant pastor should be a member of the School Association's Board of Directors only in the role of representative of the Imperial Embassy. This proposal was an acceptable solution for both parties.

On 23 November 1873, the two schools were legally united within the legal entity of the Neighborhood School. In terms of physical space and the curriculum, however, it would take until April 1874 for the schools to merge. Along with the physical merger, the student population now consisted of 80 Protestants, 60 Catholics, 45 Jews, and 6 Greek-Orthodox children. Of these, 13 girls and 12 boys started receiving Protestant religious education for 2 hours a week at the request of their fathers, but the majority of them did not make such a request. This fact indicates that the sectarian character of the Neighborhood School was rather weak at this time.

As in the process leading up to the opening of the Neighborhood School, the merchant Rieckehoff once again deserves credit for his great efforts during the merger process. Rieckehoff also largely financed the interior equipment and furnishing of the new building in Kuledibi. As a result, Rieckehoff was re-elected as president of the German-Swiss School Association after the merger.

Following the merger, it is apparent that aid from the German Empire to the Neighborhood School became constant. In fact, what changed the uncompromising attitudes of both schools during the merger were the efforts of German Empire officials and the promised monetary support. Both schools

were in a financially difficult situation and, as previously mentioned, the German and Swiss business circles were left badly damaged after the great Beyoğlu fire of 1870. Meanwhile, the Neighborhood School had entered economic trouble during the construction of its new building. All these factors accelerated the merger. Following the merger, the German government relieved the school of its remaining debt from construction costs. Given this, it is impossible to disagree with Otto Soehring, one of the later principals, who holds that the German School only really started to develop after the merger.

The other side of this coin was that the merger and the undeniable financial and political influence of the German Empire cleared the ideal of the school's founders of the 1860s to create an independent and free Neighborhood School. From this point onwards, the German School in Istanbul would be increasingly subject to the political and pedagogical direction of Berlin. The first symbolic indication of this situation started from 1874 when the birthdays of the German emperors were celebrated and declared as holidays at the school.

Indeed, March 22, the birthday of Wilhelm I, was celebrated for the first time in the Neighborhood School in 1874. On that day, classes were canceled and a religious ceremony took place in the German embassy chapel, in which the school choir participated, instead. This tradition would continue until 1918.

Both the merger and the construction of the new school building further increased demand for the Neighborhood School. The records indicate that alongside the former German Protestant Community School's students, almost two-thirds of the students of the Austro-Hungarian school left their school and enrolled in the German-Swiss Neighborhood School in 1874, when the merger was nearly completed. The number of students in the new post-merger institution now reached 204, and the number of teachers 10.

**The School’s First Appointed Rector:
Julius Adolf Goedel**

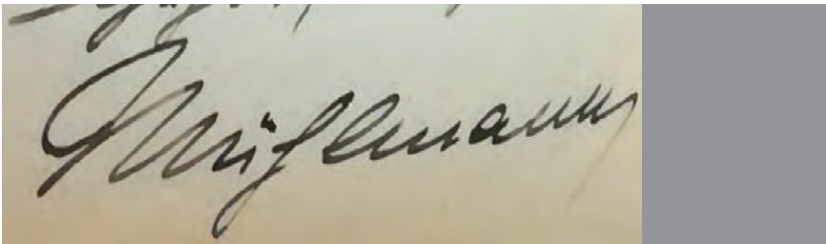
Given the growth of the Neighborhood School after the merger, it now needed to come under the direction of a professional Rektor. For the sake of conceptual clarification, it should be noted that the German term Rektor was used in the past in the sense of the head of elementary school, whereas the concept of Direktor referred to a high school principal. As will be seen later, it was only after 1898, when the German State officially recognized this school as a Realschule on top of a primary school, that school administrators were promoted from ‘rector’ to ‘director.’

Engelking, who was the school’s principal until 1874, was referred to as the head teacher (Oberlehrer) in the first years of the Neighborhood School, and as the rector in his last years of office. However, he had not been appointed rector by the center. When Engelking returned to his country in 1874, he took the position of rector of a primary school in Hagen.

As the first real rector of the Neighborhood School, with the approval of the German State, Julius Adolf Goedel, at that time rector of the primary school in Schwiebus (today Świebodzin, Poland), was invited and recruited by the President of the School Association Board Rieckehoff.

Goedel continued his duty as rector from December 16, 1874, until July 5, 1879. When Goedel took up his position, the school was structured as follows:

Prepatory Class (mixed)	First Grade	
	Parallel class (mixed)	Parallel class (mixed)
	Second Grade	
	Parallel class (mixed)	Parallel class (mixed)
	Third Grade	
	Parallel class (mixed)	Parallel class (mixed)
	Fourth Grade	
	Boy’s class	Girl’s class



Mühlmann’s Signature, 1884

**Quests and Problems: A Classicist
Experiment on the Way from Neighborhood
School to Middle School Level**

During the period when Goedel became rector, there were tensions between the School Association’s Board of Directors and the teachers regarding the future development of the school. These tensions were probably caused by disagreements which paralleled the discussions regarding educational models in Germany in the same years, which revolved around the options of *Gymnasium* and *Realschule*. In this environment, the principal conflicts between the merchant administrators, who dominated the School Association and the school’s pedagogues prevented the school from developing a clear identity.

Goedel, himself a Classicist, wanted to overcome these ambiguities and in his pursuit of giving the German Neighborhood School a solid educational identity he attempted to infuse the school with a “truly Classical spirit” ([mit] *wahrhaft klassischem Geiste*). To this end, Goedel tried to bring into being “a kind of abridged preparation school for Gymnasium combined with preschool” at the Neighborhood School. The aim was to enable German colony children who graduated from the Neighborhood School to continue their education at a Gymnasium in Germany or Switzerland.

To expand on this topic a little more, the aim of classical education was to provide children with an abstract intellectual education within the framework of European Humanist ideals that focused on literature and philosophy predominantly in Ancient Greek and Latin. This type of education did not deal much with everyday life and practices. These

were the kind of principles the classical Gymnasium education was built upon. Many of the members of the German-Swiss School Association initially supported Goedel's classical ideal. Encouraged by this support, Goedel started to expand the Neighborhood School by putting his pedagogical approach into practice. In the meantime, changes occurred in the School Association. In the meeting held on January 11, 1875, G. Wülfing and C. Heer were elected as Vice President and Board Member, respectively, in place of the Board members F. Neef and A. Fröhlich.

Another development was that the nursery, girls' boarding school, full-time school and orphanage in Bebek was closed by the Kaiserswerth nuns in 1875 due to staff shortage. As a result, there would be no kindergarten or nursery in Istanbul until 1882. As the institutions in Bebek were being closed, another German school was being opened for the children of German railway workers in Yedikule in 1875 in the context of the construction of the Rumelian railways. As will be seen, this school would later enter into close relations with the German High School.

By 1876, some changes had occurred in the school's operations. Upon Goedel's request, the start of the academic year and the day for the admission of students was set as 1 January. The aim was to keep the school year in perfect harmony with the calendar year and, by determining the summer season as the holiday between terms, to keep the gap in the summer as short as possible. This arrangement was still valid in the period during which Mühlmann was director.

The end of the school year began to coincide with mid-December. After the graduation exams, public grade passing and graduation exams (*öffentliche Prüfungen*) were held on 20-22 December. The German Ambassador, his wife, the members of the School Association's Board of Directors, and the parents of the children generally gathered for this sumptuous social event. There would also be an exhibition of student's art and craft works.

Felix Theodor Mühlmann (1846-1922)

His father was a pastor. He graduated from Royal Joachimthal Gymnasium in Berlin. After studying at Halle-Wittenberg and Berlin Universities, earning a degree in 1867. In 1872, he gained the authority of the minister (*pro licenta concio-nandi*). A year later he became the principal of a private school in Riesa. After passing the exam for his qualification as rector of schools (*pro rectoratu*), he qualified to be the principal of the primary schools in Riesa and further gained the title of local education supervisor. In 1879, he was appointed the director of the Neighborhood School.

In Mühlmann's eight years as principal, the Neighborhood School transformed into a Bourgeois School and the foundation was laid for the school to become a high school based on experimental and technical sciences, which it has remained up until today. In this respect, Mühlmann should be seen as one of the founders of the German High School. In his time, the school, previously a neighborhood school serving only the children of the German colony, broke free from these limits and took the path toward becoming a cosmopolitan institution that offered education to students of all religions and nationalities.

Mühlmann, who was appointed as Director of the Oranienburg Royal Teachers School in 1887, worked as an undersecretary in the local education administrations of Frankfurt, Berlin, Merseburg and Kassel between 1893-1905. In 1898, he joined Emperor Wilhelm's trips to Istanbul and Palestine as part of the emperor's entourage. There is the possibility that Mühlmann also participated in the Emperor's visit to the Bourgeois School, which may have played a role in the school being recognized as a Realschule.

Mühlmann is known to have written three books: History of the City of Belzig [*Geschichte der Stadt Belzig* (1870)]; History of the City of Riesa and the Monastery [*Geschichte des Klosters und der Stadt Riesa* (1881)]; and The German Imperial Couple in the Holy Land [*Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im heiligen Lande*].

In 1877, the language preparation class (*Vorbereitungsabteilung*) proved unsuccessful because children of different ages from 6 to 12 were entering it together and those completing preparation commenced with primary education regardless of the age difference between them. Older children were uncomfortable among their younger classmates and did not perform well in classes. Language skills were also developing slower than desired since those who were learning German from scratch became friends with each other and kept their distance from the native German speakers. For these reasons the preparatory class was eventually closed.

As a result of Goedel's efforts, by 1878-79, education could be offered up to Quarta level (the 3rd grade of Gymnasium, equivalent to the 7th grade) in the Neighborhood School. In addition to German (which was an additional foreign language for some), students at the Quarta level were obliged to learn Latin and French starting from Sexta (the 1st grade of Gymnasium, equivalent to the 5th grade) and Greek and English starting from Quarta.

As it turned out, Goedel, eager as he was to realize his classic ideals, had made it mandatory for students to take a large number of language classes, both classical and modern. However, it seemed obvious that there would be difficulties in operating this education plan.

The Replacement of Goedel with Felix Theodor Mühlmann as Rector

Goedel, who had made great efforts to develop the Neighborhood School, contracted a severe, unspecified, disease in September 1877. The state of his health, which was leading him to take frequent sick leave, had once again worsened by 1878. Goedel had to heed his doctor's advice and return to his hometown on July 5, 1879 to take a long vacation and retreat to the countryside. As a result, Goedel was not able to return to Istanbul again.

In July 1879, through Dr. Schneider, Undersecretary of the German State Ministry (*Geheimer Oberregierungsrat*), the Board of the German-Swiss School Association, in its search for a new principal, reached out to Felix Theodor Mühlmann, who was the director of Riesa city schools at the time, to offer him the position of rector. Upon acceptance of the proposal, Dr. E. Weiss of the Association's Board of Directors hired Mühlmann as the school's rector. Felix Theodor Mühlmann, who was appointed on October 1, 1879, held this post until 1887.

When Mühlmann took office, the student population was equivalent to that of 1874 when Goedel had taken office, consisting of approximately 200 students.

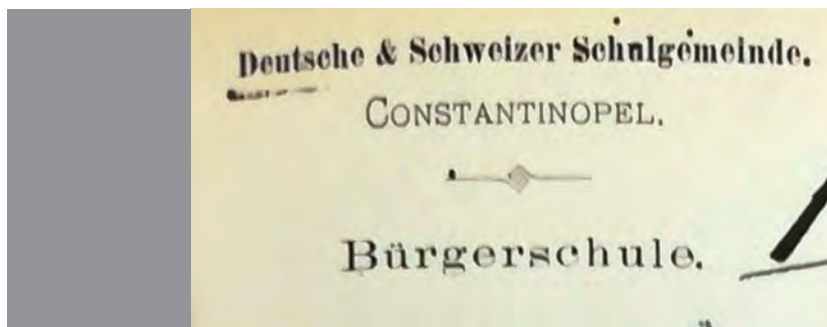
The Mühlmann Reforms: A Bourgeois School Instead of a Neighborhood School

Mühlmann was not satisfied with the education program in place when he started working at the school. According to Mühlmann, the system introduced by Goedel and the focus on classical languages such as Latin would only make sense for children who wanted to pursue an education in a Gymnasium in Germany and who were determined to become scholars. According to a survey that Mühlmann conducted after he started heading the school, only 2% of the students had this kind of education goal, and the remaining 98% had the preference of entering business after graduating from school. Even in the few cases of children who wanted to attend a Gymnasium in Germany for further education, the families did not generally have the necessary financial resources. In this case, Goedel's education program was not only far from giving students the knowledge that would prepare them for life, but was also wasting their time and energy with its emphasis on classical languages.

In other words, Mühlmann's approach was to teach Latin only as an elective course as well as to offer Modern Greek or Ottoman Turkish instead of Classical Greek in the higher grades, since most of the families in Istanbul did not want to send their children to distant

places. He also offered a practical rather than a classical education, attaching greater importance to modern foreign languages such as French and English, since those who would stay in Istanbul would engage in commerce.

In line with his findings, Mühlmann made radical changes in the Neighborhood School that Goedel had tried to transform into a preparatory school aiming to raise Classical and Humanist scholars. Now, the aim was to raise students as individuals who could act independently, were down-to-earth, and could easily adapt to practical life, trade and the market. In this context, the meaning of the term “Bürgerschule” changes when translated into Turkish. According to Mühlmann’s design, the aim of the school was to raise “bourgeois” individuals who would be capable of working in the market. Hereinafter the Neighborhood school would therefore be referred to as the Bourgeois School.



1884 School Letterhead

The Mühlmann Reforms: Pedagogical Modernization

Another permanent contribution of Mühlmann was, starting from 1880, his spearheading of the Bourgeois School’s transformation away from and beyond the earlier amateur ambitions and expectations into an educational institution that was in keeping with the science of pedagogy. Firstly, specialist teachers (*Fachlehrer*) began to be employed as much as possible instead of teachers teaching every subject. The second step was establishing an organic harmony between classes and their respective levels – that is, creating an integrated curriculum instead of the school’s

chaotic curriculum which had consisted of various sedimentary layers up to that time. Another concern was to ensure absolute consistency among teachers on issues such as discipline and for the teaching staff (*Lehrerkollegium*) to be guided by a common mind and heart.

Meanwhile, the German Preparatory Class, which had been closed in 1877, was reopened in early 1881. Those whose mother tongue was not German were now once again able to attend the school. Under the direction of Mühlmann, however, the students of the Prep Class (*Vorbereitungsabteilung*) were not completely isolated from the primary school students. Those who were at preparatory level were obliged to attend the classes in the morning with their other German-speaking peers and to follow the lessons as best as they could. In the afternoon, they went to the Prep Class and had intensive German as well as basic maths lessons. Those in the preparatory program were obliged to continue with the program until they reached a level that allowed them to follow the main subjects. The families of students attending the Prep Class had to pay an additional 0.5 Turkish lira fee each month for this program.

Unlike previous directors, Mühlmann paid special attention to teaching German. According to his observations, the child’s German was either very bad or non-existent in many German families if the mother was not German. Even the vocabulary of children whose parents were both German nationals, was weak compared to their peers growing up in Germany. The children of the colony failed to write down or even read the things they knew, as they learned simple everyday German from their parents and alongside that, learned many other languages by picking them up from “the Greek nanny, the French maid, and the Armenian porter”. The German teachers therefore had to be twice as skilled and labor twice as hard as would usually have been the case.

Mühlmann's reforms, which made various arrangements to solve the students' language problems, did not stop there. In Goedel's days, the daily class hours were 08:30 -12: 30 in the morning and 13:30 - 15:30 or, according to the situation, 16:30 in the afternoon. In 1882, Mühlmann changed the class hours to 08:00 - 12:00 in the morning and 14:00 - 16:00 in the afternoon. This change meant that even children whose homes were further away would still have enough time to go home and have a hot meal. This new schedule initially disturbed some mothers – preparing lunch for their children sounded like a burden to them. But families got used to this arrangement over time. Mühlmann also changed the duration of the interval between two lessons. Breaks were extended to 10 minutes, giving children the opportunity to get fresh air in the courtyard of the school.

The German kindergarten, which was closed in 1875, was reopened on 31 May 1882. Thanks to this kindergarten, children whose mother tongue was not German started learning German in a playful manner. This made it easier for non-German nationals to enter the school. But this kindergarten did not have any organic ties to the German School – it was founded by an independent association.

The Bourgeois School According to the 1884 Annual Report

1884 is the year when the oldest known report on the school was written. This document, prepared by Mühlmann on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the school's opening, presents an overview of the changes that the school experienced during that period and also contains some predictions about the school's future. From the report it emerges that even in 1879, the Bourgeois School already had a considerable number of mounted birds, various skeletons, animals conserved in spirit, mineral stone collections and an anatomy atlas as well as boards about natural history for teaching natural sciences and biology. By 1884, models related to the human anatomy had been ordered and the collection was expanded even further.

In addition, there were various miniature electrical apparatuses, a steam engine model, air pumps, magnets, Magdeburg hemispheres, meters, a compass, a telephone, spectrum devices, prisms, different types of mirrors, a photometer, a microscope, and various tubes etc. for chemical experiments for the physics lessons (Naturlehre). This indicates that the German School had already started to assemble equipment in the years of its foundation in order to create the necessary infrastructure for a solid education in the field of science.



Ninth Grade of the Girl's Division, 1907

These girls, who are looking at the lens in a somewhat scrutinizing manner, are about to graduate from school with the expectation of marrying a good "fortune" so as to participate in social life as young women. The Western clothing of the female students does not reflect the prevailing separation between communities in the Ottoman society of that time.

At the time the report was written, the German-Swiss School was, in Mühlmann's words, a community school (Gemeindeschule). German families had established the institution and supported it with their donations, and they also had a say in the management of the school through a supervisory body which they themselves had elected. Although there was no legal requirement for German children to attend school, issues like students playing truant from school rarely ever happened. Even though the only coercive body to discipline the children at this point was the school itself, these kinds of occasions were rare. The amount of the enrollment fee for the German- Swiss School as a community school was reasonable according to local market conditions. The children of German families, who were in financial difficulties, were asked

	Primary Grades				Upper Boys' Grades			Upper Girls' Grades			
	1. grade (VII)	2. grade (VI)	3. grade (V)	4. grade (IV)	5. grade (III)	6. grade (II)	7. grade (I)	5. grade (III)	6. grade (II)	7. grade (I)	Electives for Girls
Age Groups	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10	10-11	11-13	13-15	10-12	12-14	14-16	16-17
1. Grammar	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2. GermanLang.&Lit.	10	9	9	8	6	5	4	6	5	4	4
3. French	0	0	0	4	6	6	6	6	4	4	4
4. English	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	4	4	4
5. a) Arithmetic	4	5	5	4	4	3	1	4	3	2	2
b) Mathematics	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	0	0	0	0
6. General Knowledge: a) Perception & Civics	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b) Geography	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
c) History	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	2	2	2
d) Physiography	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
e) Physics-Chemistry	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0
7. Technical Skills: a) Writing	0	4	4	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0
b) Drawing	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
c) Singing	1	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	0
d) Physical Education	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
e) Girls' Handicraft	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	2	2	2
8. Elective: Latin	0	0	0	0	2	[6]	[6]	0	0	0	0
Total	18	24 (+2 Girls' Handicraft)	26 (+2 Girls' Handicraft)	28 (+2 Girls' Handicraft)	30	32	32	30	30	30	22

to either pay half the fee or not at all. At the same time, under the auspices of a strong protector such as the German Empire, the school received, financial aid on an annual basis, which covered its current expenditures. Another contribution of the German State was to ensure, through official authorities, that the school operation was running in accordance with the existing regulations.

As a principal, Mühlmann felt a sense of isolation because his school was located in a foreign urban environment and did not have direct and close relationships with either the Ottoman education officers or the German educational authorities. Reinforcing this feeling was the fact that the Bourgeois School was not in contact with other schools in the region and was therefore unable to exchange experiences. As such, the school had to stand completely on its own feet. These conditions were made even tougher by the fact that the German-Swiss School's activities were

followed carefully – not only by members of the German colony, but also by non-Germans – and was exposed to harsh criticism on an occasional basis. It was impossible to shield the school from the hostile and even defamatory slander that probably had its source in the rival schools in the Beyoğlu district. In this case, all that could be done was for the school, the teachers and the students to work hard and properly fulfill their duties in order to demonstrate their success.

The report contains further information about the school's financial situation as well as many other topics. Accordingly, in 1884, when the school had 15 teachers, 11 of them full-time faculty, 4 of them assistants, and a total of 317 students (180 boys and 137 girls) in 4 primary education and 3 preparatory classes, its financial situation was as follows: A total of 1,700 Ottoman lira was reserved for the teachers' salaries in the expenditures, which together with other current expenses account

Dr. Hans Schwatlo
(1860-1916)

Schwatlo was born in Berlin. He was first educated in the fields of Archeology and History of Art, later also in Classical Philology and Pedagogy. In 1889, he received his degree in Berlin. After teaching at the Royal Prussian Seminary (*Königlich Preußisches Seminar*) in Waldau (East Prussia), he came to Istanbul in 1893 and became the Director of the Bourgeois School. During his term as Director, which lasted until 1907, the school was officially certified by the German authorities as a middle school (*Realschule*).

Hans Schwatlo gave the German School a critical political mission, seeing it as an institution that would promote the German language and culture in the Ottoman Empire and represent German glory. In this sense, he deeply admired Emperor Wilhelm II.

After serving as rector for fifteen years, Schwatlo became Director of the Royal Wilhelm Gymnasium (*Königliche Wilhelmsgymnasium*) in Berlin. Fighting with the rank of captain on the western front during World War I, he died there two days after his only son, Lieutenant Hans-Martin Schwatlo, had been killed.

Ahmet Emin Yalman, who was a student of Schwatlo between 1904-1907, stated that he was quickly able to adapt to the school as a teenager who had come from Thessaloniki. Yalman did not feel

any pressure there, everything was in harmony at school; students were strongly disciplined of their own will; learning was not a burden but, on the contrary, a pleasure. During these imperial years, where the relationships between different ethnic groups were fraught with tension, the German School was characterized by amity and tranquility. Yalman also remembered Schwatlo's effective management and his skill as a literature teacher.



Hans Schwatlo

for an amount exceeding 2,300 lira. In terms of revenues, donations collected from the colony reached up to 250 lira and tuition fees make up around 1,300 lira. As a result, there is a budget deficit exceeding 700 lira. As before, this deficit was met through the financial support of the German State.

While the school had 204 students and 10 teachers in 1874, the figures above show that the number of both students and teachers had increased by approximately 50% only ten years later. As Mühlmann put it, only such an increase in the number of students could have effectively triggered the development of the school's infrastructure. In this context, Mühlmann stated – apparently in order to refute some views put forward on this topic – it would be an obstacle to the development of the school and would even reduce its capacities and performance if it were to adopt a policy of reducing the number of students or admitting only certain groups of students to the school in order to avoid the costs associated with new classrooms and the employment of new teachers. It seems that such a view had been put forward by some in the colony or the German-Swiss School Association during discussions about the school's costs. Here, we can see how farsighted Mühlmann was.

The changes made to the curriculum were influenced by the debates and pedagogical trends in post-1871 Germany. As the classical Gymnasium schools or primary schools were unable to respond to the increasing and diversified economic and social needs, secondary education institutions known as Realschule, which focused on experimental sciences and modern languages, gained importance. This was also the framework in which the curriculum of the Bourgeois School rearranged by Mühlmann took shape.

The above-mentioned pragmatic and scientific approaches taken by Mühlmann were also accepted in Berlin, thus paving the way for the Bourgeois School to be developed into a Realschule. In this respect, it is no exaggeration to claim that Mühlmann was the

real pedagogical architect of the German High School which has survived to the present day.

The Bourgeois School's Teacher Problem

According to Mühlmann, one of the most important duties of the Board of Directors of the German-Swiss School Association was to choose the most qualified, hardworking and responsible individuals among the teacher candidates to be employed. Another task of the Board was to keep the recruited teachers at the school for as long as possible – in other words, to offer the teacher an untroubled livelihood.

Here, Mühlmann voiced his complaints about the School Association's Board of Directors. According to him, if teachers would be paid on the basis of an hourly tuition fee account, they would not shoulder responsibility for the school when necessary and be led to spend their time and energy on private lessons outside of school due to this insufficient livelihood. With this in mind, Mühlmann stated that teachers who did not have to struggle to make a living should have the opportunity to improve themselves by making readings in their respective fields of expertise.

In Mühlmann's opinion, the fact that the teachers employed at the school did not remain in their position for long was another significant problem for the school. This was owing to the fact that the teachers working there were not entitled to a pension and their terms in Istanbul were not officially recognized once they returned to Germany. But Mühlmann was not considering working at the Bourgeois School from a purely economic perspective – he emphasizes that, to the extent that they strengthened their language skills and cultural knowledge of the German youth there, German teachers serving abroad would also serve their German homeland.

Another serious problem for the schools abroad observed by Mühlmann concerned the differences in professional training among the teachers and, indeed, in their nationalities. For Mühlmann, the existence of such differences among teachers serving at the same institution caused problems with respect to



School Members Boarding the Tarabya Ferry in 1899

In this picture one can see students are walking on Galata Bridge in a great procession with their teachers towards the ferry going to Tarabya in order to participate in the spring festival.



Richard Preusser and the Sixth Grade of 1907

This photograph shows Richard Preusser, who was the Principal of Haydarpaşa School between 1909 and 1918 and greatly contributed to the foundation of the German High School in 1924, as a young teacher at the age of 25 or 26.

the school's educational standards and quality. However, he believed that it was even more important to ensure harmony and a common standard among teachers given the significant differences among the children enrolled in the school, in terms of the environment they had grown up in.

The Bourgeois School as the Imperial Representative of the German Empire

Under the direction of Rector Dr. Karl Lang, who replaced Mühlmann in 1887, and particularly under Lang's successor Dr. Hans Schwatlo, the German School became a propaganda office for the German Empire in Istanbul. Meanwhile, Wilhelm II, who had just acceded to the throne of the German Empire, in contradistinction to Chancellor Bismarck's conservative and highly cautious approach, began to impose an aggressive and audacious foreign policy that would give Germany a

say on the global stage. In the context of the policy the "Drive to the East" (*Drang nach Osten*), the German Emperor strove to establish close ties with the Ottoman State.

Emperor Wilhelm II made his first visit to Istanbul in late October 1889, shortly after his ascension. The *Sabah*, a newspaper of that period, reported that during this visit, the German association Teutonia in Istanbul and the German notables hired four ferryboats to welcome the Emperor and the Empress, that these ferries met the guests in Ayastefanos, that the German School's students also attended the event, that the Teutonia Association gave a concert and a banquet in the German Embassy on Saturday (October 26, 1889), and that during the banquet, students of the German School performed some songs to enliven the banquet. It is known that German Emperor Wilhelm II also visited the German School during this visit.

There is no doubt that Wilhelm II's visit to Istanbul affected the Germans here in various ways. For example, about a year later, on September 20, 1890, a newspaper directed at the German colony in Istanbul, named *Osmanische Post* began to be published. This newspaper, which was first published twice a week and then on a daily basis, was shut down in 1895.

Dr. Hans Schwatlo and the New Mission of the German School

On January 1, 1893, Dr. Hans Schwatlo started his duty as the rector of the German School. As a staunch German nationalist, Schwatlo regarded the German School as a sacred instrument to the cause of spreading German culture in a foreign country. According to him, the school was supposed to be an apparatus to realize, in contrast to a non-Protestant and degenerate environment, the ideal of a generation of moral and virtuous German children in the Ottoman Orient. To this end, in the German School of his time, it was intended that children would internalize the spiritual supremacy attributed to Emperor Wilhelm and that they would be raised with the values of loyalty and obedience to him as much as possible.

Within this framework, Dr. Schwatlo encouraged non-German children to also enroll in the Bourgeois School. Schwatlo was aiming to disseminate his German cultural propaganda across the widest possible range. He paid great attention to the preparatory classes, whose connection with the school had remained weak up until then, and tried to ensure that the children completing these classes would have a strong foundation in terms of their German language skills.

But no matter how hard he tried, Dr Schwatlo, an energetic and zealous administrator, was unable to have Berlin accredit the German School, which was becoming the main cultural icon of the German Empire in the Ottoman capital, with the status of a high school officially equivalent to the *Realschule* and *Oberrealschule* in Germany. Apparently, the inadequate nature of the school building in Kuledibi also played a part in this.

Since the German education administration did not recognize the German School as equivalent to similar institutions in Germany, a considerable number of German families living in Istanbul preferred to send their children to Germany if they had the opportunity, instead of handing them over to a school without accreditation.

Before moving on to the story of the building in Şahkulu Street, which would solve the lack of space that delayed settlement of above-mentioned equivalence issue for the German School, and moreover, became an important milestone in the formation of the spatial identity that has survived until the present, the origination of a few other traditions that shaped the identity of the school starting from the 1870s should be mentioned.

The Formation of the German High School's Identity as it is Known Today: The May Festival

The tradition for students, teachers and even parents to gather in rural areas to celebrate the school's foundation in May (or in June), the month the school was originally founded, has become an integral part of the identity of the German High School. Although it is not known when exactly this tradition was started, we do know that the May Festival was regularly celebrated when Goedel was rector. By the 1880s, the May Festival was celebrated mostly in June. Before 1880, Sultaniye meadow in Beykoz was usually where the celebrations took place. After Abdul Hamid II donated a piece of land in Tarabya to the German Embassy in 1880, the May Festivals started to be organized here.

Mühlmann recounts how the celebration was held in these years:

"On the morning of the festival after the students had gathered in the school's courtyard at 7 o'clock in their festive clothes, there would be a procession from Galata down to Karaköy Bridge. Anchored at the edge of the bridge, the biggest ferry of the Şirket-i Hayriye (the 19th century Istanbul ferryboat company) was waiting for the

students, who came walking down cheering with German and Swiss flags hoisted up their poles. The parents and relatives of the children had already taken the places assigned to them on the ferry. The entire German colony was dying to join the celebrations. As the ferry traveled along the Bosphorus, the sound of music and joyful singing spread around. Up until 1879, the ferry went to Sultaniye, where there was a large meadow and trees providing plenty of shade. But since the sultan gifted the idyllic park in Tarabya to the German Emperor, the May Festival is now celebrated on the premises of the embassy in Tarabya, with the permission of the German Imperial Ambassador. After the ferry had edged in to shore, the disembarking students sat down on cushions in their classes, before being served coffee and cake. After that, the students followed their teachers in groups and started playing cheerful games. The adults either took shelter in a suitable patch of shade and watched the youth play, or started to prepare breakfast. At noon, the games were briefly interrupted so that a simple meal could be eaten on the cushions. After this short break, it was time for songs, games and dances accompanied by conversation. Towards evening, people got back onto the ferry in order to return. Although the May Festival was not held in 1876 due to tensions in the political atmosphere, the celebrations the following year on June 24, 1877 were even more magnificent."

The tension mentioned here refers to the political events leading up to the deposing of Sultan Abdülaziz on 31 May 1876. Usually, the Imperial Ambassador would also have joined this cheerful May Festival crowd.

Another School Tradition: Student and Teacher Trips

Hiking (*Wandern*), one of the national sports of the Germans, also had its place within the Bourgeois School. It is likely that hiking trips were organized as soon as the school was first established. The oldest known testimony of a hiking event is once again provided by Mühlmann.

According to the Rector the school was on holiday from May 31 of 1883 because of extreme heat. This would have been an opportunity to go hiking. But students also took outdoor trips under the supervision of their teachers on cooler days. On May 2 of the same year, girls of the upper three grades toured the Rumeli Fortress under the leadership of Mühlmann. Another day, on June 30, the 5th grade girls went to Blakherna (Edirnekapi) accompanied by a few female graduates and walked around Hebdomon Palace, Chora Mosque and part of the city walls. On April 26, the boys of the upper three grades, were accompanied by Mr. Brünisholz, Mr. Geering and Mr. Becker as they passed through Okmeydanı to Kağıthane and walked all the way along the Kağıthane stream. On another occasion, the 3rd and 4th grade students of the elementary school went to the Feriköy hills by horsecar, where they played various games under the supervision of Mr. Paul Lange and Mr. Jerussy. In October, 6th and 7th grade female students were joined by the rector on an afternoon stroll to the historical peninsula, guided by Mrs. Pastor Feigs, Mr. Albert, and Mr. Hupfer. After touring the Spice Bazaar, Grand Bazaar, Bedesten, and Beyazit Mosque, they climbed to the top of Seraskier Tower, before passing by the Theodosius Cistern and the obelisks on Sultanahmet Square, and finally visited Hagia Sophia Mosque.

In order to institutionalize these activities, Gottfried Albert, one of the teachers of the Bourgeois School, established the "German Excursion Association" (*Deutscher Ausflugsverein*) in 1885. This association organized trips within Istanbul or to the rural areas surrounding the city every fortnight. These were attended not only by members of the school but also by curious colony members. The association existed until 1918.

It should not be forgotten that this was also the period of Abdul Hamid's Absolutist regime. And indeed, these trips were closely monitored by government officials. For example, on May 23, 1901, the Governor of Üsküdar reported that 42 students of the

Bourgeois School were ferried over to Üsküdar with their professors, walked around Çamlıca and returned in the evening.

It can further be observed that the teachers of the German School, who frequently went on travels to Anatolia during this period, were also kept under surveillance throughout these kinds of trips. It was mandatory to obtain permission from the public authorities through the German Embassy for undertaking them. The German Embassy informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the travelers' names, their destinations,

the duration of their trip, its purpose and what they were planning to do during the trip (for example, whether they would take photographs or make a map) and requested that the Ministry would facilitate these trips. The official authorities would then inform the local administrations about the scope of the proposed trip and order them to take the necessary measures.

For instance, Richard Preusser, who became a teacher at the Bourgeois School in 1903 and would go on to play a major role in the school's reopening in 1924, obtained permission from the relevant authorities for a two-month trip to Ereğli, Adana, Kayseri, Yozgat, Boğazköy, Amasya, Tokat, Şebinkarahisar, Gümüşhane and Trabzon, which he planned to undertake in July and August 1905. Wherever he went, Preusser's every step was followed closely. The Governor of Trabzon reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs that Preusser went to the city of Trabzon via Gümüşhane, stayed there for three days at the Tevfik Efendi Hotel, visited the Hostrasser Company and the Hagia Sophia Mosque during this time, visited the bazaar occasionally, and returned to Istanbul with the Greek company's ferry and that nothing "the sultan would not approve of" had occurred.

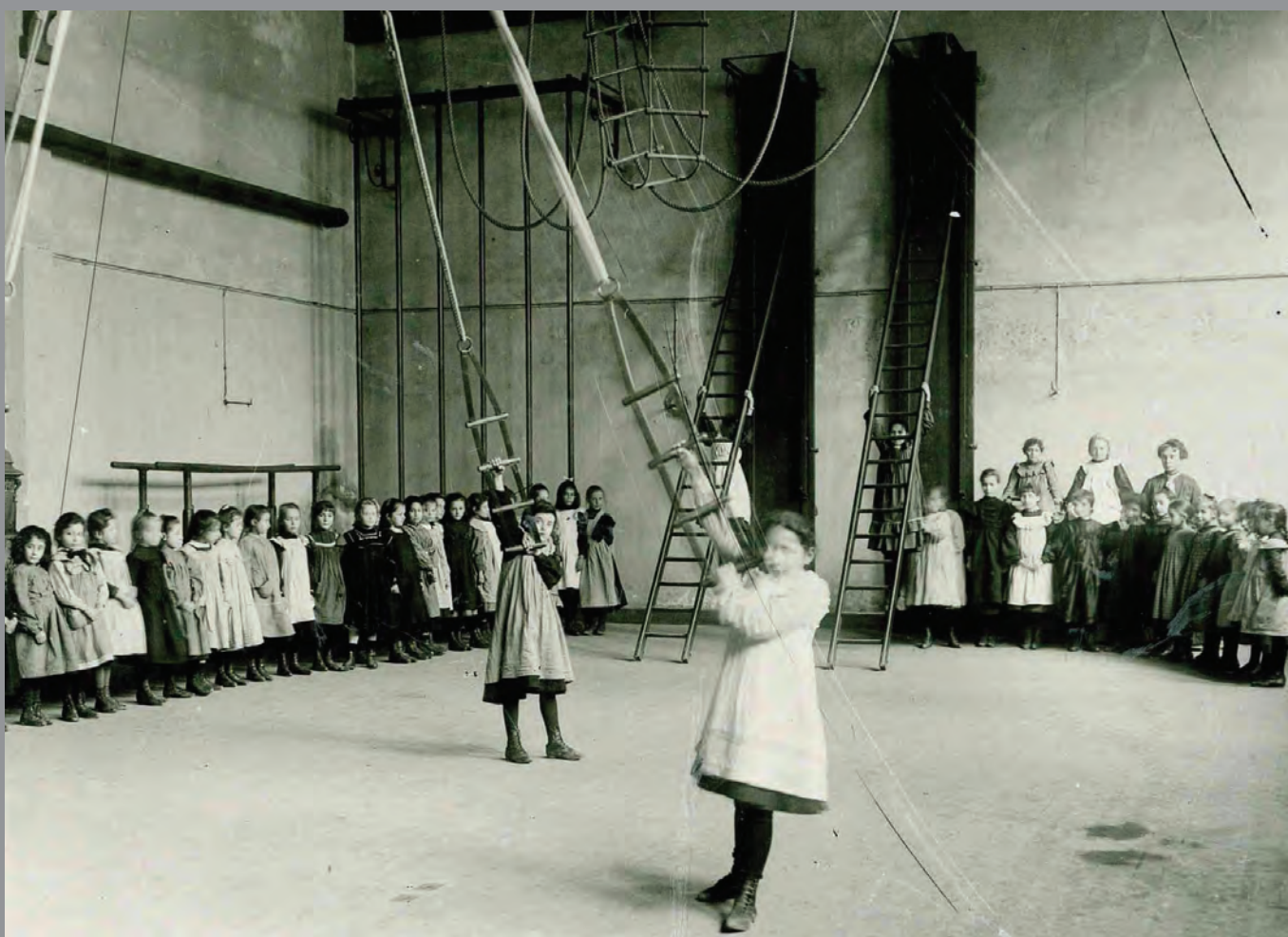
The boundaries of the permits issued for these excursions, which were carried out almost every year during the summer holidays, continued to be drawn in a very strict manner during the 2nd Constitutional

Era. The geographic research trips of Richard Preusser - who became the President of the German Excursion Association in 1908, teacher of the Haydarpaşa German School in 1910 and director of the same school in 1911 - to Üsküdar, Bursa and Izmit in 1908, 1910 and 1911 were joined by German School teachers Martin Guthknecht and Dr. Anders. In 1911, Richard Preusser and Martin Guthknecht participated in a trip to a number of places including Hereke, Şile, Kandira, Adapazari, Bilecik, Inegöl, Izmit, Gemlik, Yalova and Karamursel, where they conducted geographic research. Meanwhile, the Izmit Governor's Office asked for the opinion of the Ministry of Internal Affairs with respect to Preusser and Guthknecht drawing maps in Akçaova. In response, the Ministry of Internal Affairs notified them that they should kindly be informed that they were not authorized to draw maps.

The Insufficiency of the Kuledibi Building and the 1894 Earthquake

The German School building in use since 1872, located on Yüksek Kaldırım Street near the Galata Tower, was originally in a favorable position in terms of air currents from the Bosphorus and the Marmara Sea. However, by the 1890s, it was surrounded by high-rise buildings, and cut off from its view and access to air. On the other hand, the Bourgeois School's need for space naturally increased as it kept growing steadily. However, the building did not have the capacity to meet this requirement. Due to the insufficient number and size of classrooms, lessons could hardly be held in rooms overflowing with students. This situation was causing a lack of discipline among students.

As the German Empire's economic relations with the Ottoman Empire became even closer, more German families were arriving in Istanbul. This was an important factor in the increase in number of students. Around 1894 an elementary school, which was institutionally connected to the German School, was built in Haydarpaşa. In particular it recognized the difficulties being experienced



*Female Students during their Physical Education Class in 1897
When the Bourgeois School moved to the new building in 1897, its sports facilities were highly developed
according to the standards of the time.*

by officers, engineers and workers working at the Baghdad Railways, who were having to send their children from the Anatolian side of the city to Beyoğlu every day.

In addition to the chronic shortage in terms of its capacity, the condition of the Kuledibi building was gradually becoming increasingly run down. The school complex no longer had any direct exit connecting it to the street. Wastewater soaked the building and the walls were becoming discolored because of dampness. The stairs and corridors were extremely narrow. The toilets were in a bad condition.

The building had a serious problem with ventilation and disinfection. The stuffy and humid atmosphere at school was affecting students' health. The German teachers, who were disturbed by such an environment, did not want to stay for long under these conditions and often left the city within a short period of time.

On July 10, 1894, Istanbul was shaken by a severe earthquake. The Bourgeois School building was partially damaged as a result. The plan to build a new school building on the same land was considered to be inappropriate by experts. In a report prepared by engineers Dr. Eisen, Dr. Düring and Jasmund, it was recommended that a new building be purchased elsewhere for the construction of a school building, emphasizing that re-building the school building on the existing plot would not be sanitary or hygienic owing to being surrounded by high-rise apartments.

It has already been mentioned that the building, a solid construction of high quality stone material according to Mühlmann, was sold in 1906 to the Greek Orthodox school Zografyon in order to be used as a school and that it had been rented out up until this date. The reason specified by school officials for the construction of a new building, namely the damage caused to the existing building by the earthquake, was secondary at best. Infact, the unhealthy conditions of the

building and the fact that it was completely surrounded by tall buildings were considered to be the more significant problems.

Land Disputes During the Transition to the Big New Building in 1897

The problems with the school building forced the School Association to reassess the situation. As a result, the decision was made to search for a new plot on which to build the school building on. The Association appealed to Gustav Wülfing, who was a member of the Board of Directors of the Association during the foundation of the school and had been promoted to the position of Deputy General Manager of the Ottoman Bank in the meantime, asking for support in purchasing land and constructing a new building. Wülfing filed a petition with the official authorities on September 14, 1895, as the "head" of the Bourgeois School, which he described as "intended for the poor children of Galata." In this application, Wülfing stated that the number of students at the school, which had been opened "20 years ago with an official license" in Istanbul for the Germans and Ottoman citizens, was around 400. He wrote that, just at the moment they were considering increasing the capacities of the building since it was insufficient for their number of students, the school building had been completely ruined by the earthquake. Wülfing also noted that an aid campaign had been initiated in order to repair the dilapidated building and to enhance it by adding a few adjacent pieces of land. He further mentioned that the aid collected would be enough to purchase 1,360 turkish yard (about 1,030.5 meters) of land from the Galata Mevlevihane near the school and that they had already decided to buy this plot, with even the price having been determined, with the approval of Ataullah Efendi, the Postnishin of the Mevlevihane.

After communicating this information in his application, he then requested that the sultan give his will for the expansion, given that the land was the foundation's land and the expansion therefore dependent on the sultan's approval.



Female Students in Painting Class in 1897

When the Bourgeois School moved into the new building in 1897, special classrooms were created for almost every subject.

Upon this application, a decree from the sultan was issued which granted a permit for the construction. But this order was interpreted in two different ways. While the authorities of the German School understood the permit to cover both the land that Wülfing was using and the land of the Galata Mevlevihane, the official authorities held that this permit only covered the land being used by Wülfing. Even though German school officials began the construction immediately, the problems created by this difference in interpretation were not solved until the end of 1899.

The source of the problem was the fact that part of the land chosen for the school building was the foundation's land. This land, the vegetable garden of the Galata Mevlevihane, was regarded as the property of the Iskender Pasha Foundation. The German School officials made their transaction with Postnishin Ataullah Efendi. However, according to the official authorities, the authorized person was actually Abdullah Hulusi Efendi, Trustee of the Iskender Pasha Foundation.

But the sale of the foundation lands was subject to inspection by the Ministry of Foundations, which meant that this problem was examined by the Foundations Inspection Court (*Mahkeme-i Teftiş-i Evkaf*). The results of this examination emphasized that there was no

Esat Sagay (1874- 1938)

Esat Sagay was the son of Manastir Province Tithe Minister Yusuf Bey. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1894. After performing field duty in Beirut Province between 1894-1898, he started teaching German at the Military Academy. He also taught Turkish at the German High School between 1904-1906.

While Sagay was teaching at the Military Academy, Mustafa Kemal was one of his students. In these years, Sagay also participated in the Young Turk underground movements which was forming against the Abdul Hamid regime. However, after the Young Turk Revolution, he cut his ties with politics for a long period. Sagay, who went to Germany before the Balkan War, was influenced by German simplicity and austerity. He was on the Çanakkale Front during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the subsequent World War I.

After the Armistice of Mudros, Sagay, by this point a Colonel (Miralay), retired and worked as manager in a company during the years of Istanbul's occupation. In 1923 he re-entered politics as a member of the People's Party. In 1927 he became a Member of Parliament as Bursa deputy and part of the 6th and 7th Turkish Governments' cabinets as Deputy Minister of Education between September 19, 1932 and 27 September 1930.

Esat Sagay, who was greatly respected by Atatürk as his former teacher, was attacked by Resit Galip Bey due to his conservative policies and the measures he resorted to for enforcing discipline at schools during his time as Minister of Education. Although Esat Sagay resigned from this position, Atatürk ensured that he became the Parliamentary Deputy Speaker during the Assembly's 4th Legislative Period (November 1932-December 1934).

official record proving that Galata Mevlevihane belonged to the Iskender Pasha foundation but that, in fact, according to the official record submitted by Abdullah Hulusi Efendi, it belonged to the foundation. According to this logic, the construction permit which had previously been granted to the German Embassy covered the land used by Wülfing, but not the land of the Mevlevihane.

According to research and a map prepared by the officials of the Ministry of Foundations, an area of 1,981 zira (equivalent to the unit of Turkish yards, one zira corresponds to 0.68 meters) of the Mevlevihane garden had been fenced, and an area of 346 *zira* (235 meters) had been used to erect a building for the school without obtaining a license from the Ministry. Although the Postnishin had given his permission to all this, it was reported that, pursuant to the sultan's command (*berat*) dated 308 [1890/1], authority was vested in Abdullah Hulusi Efendi, the Trustee of the Iskender Foundation. Moreover, since foundation properties could not be transformed into rental properties (*mukataa*) upon request, the transaction was not religiously permissible (not in accordance with the Sharia provisions). It was therefore decided that the fenced area had to be returned and the building removed, and if the latter was not possible, a rent of an amount to be determined every year according to the value of similar places was to be paid to the Foundation Treasury for the 346 zira (235 meters) area occupied by the building, so that it could be spent for the needs of the foundation via its trustee Abdullah Hulusi Efendi.

Wülfing objected to this decision with the title of "German Citizen Director of the Ottoman Bank Head of the Administrative Board of the German School." He indicated that it had been necessary to purchase the required plot of land from the garden of the Galata Mevlevihane because the land in the Şahkulu district was inadequate for the construction of the school building, that he had made the necessary agreement with

Sheikh Ataullah Efendi who he considered to be the trustee of the Iskender Foundation, that they had agreed to pay the mature debt (*muaccele*) that needed to be paid in advance in cases where foundation property was rented after the land had been turned into rental property, that the construction work had been initiated based on the license issued by the Sixth Chamber of the Municipality and Sheikh Ataullah Efendi's permission, and that an application had been filed for a quick completion of the procedure converting the land into rental property. He also communicated that the necessary orders had been given to the Ministry of Foundations by the Grand Vizier and that the Ministry had reached its decision after the construction, which had been ongoing for a year and a half, had been completed. Wülfing emphasized that the place from the Mevlevihane garden included in the school construction was not fenced with board fence, as stated in the decree of the Ministry of Foundations, but was surrounded by a four meter high masonry wall, which had been built over a one year period. Although the building had been built on an area measuring 346 zira (approximately 235 meters), the remaining plot was the school's only possible entrance and exit. The doors and windows of the school had been made according to this building plan, which included the garden.

If only one part of this area were to be removed from the school, it would turn this large building, which had cost 15,000 liras, into a cellar without an entrance. Wülfing emphasized that this plot had not been arbitrarily occupied and that the trustee's consent had been obtained for the construction. Following these objections, Wülfing requested that the land be turned into a rental property on condition that the rent, which was to be determined every year, was paid to the foundation. His objections were considered appropriate. In order to determine the rent, during the meeting held at the Council of State on December 13, 1899, Wülfing's representative Ziya Bey found that the price of 350 kuruş for every



Deutsche



e Schule 34.

zira, which had been calculated for 550 square zira (approximately 256 square meters), was too high and insisted that the school, which was intended for poor children in particular, did not have the means to afford this. He stated that they would be able to pay a total of 246,100 kurus, 325 kurus for each zira of this area of 550 square zira (374 meters) and 60 kurus for each zira of the remaining 1,122 square zira and 12 square fingers (approximately 523 square meters). Since further postponement of the agreement would have been to the detriment of both the foundation and the school, this price was agreed upon.

Construction Costs of the New Building

Engineer Otto Kapp von Gültstein estimated that the cost for the construction of the new building, which would be completed in 1897 and whose address would be Beyoğlu, Şahkulu Mahallesi, Ester [new name “Yörük”] Cıkmaç Sokağı, No. 21 and Yazıcı Mahallesi, Yazıcı Sokak, No. 55, would amount to 250,000 marks. Upon the German Empire's refusal to cover this construction cost, Otto Kapp agreed to take on 80 percent of the share of 200,000 marks, and Bank Manager Wülfig 20 percent share of 50,000 marks of the cost.

In addition to this major support, Kapp also took charge of the new building's draft, its architectural plan and supervision free of charge. While the plan of the school building was prepared free of charge by civil engineer Tiede in Berlin, the details were completed by architect Münzerberger in Gross-Lichterfeld near Berlin. The new building was planned to accommodate 300 students and teacher lodgings.

There also were attempts to use other channels in order to procure the money needed for the construction of the new building of the Bourgeois School. Part of the aid collected by the German Faith Committee, which was established in Germany to help those who had been affected by the earthquake, was channeled into the building construction through the German Consulate in Istanbul. A lump sum payment of 7,005 marks

was reported to the Ottoman Government and reserved for the reconstruction of the German School. In addition, the proposal of the German Ambassador in Istanbul that the 4,600 francs sent by the committee established in Dresden for the victims of the earthquake should be used for the benefit of the “Swiss-German” school in Istanbul, was responded to positively by the second chairman of the committee in a letter. In this, he wrote: “In our opinion, there naturally isn't anything to argue against this as it is clear that this school is one of the charities of Istanbul.”

Having been estimated at a cost of 250,000 marks, the actual construction cost of the building was 258,000, according to a petition by Wülfig even 285,000 marks. The remaining debt was later covered by the imperial budget after the German bureaucracy had changed its attitude.

The Politics of Abdul Hamid II's Regime Toward the Bourgeois School and the License Issue

As stated earlier, according to the Regulations on Public Education dated 1869, it was possible for foreign schools to legally carry out their activities in the Ottoman Empire through the obtaining of an official license. But for a long period the foreign schools had not been complying with this rule. In the period of Abdul Hamid II, the administrative bodies started to exert pressure on them, pushing them towards getting licenses. But due to both the weakness of the Ottoman State in the international context and the various legal shields provided to foreign individuals and institutions by the Capitulation rights, the administrative pressures of the Sublime Porte were only effective to a limited extent. Nevertheless, we know that many recently opened Catholic, British and American schools in the province of Damascus were closed in 1887 because they did not have licenses. The main question was how this law of 1869 was to be retroactively applied to foreign schools established previous to this date – which included the Bourgeois School. In 1892, in the face of a renewed attempt to

put pressure on foreign schools with respect to licensing, the foreign embassies raised their voices and succeeded in fending off this attempt.

As far as the German School was concerned, we don't encounter any direct complaints in the Ottoman documents regarding the school or related to licensing. The fact that the Ottoman Empire attached importance to Germany's friendship and did not want to disturb the country paid an important role in its stance. In this respect, a notebook dated 1905 serves as an interesting example. Here, it is stated that the German School did not have a license. However, in a letter by the grand vizier dated January 9, 1897, it was emphasized that a decree of the sultan permitting the construction of the new building had been issued. This date was therefore accepted as the date the Bourgeois School received its license. The tolerant attitude of the Abdul Hamid regime towards the Bourgeois School also becomes evident with respect to the customs restrictions, which were applied to books coming from abroad in the context of the Armenian crisis that was erupting in that period. For example, 277 geographical atlases sent to the Bookstore Antoni Medini from Germany before April 1890, were not permitted through the Galata customs because their maps marked the Van province and its surroundings as Armenia. However, after confirming that these books had been ordered to be taught at the German School and that they would not be sold outside, they were handed over to School Principal Karl Lange and bookseller Antoni Medini, who personally came to collect them from customs in July 1890. Another batch of the same books ordered on behalf of Bookshop Vebis was handed over to the school upon the initiative of the German Embassy. 44 atlases sent for the Bookstore Hristo Dolo were initially prevented from delivery since there were two passages where places inhabited by Armenians were displayed as Armenia. But they were handed over to the owner when it was understood that the atlases belonged to the German School.



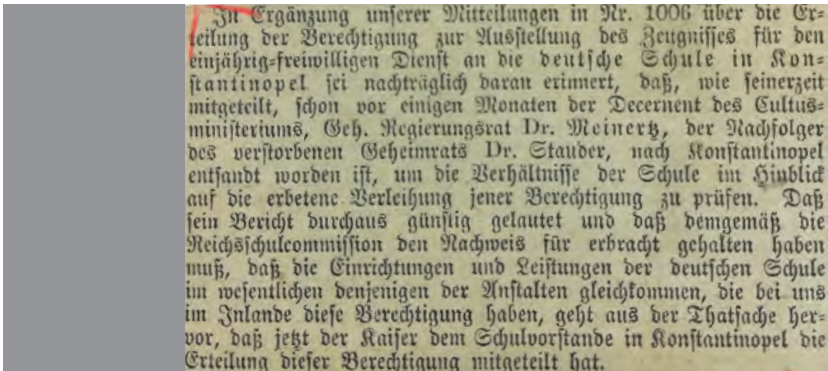
1907 senior students

The German School, whose purpose was to provide education for German native children in Beyoğlu, opened its doors to non-German children after 1879. By 1907, ethnic German students no longer formed an overwhelming majority at the school. As seen in this photo of the senior students of 1907, Ottoman subjects wearing fez and young ethnic German students are together. The second student from the right in the back row is Ahmed Emin Yalman.

Despite this generally tolerant attitude, members of the Bourgeois School did receive their share of the surveillance that was part of the Absolute regime from time to time. Upon leaving a shop selling rifles in Galata, teacher Joseph Warnia Zarzecki was forcibly arrested and searched by the police because he had entered the shop and looked at some of the weapons. In protest at this attitude of the police officers, the German Embassy demanded the punishment of those responsible. Similarly, teacher Dr. Wilhelm Endriss was taken into custody while walking around Beylerbeyi because his demeanor and movement were deemed suspicious, but was released when it was understood that he was a teacher at the German School.

The German School Choir in the Presence of Sultan Abdul Hamid

It is moreover quite possible that Paul Lange, who conducted the Ottoman Imperial Orchestra in Yıldız Palace, had an impact on the regime's positive attitude towards the Bourgeois School in that period. Paul Lange was employed at the German School by Mühlmann in 1880 as a music and singing teacher. He was also working at Yıldız Palace at the same time.



Accreditation News – Kölnische Zeitung, 1898

The recognition of the Bourgeois School as a Realschule was also reflected in the German press of the time. In this news of Kölnische Zeitung dated 27 October 1898, it is reported that following the German School's application for accreditation of equivalence with its peer institutions in Germany, Dr. Meinerz, one of the government consultants, came to Istanbul to inspect the school and that his favorable report led the Emperor to send a equivalence certificate to the Board of Directors of the School Association.

It seems that word about the success of the German School students in choral music reached Sultan Abdul Hamid II's ears either via Paul Lange or on the initiative of Princess Radolin, wife of the German Ambassador. As a result, on February 1, 1894, the student choir of the German School was invited to Yildiz Palace and gave a polyphonic concert in the presence of Abdul Hamid II and his harem at the Yildiz Palace Theater. After the concert, gold in velvet pouches was distributed to the children by the sultan.

Orders Received by the Teachers and Administrators of the German School

Another proof of the benevolent attitude towards the German School in the Absolutist period were the medals bestowed upon many of its teachers and administrators.

Orders Awarded

Name	Duty	Order Awarded	Year
Doktor Schwatlo	Principal of Beyoğlu German School	4th Class Order of the Medjidie	1895
Ernst Lange	Former teacher of Beyoğlu German School	4th Class Order of the Medjidie	1895
Karl Becker	Teacher of Beyoğlu German School	3rd Class Order of Osmanieh	1898
Gottfried Albert	Teacher of Beyoğlu German School	4th Class Order of Osmanieh	1898
Franz Ganske	Vice Principal of Beyoğlu German School	4th Class Order of Osmanieh	1898
Miss Delfine Feigs	Teacher of Beyoğlu German School	3rd Class Order of Charity	1898
Karl Mergenthaler	Teacher of Beyoğlu German School	4th Class Order of Osmanieh	1898
Doktor Treichel	Teacher of Beyoğlu German School	4th Class Order of Osmanieh	1900
Doktor Schwatlo	Principal of Beyoğlu German School	3rd Class Order of the Medjidie	1900
Müller	Former First Secetary of the German Consulate	4th Class Order of the Medjidie	1900

The Increasing Weight of Ottoman-Subject Students

Starting from the 1870s, the Neighborhood School, which had been founded in 1868 with the main purpose of providing education to children of the Beyoğlu German colony and of Swiss descent, began to accept an increasing number of non-native German children of different nationalities. By 1890, German and Swiss nationals accounted for a share of 40.7% among the 418 students of the Bourgeois School, thus constituting a minority, whereas there were 13.4% or 56 students who were Ottoman subjects and an approximate 46% of students of other nationalities. In 1899, we discover that already 150 out of 500 students, that is 30%, had an official Ottoman identity. By 1908, the

year the Young Turk Revolution took place, 217 among 587 students were Ottoman subjects, constituting a proportion of 37%, meaning that the group of Ottoman- subject students constituted the simple majority for the first time. In 1914, when the First World War broke out, the Ottoman students reached the absolute majority, constituting 63.5% or 588 of the total number of 926 students. Due to this change in the Bourgeois School's student profile, it was already acknowledged in Mühlmann's days that the institution had become cosmopolitan. During Hans Schwatlo's presidency in turn, emphasis was put on the idea that the aim of education lay in the mission of imparting the German language and culture to those who did not have such a background. Muslim students were almost non-existent among the Ottoman students in the 1890s. The overwhelming majority consisted of Ottoman Jews, Armenians and Greeks. It is not known exactly when Muslim students started to attend the German School, but based on a notebook prepared by the official authorities in 1892 documenting the number and names of Muslim students going to non-Muslim and foreign schools, it is estimated that there were no Muslim students attending Beyoğlu German School during this period. Yet an inspection conducted in 1901 showed that, by this time, Muslim students were in attendance. Since Muslim students were not allowed to attend foreign schools during this time, the person/ institution conducting the inspection stated that these students should immediately be removed from the German School on Yazıcı Street and sent to a public schools where «all basic and applied sciences and Western languages» were taught. At Haydarpasa German School, which was permitted to be constructed only on the condition that it would not accept Muslim students, 37 of the 101 students were Muslims.

The decreasing ratio of German and Swiss students in the student population also caused some discomfort in Germany. In the early 1900s, there were voices in the German press who drew attention to the fact that a great number of non-Christian children



Souvenir of Wilhelm II's School Visit in 1898

After his first visit to Istanbul in 1889, German Emperor Wilhelm II made a second, more glorious visit in 1898, which also included Damascus and Jerusalem. He was very pleased with his reception at the German School on his second visit.

were educated at the Bourgeois School and demanded that care should be taken in supporting the school with public money.

Concerns were also raised about the fact that there were too many foreigners in the school, and that the “Levantine Jews” in particular, that is, the Ottoman Jewish students, were having a negative impact on the German children studying there.



January 1909, Emperor Wilhelm's 50th Birthday Celebrations

When German Emperor Wilhelm turned fifty on January 14, 1909, the Osmanischer Lloyd newspaper devoted half of the first page to this event. In the same news, it is stated that the emperor's birthday will be celebrated with pompous ceremonies at the German High School.

Another prominent concern was that upon graduating from the Bourgeois School, the “Turkish Jewish” children would enter into unfair competition in trade with the young German graduates. This indicates how anti-Semitic sentiments in German public opinion were distorting its view of the Bourgeois School in the early twentieth century.

The First Ottoman Teachers at the Bourgeois School

In the context of the increase in the number of Ottoman-subject children, the question of teaching classes in the Ottoman language, which had been made mandatory for foreign schools by the Ministry of Education around that time, also became an issue for the German School. Within this scope, teachers giving Ottoman Turkish lessons were employed starting from 1896. Their salaries were paid by the Ministry of Education. As far as it is known, Sami Midhat Bey was the first Ottoman Turkish teacher working at the German School. From 1896 to 1918, Twenty Ottomans taught Turkish at the school, among the people like Esat [Sagay],

Hıfzı Tevfik [Gönensay], and Ruşen Eşref [Ünaydın], who would later become prominent political figures. In general, it is likely that people working in the military or in the civilian administration taught Ottoman Turkish as an additional source of income. With a few exceptions, the majority did not work in the Bourgeois School for longer than a year or two.

In connection with the increase in the number of Muslim Ottoman female students, from 1915 Muslim Turkish female teachers were employed at the German School as Turkish teacher. These three teachers were Belkıs Edib Hanım, Münevver Hanım and Behice Cemil Hanım.

The Bourgeois School's Contributions to the Ottoman State

German teachers who came to the German School taught there for an average of five or six years, but occasionally more than ten

years. Some of these teachers then switched to working for the Ottoman State service. The Ottoman Empire employed many experts from Europe to modernize its army, civil administration and economic infrastructure; a policy which had already been introduced in the eighteenth century, but which really came into effect in the era of Mahmud II. Within the scope of this policy, and after having taught at the Bourgeois School for a while, some of the teachers, whose names are known, either served in the Ottoman State in a parallel job or devoted all of their energy to the Ottoman service. In the context of the German School, the best known example was the music and singing teacher Paul Lange. While continuing to teach at the Bourgeois School, he also served as the conductor of the Imperial Orchestra at Yıldız Palace.

Another name is Dr. Eduard Seidenstücker, who resigned from his job as Latin, Ancient Greek, and History teacher at the school and switched to the Ottoman service in 1902. Oswald Urban Müller, one of the middle-level teachers of the school, was appointed as German Teacher to the School of Engineering in 1916. Georg Reisinger and Paul Fuchs, teachers at the Haydarpasha German School, were appointed as German teachers to Üsküdar Sultan School, which led Fuchs to resign from Haydarpasha School.

The Bourgeois School's Trouble with Nostrification in Germany

As a result of Mühlmann's extensive reforms, the Bourgeois School became a Realschule. The more prestige the German Empire was gaining in world politics, the more the reputation of the school was increasing in Istanbul. Despite the great efforts that rector Schwatlo made for the German School to be credited by Berlin with the status of a secondary school and high school officially equivalent to the Realschule and Oberrealschule in Germany, he was unable to achieve this in his first years of duty. Until then the Bourgeois School, which had become the main cultural symbol of the German Empire in the Ottoman Empire, was treated as an educational institution at the level of primary school by the German bureaucracy.

Apparently the insufficient school building played a part in this failure, despite Dr. Schwatlo's efforts. As you may recall, the building in Kuledibi had been squeezed in between other apartments in Galata and was too modest to project the grandeur of the German Empire. But whatever its reasons, the failure to solve the issue of nostrification brought various inconveniences. Since the German bureaucracy did not recognize the German School as being equivalent to similar institutions in Germany, a considerable number of German families living in Istanbul preferred to send their children to Germany if their financial opportunities allowed, rather than allowing them to study in a school without proper accreditation.

Emperor Wilhelm II's Visit and the Solution of the Accreditation Issue

October 1898 marked the most important event for the German School up until the later First World War: German Emperor Wilhelm II's visit to the German School in Beyoğlu during his official trip to the Ottoman Empire. The date and time of his visit were arranged before his arrival in Istanbul. Reaching the city on October 18, 1898, the German Emperor was welcomed at Dolmabahçe Palace by the Ottoman Sultan. He visited the German School on the afternoon of the same day he arrived. The school had made all the necessary preparations regarding his visit. İkdâm, one of the newspapers of the periods, reported on how the visit proceeded. According to its report, people gathered in the streets during

the visit and enthusiastically applauded the Emperor and Empress. The Emperor asked the Rector for detailed information about the school's situation. After Dr. Schwatlo had given the necessary explanations, the students of the school performed a concert for the visitors. The Emperor was pleased to see that the "Abdul Hamid March" was among the songs sung by the students. As we know from other sources, the German School was adorned with flowers and wreaths. Wilhelm II showed his appreciation

for this reception by awarding the 4th Class Order of the Red Eagle to Schwatlo and Paul Lange, who conducted the orchestra during the reception.

This visit of Wilhelm II to the German School clearly increased the prestige of the school in the eyes of the Ottoman Empire. To mark the occasion, the Ottoman State awarded Fourth Class Orders of Osmanieh to the teachers Karl Becker and Gottfried Albert and second principal Franz Ganske and a Third Class Order of Charity to Delfine Feigs, the female teacher of the school.

As a result of the positive impression Emperor Wilhelm II had gained during his visit, another development that ensued was the Beyoğlu German Bourgeois School gaining the right to award the Realschule diploma (*Einjährigen-Zeugnis or Mittlere Reife*), which was officially recognized by the German Empire, through an order of the Emperor upon Dr. Schwatlo's request. The Beyoğlu German School became the first school to gain this status outside the borders of Germany. In addition, as a result of the school's transition from the status of Untersekunda to that of Obersekunda in Germany, teachers were given the opportunity to teach there as a one-year volunteer service. The German School had therefore completed its institutional transition from a private school offering a high level of education to a Realschule, officially recognized by Germany.

As part of this official recognition, the principals of the school began to be called Direktor instead of Rektor. In concrete terms that meant that Dr. Schwatlo, who had held the title of "Rector" until 1898, was now called "Director".

The German School Growing: The Rise from Middle School (Realschule) to High School (Oberrealschule)

The recognition of the Bourgeois School as equivalent to a Realschule gave a strong moral boost to the School Association and its administrators. Subsequently, over a period of thirteen years, the German School took strong and confident steps to establish the necessary infrastructure in terms of staff and education to create a high school (Oberrealschule) that was equivalent to those in Germany.

In addition, gradual curriculum changes were in accordance with the 1901 Prussian Education Plans. The purpose of these educational plans was to examine subjects like religion and literature from a predominantly historical perspective. As a result of this harmonization process, the German School, which had previously been recognized as a Deutsche Realschule, was officially given the status of an “Oberrealschule” by the German Ministry of Education. This meant that those who received their German High School diploma gained the right to enter a university or technical college (*Technische Hochschule*) in Germany.

A retrospective inspection of the development of the Bourgeois School's level of education, indicates that its students, who could only study up to the sixth grade in 1878-79 and during Rector Goedel's time, were able to complete the 7th grade by the 1883-84 school year.

Under the direction of Schwatlo, the Bourgeois School was able to offer education until the 9th grade. This continued to be the case until 1908, until Dr. Otto Soehring's term as director, when the period of education at the Deutsche Realschule extended until 10th grade. Immediately after, the period increased to 11 years in the 1909-10 academic year, and even to 12 years in 1911-12.

As a result, in June 1911 the Bourgeois School was officially promoted from Realschule and started operating as an Oberrealschule.

In this year, Abitur exams were held for the first time. Graduations had previously simply been called the “Final Exam” (*Abschlußprüfung*).

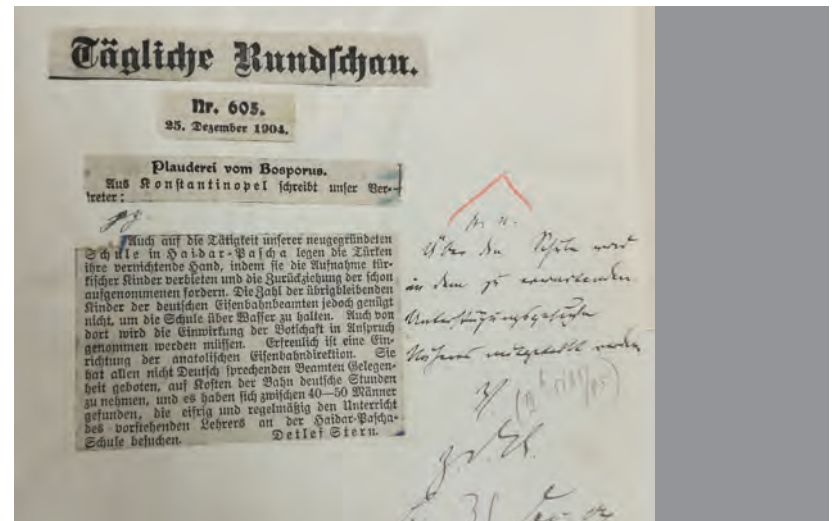
Starting from 1898 another development within the German School during the period under Dr. Schwatlo was the establishment of an associated Trade Department or Business School. As you may remember, Schwatlo had previously established the preparatory classes for new students who did not speak German as a regular educational stage of the Bourgeois School. But in order to direct older students, whose German language level remained insufficient despite all efforts, to a more practical and professional field of education, a five-grade Business School was opened. Thus, the students whose German was weak, started to receive diplomas from here. The Business School issued diplomas to its graduates for the first time in 1908. These graduates had the opportunity to pursue their education in one of the higher trade schools (*Handelshochschule*) in Germany.

THE OTHER GERMAN SCHOOLS IN ISTANBUL: HAYDARPAŞA SCHOOL AND YEDİKULE SCHOOL

Haydarpaşa German School

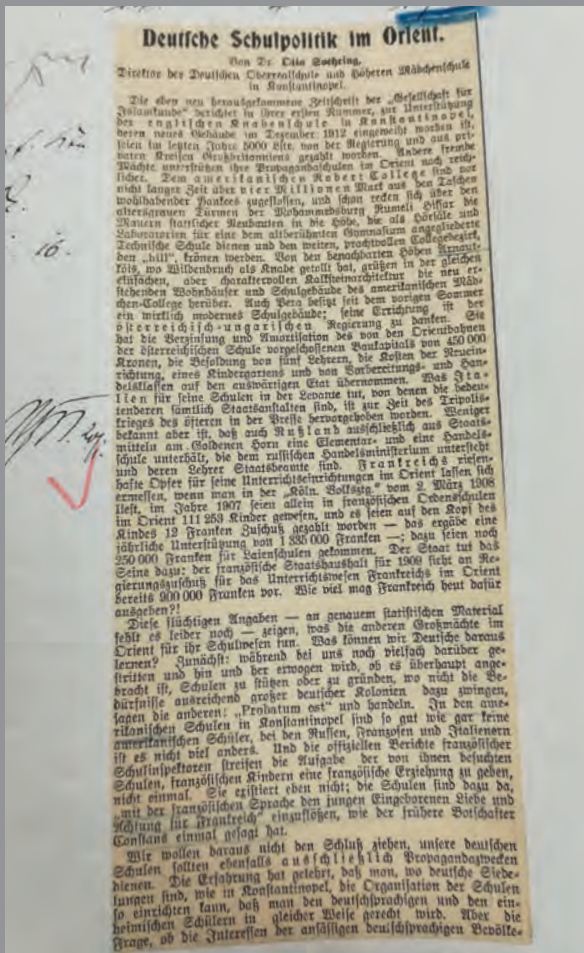
Information about the Haydarpaşa German School can be found in the 1905 register of foreign schools within the Ottoman Empire. Here, the school is listed as being located “on the Rıhtım Avenue in Osman Ağa District in Haydarpaşa” and considered to be the continuation of the school that had been established on September 4, 1311/September 16, 1895. The school, whose founder and director is believed to have been Monsieur Möhring, had 4 male and one female teachers in these years. Turkish teacher Ali Rıza Efendi was the only Ottoman citizen among them. The school, which was exclusively for male students, had 2 classes for primary school (*iptidai*) students and 1 class for junior high school (*rüştiye*) students. The total number of students was close to 100.

Since it was difficult for the children of the engineers, foremen and workers working on the construction of the Baghdad Railways to cross continents in order to go to the Bourgeois School in Beyoğlu every day, a place in Haydarpasa was rented in 1895 and used as a school. But as the number of students increased within a short period of



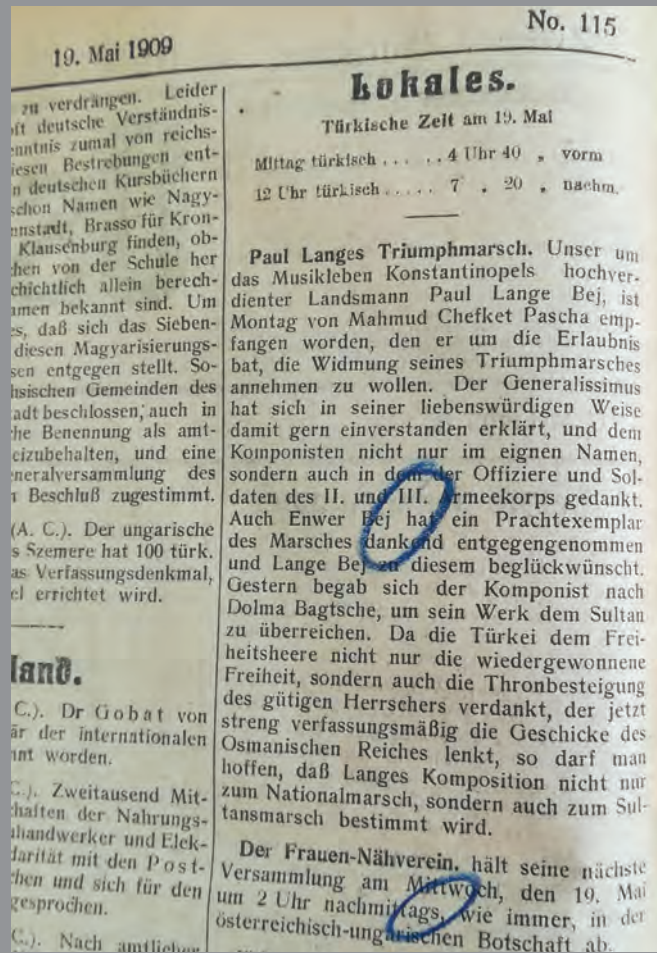
1904 Article about Haydarpaşa School

In the issue of *Tägliche Rundschau* newspaper dated 25 December 1904, it was emphasized that the number of students attending the institution decreased considerably because of the ban introduced by the Ottoman State preventing Turkish children from attending Haydarpaşa School and that the number of children of railway officials was not enough, and that the children of the German officers working on the Anatolian Railways had come to the rescue for the school.



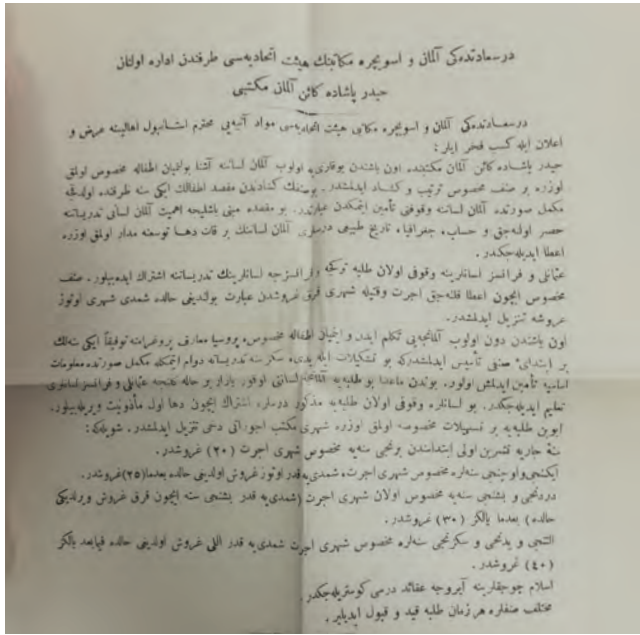
Article by Soehring from 1913

In his article entitled "German Education Policy in the Orient" ("Deutsche Schulpolitik im Orient") published in Vossische Zeitung on April 14, 1913, Dr. Otto Soehring, who was the Director of German High School between 1907 and 1914, underlined that, in the face of the active schooling efforts of France and other states, the Germans should show greater determination.



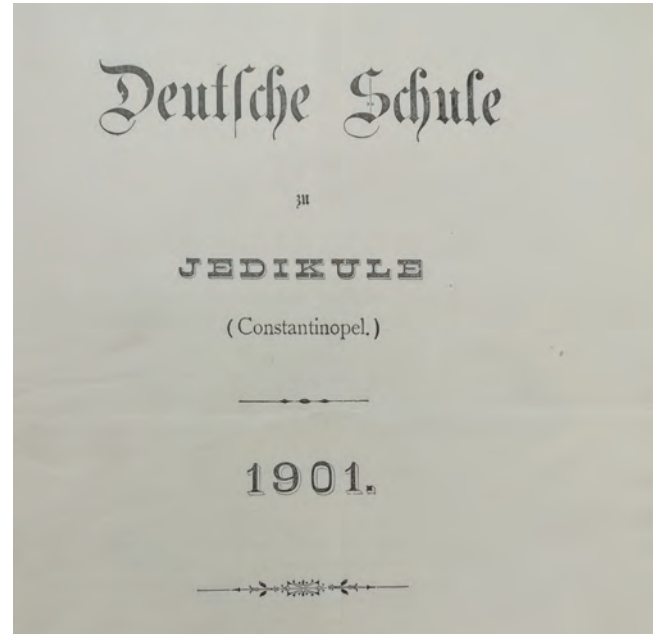
Paul Lange, composer of the Victory March, and Mahmud Şevket Pasha in May 1909

The bloody uprising against the Constitutional Monarchy, which took place in Istanbul on March 31, 1909, was suppressed by the Action Army (Hareket Ordusu) under the command of Mahmud Şevket Pasha, which came from Thessaloniki. The distinguished music teacher of the German High School and famous musician Paul Lange composed a Victory March in honor of Mahmud Şevket Pasha, the Action Army and Mehmed Reşad V, who acceded to the throne. This news in the Osmanischer Lloyd newspaper dated 19 May 1909 is about Paul Lange's contribution.



An Ottoman Turkish Brochure about Haydarpaşa School, 1909

The title of the brochure reads 'The German School in Haydarpaşa directed by the Board of the Association of the German-Swiss School in Istanbul'. The brochure text is intended to attract students by introducing the school to the Ottoman Turkish youth and their parents.



1901 Report on the Yedikule School



The Building of the Yedikule School, 1903

time, it was decided that a school would be built on Rıhtım İskelesi Street, which would be a branch of Beyoğlu German School and which would accept all girls and boys regardless of their religion and denomination.

Haydarpaşa German School became a branch of the Bourgeois School through a decision taken at the General Assembly of the Bourgeois School Association on 29 April 1902. In 1903, the procedures for permission for the construction of a new building in Osman Ağa District were completed. Although the license granted to Haydarpaşa German School was conditional on not accepting Muslim students, the Ministry of Education report of 5 December 1904 on non-Muslim and foreign schools indicates that 37 of 101 students at Haydarpaşa German School were Muslim children. The number of students at Haydarpaşa School increased rapidly in the following years, reaching a total of 200 students by 1913. Richard Preusser was the director of Haydarpaşa School from 1909 to 1918.

Yedikule German School

Another German school in Istanbul was the school opened in Yedikule by the Oriental Railway Company in 1875. One of the school's founders was O. von Kühlmann, then director of the Oriental Railways. Since the school did not initially have its own building, it was forced to frequently change places. The School Association, founded in 1897, prioritized the procuring of a building of its own. The construction of the building, which was built using the facilities of the railway company, was completed on November 5, 1899. Although the report states that the building was single story, the building that is today used by Fatih Yunus Emre Middle School and a surviving photograph both reveal that it was in fact a two-story

building. Documents from the Ottoman Archives give information about the building permit for the building and its planned physical properties: The official authorities did not see any harm in building a building for the school in this location, which was surrounded by roads and

inhabited by Christians. In a list containing the names of 53 German institutions within the borders of the Ottoman Empire prepared by the German Embassy and approved by the official authorities in 1902, Yedikule German School, here named «*Ecole allemande à Yédi-Koulé*» ranked second.

The school was a primary school (*iptidai*) offering three grades of daytime education (there were no boarding options) for male students only. Monsieur Nessel was both a teacher at the school and its principal. There were two female teachers, Madam Minna Krollmann and Mademoiselle Simitsch, at the school, which had a total of 90 students of different nationalities.

The Committee of Union and Progress's Policy towards Germany after the 1908 Young Turk Revolution

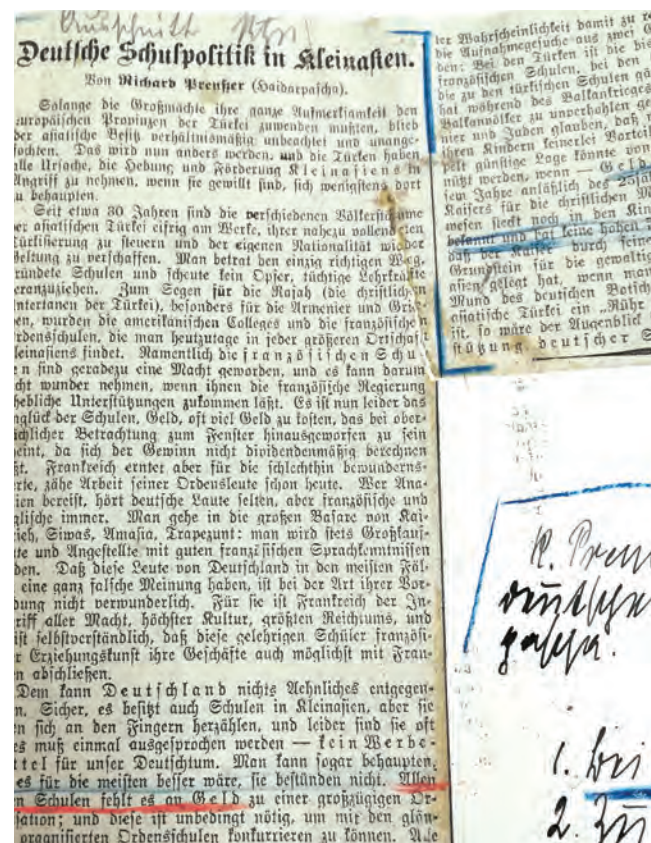
On 23 July 1908, the Unionists, who had taken to the mountains of Macedonia from where they started a rebellion, forced Sultan Abdul Hamid to reinstate the Constitutional Order. With the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, a multi-party regime emerged that would last until January 23, 1913. Some political factions in this environment had a liberal agenda and were close to the British and the French. On the other hand, particularly among the younger Unionist military officers, the number of those closer to the German Empire was no less, as they had undergone German military training. It is not possible to clearly define the Constitutional regime's approach towards Germany and the German High School in this period in terms of either proximity or distance. However, the climate of relative freedom brought about by the constitutional system caused relief in terms of the German School's educational and cultural activities. When the Unionists established their dictatorship in the aftermath of the coup they had staged during the Balkan Wars on 23 January 1913, the Ottoman State adopted a clearly pro-German stance. This new environment, which also emerged thanks to Enver Pasha's strong admiration for Germany, provided an invaluable opportunity

to strengthen the cultural and economic influence of the German Empire within the Ottoman territory. In this context, the prestige afforded to German culture and the German High School in the Ottoman public increased considerably.

The German High School's New Ventures into Ottoman Society in the New Era: Language Courses

In the first years of the Constitutional Era, which were characterized by relative freedom and a dose of uncertainty, and in the face of the overwhelming presence of the French and Anglo-Saxon educational institutions and the influence of these cultures among the main Ottoman civilian intellectuals and politicians such as Ahmed Suayib, Tevfik Fikret, Hüseyin Cahid, Halide Edib, Rıza Tevfik and Prince Sabahaddin, the German High School felt the need to spread German culture among the Ottoman public. For this purpose, late-afternoon and evening German courses for adults began to be opened at the Haydarpasa School. Sometimes the courses were free of charge, while sometimes only a symbolic fee was requested. When first opened, demand for the course was relatively low. A total of 49 people were enrolled in the courses opened in 1909. But this number would quickly increase. A total of 220 people applied to Haydarpasa School for language courses in 1914, as the Ottoman foreign and defense policy began to be shaped significantly in line with the politics of the German Empire after 1913. After 1914, German language courses for adults no longer just took place in Haydarpasa but were also started at the Yedikule German School and the German High School itself. The courses would continue until 1916.

The rapprochement between the German and Ottoman Empire and their alliance in World War I intensified the efforts to replace French culture, which had prevailed until that time, with German culture. In addition to collaborations between the German and Ottoman educational institutions, importance was attached to sending students to Germany. It became a political goal to



"German Education Policies in Anatolia" (Deutsche Schulpolitik in Kleinasien) published in 1913 by Haydarpasa School Principal Richard Preusser in the Frankfurter Zeitung



1909-1910 School Report Brochure



Job posting in November 1908-Osmanischer Lloyd daily newspaper

By 1908, the number of German High School graduates had evidently increased. Equipped with German language and stenography skills acquired at the school, some graduates were looking for well-paid jobs in the representative offices of German or Austro-Hungarian companies in Istanbul. To this end, they were posting these and similar advertisements to the Osmanischer Lloyd newspaper.

spread German language education to more and more Ottoman schools. By late 1916 German lessons were given regularly in the Turkish Hearth in Istanbul, on days determined by a German teacher appointed by the "Turkish-German Committee in Berlin". In addition, during the holiday term of 1917, led by the House of Turkish-German Friendship German High School and Haydarpaşa School teachers such as Franz Krause, Joseph Lazarus, Oskar Mergelsberg, Franz Nitsche, and Heinrich Runacher, traveled to cities such as Adapazarı, Ankara, Aydın, Bolu, and Kütahya, where they gave private German lessons.

The German High School Gains the Status of a High School

As is known, the Regulation on Public Education of 1869 provided for the establishment of public middle schools, that is, high schools (*idâdî*) which followed the middle schools (*rüşdiyye-üstü*), and which were intended as "preparation" for university (*Dârü'l-fünûn*). These high schools were established in the main centers of the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Abdul Hamid and became the main pillar in the institutionalization of Ottoman secondary education.

As discussed above, the Bourgeois School did not have a direct relationship with the Ottoman education administration during its first decades. However, the gradual growth of the school and the increasing number of students who were Ottoman subjects, made such a relationship obligatory. We have seen that the education administration de facto recognized the Bourgeois School during its transition from the building in Kuledibi to the new one in Şahkulu Street.

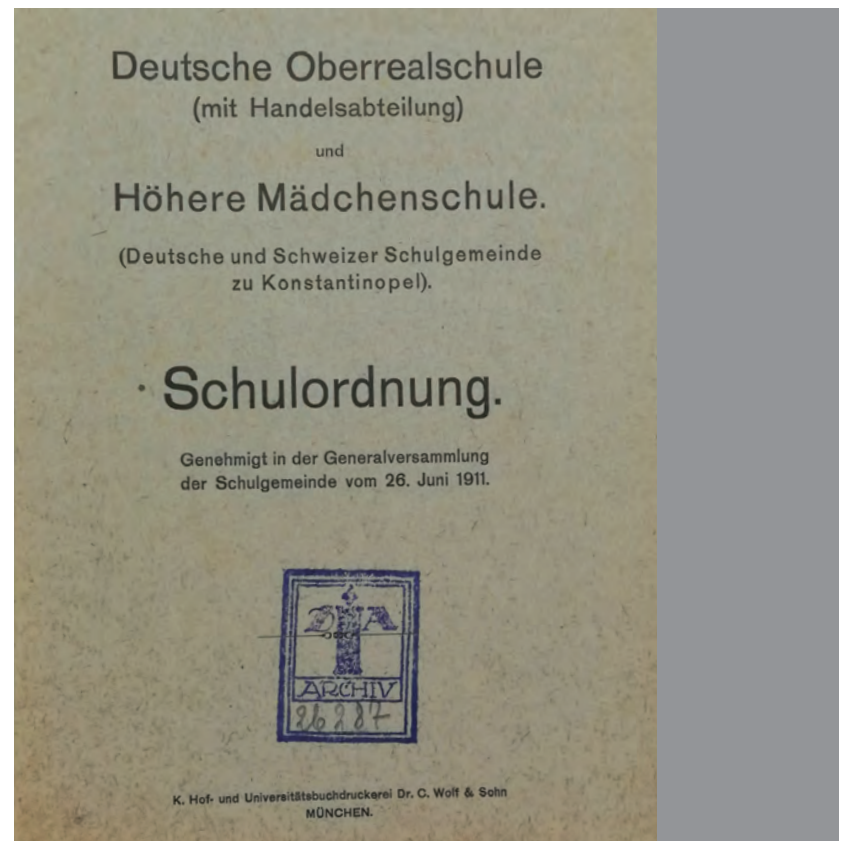
The developing relations between the German High School and the Ministry of Education entered a more intensive level on October 10, 1911, when the Bourgeois School, via the German Embassy, applied to be officially recognized as an educational institution with the status of a high school. With regard to this application, the importance of the fact that Ottoman students had begun to constitute the absolute majority at the German High School should not be underestimated. In its assessment, the Ministry of Education reached the conclusion that the school, which had initially only been attended by the boys and girls of German and Swiss citizens residing in Istanbul, had become equivalent to the Ottoman high schools as a result of the modification and expansion of its program. They therefore deemed it appropriate for the school to have the same rights accorded to high schools by the state. The German High School therefore received accreditation as a high school (*idâdî mektebi*) on 27 December 1911. This was announced as follows in the issue of Osmanischer Lloyd of March 15, 1912:

"It is reported that the German High School has been recognized as a high school by the Ministry of Education. Turkish students who received their diploma from the German High School have thus been provided with the same citizenship and military rights as those graduated from other schools. The Ministry of Education has provided the necessary information about the new developments in this matter to the Ministry of War."

Troubles Caused by the Increase in the Number of Muslim Students

As of its foundation, the Neighborhood School, in its earliest as well as later stages as the Bourgeois School and the German High School, always emphasized its non- denominational character. Nevertheless, there was only a Protestant pastor for the elective religion course. It should be underlined that Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish or Muslim students who wanted to take religion lessons, despite not having an obligation to do so, could therefore not take lessons in the religion they wanted from a teacher matching their respective beliefs. In fact, the Neighborhood School, which was established in 1868, probably did not offer any religious classes in its first years. However, it is impossible not to see that the new school, which was a product of the merger achieved in 1873 after tough negotiations with the German Protestant Community School and under the indirect pressures from the German State, possessed a Protestant identity. The German Embassy representative at the School Association Board of Directors was also the Protestant priest of the Embassy. The said priest was also the teacher for the elective religion lessons at school. The birthday of the German Emperor was celebrated with religious rituals in the embassy chapel and with the participation of the students of the Bourgeois School. Starting from the 1900s, they were held at the Teutonia Club.

It was clear that the increase in the number of Muslim students in the German High School, which was a school located in a country whose official religion was Islam and whose ruler held the title of the Islamic Caliph, would inevitably cause some unrest. In the



Regulations of the German High School, 1911

1906-07 academic year, only 22 (12.95%) of the 170 Ottoman students were Muslims. In the academic period of 1908-09, this rate increased slightly: 32 of the 217 Ottoman students (14.75%) were now Muslims. In 1915-16, there were 308 Muslim students. This figure represented 52.38% of the students of Ottoman nationality and 28.7% of the general student population, which now amounted to 1,071. In the context of such a large group of Muslim students and the Turkish-Islamic nationalist ideology promoted by the Unionist military dictatorship after the Balkan War, a lack of attention and understanding on the part of some German teachers could become the cause for concern.

In 1916, there appears to have been a problem with respect to the lack of observance of Prophet Muhammad's birthday (Mawlid) among some of the Muslim students. According to a letter signed by someone named Yusuf Nuri, which was submitted to the official authorities as what seems to have been a letter of notification, these students informed the school administration that they

would not come to school on the day of Mawlid (12 Rabi' al-awwal 1334 / 18 January 1916) and that they should be granted leave on this day. But Director Dr. Paul Tominski told the students that the school only recognized the Christian Christmas and not the religious days of the Turks. It was also reported that the administration gave these students the penalty of being banned from two breaks each. In addition, a French female teacher who was teaching the younger classes is reported to have told a girl, "You Turks are always absent. Although the French and the British left Çanakkale of their own accord, you Turks made a row about it. You and your fake festivals. It's always the same with you." Yusuf Nuri presented the following recommendations on what was to be done: (1) Although this school was a German institution, it should be subject to the Regulation on Public Education. (2) It should comply with the customs and special days of the Turkish country, in which it is located and where it gains its money. (3) The teachers employed should consider it their primary duty not to offend Ottoman feelings.

We do not know in how far the notification letter reflected the truth. But even if some facts were exaggerated in the text, one can imagine that the German High School with its sizable group of Muslim students would have had to review its attitude towards religion.

Female Muslim Students and Cultural Activities

While male Muslim students had already started to attend the German School much earlier, Muslim girls also began to attend the school towards the 1914-1915 academic year as a result of the Ottoman-German war alliance and their promotion and efforts to spread German. In Tanin newspaper, the German High School Directorate declared that Muslim girls had applied for German education to the German School in Beyoğlu in 1914-1915, but that it would not be appropriate for these girls to be taught together with German girls and that 12 applications would be necessary for the required new class to be opened. News published later shows that

this class was indeed opened or, at least, that Muslim girls started attending the German High School. As already mentioned, Muslim Turkish women were employed as teachers at the German School starting from 1915. In the same year, it was announced that Abdülhak Hamid's drama "Tezer" would be staged at the Teutonia Club by "Turkish" girls, who were at high school level at the German School, and the news also reported on the rehearsals. According to these reports, the Poets Nigar Hanım and Abdülhak Hamid personally participated in the rehearsals upon the invitation of Mustafa Reşid Bey, a Turkish teacher at the German School, and shared their criticism and suggestions. After a one-time delay, the income of the play, which was staged exclusively for women, was donated to the Hilal-i Ahmer Society (Red Crescent) for the Ottoman soldiers injured in war.

A Few Examples of Ottoman Students Educated at the German School

Apart from the well-known German School graduates such as Ahmet Emin Yalman, it is worth giving a few examples of students who happened to attend the school at this time, and their professional careers in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. One of them was Mehmed Münib Efendi, the son of Tevfik Bey, who was a merchant in Istanbul. Mehmed Münib Efendi, who was around 16-17 years old in 1916, was a student of the German School and wanted to go to Berlin to study business.

Another example was a student named Ahmed Cemil. Ahmed Cemil was a fifth-grade student at the German School's Trade Department in 1915. He must have had a good knowledge of German, since he applied for a position requiring German at the Foreigners Department of the Police Headquarters. Another student who applied for the same position was Mehmed Reşad, who left his traces in both Haydarpaşa and Beyoğlu German Schools. He was from Cyprus. He completed his junior high and high school education in Cyprus, and later received a diploma at Haydarpaşa School ranking second best among his cohort of 38. He later continued his education at the Trade



Students who completed the Abitur Exam 1916

In the photograph, we see a group of fresh graduates who passed the Abitur exam in 1916. Compared with the photographs of graduates in 1907, it is noteworthy that in this image, male and female graduates are together. On the other hand, there is no teacher among them. In this photo, the facial expressions of young people are rather mature and confident.

Department of Beyoğlu German School. He had to leave school for two years owing to financial difficulties. In 1915, when he made his application, he was a German teacher at the Imperial School (*Mekteb-i Sultanisi*). In the petition which he added to his application, he stated that he had learned German and French at the two German schools.

Another example is Kirkor Aleksan who was educated at Yedikule German School. Kirkor Aleksan, was “the son of the deceased Agha Aleksan Aleksanyan, jeweler and Armenian Catholic.” Kirkor Aleksan, who was born in Istanbul in 1869, first started his education at the Armenian primary school in Samatya and then continued at the Yedikule German School. Kirkor Aleksan, who is said to have known Turkish, Armenian, German and French, continued his education at the Gymnasium school in Trieste. Aleksan, who also learned

Greek here, improved his knowledge of German, returned to Istanbul and served in different ranks of state institutions.

World War I, the Abolition of the Capitulations and the Regulation on Private Schools (1915)

The international tension that started following the assassination of the Austro- Hungarian Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914 sparked a world war that officially started on 28 July of the same year. Maintaining its official neutrality until October 29, the Sublime Porte seized the opportunity of the Great Powers fighting each other and abolished the Capitulations on September 9, 1914. The abolition of the capitulations indicated that the Ottoman State had declared its financial and economic independence. It meant that foreign institutions and individuals would be stripped of their shield of international

immunity and be subject to Ottoman domestic law. The Great Powers, including Germany, which had benefited from a series of concessions up until that point and had stood close to However, due to the war situation they did not have the power to impose sanctions against the Porte.

With the abolition of the capitulations, the diplomatic immunity of foreign schools came to an end and they were obliged to comply with Ottoman laws. In this context, the Union and Progress Government prepared new regulations for private schools in December 1914. This law, known as the Regulation on Private Schools, was an instrument which served to increase the control of the state over private schools. It can be seen as a precursor of the policy applied to foreign schools by the Ministry of Education in the Republican era.

Accordingly, those private schools which had obtained an edict had to register it with the Education Administration within two months. The registered edicts would replace the license. Schools without an edict, however, were obliged to apply to the Ministry of Education within two months. Schools had to determine a “responsible manager” in their applications and the submitted programs were required to specify that Turkish language, history and geography classes had to be taught in Turkish. In these schools, Turkish was obliged to be taught as if it was the school’s main language. The names of the books that were going to be studied, their authors’ names, and the place and date of printing were required to be reported, and one copy was also required be sent to the Ministry of Education.

Children of other religions were not permitted to receive lessons in the religion the school was affiliated with. The names of the teachers and a list of the states they were citizens of were required to be submitted to the administration. Schools were obliged to have completed all these procedures within the short period of two months. But this period proved to be insufficient and schools were given another two months until March 30, 1915. They were informed that those private schools

that could not complete their procedures within this period would be closed. But even this extension did not solve the problem. In a letter sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 27, 1915, the German Embassy declared that it was impossible to make the requested program changes within this period and requested an extension until June due to problems caused by the war. With regards to this, the Ministry of Education seemed to demonstrate a more flexible attitude towards the German High School. But there is no doubt that, compared to earlier days, the German High School was now under stricter educational supervision.

The Increase in the Number of Students, the Renting of a New Building and the Financial Crisis

When the Ottoman Empire de facto became involved in the war, the schools of the enemy states Britain, France, Russia and Belgium were closed. The students of these institutions were directed to the remaining schools. As a result, around 300 additional students fell to the share of the German High School. The total number of its students increased from 778 at the beginning of 1914 to 1,070 after November 1914. Unable to respond to this rapid increase with its existing building, the German High School resorted to renting a new building in early 1916. But despite the increase in demand, it is not known whether this demand was in proportion to the rented buildings. In 1914, 1915, 1916 and 1917, the German School published a number of advertisements seeking new registrations in the leading Ottoman newspapers such as Tanin and İkdâm. Ultimately, together with the basement floors in number 11 and 13, two buildings with 6 floors, 11 rooms, 9 classrooms and a garden were identified for rent in Hocaali Street in Beyoğlu. These buildings belonged to the old Italian school and applications for the necessary permits were filed.

In fact, this application violated articles three and four of the Regulation on Private Schools. According to these articles, the school facilities to be opened were obliged

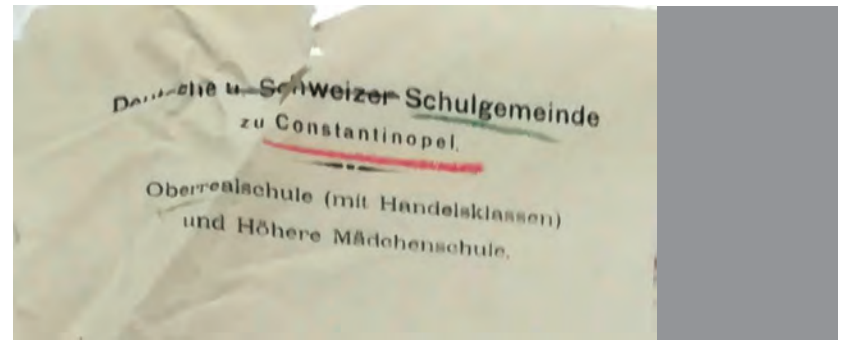
to be proportional to the number of citizens of the respective state. However, due to the extraordinary nature of the situation, the Unionist Government accepted the application for permission for additional buildings. With an Imperial Rescript (*İrade-i Seniyye*) issued by Sultan Mehmed Reşad V, the additional buildings were accepted as an independent school and it was deemed appropriate for a license to be granted, provided that it was arranged on behalf of a responsible principal.

Meanwhile, due to both the conditions created by the war and the increasing costs, the German High School faced a major financial problem in the 1916 academic year. The German Empire's emergency aid of 125,000 marks saved the school from closure.

The German High School and Haydarpaşa School during World War I

While the flames of the First World War were covering the Ottoman State, the German High School became an almost natural part of the general environment of mobilization.

In the years when the climate of war dominated the public, Paul Lange, music teacher at the German High School and one of the conductors of the Imperial Orchestra, gave public concerts in Gülhane Park. In these concerts, which he performed in the afternoon on weekdays from October 1914 until mid-1918, various pieces of Western classical music were performed by the Imperial Orchestra. According to different issues of the *Osmanischer Lloyd* newspaper published in those years, these pieces included Lange's own composition "German-Turkish Victory March", Offenbach's opera overture "La belle Hélène", Waldteufel's "Valse d'Automne", Lehar's "Luxembourg" potpourri, Lange's own composition "Salute to his Highness the Sultan", Blankenburg's march "With Parade Flags", Suppé's operetta "Pique Dame", Wagner's fantasia "Tannhäuser", Mehmed Hanniz's "The Union of Anthem" together with a choir, Lamathe's "La Malle des Indes", Bizet's fantasia "Carmen", Verdi's fantasia "La Traviata" and Sousa's "The Black Horse Troop" and "The Washington Post."



The School's Letterhead, 1914

A symbolic change within the School Association which ran the German High School in the early days of the war provides an insight into the general atmosphere of nationalism at the time. On June 19, 1914, the German-Swiss School Association, to which the German High School was affiliated, decided to remove the "Swiss" from its name and to continue as the "German School Association" from that point onwards. We don't know how the Swiss members of the School Association initially reacted to this decision. But the "Certificate of Commitment" (Verpflichtungsurkunde) prepared in the context of the School Association reveals an indirect reaction from them which provides us with an idea. According to this document, the Swiss members of the Board of the Association acknowledged that they had donated 12,000 gold marks to the German-Swiss School Association in 1870 for the land and building to be purchased in Kuledibi, and declared that they would request a refund in the event of their rights to the German High School being injured.

In order to better understand the situation of the German High School in the general environment of the World War, it seems appropriate to briefly mention the activities of the "Dürer Association" (Dürer-Bund in Konstantinopel), which was founded in Istanbul in 1914, named after Albrecht Dürer, a German artist of the Renaissance period. The founding purpose of the Dürer Association was to spread German culture and Germanness to both the German colony and Ottoman society through various presentations and conferences on German literature and art. By

Paul Lange
(1857-1920)

Paul Lange was born in Kartzow (Brandenburg County). He worked as a teacher in Rathenow until 1879. After studying at the Academic Institute of Church Music in Berlin (Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik zu Berlin), he came to Istanbul and became a music teacher at the Bourgeois School starting from January 1, 1881.

Paul Lange became the head of the Imperial Orchestra in Yıldız Palace on December 31, 1883. His tenure at the German High School lasted for 37 years until November 1918, which made him the teacher with the second longest time spent in service after Karl Mergenthaler's 45-year tenure as a teacher between 1873-1918. Lange was one of the leading figures of Western music in Istanbul

and also taught at Robert College in the 1880s. In addition, he founded the Municipal Band, where he occupied the position of conductor. He founded the Ertuğrul (Yacht) Orchestra in 1906 and received the title of "Bey". Lange also served in the Naval Museum and the Gendarmerie Band in Yıldız, and after 1908 became Court Musician of Sultans Reşad and Vahdettin. During his time as a court musician, Lange composed works such as Edirne March, Barbaros Hayreddin March, Mehmet Pasha March, Yıldız Infantry March and Ertuğrul Cavalry March.

Hans Lange (1884-1960), Istanbul-born son of Paul Lange, who died in Istanbul, was an international authority in the field of music conducting in various world orchestras, especially the New York Philharmonic and Chicago Symphony orchestras.



Paul Lange Aula, 1902

Paul Lange with the German High School Choir in 1902 before the start of a concert in the school's Aula

1918, the Dürer Association had become the strongest association operating in Istanbul. While its activities had previously been limited to the promotion of art and literature and conferences, the association attempted to instill an aggressive German nationalism and sentiments of valor to German students with the outbreak of the World War.

After 1914, the Dürer Association organized reading days of heroic war poetry in the conference hall of the German High School, which were often accompanied by a piano. During those weeks or months, many of the poems were written in German and were sentimental works that gained great popularity. At other times, the Dürer Association organized patriotic reading days on German martyrs who were fighting heroically on the war fronts, sacrificing their lives for the sake of their homeland. The association also organized concerts, in which newly composed heroic folk songs were performed.

It is noteworthy that by 1917, when the World War had reached a deadlock, the German Scouts Corps in Istanbul (Deutsches Pfadfinderkorps Konstantinopel) began frequently taking its student members at the German High School and Haydarpaşa School to open areas in Zeytinburnu and Yeşilköy to have them run through shooting drills.

Under the conditions outlined above, starting from December 1914, the German High School started performing the duty of a center where those German colony members who were volunteering to go to the French or Russian front were tested and selected.

In fact, 1918 coincided with the German High School's fiftieth anniversary. But owing to the overall deprivation caused by the war in Istanbul and the loss of many lives, the martyrdom at the front of many of the former high school administrators and teachers, including Dr. Hans Schwatlo and the general chaos in the capital, it was decided not to hold any celebrations in May 1918.

The Armistice of Mudros and the Closure of the German High School and Other German Schools in Istanbul

Although deprivation and chaos prevailed in Istanbul, the education at the German High School continued without a hitch until the end of the war. According to Martin Kriebel, 3,000 German colony members were living in Istanbul towards the end of the war in October 1918; according to another estimate, their number was around 4,000. In the advertisement which they posted in Tanin newspaper on September 20 for the new school year that was to start on September 23, the German schools in Istanbul announced that both the school in Beyoğlu and the schools in Haydarpaşa and Yedikule were ready to provide education. In October, the total number of students studying at the schools was 1,500 at the German High School, 600 at Haydarpaşa School and 250 at Yedikule School. But within a short period, the educational activities of these schools within the Ottoman Empire had suddenly been terminated.

The Quadruple Alliance of the Ottoman Empire, the German Empire, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria was defeated by the Entente States led by Britain and France in the period of October and November 1918 and had to sign unconditional ceasefire agreements (armistices). According to the 19th article of the Armistice of Mudros signed by the Ottoman State on 30 October 1918, German and Austro-Hungarian soldiers and civilians were obliged to leave Ottoman territory within a month. That meant that all the German teachers, administrators and students of the German High School had to leave Istanbul within a time period of no later than one month. Only the elderly people staying in nursing homes, some patients and German women married to Turks were exempted from this rule. The obligation also did not apply for some exceptional individuals, such as Paul Lange.

On 30 November 1918, Istanbul came under the control of the Allies and German schools and properties were seized by the allied troops. Yeni Gazete, one of the newspapers that was closely following every step of the Allies in the city, reported that on December 1, 1918, "the German School in Yazıcı Street in Beyoğlu will be occupied by the British and the French." Haydarpasha School was occupied by the Scottish troops around the same time and Yedikule School was seized by French forces. The Beyoğlu German School building was used as a hospital by the French occupation forces during the period 1918-1923. The French named this building Caserne Joffre and Caserne Ney. In the meantime, the school's documents, archives etc. were destroyed.

Under these conditions, educating the limited number of German children who were not required to leave Istanbul became a problem. German consular officers initially took this duty upon themselves. When they were also forced to leave Istanbul, the space of the nuns of the Catholic Borromeos sect was allocated for the education of the remaining children. But in February 1919, this sect was also banned by the allied forces, and no German- related institution was permitted to exist anymore. For as long as the occupation of the Allied forces continued, these children did not have the opportunity to receive any education related to German language and culture.



**CHAPTER TWO: A HIGH SCHOOL STUCK BETWEEN
NATIONALISMS AND CRISES (1924-1944)**

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The General Political Situation Between Turkey and Germany 1918-1924

October and November 1918 ended with the collapse and dissolution of the Ottoman, German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, which had been front-line partners and comrades in arms during the First World War. States such as Britain and France, which emerged victorious from the World War, placed sole responsibility for the “first disaster of the XX. century”, which caused an unprecedented loss of life and property, on the Central Powers, especially on Germany. As a result, they imposed extremely heavy peace treaties on the defeated Allies in the Parisian suburbs of Versailles, Saint Germain, Trianon, Neuilly and Sèvres.

As is widely known, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Anatolia and Thrace, which represented the remainder of the Ottoman Empire, rejected the Sèvres Treaty and mounted a successful War of Independence, which largely invalidated it. With the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed on July 24, 1923, a fully sovereign and independent Turkish state emerged, closely followed by the proclamation of the

Republic. From its very early days, the cadres who founded the Republic, who had experienced the political, legal and economic difficulties brought about by the Capitulations in the late Ottoman period, had been extremely sensitive to the sovereignty of Turkish laws, particularly in areas such as the judiciary and law, but also including schools, customs, postal regulations. Since the main purpose of the Republican cadres was to establish a nation- state, they tried to apply the principle of nationalism to every field, including education.

Although the territorial losses of Germany, as one of the defeated parties, only comprised Alsace-Lorraine, Eupen-Malmedy, North Schleswig, Poznan and Upper Silesia, the Versailles Peace attributed a large part of the responsibility for the war to them. As a result, a bill was imposed on Germany as war compensation which was almost impossible to repay. This deeply hurt German national pride. Meanwhile, as a result of pressure from the Allies, a regime change occurred, the German Empire was abolished, and the Weimar Republic was established in its

stead. This regime change was viewed as controversial by the nationalist elements in society and the new republican regime was not considered legitimate by a significant number of Germans. As a result, German nationalism did not diminish but became even stronger as a feeling of victimization seeped into the broad masses of society. When the German High School, which had been closed in November 1918, reopened in 1924, this feeling was dominant in the group of people responsible for the second founding of the school, particularly in Richard Preusser.



1924 Atatürk

The German High School was one of the most important building blocks of the German cultural presence in Istanbul, in terms of its position both in the city and in social life. According to Soehring, the building of the school had risen and taken root thanks to the labor of many men and women. Its lack of artifice was one of the reasons why it was able to show signs of revival now.

Resumption of Diplomatic Relations Between Turkey and Germany

After the end of the war, the victorious powers tried to prevent Germany and Turkey from re-establishing political relations by means of the Treaties of both Versailles and Sèvres. The countries' political links were cut after Rifat Bey, the Ottoman Ambassador to Berlin, returned to Istanbul in November 1918 and German Ambassador to Istanbul Count Johann von Bernstorff left Istanbul on October 28, 1918 and returned to Berlin. During the Armistice period until the Lausanne Treaty

was signed, the non-political interests of the Istanbul Governments continued to be represented through the Swiss Embassy in Berlin, and those of Germany in Istanbul through the Swedish Embassy. During the War of Independence, the Ankara Government tried to enter into relations with Germany through informal means, but the Germany of that time was not in a position to respond due to the crises and troubles within the country itself. In effect, both countries had a common interest because they saw Britain and France as their mortal enemies. However, the restrictions imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles prevented the country from an immediate response to the attempts of Turkey, which had freed itself from the shackles with the Treaty of Lausanne. But from January 1924 Germany also made attempts to enter formal or informal relations with Turkey, particularly because German economic circles were pressuring Berlin in this respect.

After it had become clear that Britain and France would not cause any trouble, the Turkish-German Friendship Treaty was signed in Ankara on March 3, 1924, establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries after a six-year interruption. During this long rupture in their relations, profound political and social transformations had taken place in both Germany and Turkey and these changes were also decisive for the German School in Turkey. The common interests developed between the two countries before and during the war had vanished and the economic strength of the war-defeated Germany had shrunk so significantly that it did not have much to offer the newly established Republic of Turkey. Besides, compared with the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey, founded as a sovereign nation-state after the National Struggle, had quite a different attitude towards foreign powers. Aware of this situation, Germany's first Ambassador to the Republic of Turkey, Rudolf Nadolny, accepted without expressing any reservations the request of Ankara's Prime and Foreign Minister Ismet Pasha for him to move the German embassy from Istanbul to Ankara. For a lengthy period countries such

as Britain, France, Italy and the USA had refused the transfer of their embassies from Istanbul to Ankara. Both the President of the Republic Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and Ismet Pasha were therefore greatly satisfied to see Germany officially recognize Ankara as the capital of the Republic of Turkey. It meant that the Republic of Germany was the first country to build an embassy complex in Ankara.

The Exceptional Conditions in the Turkey of the 1920s

Turkey, having achieved sovereignty at the end of a tough struggle, needed to focus on its internal development in order to recover economically because its finances were weak and its infrastructure inadequate. However, Ankara felt vulnerable to foreign threats, as its relations with England had not yet recovered due to the Mosul issue, nor had those with France because of the debts of the Ottoman Empire. With respect to domestic politics, factors such as the harsh opposition to the Government in Ankara prevalent in public opinion in Istanbul, the existence of the Progressive Republican Party and the Sheikh Said Rebellion, led Prime Minister Ismet Pasha to declare the Law for the Maintenance of Public Order in March 1925 and to pursue a policy of silencing the independent press and all kinds of opposition. Thus, the 1920s in Turkey were dominated by intense police surveillance and administrative restrictions on people's freedom of movement.

Not only Turkish citizens, but also foreign diplomats were directly affected by this environment. Despite the commencement of diplomatic relations and the signing of a friendship treaty between Germany and Turkey, German diplomatic officials were subject to continuous surveillance by the Turkish police and severe restrictions were imposed on their freedom of movement. These restrictions were so extensive in scope that Freiherr von Richthofen, an Undersecretary of the German Foreign Ministry, considered Turkey's conduct unacceptable in a report he wrote in 1927. The personal belongings that German Embassy diplomats were carrying with them

when entering Turkey could be seized by Istanbul customs for months. Some of the complaints made by Ambassador Nadolny to Ankara's Foreign Ministry on this matter were dealt with, while others were left pending. According to the report, the freedom of German citizens to travel in Turkey was almost completely restricted.

When the German High School was opened for the second time, its members found themselves caught up in this environment.

The German Colony in the First Years of the Republic

It was after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Germany that the old members of the German colony, who were citizens of Germany and long-established residents of Beyoğlu, began to return to Istanbul, the city they had been forced to leave towards the end of 1918. Returning to Istanbul from post-war Germany, the members of the colony had lost their pre-war order and material assets. They were therefore in financial trouble and had to build their livelihoods in the city all over again. In this context, there were no individuals in the German community in Istanbul at this time who could have made large donations to charity and educational institutions, including to the German School, which was expected to be re-established.

For this reason, Ambassador Nadolny would frequently request funds from Berlin for German institutions in Istanbul. But the Weimar Republic, struggling with economic difficulties and overwhelmed by the war reparations it had to pay, would sometimes fall short of providing resources. In such cases, Nadolny would give grim warnings to Berlin, informing them that if the necessary resources were not provided, it would not be possible to fight and cope with the French cultural influence that had become dominant in Istanbul after 1918. We know that the colony population grew over time. By 1926, the total German population living in Istanbul had reached 1,500. This was paralleled by an increase in their level of welfare. We can infer

this from donations made to the German School after 1926, such as for the Spring Festival in Tarabya.

Attempt to Re-Establish the Protestant Community

The Swiss people of Istanbul, who had already made important contributions during the foundation of the Neighborhood School in the 1860s, once again provided critical support for the opening of the school in the post-war period. Since Switzerland had remained neutral and did not participate in the World War, people of Swiss origin were not required to leave Istanbul. The Swiss people who remained in the city therefore had a better understanding of the conditions. The tradition of the Swiss having a seat on the school administration also continued during this period. Around the same time, Count von Lüttichau, former German Embassy Protestant Pastor, started venturing for a re-establishment of the German Protestant Community, which had fallen apart in the late 1918. As part of this process, he prepared a list of German colony children who needed to enroll in the German School around 1924 and sent it to the German Foreign Ministry. The addressee of this letter was Dr. Otto Soehring, who had been the Director of the German High School between 1907-1914 and who was now director of the Department of Schools in Foreign Countries under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Weimar Republic. With an enthusiasm and a zeal rooted in his past duty, Dr. Soehring devoted all of his energy to the issue of reopening the school.



1924 Polonez Street Primary School Students

Collective photo of primary school students taken when the German School reopened on Polonez Street in 1924.

A School Without A Building: Finding Temporary Shelter in the Rental Place in Polonez Street

As indicated above, the Republic of Germany was one of the first countries which the Republic of Turkey entered into friendly relations with after the National Struggle. The Weimar Republic, which attached importance to maintaining good relations with Turkey, was one of the first countries to transfer its embassy from Istanbul to Ankara. The Ismet Pasha Government, pleased with this situation, welcomed Nadolny's attempts to reopen the school. With an official letter sent by Minister of Education Vasıf Çınar to Nadolny on July 31, 1924, the German School was officially allowed to open for the second time. The existence of foreign schools in the country, provided that they complied with Turkish laws, had in fact been accepted by the Turkish State within the scope of the Treaty of Lausanne.

About four months after the official permission was issued, on November 10, 1924, the German School started its teaching activities. The school had opened, classes had begun, but the school did not yet have its own building. As mentioned before, the French Army had occupied the German High School building after the Armistice of Mudros. Despite the Treaty of Lausanne and the fact that the occupation forces had left Istanbul, France was still holding the building because French families had settled there. Driven by the concern not to delay education due to the building issue, classes were started in a temporarily rented building in Polonez Street (today's Nuru Ziya Street), which had formerly been the Italian Consulate General. While the inside of the building was quite spacious, the courtyard was extremely small. A two-year lease was signed and after three weeks of feverish work, the building had become suitable for education. Although the classes in this new building actually started on November 10, the official opening celebration took place as a ceremony at the Teutonia Club on November 16.



The building was in a rather neglected and dilapidated state when it was handed over to the school, 1925

Richard Preusser, the former teacher of the German High School and director of Haydarpaşa School before 1918, made important contributions to the re-opening process, which was particularly difficult for financial reasons. Prior to the re-establishment of the school Preusser was in Dresden (Saxony). In the first days of August 1924 after permission for the reopening had been obtained, his former colleague and director of the Department for Schools in Foreign Countries under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Dr. Soehring urgently invited him to Berlin by wire and tasked him with the reopening of the German School in Istanbul. Preusser packed his belongings within a few days and came to Istanbul on the first train. An unexpected number of participants attended the simple opening ceremony held at the Teutonia Club on Sunday, November 16 at 11:30. These included not only the members

of the School Association, including Mr. Märklin, but also Istanbul Provincial Education Director Nail Reşid Bey, General Inspector Safvet Bey and Mayor Dr. Emin Bey. All the staff of the German Embassy were present.

After a short concert, Mr. Ruff, President of the School Association, took the floor and briefly recounted the history of the German School. The Turkish and German national anthems were then played. After the anthems, Nail Reşid Bey took the podium and congratulated the School Association for the reopening of the school, emphasizing that the Turkish Education Administration highly valued education in German and underlined that all of the Turkish teachers who were going to work in the German School had been selected among teachers who spoke German. The final address was given by German Ambassador Nadolny, who thanked Ismet Pasha and the Minister of Education Vasıf Bey for their facilitation and stated that their closeness had proved that the German School was not an unwanted institution. Finally, Nadolny addressed the staff of teachers, asking them to prove themselves continually worthy of the trust of the German colony, and pointing out the importance of educating children so that they would show the necessary respect for the country they lived in and keep their love for their homeland. After the Chairman of the Board of the School Association handed the necessary authorization documents to the teachers, the participants left Teutonia and went to the building on Polonez Street to take a short tour inside. At the school's gate, Rektor Richard Preuss welcomed the participants of the ceremony, emphasizing that he had no doubt that the German School would regain its honorable status among the foreign educational institutions in Turkey within a short period of time. The opening ceremony ended with a feast, which was joined by the German Ambassador, the School Association Board members and the teachers.

Since the rental building on Polonez Street was not built for school purposes, it was obvious that there would be some shortcomings. The biggest disadvantage

of the building was that it did not have a proper garden or a gym. This made it almost impossible to teach physical education classes to students. To at least partially overcome this adversity, long excursions into rural areas like Kayışdağı, Aydos Mountain, the Byzantine Walls, Polonezköy, and Çavuşbaşı were made with the students at every opportunity to keep them physically fit. However, since foreigners could not go outside the city district without a special permit, trips had to be restricted to the city and its immediate surroundings. The time spent in the rented building was not positive for the German School. At the end of the first year, there was a serious state of despair both in the Board of Directors of the School Association and in the teaching staff. During this first year, it had become clear that the temporary building was completely inadequate in terms of educational requirements and could not provide the conditions that would allow the school to expand physically.

First Educational and Operational Problems Encountered in the School

Since this second opening of the German School had taken place quite abruptly, some structural problems had to be confronted. First of all, there were problems related to the academic calendar deriving from the fact that the school had opened two and a half months later than usual. In addition, from the perspective of the educational infrastructure, the students enrolled in the school made up an extremely incompatible mosaic. In more concrete terms, there was a share of German students, who, though having returned to Istanbul recently, had not been to school for months. Then there was another group of German students who had been obliged to attend the English, French and Jewish schools, which were closed in April 1924 on the grounds that they had not been complicit with the regulations of the Ministry of Education. As a result, the students were initially a hodgepodge in terms of their educational formation. Moreover, schools were strictly prohibited from providing education on Fridays, the

weekly public holidays. At the school, which preserved its Protestant character, Sundays were also holidays. Two days of the week were therefore necessarily left idle. Since, as Preusser remarked, things could not continue like this, the school showed complicity with Turkey's legal requirements and, starting from the 1925-26 academic year, inevitably began to have classes on Sundays too. In order to compensate for the two-and-a-half months which had been lost owing to the delayed opening of the school, the teaching staff did not make complete use of all the vacation they were entitled to. Christmas and Easter holidays were shortened by one week each and Whitsun was not even considered a holiday.

Moving from the Rented Building to the Actual Building

Education in Polonez Street lasted less than a year. The old German High School building, which was still under French control, was handed over to its original owners on 1 September 1925, albeit in ruins. This transfer was not easily accomplished but required negotiations at the German and French governmental level. The French Army had evacuated Istanbul, but it had also left the building to a group of French families who had since started living there. Despair among the school administrators grew even more, as it seemed impossible that Germany would accept the conditions set by the French Government in exchange for them leaving the building. However, Nadolny stepped in to engage in lengthy and difficult diplomatic negotiations. As a result, he was able to persuade the French to return the building to its real owner, the German School. Nadolny was able to put pressure on French Ambassador Sarraut, who was refusing the return of the building, by emphasizing that the Capitulations had been lifted, and threatening Sarraut by saying that he would ask for support from the Turkish authorities if he was forced to. In the period 1918-1925, when the building was essentially used as a hospital under French control, all the school's documents and its archive were destroyed. There was almost nothing left, except for a



The school on Polonez Street in the 1920s

few desolate pieces of furniture and a library piled up in a room. Most window panes in the rooms that had not been used were broken. The locks and even the handles of the doors had been removed. The building had been left abandoned for nearly two years since the Allied forces had left the city. Now its interior walls and floors were covered with dust and slag. Cats and other stray animals had started living in the empty rooms. Since the French were aware of the deplorable state of the building, they agreed to return it to the Germans, underlining in particular the condition that no compensation would be paid. Because the building was obtained quite suddenly with only limited time until the start of the 1925-1926 school year, there was initially no time to undertake thorough repairs. Only superficial repairs were made up until September 7, enough to ensure that students



1925 March from Polonez Street to the Actual Building

In late August 1925, the main building was taken back from the French thanks to Ambassador Nadolny's efforts and the school moved from the rented space on Polonez Street to its main building in September. This photograph shows the march of the students during this move.

would be able to study in the building: windows were installed, doors repaired, floors and basements brought into a state of minimum order, classrooms whitewashed, a rigorous cleaning was carried out, and tools and equipment were transferred to Yeni Yol Street from Polonez Street.

On the opening day of the school, a beautiful autumn morning, at 9:00 am, the students gathered in front of the building on Polonez Street. At 10:00 am, the children, together with their teachers, walked in lockstep and order from the rented building via Istiklal Street to the main building on Yeni Yol Street. For the first time in seven years, German and Turkish flags were waving with pride and joy in the fresh morning breeze on the top of the building. Not wanting to miss this important event, Ambassador Nadolny and his wife had come from Tarabya in a hurry and were waiting for the student procession at the entrance of the school together with the School Association Board.

Mr. Ruff, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, gave a welcome speech to those present at the opening ceremony and expressed his sincere gratitude to the Ambassador and the German Government, stating that this important day constituted a source of great happiness for the School Association. In his response, Nadolny stated that they had finally achieved what they deserved, but that this also came with its own responsibilities and that the biggest responsibility for both teachers and students was to serve the motherland. Rector Preusser based his closing speech on the phrase "It is a pleasure to live" (originally coined by Renaissance poet Ulrich von Hutten (d. 1523) as "das Huttenwort": 'Es ist eine Lust zu leben'), and stated that the will of life, which had proved impossible to defeat even in Germany's gloomiest times, had ensured the development and rise of the country against the odds. In this context, he explained how the Germans in Constantinople had been able to overcome every obstacle created by the merciless victorious forces one by one and reach their desired goal. According to Preusser, the school building had been the French's last ace in the pack. Concluding his speech, the Rektor expressed his wish that waves of abundance would spread from the building from that day, and bring welfare to the country from whose hospitality they were benefitting, and glory to their homeland.

After the relocation, the building underwent comprehensive repairs and was subsequently also equipped with a central heating system. However, in light of the astronomical amount of money that it transpired it would cost when an official of the German Foreign Ministry came to make an estimation of the building, a complete repair work turned out to be impossible. Instead, the School Association Board of Directors agreed with individual craftsmen and some companies to repair the roofs, central heating, kitchen and dining hall, kindergarten, toilets and lodging flats one by one. During this process, the school borrowed a total of 150,000 marks. Such a high amount showed the value of the German High School in terms of the

German presence in Istanbul and the school's intention to exist for many years.

The repair work of the interior parts of the German High School building, which started from September 1924 and continued step by step, were largely completed in the 1927-1928 academic year. Initially the School Association Board of Directors received a negative response to its request for the German Government to cover the costs of the exterior plastering and painting, the leveling of the courtyard surfaces, the reconstruction of the school's garden walls and reparation of the garden gates. But Ambassador Nadolny stepped in and as a result of personal meetings with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was able to obtain the promise that repair works would be funded by the German budget. However, some school properties were mortgaged at the request of the Ministry.

The Teachers' Standards of Living

Moving to the main school building towards the end of 1925 meant a great improvement, particularly in terms of the quality of life for the teachers from Germany. Contemporary observers stated that the German teachers' material standard of living was very high in Turkey at that time. They earned around 300 lira per month as a salary. In addition to their salary, teachers also had the opportunity to use the space allocated for them on the top floor of the school building as free lodging.

The Quality of the German School in the First Four Years of Its Re-establishment

The education offered by the German School, which opened its doors for the second time in November 1924, was initially limited to lower secondary level. In the 1924-25 academic year, the highest grade above primary school was the 6th grade. As a result, Richard Preusser headed the school with the title of Rektor (primary school principal) during this period. Subsequently, a new higher grade was added each academic year following the 1924-25 year. By 1928, the German School offered education until the 9th grade, which meant the school had attained high school level.



id. v. l. u. r.
Rektor Preusser, Hansen, Hummel, Hambourg & Wessel
Knechtel, Körner, Frau Halke, Bey, Zeki Cemal
Erstes Kollegium in der Rue de Polony
1924

Teacher Committee, 1924

Richard Preusser is seen on the far left in the back row, Zeki Cemal Bakiçelebioğlu on the far right in the front row.

Directing an educational institution at this level could no longer be the task of Preusser alone. Thus, Ludwig Scheuermann, who came to the school from Germany in 1928, entered the administration as Direktor (high school principal) in 1929. From then on, the German School had once again become the German High School.

If we look at the number of students at the school at the beginning, we see that a total of 116 students, 65 boys and 51 girls, were enrolled by June 1925. By 1928, the number of students had reached 587.

Further, a boarding school tied to the German School was opened where priority was given to German children from Anatolia. In the same years, children who did not speak German were accepted into preparatory classes, and to kindergarten for those aged 4-6, and trade classes were also formed.



1924-25 School Report Cover

All of these developments showed that the German School was recovering slowly but surely. Meanwhile, the Turkey of these years was quite different from the pre-1918 Ottoman Empire. Reshaped national education policies were an important element of the nation-state-building agenda and the German School would also be affected by them.

The Framework of the Law on the Unification of Education dated 1924

With the Law on the Unification of Education (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) enacted on 3 March 1924, all schools and scientific institutions in the Republic of Turkey were secularized and subjected to the control of the Ministry of Education. Within this ruling, the private schools, community schools and foreign schools in Turkey also had to be monitored by the ministry. Previously, the 1869 Regulation on Public Education had introduced the principle that private and foreign schools were to be monitored in a legal framework, but as mentioned before, it

Zeki Cemal Bakiçelebioğlu (1902-1959)

Bakiçelebioğlu was born in Daday (Kastamonu). He came to Istanbul and graduated from the School of Commerce. He was interested in the press from a young age and entered press life in 1922 with his cartoons in the humor magazine *Aydede*, published by R. H. Karay. His cartoons were also published in the magazine *Zümrüdü Anka* (1923-25), of which he was the managing director. He began to write articles in the field of economics starting from 1924. The subjects of his articles published in *Meslek* in the period of 1924-25 were the living conditions of the workers, the workers' movements and the history of the organization of the working class in the late Ottoman period. When the German High School was opened in 1924, Bakiçelebioğlu entered the school as a Turkish teacher and also gave lessons in history and geography. He worked at the school until 1938. He worked both in the rented space on Polonez Street and in the main building. In addition to lecturing, Bakiçelebioğlu helped Rektor Richard Preusser in administrative issues; the two were in close cooperation. Until 1951, Bakiçelebioğlu, also taught at the Austrian St. Georg and the Italian High School. Bakiçelebioğlu was also a reporter for *Cumhuriyet* newspaper in 1925 while he was working at the German High School, and attended Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha's trip to Kastamonu in August 1925 in his capacity as journalist and witnessed the Hat Revolution.

Zeki Cemal Bakiçelebioğlu left the German High School, after teaching for fourteen years, and served as the Mayor of Kastamonu between 1941-44. In 1944, he started publishing the newspaper *Ekonomi*. In the last years of his life Bakiçelebioğlu, who was also a member of the Turkish Association of Journalists, was deputy of Kastamonu for the Democrat Party in the 11th Parliament of Turkey between 1957-1959.

had not been possible to effectively implement the Regulation due to the Capitulations. In contrast, in the Republic of Turkey, which had become a sovereign state with the Treaty of Lausanne, the Ministry of Education control over schools became the main governing principle. As a result, the pre-1923 autonomy of community and foreign schools was largely delimited. But, as will be discussed below, the Unification Law only marked a beginning and served as the legal framework which legitimized the Ministry of Education's right to intervene in schools when deemed necessary and to issue instructions for this purpose.

Foreign Schools in a Nationalist and Laicistic Environment

During the years in which the nation-state was taking shape, it was not possible for the German School to exist in Istanbul as an institution that worked only for the survival of Germanness. In addition to the Law on the Unification of Education, important steps were taken for the establishment of a national education order by means of a series of consecutive circulars, and certain conditions were imposed on foreign educational institutions.

In the circular issued on September 26, 1925, the following conditions were imposed on foreign schools: 1) Nothing would be said against the Turks and the Turkish State in or outside of class at any school; 2) There would be no books written against the Turks and the Turkish state that denigrated the present or past of the Turks; 3) There would be not the slightest mistake regarding Turkish history and geography in the textbooks and on the boards; 4) Turkish territories would not be shown as part of any other country; 5) There would be no propaganda towards any country in the textbooks; 6) Turkish language and Turkish history and geography would be taught for five hours a week in all foreign schools; 7) Turkish language and Turkish history and geography would be taught by Turkish teachers selected by the Ministry of Education; 8) Religious propaganda was forbidden in schools and religious symbols would not be allowed.



Secondary School Students in Polonez Street, 1925

A photograph of a class of secondary level students shot in 1925, when the German School was located in Polonez Street.

According to this circular, the new distribution of Turkish lessons in foreign schools would be as follows: 8 hours per week of Turkish for 1st and 2nd grade of Primary School, 6 hours of Turkish for 3rd and 4th grade of Primary School, and 5 hours of Turkish starting from the 6th grade. History and geography lessons would be given 3 hours per week in the 4th and 5th grades.



1925 Spring Festival in Tarabya – Nadolny, Preusser's Wife, and Mr. Muzafer

German Ambassador Rudolf Nadolny struggled a lot in order for the German School to reopen in 1924 and return to its main building towards the end of 1925. Until 1932, for as long as he continued to work in Turkey, he assumed the role of guardian angel of the German School. The picture shows Nadolny (in the center, with a cap and bow tie), Muzafer Bey (on the left back, wearing a fez and bow tie), and Richard Preusser's wife (on the right) at the festival in Tarabya in June 1925. Richard Preusser is standing on the right.

Preusser's Observations Regarding the 1925 Circular and Negotiations with the Education Authorities

Preusser's explanations in his annual report show that the above-mentioned circular put quite a strain on the German School, particularly the part related to language. Turkish language could not be taught sufficiently to German students during the mandatory Turkish lessons. As a result, it was observed that German students who did not develop a sufficient knowledge of Turkish in the 4th and 5th grades had difficulties following the Turkish history and geography lessons, and that classes were literally divided into two as a result, with some of the students following lessons in order and the other part messing around. This situation brought about serious disciplinary problems and an increase in complaints from the Turkish teachers.

In light of these problems, Preusser entered into negotiations with the Education Administration on the issue and a new plan was agreed upon. Accordingly, the following classification was arranged:

Course A 1 for beginner level students from other primary school classes;

Course A 2 for students at primary school level with language skills;

Course B 1 for beginner level students from secondary level classes;

Course B 2 for students at secondary and preparatory level with weak language skills;

Course B 3 for students at secondary and preparatory level with sufficient language skills.

With this arrangement, it was possible to schedule the lessons in German in the morning and the lessons in Turkish in the afternoon.

However, in his report, Preusser highlighted that the German students exhibited different behavior in the two periods that were allocated for German lessons and Turkish lessons respectively, pursuant to domestic law, and

claimed that it had become difficult for the German School to protect its German character.

The Circular of 1926: Tightening Controls

On February 7, 1926, a second circular for foreign schools was adopted. In essence, this circular re-specified the Regulation on Private Schools of 1915, which was discussed in the previous section, and the circular of 26 September 1925, which had been published only five months previously. The key points of the 1926 circular were as follows:

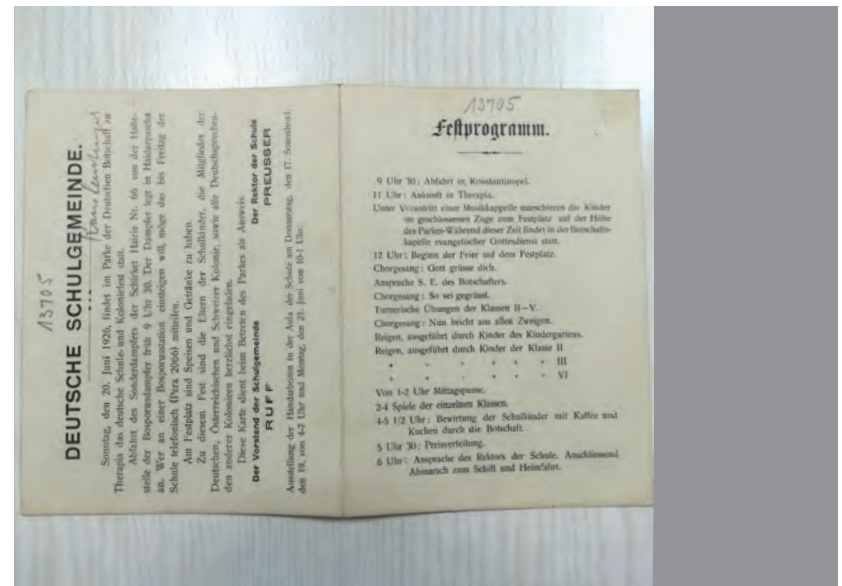
- 1) The activities of foreign schools in fields other than those specified in the license issued to them would be prohibited;
- 2) Foreign schools should be prevented from using poor students for services incompatible with being a student;
- 3) Records in foreign schools would be kept in Turkish. Schools that did not comply would be closed;
- 4) A large picture of Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha would be hung in the most distinguished place of all foreign schools;
- 5) It was forbidden to include pictures of church saints in textbooks;
- 6) Should secret activities of previously closed foreign schools be detected, the education directors and officials of the respective province would be dismissed from duty;
- 7) The education administrations had the authority to examine the identity and all other types of documents with respect to the principals and teacher of minority and foreign schools and employment of those considered inappropriate would be declared inadmissible.

These circulars were applied strictly between 1926 and 1928. Some foreign schools had difficulties abiding by their regulations, which pushed them to the brink of closure. Administrators and teachers of foreign schools were additionally subjected to a teaching qualification test that measured their proficiency in Turkish on certain dates. It was announced that those who failed to reach proficiency would lose their positions.

Richard Preusser
(1877-1948)

Preusser was born in Arnsdorf (Saxony). He came to Istanbul in 1903 and started teaching at the German High School primary level. In 1909, he became the director of the German High School affiliate Haydarpasa School. He remained in this post until 1918. He was later forced to return to Dresden.

Richard Preusser's main role in the history of the German High School began in 1924 when he orchestrated its second opening. Up until 1929, he made a great effort to develop the school as its Rektor. After Scheuermann's arrival, he managed the school's primary school and School of Commerce departments. As a teacher and administrator in both periods of the high school, he catered for its institutional continuity. Preusser was a typical pre-1918 German nationalist. He wrote articles on the German education policy in the Ottoman lands for German newspapers in the 1910s. At the same time, he was apparently also in contact with Turkish nationalist circles. Articles of his written in Turkish appeared in the Journal of Teachers (*Muallimler Mecmuası*) in the 1920s. After Hitler came to power in 1933, he became a member of the Nazi Party. It had always been his ideal for German language and culture to be spread as much as possible. In his Nazi-era writings, he went beyond this position and displayed a racist attitude, complaining that German-Turkish mixed marriages were detrimental to the German colony. He praised the clearing of "inferior" (*minderwertig*) publications from the library in Teutonia, in line with Nazi cultural policy. When Preusser retired in 1943, he returned to war-torn Germany. He presumably experienced the bombing of Dresden in February 1945. The city of Dresden, where he passed away, later fell under the Soviet occupation zone.



Invitation to the Tarabya Spring Festival, 1926

Preusser's View of the Turkish Educational Policies and the Position of the German High School

In 1926, a remarkable article was published in the Magdeburger Zeitung, probably written by Preusser. The article expressed the following views: "(...) The Turkish government is jealously keeping watch over the foreign schools and using the slightest violation of the rules as a pretext to close them. This is because the government knows that the children raised in these schools also internalize the school's spirit in their lives. This does not reconcile with the nationalist path which the Turkey of today has chosen. While the school [the German School] pursues the aim of instilling the culture of their homeland in the children (...) it accomplishes all this without harming the national feeling of the Turks. The number of foreign schools that have been temporarily or permanently closed by the government is currently very high, mainly Greek schools and schools of other non-Muslim subjects. While an English girls' school was temporarily closed, an investigation was initiated against Robert College, which ultimately resulted in a decision of non-prosecution. Despite all these developments, nothing has happened to the German High School. This shows that the school administration has successfully implemented the aforementioned goal. It should also be emphasized that although

the spiritual environment of the German School has produced new friends of German culture over the years, the effectiveness of the institution's apolitical approach and its decision to focus only on the upbringing of children has aroused nothing but respect in the Turkish government. What we are talking about here are young Turkish citizens who are affectionately devoted to their homeland and who are physically and spiritually healthy (...)."

Interestingly, the observations of the author, whom we assume to be Preusser, regarding the approach of the Turkish government to the German School were quite accurate. Apparently, even the Turkish Armed Forces of those years had confidence in the German School. We learn that in April 1927, upon the request of the Turkish General Staff, a German course for Turkish officers was initiated at the German High School. 23 officers of various ranks from lieutenant to major were enrolled in the course. In the beginning of 1930, senior students of Istanbul Teachers' School and Kuleli Military High School came to visit the German High School. It can be inferred from this that the prestige of the German High School was rising in the eyes of Turkish state institutions towards the end of the 1920s.

The Turkish Teaching Staff at the German High School and its Growing Strength

A Preusser took issue with the increase in weekly Turkish lessons prescribed by the 1925 Circular. His dissatisfaction, which partially stemmed from his German nationalist inclinations, was also spurred by the fact that French lessons had to be greatly reduced due to the increase in the weekly Turkish lessons. Eventually, the school's teacher profile started to change because of the increasing weight of Turkish and the obligation to teach courses such as history and geography in Turkish. In addition to the German teaching staff, a cadre of Turkish teachers formed. Out of a total of 36 teachers in the 1929-1930 term, 24 were German (17 men, 7 women) and 12 (9 men, 3 women) were Turkish.

The German High School as an Instrument for the Spread of German Culture

The German High School, together with Teutonia, was one of the most important building blocks of the German cultural presence in Istanbul, in terms of its position both in the city and in social life. Indeed, Dr. Otto Soehring defined the school as "a German cultural opus springing from the Bosphorus" and associated this opus with Istanbul, the center of the Asian and European continents. According to Soehring, this work had risen and taken root thanks to the labor of many men and women – it was not artificial, which is why it was now showing signs of revival.

Reopening of the Language Courses

The application of the German School to the Directorate of Education to open German courses for Turkish adults and Turkish courses for foreigners was approved on February 4, 1925. On February 18, 13 participants registered for the Beginner Level German course, 15 for the Advanced Level German course and 16 for the Elementary Level Turkish course. Lessons were held two evenings per week for one and a half hours each.

Türkische Post Newspaper

Following Ambassador Nadolny's initiative, the semi-official newspaper *Türkische Post* was founded with the purpose of preserving the ties of Germans in Turkey with their country. The newspaper contained detailed information about developments in the homeland and informed the German community in Istanbul, which had a population of around 1,500 in those years, about the activities of Germans in the city. This newspaper served as a public platform for members of the German colony, bringing the Istanbul Germans emotionally closer to their homeland. Readers of the newspaper were often reminded of World War I and an emphasis was placed on the "German-Turkish Brotherhood in Arms." The newspaper was initially financed by Nadolny himself but was subsequently able to receive financial support from German companies.

The newspaper, which had produced relatively independent journalistic work until the Nazi rule, would come almost completely under the control of the Hitler regime.

Through the *Türkische Post* the members of the Istanbul colony were able to closely follow the developments in Weimar Germany, often with anxiety, and the frequent political crises there. Most of them held nationalist views and therefore opposed neither the Nazis' practices after 1933 nor the fact that Germany had come under totalitarian control.

The Revival of Pre-1918 School Traditions: The Spring Festival

From 1925 onwards, after the second opening of the German School, the old traditions started to be revived. One of the major traditions was the Spring Festival held at the end of the academic year. Donations worth 2,000 marks were collected from the German colony in order to meet the expenses of renting a Bosphorus ferry, food for the children, and the purchase of awards in order to participate in the school holiday in the German Embassy Summer Residence in Tarabya on 20 June 1926. The following activities had been scheduled for the program of the School Festival:

09:30: Departure of the ferry in Istanbul

11:00: Arrival in Tarabya

The students walked in single file, behind the band in the front, to the festival area on the elevation in the embassy park. Meanwhile, a Protestant Sunday service was held in the embassy chapel;

12:00: Beginning of the ceremony in the festival area;

Choral singing: May God greet you (*Gott grüsse dich*)

Speech by Ambassador Nadolny

Choral singing: This be the greeting (*So sei gegrüsst*).



1927 School Show

The German School, which had been established for the second time under difficult conditions, started to recover in a short time in terms of both education and artistic activities. This recovery was evident in this school show held in 1927.

Gymnastic exercises of the students of grades 2-5

Choralsinging: Bursting from all branches now (*Nun bricht aus allen Zweigen*)

Round dance (*Reigen*) of the preschoolers

Round dance (*Reigen*) of the 2nd grade students

Round dance (*Reigen*) of the 3rd grade students

Round dance (*Reigen*) of the 6th grade students

13.00-14.00: Lunch break

14.00-16.00: Games played by each class

16.00-17.30: Coffee and cake service by the Embassy for the students

17.30: Distribution of Awards

18.00: Speech by Rektor Richard Preusser; at the end of the speech, departure to the ferry and return to Istanbul by ferry.



1927 School Show

The Birthday of German President Hindenburg

On October 2, 1927, the school took a holiday to mark the 80th birthday of German President Paul von Hindenburg. At 16:00 o'clock that day, a ceremony was held in the courtyard of the school with gymnastics and sports performances. This ceremony was also attended by Undersecretary of the Embassy von Moltke. Hindenburg's birthday was particularly celebrated because he had taken a tough nationalist and militarist stance against the feeling of abasement and humiliation created by the Versailles Peace Treaty.

The ceremony consisted of two parts: in the morning, a religious ceremony was held led by Embassy Pastor Berckenhagen, which praised Hindenburg's solid personality and prayed for his health. Later, music was played, accompanied by violins and the organ. In the afternoon, students displayed performances in gymnastics and sports at the school. Following the performances, the Chairman of the School Association Board of Directors Mr. Ruff expressed his gratitude, and highlighted that such performances were only made possible at the German School thanks to Turkish President Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha. After expressing similar thoughts regarding Gazi Pasha, the Undersecretary of the Embassy, von Moltke, excitedly described how Hindenburg had saved the German homeland twice during World War I. The re-establishment of the Gymnastics Club (*Turnverein*) in Istanbul was also heralded on this occasion.

Excursions and Cultural Activities

Another example of the revival of old school traditions was the organizing of excursions to the countryside, summer resorts and islands during holidays to take walks in nature, under the leadership of the Association for Excursions (*Ausflugverein*) founded by *Rektor* Preusser and his friends. German High School employees also participated in sports organizations such as the Association for Excursions and the Gymnastics Club and organized their activities under the roof of Teutonia. Events such as beer nights and classical music concerts were

also organized and announced through the *Türkische Post*. Sometimes the assembly hall of the German High School was used for these events and activities, sometimes the grand hall of Teutonia.

There were also other activities apart from those of these associations. On May 17, 1926, Prof. Dr. Theodor Menzel made a presentation in Teutonia about the results of the Turcology Congress held in Baku. In 1927 a presentation about the archaeological excavations in Ankara and Kütahya was made by Prof. Schade. It was an important issue during this period, in the context of the German presence in Turkey, to find or create commonalities between Turkishness and Germanness. Within the same framework, disciplines such as anthropology, history and archeology were considered political instruments by both the Turkish state in its endeavors to construct a new identity and Germany, which was hoping to see the rise of a consolidated German identity again.

German High School teachers also occasionally organized excursions and extra-routine visits to strengthen their students' knowledge and cultural experience. At a time when international tourism was not yet widely accessible, it was an extraordinary event when a large cruise ship visited Istanbul. On such an occasion, the high school administration made the students visit the ship. Similarly, when the largest plane of its time, the Junkers G-38, landed in Yeşilköy, German High School students went to the airport on 12 October 1930 to see and examine the plane.

60th Anniversary of the German High School

On November 1928, the 60th anniversary of the German High School's (*Oberrealschule*) foundation was celebrated with extensive ceremonies. The celebration ceremony was intended to coincide with May 11, which was the day classes started at the school. Moreover, this was also supposed to be an opportunity to make up for the 50th anniversary of the school's establishment in 1918, which had not been celebrated due to the troubles of the war. However, since the repair works in the school building had



Tarabya, 1928, Nadolny and School Members

been fully completed by that time, it was considered more appropriate to hold the celebrations in November. Celebrating the anniversary in November perhaps had a meaning of its own since it coincided with the date of the school's second opening.



Tarabya, 1928, Nadolny and School Members

It is interesting that neither Preusser nor Scheuermann mention the details of the celebrations in their reports. As a result we do not know exactly on which days the 60th anniversary celebrations took place or what kind of activities they included.

One detail regarding the 60th anniversary celebrations we do know of, thanks to the issue of *Türkische Post* dated 19 November 1928, is that Preusser expressed the following views in the speech he gave during the ceremony: "On the 60th anniversary of the founding of a German school in Istanbul,

[Preusser] not only emphasized the need for solidarity among all Germans regardless of their religion or political orientation, but also underlined that it would be desirable for different political groups to stand shoulder to shoulder for the sake of regaining German prestige and economic importance."

The German High School Under the Direction of Ludwig Scheuermann

Having reopened its doors in 1924 with classes at primary and secondary level, by 1928 the German School had started to cover high school classes. It therefore needed a director qualified to manage an institution at this level. In order to meet this requirement, Ludwig Scheuermann was appointed "Direktor" of the school's high school section on September 1, 1929. Scheuermann would continue this task for about 15 years until June 1944.

With Scheuermann as its High School Principal, there were now two directors in the organizational structure of the German High School. While the primary education, preparatory class and the School of Commerce sections remained under Preusser's administration, Scheuermann was responsible for the high school section.

Innovation Regarding Student Caps

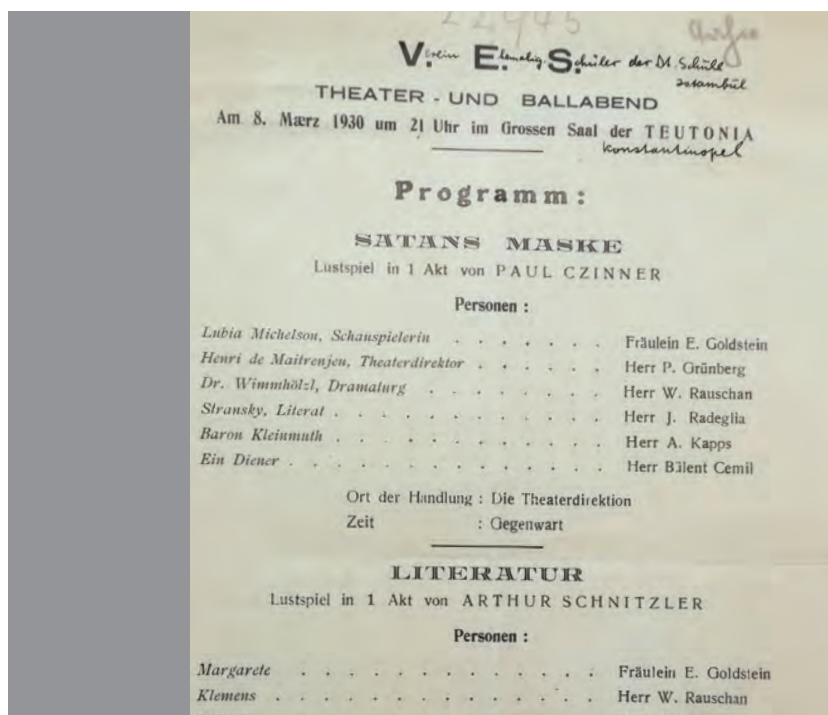
German School students traditionally wore caps with distinctive patterns according to their classes. On the first day of the school year beginning on September 9, 1929, this tradition was modified, probably at the initiative of the new principal Scheuermann. The purpose of the change was to eliminate the distinction between students of different classes being determined by physical appearance, which almost evoked the system of military ranks.

It was decided instead to use a dark blue cap with a white-gold-white border on the edge as the common headgear for all classes. This change ended the practice of encouraging militarist subordinate-superior relationships.



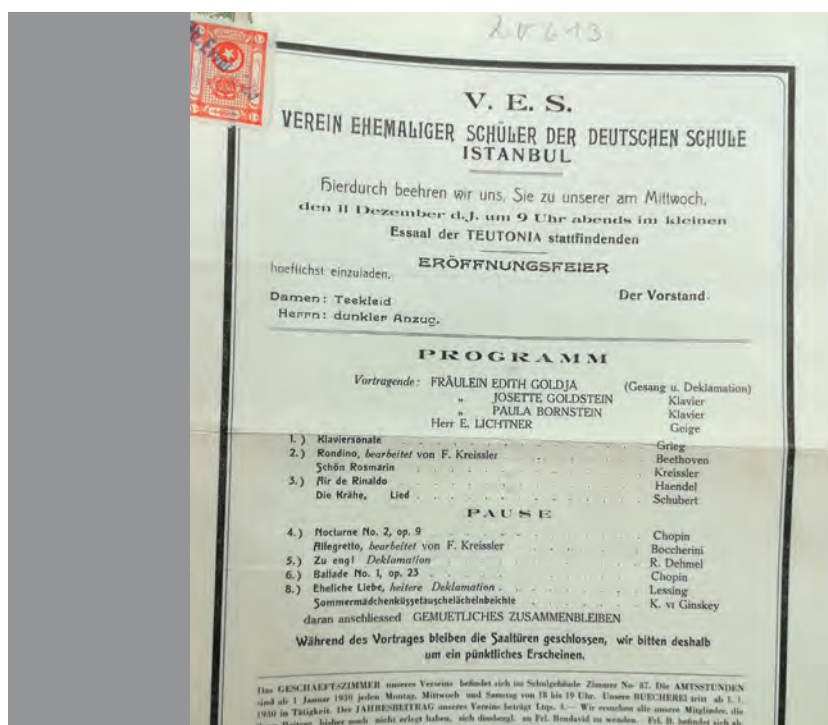
Afternoon Tea in Tarabya Aula, 1929

The school teachers gathered for an informal afternoon tea on a holiday in February 1929 in the Aula, which had been temporarily turned into an "Oriental Corner". There is a certain formality if not tension in the clothes, facial expressions and body language of the people in the image. Richard Preusser, the third person from the far left, lets us know that he is the principal ruler of the school. The face of Ludwig Scheuermann, the second person from the left one row behind, displays unease.



Theater Brochure of the Association of Former Students of the German School, 1930

Except for the cap, the German High School did not have any other traditions such as school uniforms. In this respect, it was characterized by an environment which was more free compared to the Istanbul schools of the period.



Association of Former Students of the German School, 1930

Organization of the German High School Graduates

In September 1929, following Preusser's encouragement, the German High School graduates came together to establish the "Association of Former Students of the German School" (*Verein Ehemaliger Schüler der Deutschen Schule, V.E.S.*). After being registered within a short period of time, the association gained official status. Initially, evening activities where classmates gathered (*Kameradschaftsabende*) were organized by the association, which also started to organize social events such as Abitur celebrations, theater, tea dances, and summer festivals. Another contribution was the initiative to create a school archive and library. The association tried to give financial support to needy students by getting involved in charity work and it also organized scientific conferences. Scheuermann played a major role in the strengthening and flourishing of the association in these years.

People such as Kemal Manioğlu, Emin Sayit and Lazzaro Franko were among the association's directors. Those who experienced this period emphasized that the association had breathed new life into Istanbul's social life.

The German High School's Expansion and Its Need for Teachers

Under Director Scheuermann the German High School experienced a breakthrough. In the 1929-30 academic year, the 10th, 11th and 12th grades were established to make the German High School a true *Oberrealschule* (or *Realgymnasium*). In the Germany of those years, 12 years of education were considered enough for the Abitur. Thus, starting from 1931, the German High School had reached the capacity to organize Abitur exams for those who completed the school.

From its second opening until the early 1930s, there were no parallel classes at the German High School, i.e. between primary and high school level there were no divisions of classes. However, after 1930, two parallel preparatory

classes were established, and then parallel divisions were opened from primary to high school level classes. All these quick leaps led to a shortage of teachers. There was a need for university graduate teachers, especially after the establishment of the 10th, 11th and 12th grades. In 1929 there were no university graduate teachers at the school, except Ewald Salkowsky, who taught mathematics and physics, and Dr. Friedrich Meichle, who taught German. Given this requirement, the school started to employ teachers from Germany who had received university education. The university graduate Dr. Julius Stern was recruited by the German High School for chemistry and biology lessons.

The 1930 Istanbul German High School and School of Commerce Regulations

In parallel with its expansion and structural changes in the German High School, the need for school regulation emerged. In fact, the regulation that had been supposed to be declared in earlier years had not yet been finalized, probably because the high school had not yet attained its final institutional form.

The regulation, which was probably completed in 1929, was approved by the Ministry of Education on March 26, 1930 with the title "Istanbul German High School and Trade School Regulations." According to this regulation, the structure of the German High School was defined as follows:

- 1) A primary school section comprising 6 grades;
- 2) A high school section comprising 6 grades
(This made a total of 12 grades)
- 3) A commerce department comprising 3 grades;
- 4) "Preparatory classes for students older than 12 speaking foreign languages".

Education in all classes was to be mixed (girl-boy, German-Turkish). Turkish language lessons would be compulsory in all grades.

According to the regulation, courses were broken down as follows:

1) Mandatory Courses at Primary and Secondary Level:

Representation [Object Perception]; German; Turkish; French; Calculation ; History; Geography; Dormitory Civics; Biology; Physics; Painting; Gymnastics; Crafts for girls.

2) Mandatory Courses at High School Level:

German; Turkish; French; History and Civic Knowledge; Geography; Mathematics; Natural History (Biology, Physics, Chemistry); Orthography; Geometric Drawing; Singing; Musicology; Gymnastics; Shorthand; Crafts for girls.

3) Mandatory Courses at the Commerce Department:

German; Turkish; French; History; Geography; Mathematics; Physics; Technology; Public and Commercial Accounting; German, Turkish and French Commercial Correspondence; Bookkeeping; Trade; Orthography; Writing with a Machine; Shorthand.

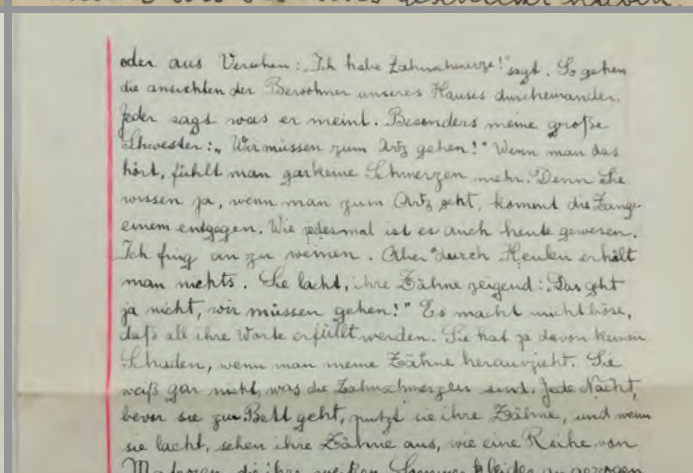
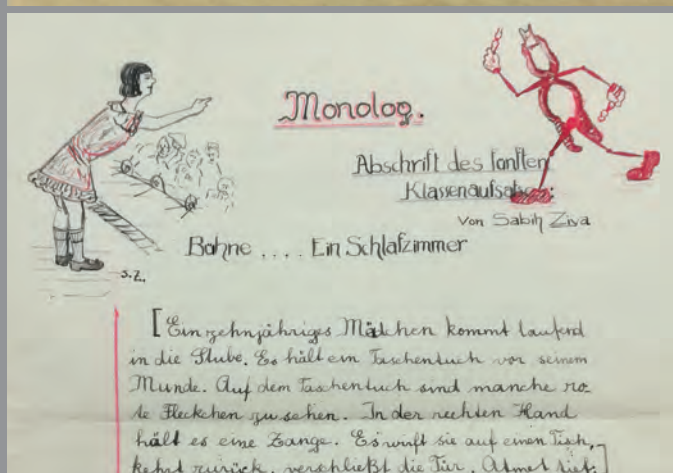
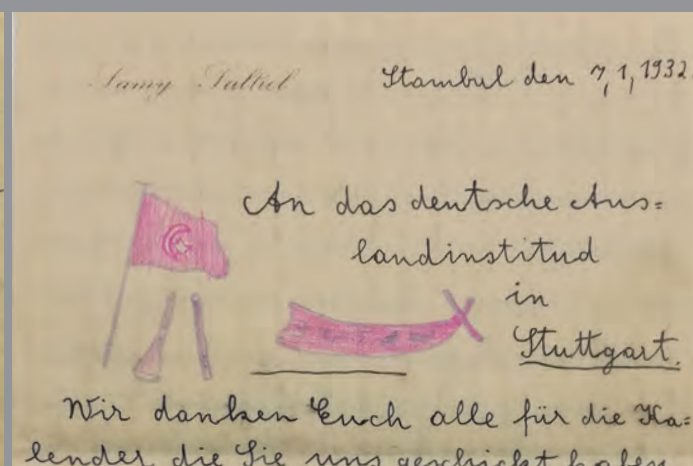
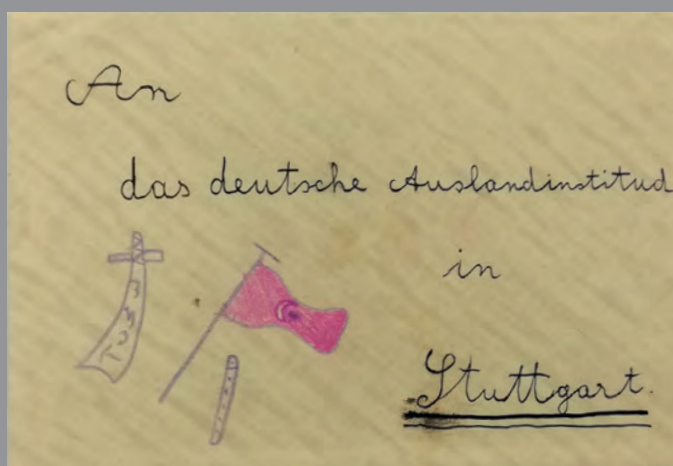
According to the regulation, religion lessons were not compulsory. In line with the sect of the German children, religious lessons were given by Protestant and Catholic teachers. Turkish Muslim children were not allowed to attend these classes.

Finally, the regulation also arranged for the school holidays. Holidays accordingly consisted of 1) Christmas (about 15 days); 2) Easter (about 1 week); 3) Feast of Tabernacles (3 days); 4) Summer holidays (June to September); and 5) the official Turkish holidays.

The German High School's Expansion in the Field of Sports

The German High School did not have sufficient courts or fields for its own sports activities and surveyed the different sports opportunities in the city for its students.

In September 1930, after negotiations with the English Sports Club and the English High School, an agreement was reached which



Student Letters to the Institute for Germans Abroad, 1932

In January-February 1932, some German School students sent hand- or typewritten letters to the Institute for Germans Abroad (Deutsches Auslandsinstitut) in Stuttgart. These letters, written to thank the Institute for Germans Abroad for the gift calendars it had previously sent to the students, were probably written with the encouragement of the school's teachers. Some of the letters depict the city of Istanbul, while others contain stories or theater plays written by the students. The Institute for Germans Abroad was established in 1917 to study the history and ethnology of Germans outside Germany and was a seemingly informal institution. However, this institute, which was in close contact with the German Foreign Ministry, quickly adapted to the Nazi ideology after 1933 and focused on researching the genetic and racial characteristics of Germans abroad. This institution, which served German military purposes after 1938, was closed in 1945.

gave the school's students the right to use the English sports field in Şişli every Sunday afternoon during the winter season.

While the German High School students were using the English sports field, the most prominent names in the Turkish sports community such as Selim Sırrı [Tarcan], Ekrem Rüştü [Akömer], and Mr. Abrahams also visited the field to examine the sports activities there. German High School physical education teachers were frequently invited to both Turkish and other foreign sports clubs. Hermann Niebuhr and Werner Eichstädt in particular were invited to meetings as expert advisers (*Fachberater*) by Turkish sports officials.

The directors of the German High School paid great attention to the success of their students on the sports field. As Hermann Niebuhr clearly stated in the annual report of the German High School, the impression that the superior performance of the German High School created on Turks and others in sports competitions with Turkish clubs and other foreign school teams was seen as a highly effective method of propaganda for both the German High School and "Germanness" (*Deutschtum*).

Despite these temporary solutions, the biggest complaint of the German High School administrators with respect to sports remained the lack of adequate facilities. Indeed they would once again be without a field once the agreement with the English Sports Club had expired. Travelling to Kadıköy for training every Sunday afternoon was not really viable in terms of both time and cost.

1930, 1931 and 1932 Regulations on Foreign Schools: Critical Decisions Regarding Primary School, Turkish and Equivalence

Until the second half of 1930, the requirement determined by the Ministry of Education was only for the 4th and 5th grade Turkish students at the German High School to take Turkish history, geography and civics classes. However, starting from October 1, 1930, these courses were made compulsory for Turkish citizen students in the 8th and 9th grades as well. The same courses were

made compulsory for the top two grades of the School of Commerce department of the German High School. These lessons would be taught in Turkish by Turkish teachers.

The German High School administrators loathed these changes. According to them, they led to a meaningless course load being imposed on the students and, from a pedagogical perspective, the limits of their endurance was being tested.

Six months later, an immensely important new legal regulation came into force, which held significance for the primary education grades at the German High School and other foreign schools. According to Law No. 1778, adopted in Parliament on March 29, 1931, citizens of the Turkish Republic receiving primary level education were only allowed to attend Turkish schools. Likewise, non-Muslim citizens of Turkey were prohibited from attending the primary school divisions of foreign schools for their primary education. This law entered into force on September 19, 1931 with the regulation of the Ministry of Education.



Scheuermann at the Christmas Celebrations, 1933
School Principal Ludwig Scheuermann is seen celebrating the 1932-1933 New Year's Eve in his lodging apartment with his wife and close friends. In this picture Scheuermann is seen with his guitar, which he is said to have played very well.

On September 19, 1931, the graduation certificates of those who received diplomas from foreign schools at secondary and high school level were officially recognized as equivalent by the Ministry of Education.

A direct result of this law for the German High School was the School Association Board's decision to abolish the affiliated kindergarten. After all, most kindergarten attendees were Turkish nationals and being sent to the kindergarten in order to be prepared for the primary school section of the German High School.

For the German High School, the closure of the kindergarten was almost a blessing in disguise, because the places vacated could be used to solve the chronic space problem. It therefore became possible to open new classrooms for middle and high school students.

On August 5, 1931, the Council of Education and Morality of the Ministry of Education

determined new procedures regarding the final exams of students studying at foreign and minority schools. Accordingly, the "graduation certificate" of the graduates of these school types would remain valid for subjects like military service and civil service. However, those who wanted to continue their education in Turkish colleges would have to submit a graduation exam with an official high school student which had been determined by the Ministry. Naturally, this was a negative development for German High School graduates.

A new decision regarding Turkish lessons in foreign schools was implemented in early 1932. By force of the Ministry of Education's decision dated January 5, 1932, Turkish citizen students who were not able to attain a passing grade in each of the courses that had to be taught in Turkish in foreign schools, would definitely fail.

The German High School officials did not immediately want to accept these regulations. In October 1932, at the end of lengthy negotiations with the Ministry of Education, the school accepted that Turkish history, geography and civics courses were to be taught by Turkish teachers and in Turkish. Yet a transition process was specified for this to happen and the regulations only started to be implemented in 1937.

Closing of the School's Student Hostel

In June 1931, a decision was taken to close the student hostel, which had been part of the German High School for about 3 years. German families working in railway constructions in Anatolia and not residing in Istanbul had been able to send their children to the hostel as boarding students. It had a total capacity of 9 beds. However, due to the magnitude of the economic crisis and the fact that some railway lines had been completed, most of the German families working in these jobs had returned to their homeland. The resulting vacancies were filled by two sons of a German farmer living in Söke, the son of a German carpenter who made his living in Izmir, an orphaned German boy, the son of the



Akşam Newspaper, 4 May 1933

A group of German High School students visited Akşam Newspaper on May 4, 1933 and were informed about its printing house.

Governor of Istanbul, the son of the Governor of Konya and the son of the Member of Turkish Parliament from Kütahya.

The German High School administration saw it fit to convert the boarding house spaces, which had been decided to be abolished, into the urgently needed classrooms.

The First Abitur After the 1924 Opening

After the German High School had been closed in November 1918 and opened for the second time in 1924, an Abitur exam and ceremony were held for the first time on June 17, 1932. 6 boys and 6 girls entered and passed the Abitur exam. Two of them were Turks: Bülent Cemil [Davran], who later became known as a law professor and author of a German-Turkish dictionary, and Selim Ethem, a grandson of former grand vizier Cypriot Mehmed Pasha. As was the case before 1918, German Ministry of Education (*Reichserziehungsministerium*) officials were sent for each Abitur exam and comprehensive reports were prepared after each Abitur exam.

During this first Abitur ceremony, principal Scheuermann gave a speech to the students. In it, as well as sharing some life lessons, he asked the students to take it to heart "... to perceive and acknowledge the people they live with as human beings regardless of their religion and nationality, just as they had been doing regarding their classmates up until now." Here we see the humanist approach that Scheuermann wanted to convey to the students.

Germany Recognizes the German High School as Equivalent

The Abitur exam at the German High School on June 17, 1932 was held under the supervision of German education authorities. Based on their positive reports, the German School's equivalence with the *Oberrealschule* schools in Germany was officially recognized by a decree of the German Minister of Interior Affairs dated March 2, 1933.

The National Socialist Workers Party's (Nazis) Seizure of Power

One of the most striking phenomena in German history was the coming to power of the Nazis under the leadership of Adolf Hitler in January 1933. As a result of the Great Depression that had been ongoing since 1929, the unemployment rate in Germany exceeded 40% and social problems had reached extreme dimensions. In this environment, the Nazis won the 1932 general elections. Within one year of their accession to power, the Nazis abolished the Weimar democracy and established a dictatorship. Under this totalitarian dictatorship, the ideologies of the superiority of the Aryan race and antisemitism became official state policy, and state terror and violence reigned supreme.

Within this framework, a forcible coordination (*Gleichschaltung*) of all official and unofficial institutions in line with Nazi ideology was carried out and any political idea opposed to Nazism was declared inadmissible.



School Excursion, 1932



German High School Building, 1935
Photograph of the German High School building taken in 1935

The Effects of the Nazi Dictatorship on the German High School

As mentioned earlier, German nationalist sentiments were very pronounced within the German colony of Istanbul. Hitler's coming to power was therefore perceived as a "German national revolution" (Deutsche Nationalrevolution) and greeted with enthusiasm.

The German High School, which received certain subsidies from Germany every year and even owed its existence and survival to German financial aid, inevitably had to fall under Nazi control. In this context, the school was linked to the foreign department established by the National Socialist Workers Party. It is known that in 1931, when the Nazis had not yet seized power, Gregor Strasser, one of the officials of the Nazi party, had established the Party's foreign department (*Auslandsabteilung der NSDAP*). In accordance with this organization, all Germans living outside of Germany were organized as a single *Gau* ("state"). The *Gauleiter* (governor) of this "Gau of Germans Abroad" was directly responsible to Hitler. In October 1933, the "Istanbul Local Chapter of the Foreign Gau" was formed within the National Socialist Teacher Organization (*Ortsgruppe Istanbul des Gaues Ausland im NS-Lehrerbund*). This Nazi teachers' organization made revisions to the German High School curriculum which took the regime change in Germany into account. The new curriculum suspended the existing curriculum's approach of dealing with other nations and religions and instead emphasized German nationality and national superiority. In line with the new curriculum, an educational policy was pursued that aimed to create a new German self-consciousness through the marginalization and exclusion of non-German cultures and religions.

After 1933, loyalty to the Nazi ideology was the dominant criteria among the teachers appointed from Germany. As stated by Julius Stern, one of the teachers of that time, the teachers assigned by Germany were officially obliged to swear loyalty to Hitler

Dr. Ludwig Scheuermann

(1895-1975)

Scheuermann was born in Augsburg (Bavaria). In his youth he worked on Renaissance German economic history and earned a PhD with a comprehensive thesis on the industrial activities of the Fugger Merchant family in Tyrol and Carinthia. Ludwig Scheuermann came to the German High School in 1928 as a high school teacher candidate and became the director of the high school section of the school a year later. He officially received the title of High School Principal in 1933. While continuing his duty at the high school, he reached the rank of University Professor (*Studienprofessor*) in 1940.

Scheuermann emphasized the importance of humanist values and imbued his students with a sense of understanding towards other individuals regardless of their religion, race or nationality. Because of these values it was difficult for Scheuermann to agree with the Nazis who came to power in 1933. Even though he was accused of being a social democrat from time to time, he knew how to navigate his way until 1944.

As part of his attempts to deal with the Nazis, he ensured that teachers like Dr. Julius Stern, who was Jewish and an opponent of the regime, continued working at the school until 1936, and despite the decrease in the number of Jewish students, he did not prevent the latter from attending the school until 1941. In addition, he helped those Jewish teachers who became unemployed to find a job at other high schools and colleges in Turkey. Scheuermann, who increasingly became a thorn in the Nazis' side, was finally dismissed from his position as director in June 1944 on the grounds that he was extremely benevolent, lacking in rigidity, was modest and incapable regarding organizational matters.

After the war, Scheuermann ended his career as director of the *Oberrealschule* in Augsburg.

(*Treueschwur für Hitler*). During this period many of the German High School teachers, as members of the Nazi Party, assumed party duties alongside their teaching duties.

On the occasion of the annual graduation exams, the Ministry representative from the German Ministry of Education inspected the lecturers and school administrators by questioning how committed they were to the National Socialist ideology. This kind of ideological control grew more intense after 1937.

With this change in educational approach, the authoritarian and disciplinary practices towards students became more pronounced. In addition, greater importance was attached to physical education classes and sports, since the aim was to raise young German generations with strong bodies. Within this framework, out-of-school activities were increased: day trips were made; spectacular celebrations were organized on various political occasions; numerous sports festivals were organized; and frequent trips to the countryside were organized in order to spend the night in open-air camps. In the case of student-organized events, rather than relying on democratic elections, the principle of assigning students considered close to the Nazis from above was followed. Priority was given to those who proved themselves deserving according to the National Socialist perspective – that is, to the criteria of racial purity and loyalty to Hitler.

In line with these developments, National Socialist youth ceremonies took place in the German summer residence in Tarabya in addition to the annual school celebrations and sports competitions.

The Director of the Istanbul Local Chapter for the Nazi Party was Dr. Alfred Guckes. Dr. Guckes organized large Nazi ceremonies in Teutonia. Although this kind of political activity was completely illegal, the fact that Dr. Guckes was on very good terms with the Istanbul Police Department made these activities possible for a long period. However over time, as suspicions grew among both the

Turkish and German police that Dr. Guckes was involved in espionage and corruption, he was deported in February 1940 at the request of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Nazi Propaganda Aimed at Students: Behavioral Indoctrination

Following the consolidation of the Nazi regime in 1934, Nazi officials started to unleash an increasing dose of propaganda on the German students of the German School in particular. A notable dimension of this propaganda were the suggestions that German students received about the kind of attitude and behavior they should display towards their non-Aryan classmates. In special classes held at the German Consulate and Teutonia Club, Nazi officials tried to impose certain behavioral patterns on German students. German students of Aryan origin were asked to form an exclusive closed community and to avoid contact with other children as much as possible. They were advised to take a polite but distant attitude towards students of other nationalities – such as their Turkish fellows – and avoid approaching them if possible. All relationships with Jewish children – whether German or of a different nationality – had to be terminated.

“Special Courses on the History and Problematics of National Socialism for German Students of the 9th, 10th, 11th grades and the 3rd grade of the Commerce Department” (*Sonderkurse über Geschichte und Problematik des Nationalsozialismus für die deutschen Schüler der Klassen UII, UI, OI and H3*) were opened for the higher grades starting from April 1934 to teach these forms of behavior. Simultaneously, physical education lessons were infused with ideological values, resulting in an approach that took sports activities as a way of strengthening the body in terms of racial health.

Another important element of the propaganda and indoctrination activities was the screening of special films brought from Germany. Grades 10-12 had to watch a Nazi movie called “The New Man” (*Der neue Mensch*). Other Nazi propaganda films that were shown included “Loyal to Our People” (*Treu unserem Volke*),



German Minister of Economy Dr. Walther Funk with German High School students in Taksim Square During His 1938 Istanbul Visit

“Country of Children-Sun Country” (*Kinderland-Sonnenland*), “Emergence Of A [New] Lineage” (*Es wächst ein Geschlecht*), “Echo of the Country” (*Echo der Heimat*), “Triumph of the Will” (*Triumph des Willens*), and “The Beauty of Labor” (*Schönheit der Arbeit*).

An Example of Nazi Teacher: Walter Hetzer

The above-mentioned Nazi youth events were very attractive to those who were students in those years. This was also due to the fact that the Nazis placed great importance on young people and attributed large and small responsibilities to them within the scope of their Party duties. One teacher who was particularly skilled in this matter was Walter Hetzer, who came to the German High School in 1931. Born in 1906, Hetzer was one of the youngest teachers of the German High School. He was the local youth leader of the Nazi Party (*Landesjugendführer der NSDAP*) in Istanbul. He enjoyed high popularity among the students of the German School. He remained in this position until he returned to Germany in 1937.

With the encouragement of Walter Hetzer, some of the school students were mobilized towards Nazism. One of them was Ruth/Helga Busch. An ethnic German in origin, her blond and sportive physique, her good academic performance and the fact that she could be bent in the desired ideological direction due to her young age, made her an ideal candidate. In 1936, when Busch was 13 years old, and after getting permission from her parents, Hetzer asked Ruth if she would perform a duty which had been ordered from above, and she enthusiastically agreed. Partially pushed by «neighborhood pressure» caused by the fact that her name sounded very Jewish, Ruth changed her name to the more Germanic-sounding Helga. Thus, «Helga» Busch was chosen as a «Young Maiden Leader» (*Jungmädelführerin*) by the Nazi organization. She was expected to manage dorm nights (*Heimabende*), organize country excursions and festivals, and look after the girls (*Jungmädels*) who were members of the Nazi Maidens' Organization.



29 October Ceremony, *İstiklâl Caddesi*, 1933
As part of the celebrations for the 10th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Republic, German High School students held a parade on *Istiklal Street*.

The Limits of Nazism: Indirect Resistance Against the Nazi Influence at the German High School

Understandably, it was not possible for opposition or open resistance against Nazism to manifest itself within the German High School, which was financially dependent on Germany and whose teachers, even if they were not ideologically aligned with Nazism, largely considered the Hitler regime to be legitimate because it exalted German national pride. However in reality we observe an approach which did not literally obey the discriminatory and racist orientation that the Nazi Party was trying to impose. These acts of passive resistance were facilitated by High School Principal Scheuermann's democratic personality on the one hand and the Turkish authorities' sensitivity resulting from the majority of the school's students being Turkish citizens on the other.

First it is noteworthy that the exclusionary and distancing approach against the school's Jewish teachers was not adopted immediately

after the Nazi regime had consolidated its power. Jewish teachers or teachers known to be openly antifascist were able to continue teaching until 1936. In 1936, due to the increasing political pressure on the German High School, Julius Stern, the last Jewish teacher at the school, and Bertold Bitterich, who was known for his opposition to the Nazis, were forced to resign from the school.

With respect to the Jewish students at the school, their number is known to have started decreasing from 1933. However, this decline was due to their parents' desire not to send their children there, rather than the attitude of the school administration towards Jewish children. The number of Jewish students, which totaled 236 in 1933-1934, decreased to 164 in the 1935-1936 academic year. This number decreased further to 130 in the 1937-1938 term and sank to 20 in 1940-1941. However, after the policy of physical extinction of Judaism and the adoption of the so-called *Endlösung* (Final Solution) in Nazi Germany in January 1942, Jewish students were no longer tolerated at the German High School. In the academic year of 1943-44, on orders from Berlin, the Jewish students continuing their education, whose number had decreased significantly, were removed from the school. Nevertheless, in light of these facts, one can say that throughout his time as the school's principal, Scheuermann did not comply with Nazi directives unless compelled to.

He also displayed other attitudes and actions that further substantiate this claim. He helped many of the Jewish refugee academics, who were coming from Germany from 1933, to find a job at Turkish colleges. The German High School continued to order textbooks and notebooks from the Jewish bookshop Karon Bookstore (later named Tünel Bookstore) until 1944, despite the increasing pressure from the Nazi regime.

Scheuermann was not the only person to engage in such indirect modes of resistant conduct. Dr. Karl Gräf was officially a Nazi official and the press officer of the Nazis' Istanbul local organization. However, he

maintained a close relationship with Dr. Julius Stern even after the latter was expelled from school in 1936. When students applied for private lessons to Dr. Gräf, who was a teacher in French, he directed them to Stern, who was struggling financially. In 1938, when Nazi education officials attempted to separate the classes of German students from the classes of Turkish students, Johannes Posth, Chairman of the School Association, took a stand to prevent this measure.

Although most of the German students at the German School were either influenced by Nazism or adopted an apolitical attitude, there were also a few German students who were openly critical of Nazism. One was Hans Kessler, who was part of the 1937-1938 Abitur class. Kessler's father, Dr. Gerhard Kessler was a professor at Istanbul University. Although he was not Jewish, he was an opponent of the Nazi regime. Previously, his son Hans Kessler had started engaging in political debates with the children of the "Hitler Youth" (*Hitlerjugend, HJ*) organization and attacking National Socialism with extremely clever arguments that left the boys of the HJ incapable of convincing responses. When Nazi Germany annexed Austria (*Anschluss*) in the first months of 1938, all German students were obliged to attend the celebration ceremony held in the school's Aula, but Kessler refused to comply and went home in protest. The mathematics teacher Peter Strassberger, a fanatical Nazi militant, noticed this and put pressure on Scheuermann, who finally had Kessler suspended from school.

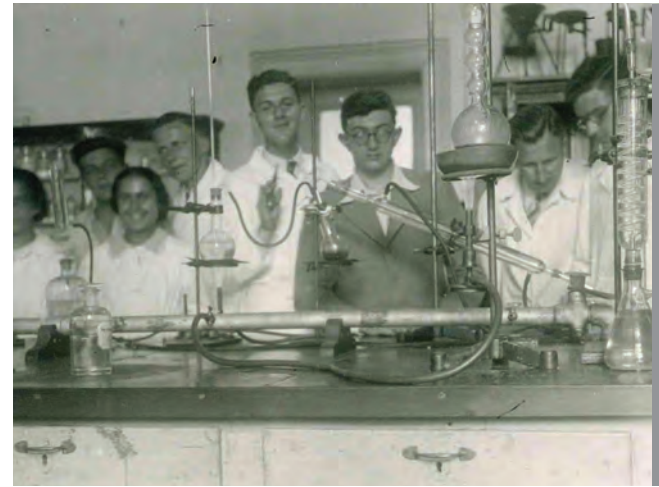
Peter Strassberger was a strict and dogmatic Nazi. He came to the German High School in 1937 but due to his bigotry and his deficiencies as a teacher could not adapt to the school environment. Shortly after getting Hans Kessler into trouble, he left the school in the second half of 1938 and returned to his country.

The second important factor preventing the German High School from turning into a real Nazi institution was the sensitivity of the Turkish authorities and their concern regarding the aggressive force of Nazism.



1936 Graduation Ceremony, Cumhuriyet Newspaper A news report about the graduation ceremony in the Cumhuriyet newspaper dated June 25, 1936

German teachers and administrators, who followed or had to follow the Nazi's nationalist political orientation, carefully avoided any open conflict with Turkish nationalism. They did not want to arouse suspicion in the eyes of the Turkish authorities and draw the latter's anger on themselves. One strategy they applied was to constantly draw attention to the parallels between the recent histories of Germany and Turkey, when discussing the issue of national identity, and to demonstrate the positive similarities between the "Führer" of both countries. In all ceremonies and



Chemistry class at the German High School in the 1930s

celebrations, the flags of both countries were hoisted together, and their national anthems were played and sung together. “*Sieg Heil*” was chanted three times when Mustafa Kemal’s name was mentioned on different occasions.



19 May Ceremonies, Taksim Talimhane, 1935

The situation was politically complex, since the school’s student population comprised not only Germans but also Turks and young people of other nationalities. Officials of the Republic of Turkey were sensitive about the threat of exposing the school’s Turkish students to the influence of the Nazis, and implemented supervisions. But, as stated above, the German Embassy and Nazi Party officials were actively trying to spread the Nazi ideology among German students. In turn the children and young people who adopted the Nazi ideology were trying to control and, if necessary, spy on other children and even adults.

Starting from 1937, and thanks to the presence of a Turkish Vice Principal at the school, school officials had to be cautious and avoided outright anti-Semitic propaganda, particularly in biology lessons and opening courses such as the “race science lesson” (*Rassenkundeunterricht*). These Nazi tenets were most effectively conveyed to students in the HJ organization.

In connection with the dangers posed by Nazi propaganda, the Turkish side published the 1935 Circular, which will be discussed later, and a quasi-directive in

1938. The 1938 Directive, published under the title Minority and Foreign Schools Culture Courses, clarified the educational approach of the Republic of Turkey with respect to culture courses. In line with the Six Arrows (principles) of the Republican People’s Party, the single ruling party of that time, the directive stressed the need for teachers of culture courses to promote Turkish national values, laicism, love for and loyalty to the Turkish nation, diversion from religious superstition, knowledge of Turkey’s geography and patriotic feelings.

Teacher-Student Relations under Director Scheuermann

In the students’ memoirs about Scheuermann’s term, it is noteworthy that despite the Nazis’ influence, the environment at the German School remained friendly and far from authoritarian. The lodgings of Principal Scheuermann and many other teachers were located in the school building. This created the opportunity for free social interaction between students and their teachers. Teachers occasionally invited students to their lodgings for music nights. Students were completely free to join these kinds of activities. Sometimes small philosophy courses were held in Scheuermann’s lodging. It was again up to the students whether they wanted to participate or not. One student, who had recently come to Istanbul from Germany, wrote that he had never seen or experienced such a relaxed and informal environment in Germany. According to the student, the only thing spoiling this informality was that students were addressing teachers with the formal “*Sie*”.

Decrease of the Number of Students

Since its foundation for the second time in 1924, the number of German High School students had increased steadily. While there was a total of 463 students in the 1927-1928 academic year, the number of students increased to 735 in the 1929-1930 academic year and reached 774 in the 1932-1933 academic year. The biggest factor in this increase was the increase in the number of Turkish citizen students. In the 1927-1928

Besim Gürmen

(1890-91[1308]-1961)

Gürmen was born in Istanbul. He entered the Education bureaucracy during the founding years of the Republic. He took part in the organization of the Education Secretariats, which were part of Minister of Education Mustafa Necati's decentralization reforms, and served in the Education Secretariats of Edirne and Gaziantep between 1926-1931. Later he also served as Inspector of the Ministry of Education. After having taught German at Kabataş High School, Besim Gürmen became the first Turkish Deputy Principal of the German High School on September 1, 1937. His official title at that time was Assistant Director ("Yardımcı Direktör"). He carried out this duty until the German High School was closed in August 1944. After 1944, he was the Inspector of National Education until 1953. In 1950-1952 he was a German teacher at Kandilli Girls' High School. In 1952, the Ministry appointed him as the Chief Inspector and Deputy Director of Galatasaray High School in order to gain control over the student protests at the school. When the German High School was opened for the third time, Gürmen again assumed the position of Turkish

Deputy Chief of Principal on October 1, 1953. He co-authored the 1955 German High School Regulation together with principal Dr. Steuerwald and submitted it to the Ministry of Education in 1956. He retired on December 31, 1958. Gürmen was a tough and authoritative personality. Famous literature historian Prof. Ömer Faruk Akün, a student of Kabataş High School, says that Gürmen was the teacher they feared the most. Indeed it was for this reason that the Ministry of Education assigned Gürmen to control the protests in Galatasaray in 1952.

During the reign of Hitler, Gürmen certainly did not allow a Nazi organization within the school. This situation troubled the Nazis a lot. But Gürmen maintained sincere and warm relations with his German colleagues, so much so that when the German High School was reopened in 1953, the founders wanted Gürmen in particular to return as the Turkish Vice Principal. Dr. Tenbrock stated that Gürmen knew the German language and culture very well and had profound knowledge of the German education system.

term, 220 of the students (47.5% of the total number of students) were Turkish citizens, while this had increased to 419 (i.e. 54.13%) in the 1932-1933 term.

The number of students enrolled in the year 1932-1933, 774, was the highest number enrolled in the school in the period from its foundation in 1924 until its closing in 1944. After 1933, the total number of students would decrease constantly. In the academic year 1933-1934, the number of students decreased to 652, and it decreased again slightly in the education periods 1937-1938 and 1938-1939 although remained stable at around 624

and 626 students. However, in the 1939-1940 academic year, the number plunged to 488. In other words, the number of students had sunk to the same level as 1927-1928.

The following factors were stated as the reasons for this decrease in students: Firstly, the 1931 Circular of the Ministry of Education which prohibited acceptance of Turkish citizen children to grades 1-5 of primary school at foreign schools played a role in the decrease. The circular led to a significant decrease in Turkish citizen children at primary school level. Secondly, at the request of the Italian Government, Italian students at the German

School were now only allowed to attend the Italian school. As a result, children of Italian nationality had to leave the German School. Thirdly, many Jewish families withdrew their children from the German School after the Nazis' seizure of power. Adding to these factors was the economic crisis, which put many families in financial difficulties, thus contributing to the decrease in the number of students. Families facing economic difficulties preferred sending their children either to free Turkish schools or to the much cheaper French or Italian schools.

But if we look at the number of Turkish citizen students between the years 1933-1940, there was no significant decrease. The number of Turkish students was 358 in the 1933-1934 academic year, 374 in the 1937-1938 academic year, 403 in 1938-1939, 338 in 1939-1940 and 348 in 1940-1941.

The 1935 Regulation on Foreign Schools: The Increasing Role of Turkish Teachers

On November 7, 1935, the Directive No. 2584 on Foreign Schools was put into effect by the Ministry of Education. This directive focused on three issues, which can be classified as the expansion of foreign schools, Turkish textbooks and the role of Turkish teachers.

According to articles 17-19 of the directive, foreign schools were not allowed to reopen departments, establish preparatory classes, or increase the number of classes registered with the ministry.

The directive also stipulated the obligation for Turkish books taught in foreign schools to be the same as those taught in Turkish schools. Books which were used for students to learn about their national histories and geographies, as well as all other foreign language textbooks, would only be licensed after their examination and approval by the Ministry of Education (Articles 3, 9, 20).

The same directive introduced the condition that classes in Turkish geography and sociology be taught to foreign students in Turkish by Turkish teachers (Articles 12, 13).

In addition, it was stipulated that the Turkish teachers who taught in Turkish should attend the meetings of the teachers' board of foreign schools in order to express their opinions on issues related to Turkish culture lessons. These teachers were also supposed to take part in the disciplinary committee (Article 15).

This last article was very important because, although their number at the German High School had increased, Turkish teachers were in a more or less marginal position within the school. In accordance with the 15. Article of the 1935 Directive, they would therefore have a greater say regarding the internal functioning of the school.

The Turkish Teachers' Euro-Trip Organized by the German High School

In July-August 1936, the German School organized a large undertaking to provide 69 teachers from different schools in Turkey with the opportunity to travel to Germany, Austria, Hungary and Romania. It is likely that the purpose of this trip was political propaganda. After all, none of the countries visited were governed by liberal democratic regimes, and all of them sympathized with Nazi Germany's aggressive and revisionist foreign policy approach.



1938 German High School Seal

The group of teachers who participated in the trip, which was led by Franz Wahl (German High School secretary and teller) and Turkish High School teachers Fuat Kurter and Zeki Cemal Bakiçelebioğlu, travelled to Constanta on the Romanian ferry on July 18 and continued their trip from there.

Actual Implementation of the 1931 and 1932 Regulations in the German High School

As stated above, the German High School administrators were not satisfied with the 1931 and 1932 regulations and tried to delay them as much as possible. However, over time, the administrative pressures of the Turkish Government and the Ministry of Education increased. According to the Istanbul Schools Guide published in 1936 by the Istanbul Cultural Directorate affiliated to the Governorship of Istanbul, all students in foreign schools, both Turkish and foreign nationals, had to take culture lessons (Turkish, History, Geography, Civics, Sociology, Military Service) in Turkish and pass these courses with an examination in front of Turkish teachers and supervisors. Foreign students who failed to pass the exams in the two culture courses would fail the class. As a result, starting in 1937, all students including German children at the German High School were taught Turkish history, geography and civics lessons by Turkish teachers and in the Turkish language. Since most foreign students knew either little or no Turkish, Turkish language courses were also provided for them.

The First Turkish Deputy Principal at the German High School: Besim Gürmen

Owing to the regulations of 1931, 1932 and 1935, which were discussed above, the weight of Turkish culture lessons in the general school curriculum increased. In addition, the educational roles of Turkish teachers in the German High School expanded. Hence, a new educational area, which the German principal was not able to cope with, came into existence within the high school.

Simultaneously, a policy of keeping the German High School under administrative surveillance



Village Excursion, 1937

developed in the context of concerns about the potential influence of Nazism.

All these factors contributed to the appointment of a Turkish Deputy Principal to the German High School starting from September 1, 1937. The deputy principal's task was to deal with the affairs and problems of Turkish teachers and Turkish students in particular.

Educator Besim Gürmen became the first Turkish Deputy Principal in the history of the German High School. Gürmen apparently did not confine himself simply to an administrative



Alman lisesinin 70 inci yıldönümü münasebetiyle dün yapılan merasim

Dün, Alman lisesi ve Ticaret mektebinin 70 inci yıldönümü kutlanmıştır. Merasime kalabalık bir davetli kütlesi suzusunda İstiklâl marşımızla başlanmıştır, lisenin müdürü Şöman tarafından mektebin 70 yıllık mesaisi hulâsa edilmiştir.

Mekteb müdürünün nutkunu müteakib mektebin idare heyeti reisi ve Doğu Bank direktörü Fost da kısa bir konferans vermiş, ilim hayatına kendilerini vakfeden, muallimlerin mesaini şükranla kaydetmiştir. Bundan sonra diploma tevzi edilmiş ve 7 talebe mekteb idaresi tarafından kıymetli

Diploma tevziinden sonra keman ve piyano ile mektebin küçük talebeleri tarafından şarkılar söylenmiş, merasim me saat altıya doğru nihayet verilmiştir.

Macaristanda yıldırımından 19 kişi öldü

Budapeşte 15 — Dün gece bütün Macaristanda çok şiddetli fırtınalar çıkmış ve 19 kişi yıldırımından ölmüştür. Maddi hasar oldukça mühimdir.

Budapeştenin Neupest mahallesinde 103 evi su basmıştır. Matra dağı eteklerinde birçok nahiyeler tamamen su altında kalmıştır.

70th Anniversary Celebration, 1938 - Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 16 June



70. Anniversary Celebration, 1938 - *Türkische Post*

role. According to a report, which the then German Consul in Istanbul Toepke sent to Berlin, Gürmen frequently intervened in the school's educational affairs and tried to implement all of the Turkish school traditions and regulations.

There were understandable reasons for the Nazis to complain about Gürmen: he was trying to contain their influence in the German High School as much as possible. As one example, Gürmen thwarted the attempts of the Hitler Youth to perform its gymnastic activities in the school's gym.

The 70th Anniversary of the German High School's Foundation and the Flag Issue

On June 15, 1938, the 70th anniversary of the German High School was celebrated. Normally, this celebration should have been held on May 11th. However, the celebration was postponed to June to ensure that it would not coincide with the arrival of Ministry Counselor Dr. Georg Usadel, who was travelling from Berlin to proctor the Abitur exams. The celebration was combined with the graduation ceremonies and was organized in the school's courtyard for girls (*Mädchenschulhof*).

The celebration, which took place on a sunny and beautiful day, was attended by German

Ambassador Dr. von Keller and his wife, Istanbul Provincial Education Director Tevfik Kut, as well as German Consul to Istanbul Dr. Toepke and his wife. At exactly 16:30, the graduate candidates walked to the ceremony area and the celebration began with the Turkish National Anthem. Later, the teachers played music with Eduard Lichtner on the violin and Fritz Heuser on the grand piano. Following this, students of the lower grades recited poems in German and Turkish. After the recitals, Scheuermann and the School Association President Posth gave speeches about the history of the High School. After a performance from the student choir, report cards and awards were distributed to the children. Rektor Preusser then handed a gift to Süleyman Efendi, the veteran attendant of the school, to thank him for his 25 years of service. Bülent Caculi gave a speech in German and Turkish, on behalf of the alumni group, in which he explained the meaning of the school from the perspective of its students. Caculi's speech was followed by Turkish Deputy Director Besim Gürmen's speech on Turkish patriotism. The subsequent speech of the Consul General, which stressed Atatürk's greatness, was enthusiastically received. Dr. Usadel conveyed the greetings and good wishes of the German Minister of Education before going on to praise the German High School for its high educational standard. He then presented Posth, Scheuermann and Preusser with signed photographs of Education Minister Dr. Rust. Delivering the closing speech of the ceremony, the Ambassador described the German High School as a symbol of the traditional German-Turkish friendship and the joint efforts of those two great peoples. After this address, the Germans shouted "*Sieg Heil*" and the German national anthem was sung.

During the 70th anniversary celebrations a ceremonial hoisting of the two countries' flags also took place. But it was concerning to the Turkish officials to observe that the Turkish flag was smaller than the German flag. This matter caused a serious disturbance and was reported in a letter to the German consulate officials.

The Nazis' Reservations Regarding the Future of the German High School

Due to the rules imposed by the Ministry of Education on foreign schools – including the German High School – in 1931, 1932, 1935 and 1937, Nazi Government Representative Dr. Usadel, visiting the German High School on the occasion of its 70th anniversary, comprehensively investigated whether it would be meaningful for the school to continue its existence, given that it was “losing its Germanity”. Usadel had also brought Gauamtsleiter Lehne from the Nazi Party to Istanbul in order to conduct this investigation.

The comprehensive report Dr. Usadel and Lehne prepared after returning to their country emphasized the utter necessity of preserving the German High School. Their reasoning was that encounters with foreigners would not weaken but on the contrary strengthen the German children’s awareness of Germanness. They found that the German national consciousness was solid and strong among the German students. On the other hand, after establishing that the rules imposed by the Republic of Turkey did not allow for a truly National Socialist education, the report proposed a measure to be taken to rectify this, requesting that German and non-German children be separated into different classes. If the Republic of Turkey would not accept this, the creation of a special school environment for German national students on the premises of the German consulate was suggested.

Despite all their criticisms, Dr. Usadel and Lehne found that the German High School was a “first class cultural stronghold” (*Kulturbollwerk ersten Ranges*) and underlined that it had to be protected.

The President of the School Association, Posth, openly opposed the approach of isolating German and other national children from each other, as had been suggested by Dr. Usadel and Lehne in their report. Ultimately, no such division was introduced.



29 October Ceremony, Taksim, 1941

Atatürk’s Death: Mourning at the German High School

Upon the news of Atatürk’s death on November 10, 1938, classes at the German High School were immediately halted. The students were in great mourning and pain. Six days later, on 16 November, German High School students visited Dolmabahçe and expressed their gratitude to the great leader by passing in front of Atatürk’s dead body, covered with a flag, in silent mourning occasionally broken by the sound of sobbing.

On November 19, the student community of the school attended the ceremony held on the occasion of the transfer of Atatürk’s body from Istanbul to Ankara. The students left the



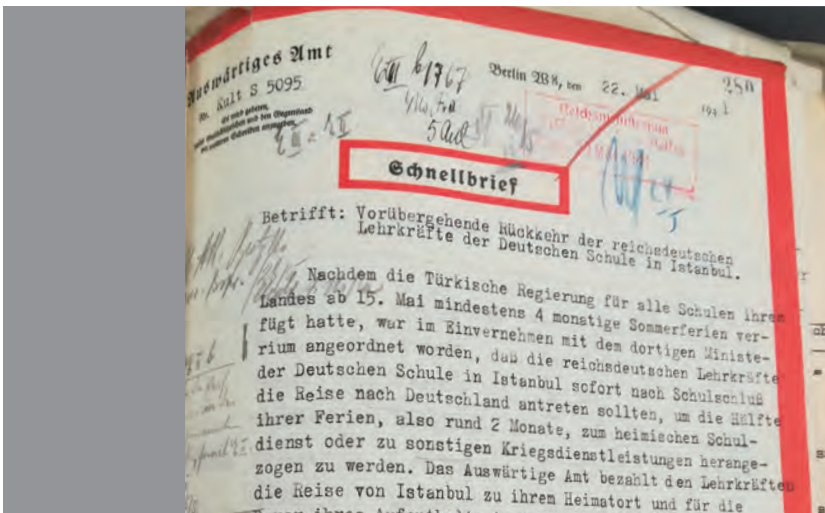
*Senior Male Students in Taksim, 1941
German High School senior boys, who gathered in Taksim Square for an official ceremony in 1941.*



*German High School Girl Students in Taksim, 1941
German High School girls marching in Taksim Square as part of an official ceremony in 1941*

school at 07:00 in the morning and walked to the ceremony area.

On November 10, 1939, everyone gathered in the school's gym to commemorate the first anniversary of Atatürk's death, standing in silence for a total of 5 minutes in front of a picture of Atatürk decorated with Turkish flags and flowers, starting from 09:05 in the morning. One of the Turkish teachers, Ihsan



*"Urgent Letter" calling teachers to the country, 1941
In April 1941, when the Ministry of National Education issued a circular stipulating that schools were to complete their education within two weeks and had to issue the report cards as soon as possible, the German Foreign Ministry also sent an Urgent Letter for German teachers to come to their country and spend their holidays in Germany and to serve in the war.*

Rüştü Bilgen, then gave a memorial speech. Another Turkish teacher then recited the speech that İsmet İnönü had given at the Turkish Grand National Assembly upon his election as President.

Due to both the loss of Atatürk and the tensions in the general political environment, the festival activities in 1939 and subsequent years were reduced significantly compared to previous years.

Germany and Turkey During World War II

Because of the World Economic Crisis and the failure of the League of Nations to ensure international peace, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and the Empire of Japan began to pursue an aggressive policy towards their neighbors starting from 1931. Since Poland, which Germany had begun to occupy on September 1, 1939, had been guaranteed territorial integrity by Britain and France, the two liberal powers declared war on Germany. Overall war broke out in Europe. As Germany began its military mobilization against the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941, and Japan assaulted Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the European war escalated into a world war.

While the Republic of Turkey signed military alliance agreements with Britain and France in the first days of the war, it shifted towards a policy of neutrality when the German army reached the Bulgarian-Turkish border in March 1941. Turkey initially saw a serious possibility of a German attack. However, the situation changed in June, and a non-aggression treaty was signed with the Hitler regime on June 18, 1941, around the time Germany was attacking the Soviet Union. In other words, Turkey refrained from entering the war for as long as possible, attempting to strike a political balance between the fascist Axis Powers and the anti-fascist Allies consisting of the USA, the Soviet Union and Britain. When the German Army was defeated in Stalingrad in January 1943 and the momentum in the war shifted in favor of the Soviet Union, the Allies increased their pressure on Turkey to enter the war on their side. However, Turkey resisted these pressures until 1945.

As the Normandy landings were advancing and the German armies began to withdraw from the Balkans in 1944, the Republic of Turkey cut its diplomatic relations with Nazi Germany on 2 August 1944. During the Yalta Conference in 1945, the leaders of the Allies decided that only countries in war with the Axis Powers would be able to be founding members of the United Nations, which was about to be established. Without delay, Turkey therefore declared war on Germany and Japan. On 8 May 1945, Germany surrendered unconditionally to the Allied forces. Although Turkey did not de facto enter the war between 1939 and 1945, it was nonetheless in the grips of the dearth and distress caused by the war economy.

War-time Mobilization of German Teachers

With the outbreak of the war, the Nazi Party made a change in its corporate identity that converted it into the more inclusive structure of the so-called “Reich-German Community” (*Reichsdeutsche Gemeinschaft*). In this context, the party sought to strengthen social solidarity by mobilizing the German people in their entirety.

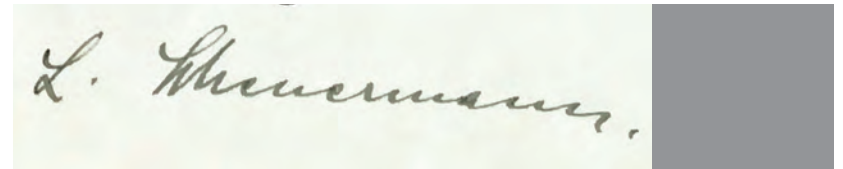
In the context of this mobilization, orders were issued from Berlin, according to which German High School teachers were obliged to spend most of their summer holidays working in the official service of Germany for the sake of their “people and homeland” (*Volk und Vaterland*). Some of the teachers worked in different bureaucratic jobs in the Tarabya residence of the German Embassy and from time to time even in sensitive places such as the cipher bureau.

War Hardships: The German High School in the Context of Passive Defense Measures and Deprivation

The fact that Turkey was affected by the war, also had an impact on the 1940-41 academic year in terms of the German School’s operation. Due to the blackout measures applied in Istanbul against a possible attack, the school had to readjust its schedule. Concurrently students were also adversely affected by the various

restrictions on public and private mass transportation in the city. As a result, students were only able to start classes at 09:00, which was later than usual. Likewise, afternoon classes had to be moved to an earlier time. These measures tightened the schedule, which also reduced the duration of the lunch break. Students, parents and teachers alike were equally discontent with this situation. Lessons were often interrupted by air raid protection drills, mandatory typhus vaccinations, and similar official practices and procedures.

In the spring of 1941, weeks before the end of the class period, the Turkish authorities came up with the recommendation that the



L. Scheuermann's Signature, 1938

population of certain provinces including Istanbul be evacuated and transferred to Central Anatolia in case of a possible war. As such, many Turkish families took their children from school before the end of the class period and migrated from Istanbul to the country’s central regions.

Another strain on the 1940-41 school year was the shortage of textbooks. Due to the fact that there was a literal rush on the textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education and used in the previous academic years, there were no copies left on the market and new editions had not yet been printed. There was also no way that the Ministry would approve the new textbooks from Germany, which had been prepared in accordance with Germany’s internal political conditions. Many courses therefore had to be taught without any textbook.

On April 2, 1941 the Ministry of Education made an unexpected announcement, calling on all schools in Turkey without exception to finish their classes on April 14 and complete



Abitur Ceremony, 1942



19 May Ceremonies, Taksim Talimhane, 1935

their report card and graduation ceremonies by May 14 at the latest. As a result of the efforts of the alarmed school administration, classes could at least be continued until May 9. However, in the spring of 1941, classes had to be terminated one month earlier than usual, and the Easter holiday was also cancelled.

The Impact of the War on the German High School's Curriculum: The Termination of French Classes

After the start of World War II, Germany attacked France in the spring of 1940 and within a very short time had occupied Paris. In those parts not occupied by Germany, the Berlin-dependent Vichy puppet government was established. The result was that France, which up until then had been considered one

of the great powers, suffered an erosion of its political power and a complete dissipation of its prestige.

In May 1941, under the impression of these developments, the German High School administration, with the approval of Government Representative Dr. Usadel, decided to reduce the weekly hours for mathematics classes in the School of Commerce Department and to remove French classes altogether to use the weekly hours thus gained in order to further strengthen German language education. To justify this decision, it was emphasized that French no longer had any relevance in business life, but that German in turn had gained much more importance. The school's Commerce department was under Preusser's direction. It is possible that Preusser himself influenced the decision to cancel the French classes.

A Shortage of Teachers and a State of Chaos

Expecting the war to end quickly, Nazi Germany had attacked the Soviet Union. Instead, the war was prolonged as unexpected winter conditions put a strain on the German Army and the Soviet forces' resistance grew over time. As a result, most of the grown men were sent to the eastern front. The above-mentioned Dr. Usadel was conscripted as a reserve officer, for instance, and killed on the eastern front. During this process, there was a serious decrease in the number of teachers in Germany.

In the fall of 1942, when the German High School maths teacher Helmut Kappert was drafted into the German army, the maths and physics teacher Adolf Hommes was appointed to the German High School in order to fill the void. When Hommes arrived in Istanbul after a quite adventurous Balkan journey with his wife, he was faced with an unexpected situation: upon his arrival at the German High School, Scheuermann asked him to teach 5 hours of German and 4 hours of English to 12th grade students in addition to his mathematics and physics classes. Hommes was stunned that he was being asked to teach subjects he was not specialized in. Here, one



Memory of a School Field Trip, 1937

can observe the state of desperation and chaos and lack of coordination created by the shortage of teachers.

Growing Dissatisfaction with Scheuermann among Nazi Circles

From the late 1930s German High School Director Scheuermann's humanist approach and his unwillingness to fully implement Berlin's strict doctrines began to disturb National Socialist Party inspectors. One of these inspectors, Dr. Usadel, described Scheuermann as "not combative enough". According to Dr. Usadel's successor Dr. Rudolf Benze, Scheuermann lacked "the toughness to cope with various problems as well as the necessary agility and organizational skill". According to Benze, Scheuermann was much too benevolent, modest and gentle.

Concordantly, the relations between Scheuermann and the German Consulate in Istanbul deteriorated and were marked by frequent tensions.

The Sudden Dismissal of Scheuermann

In June 1944, immediately after the graduation ceremony, Scheuermann was suddenly dismissed from his post as high school director. His dismissal was so unexpected that not even the School Association and the Board of Directors, which ran the high school, had been informed or consulted about it. Teachers, students' parents, and the School Association reacted to this *fait accompli*.

It was not easy for Scheuermann to leave Turkey at the end of July 1944. Going to Germany was particularly difficult for him, especially since Scheuermann's wife was an Istanbul-born "colony German". When the Scheuermann family came to Sirkeci Station to leave Istanbul, their colleagues, friends from the German colony and many Turkish friends came to see them off.

The Last Principal of the 1924-1944 Period: Dr. Eugen Kaier

Following the removal of Scheuermann, the National Socialist Party appointed Dr. Eugen Kaier as the new Director of the German High

School in June 1944. Dr. Kaier, whose official title was Executive Director of Government (*Leitender Regierungsdirektor*), had previously taught at a high school in Freiburg.

However, Dr. Kaier did not get the opportunity to officially see the torch passed on to him as the new head of the German High School because the school was closed shortly after his appointment, following the rupture of relations between the Republic of Turkey and Germany.

The Turkish Republic's Severance of Diplomatic Relations with Nazi Germany

From 1943, when the momentum shifted in favor of the Soviet Union and the Allied block, there was international pressure on Turkey to enter the war against the Axis States. The British wanted to establish an air base on the Aegean coast. But Germany had quite clearly threatened Turkey with the bombing of Istanbul in the case of a single Allied aircraft taking off from Turkish territory. By the middle of 1944, as Germany became thoroughly weakened and retreated from Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Turkey severed its diplomatic relations with them on 2 August 1944 in order to secure its place in the post-war international order.

The Second Closing of the German High School

High School was closed by an order of the Ministry of Education. It was considered objectionable from the standpoint of national security for an institution affiliated with a country with which there was no longer diplomatic relations to continue its activities.

The same decision also effectuated a termination of operations at the German Kindergarten. In addition, the "Association of Former Students of the German

School" (V.E.S.) was abolished. Since the school's closure coincided with the month of August, the summer vacation period, there was no interruption of classes and nor did students have to suffer in any other respects. Those enrolled in the high school were

transferred to nearby schools by the Ministry of National Education.

For teachers holding German citizenship the situation was different. Those teachers who chose to return to Germany in August - which almost all of them did - were sent to their war-torn country in groups by train.

But many of the German citizen members of the German colony chose to stay in Turkey. These people were interned. During the autumn and winter of 1944, around 150 German citizens were temporarily housed in the building of the closed German High School. Later, towards the end of 1945, they were compelled to settle in the centers of Central Anatolian provinces including Çorum, Yozgat and Kırşehir.

Swiss, Hungarians, and Czechs, who did not hold German citizenship but whose mother tongue or ethnic origin was German, and Germans who had chosen to become Turkish citizens, were able to stay in Istanbul.

In 1945, Fındıklı İnönü Girls' High School was transferred to the now completely vacant building of the German High School. The new name of this place became İnönü Girls' High School or Beyoğlu Girls' High School. The girls' school stayed in the German High School building until 1953. At that time, the German High School was one of the few high schools in Istanbul to have a gym. Girls' high school students, who studied in this building between 1945-1953, would boast about their sports facilities.

Klassenlaferer 3750. 10 1/4
Laferein (Zurückhalten
französischer Laferein
Reisepreisen des neuen 11 Laferein
Laferein & kleine Laferein
Laferein & Laferein
Laferein des Gebäudes Platzes
Laferein unser Laferein
Laferein, Laferein & Laferein
Laferein des Laferein, Laferein
Laferein, Laferein, Laferein
Laferein, Laferein, Laferein

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III



**CHAPTER THREE: TOWARDS PLURALISM
AND PARTICIPATION (1953-2019)**

TOWARDS PLURALISM AND PARTICIPATION: 1953-2019

Germany and Turkey after World War II

The war ended with a shattering defeat for Nazi Germany, leaving the country entirely in ruins. In accordance with the Potsdam Treaty, Germany was divided into occupation zones by the members of the Allied bloc, the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France, who convened in July-August 1945. However, the Allied bloc disintegrated following the elimination of the common enemy, and due to both ideological and security concerns, as well as mutual distrust, new fault lines emerged between the bloc of the liberal democracies of USA, Britain and France, and the socialist bloc, which was primarily represented by the Soviet Union. This marked the beginning of the Cold War era. Finally, in 1949, the United States, the British and the French occupation zones were united into the Federal Republic of Germany (commonly referred to as Federal Germany), also known as “West Germany”, and the Soviet occupation zone acquired a new political structure in becoming the German Democratic Republic (“East Germany”) under Soviet control. This international division of Germany lasted until the end of the Cold War and unification in 1990.

Under pressure from the Allies, the Federal Republic of Germany went through a comprehensive process of denazification in its founding years. This involved trying to eliminate the influence of the National Socialist Workers Party in the fields of culture, society, economy, press, law, politics and education. But many former Nazi party members, who were still part of society after senior Nazi party members had been punished for their war crimes and crimes against humanity, managed to be included in the Federal German political system. As can be seen in the history of the German High School after 1953, some of its directors, such as Prof. Dr. Karl Steuerwald and Dr. Herbert Rothfritz, were former Nazi Party members.

Nevertheless, Federal Germany became a liberal democratic, parliamentary and decentralized federal political entity and one of the strongest allies of the United States during the Cold War, officially becoming a member of NATO in 1955. Thanks to the Marshall Plan initiated by the USA in 1948 and Germany’s highly trained human capital, Federal Germany was able to overcome the idestruction caused by the

war and achieve increasingly accelerated economic growth after 1955 - an “economic miracle” in the words of the time. This was greatly contributed to by the market and production opportunities created by the European Coal and Steel Community, which was established between Federal Germany, France, the Benelux countries and Italy in 1951. This would later expand to become the European Economic Community and finally the European Union.



Concert in the Aula in the 1950s

So-called “Project Groups” (*Arbeitsgemeinschaften*) were established at the school. The original focus of artistic project groups was choir and orchestra. Groups were later created for Turkish folk dance and traditional light comedy. Meanwhile, stamp collectors as well as chess, basketball, volleyball and table tennis enthusiasts also organized themselves into project groups. The “*Soziale Hilfe*” (Social Assistance) group did its best to send course materials and clothes to village schools in Anatolia.

Meanwhile, Turkey was under the rule of a single-party regime until 1945. However, the Soviet Union’s desire to revise in its favor the Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of the Straits, as well as its claims for territory and a naval base in the Bosphorus, led to worsening relations with Turkey. As a result, Turkey felt compelled to approach the liberal Western countries and the US in particular. Within this context, it also transitioned to a multi-party regime.

In the transition period between 1945-1950, Turkey's domestic and foreign policy quickly began to become attuned to the United States. The Truman Doctrine, which was declared in March 1947, and Turkey's inclusion into the Marshall Plan also contributed to this. Under the influence of the Cold War, a strong wave of anti-communism swept Turkey and heavy pressure was brought to bear on left-wing parties and individuals.

In the general elections held in May 1950, the Republican People's Party (CHP) lost their position as a single ruling party, which it had held for 27 years, and had to yield to the Democrat Party (DP). Despite its claims to being a liberal and democratic party, the DP did not really succeed in being consistent in these matters and essentially pursued a US-led and populist policy during its rule. At the very beginning of the Democratic Party's rule, in 1950, Turkey joined the USA in the Korean War and became a member of NATO in 1952. Both the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany and the third opening of the German School coincided with the period of DP rule.

Eventually, the Federal Republic of Germany and Turkey ended up becoming partners within the NATO bloc during the Cold War era. This no doubt brought great relief to the German High School's position in Turkey, compared to the 1924-1944 period.

The Situation of the German Colony After 1945

In December 1945, the German citizens who had been interned in Çorum, Yozgat and Kırşehir for 16 months after the rupture of diplomatic relations between Germany and Turkey, were finally freed from their compulsory residence and gained the right to return to Istanbul. Among those who were subject to this regime was Heinz Anstock, who we will encounter later on.

It is interesting that the Republic of Turkey, after declaring war on Germany on February 23, 1945, only revoked the state of war six

years later, after the DP had come to power, in the early months of 1951. Following the abolition of this state German citizens of the German colony of Istanbul, who had been forced to leave Istanbul and go to Germany in August 1944, were able to return to Istanbul.

Restoration of Diplomatic Relations and Permission for the Re-Opening of the German High School

Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Germany, which were severed in 1944, were re-established with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1952.

Within the context of the developing Turkish-German relations, one person who contributed significantly to the reopening of the German High School, exactly nine years after its closure, was Prof. Dr. Friedrich L. Breusch –a Turkish citizen and one of the academicians who chose to stay in Istanbul after the war. Breusch, who escaped from the Nazis and immigrated to Switzerland, Hungary and finally Istanbul, founded the 2. Chemistry Institute of Istanbul University in 1939 and worked there as a Director and lecturer for many years. Following the commencement of formal diplomatic relations between Turkey and Germany in 1952, Breusch, using a mix of good relations with the Turkish authorities and his own personal efforts, spearheaded the reopening of the German High School in 1953.

After official permission was finally issued on May 28, 1953, the German High School was able to reclaim its old building in Beyoğlu from the Republic of Turkey in July. Students were accepted without further delay and the school started providing education in the second half of 1953. But the official start would not be until the next school year.

A cultural agreement between Turkey and Germany had not yet been signed when the school opened. Even the mutual declaration of intent took almost 6 months to be agreed upon after the school had opened. While the reopening of the German Archaeological Institute and the transfer of German scientists to Turkey was discussed during the meetings,

the issue of the German High School was not part of the agenda. This showed that the school, which had been an official department of the German state in Turkey in earlier days, was losing this position and becoming relegated to a simple association school.

Principal Dr. Karl Steuerwald's Era: New School, Old Names

There were familiar names from the past in the management of the new German High School. Dr. Karl Steuerwald, who had previously left the German School and worked in the public service of the Republic of Turkey, became principal through the agency of Breusch. Dr. Julius Stern, who had been the last Jewish teacher to leave the school in 1936, became his deputy. As in 1937, Besim Gürmen was appointed to the position of Turkish Deputy Principal, the importance of which gradually increased following a new directive introduced while the school was closed. Gürmen fulfilled this duty until the end of 1958. Breusch himself was a full member of the School Association Board of Directors from the reopening of the German High School until at least 1968..

Amendments to the Legislation on National Education in the Period when the German High School was Closed

The Ministry of National Education made a change to the 15th article of the Directive on Foreign Schools on June 10, 1946. According to the new arrangement,.

1) "It is obligatory that, together with all the teachers of the school the teachers of Turkish language and culture lessons should attend every teacher board that is to convene in foreign schools."

2) "The disciplinary boards of the Foreign Schools consist of five members, including a chairman and four members. This board is chaired by the Turkish Deputy Principal. The members are elected by the teachers' board by secret ballot at the beginning of each academic year; two of them from among the teachers of the Turkish Language and Culture Courses and two of them from among the teachers of other courses."

With this amendment, which was seemingly limited to only one item, Turkish teachers started to play a decisive role in the operation of foreign schools and in relations between school administrations and students. The changes made to the regulations also led to a change in the institutional structure of the new German High School.

Changes in the German High School in the New Era and Fritz Heuser's Contribution

There were other noticeable changes in this third period of the German High School. Most of the teachers were Turks, and the German staff, rather than consisting of middle school or high school teachers coming from Germany, were teachers who had previously migrated to Istanbul and some of whom were lecturing at Istanbul University. An important factor which caused this situation was the severe shortage of teachers in Federal Germany, which was undergoing economic and social recovery from the war. At the first stage, the group of German teachers was therefore made up of only those who had previously worked at the German High School, including Eva Buck, Dr. Robert Anhegger, and Fritz Heuser. Heinz Anstock would start teaching at the German High School in 1955.

Another difference was that the School of Commerce department of the earlier periods was no longer part of the school in this period, since the primary target for the majority of Turkish citizen students was now university education. The educational policies of the German High School began to be modified based on this observation.

On October 1, 1953, when the German High School officially started education for the third time, the classes at the school were divided as follows: 1st, 2nd and 3rd grades of primary school for German students (*Volksschulklassen*), 3 parallel classes for 2- year preparatory education for Turkish students (*Vorbereitungsklassen*) and upper secondary education for all students in grades 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 (*Oberrealschulklassen*).

Fritz Heuser, who managed to work at the German High School in all three of its periods (in 1915-1918; 1924-1944; 1953-1956), directly took responsibility for one of the preparatory classes, despite his 64 years of age, and organized a 3-month in-service training course for the other teachers on how to conduct preparatory classes. As a result of his self-sacrificing efforts, the school was quickly organized, and the educational program was placed on the right track relatively smoothly.

A Bird's-eye View of the History of the German High School after 1953

In a sense, the first twenty years of this new era for the German High School can be described as its founding years. The principals and teachers of this period consisted of people who actually experienced World Wars I and II. Thus, despite differences in temperament and political views, the directors of those founding years – Steuerwald, Tenbrock, Rothfritz, and Anstock – had a proclivity for rigid Prussian discipline. In accord with the old Protestant German phrase “worship and work!” (*bete und arbeite!*), the school environment in these years was geared toward instilling a solid work ethic and self-discipline in students. Such a gray and serious environment did not leave much space for extracurricular activities. The directors of this period were attempting to carry the school towards an institutional balance in the context of changing legislations in both the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Turkey.

In contrast, it is possible to discern a colorful student culture and an identity specific to the German High School starting from the 1960s, which would only really regain its shape in the 1970s. Only then would there be a revival in the fields of art and music.

The Position of the Principal of the German High School in the New Era

The jobs of the principals working in the German High School after 1953 had become more difficult in comparison to the principals in previous periods. The increasing influence

and demands of quite disparate elements such as Federal Germany, the Ministry of Education, the School Association and students' parents played a part in this. In comparison to previous periods, being a principal at the German High School had become different to that of an ordinary principal position.

A principal who was going to successfully make lasting contributions to the school had to take into account the expectations of German educational authorities regarding high standards of quality, the strict legislation on National Education that was not always in accordance with pedagogical requirements, the demands of the School Association, which managed the school, and the problems created by the constantly changing German teacher staff. Moreover, the principal needed to have a strong character and good communication skills to cope with the pressures exerted by parents on an occasional basis.

A School Able to Preserve its Popularity

Although diplomatic relations between the Republic of Turkey and Germany had been cut in 1944 and Turkey had officially declared war on Germany in February 1945, the Germans continued to be perceived as a friendly nation in the eyes of ordinary Turkish people. Despite the countless crimes against humanity committed by Nazi Germany, and Adolf Hitler in particular, the Nazis and Hitler did not look so bad in the eyes of the average Turk. Many Turks even regretted Hitler's fate and lamented that he had lost the war. After all, the image of the “German-Turkish friendship in arms” from the First World War still lingered in the historical memory of the Turks. This anomalous situation helped the German High School gain popularity upon its re-opening.

Despite the intensive German lessons and the lack of professional teaching staff, the German High School aroused interest, particularly among those students who wanted to pursue a legal education. Turkish civil law was strongly influenced by Swiss law so knowledge of German was very advantageous for a Turkish legal education. Jurist parents therefore chose the German High School so that their children

could acquire a solid knowledge of German grammar. In addition to these students, there were students from six different nationalities at the school in the 1954-55 academic year. The peaceful international environment created by this multicultural fabric transformed the school into one big family and generated a colorful atmosphere of peace for its family members.

Relations between Turkish and German Teachers at the High School

In this new period, the relations between German teachers and Turkish teachers, whose number had increased significantly, gained greater importance. The relationship between teachers from Germany and the Turkish teachers working at the school were not always easy, the major issue being the serious discrepancy between their teaching methods. While Turkish teachers generally expected absolute discipline and unconditional respect and humility from their students, German teachers had diametrically opposite expectations. They encouraged students to be critical and creative. This led to occasional lapses in dialogue between German and Turkish teachers.

But nonetheless, in the 1950s and 60s Turkish and German teachers invited each other to dinners with alcohol at least once a year. Since the national security teacher, one of the Turkish teachers, was generally an army officer, German teachers were invited to the Army House. In order to return the favor, German teachers invited the Turkish teachers to Teutonia for dinner. In those years, the two groups mostly socialized “on neutral ground” rather than in private spaces.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer’s Visit and New Teachers

In the new period, Turkish-German political relations gradually improved, which directly affected the German High School. Indeed, when German Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer came to Istanbul after his meetings in Ankara during his visit to Turkey on March 25, 1954, he visited not only the German Hospital and the German Archeological Institute but also the German High School. Subsequently,

professional teachers including Maximilian Denzel, Hubert Niekrawietz, Gerhard Wendler and Gerhart Mahler, who were recruited from Bavaria on the initiative of the Bavarian Dr. Seelos, the Istanbul Consulate General, started teaching at the German High School.

The Income Situation of the German Teachers

The German teachers took intensive classes to learn Turkish, while simultaneously attending courses on how to teach preparatory classes. They earned 280 liras, which was enough for them to get by, but did not leave them with a lot of money after their essential expenses had been paid. Their solution to get some financial relief was to give private lessons. Almost all the teachers of the school earned additional income through private lessons, which they used either to buy missing pieces of furniture for their rooms or to make trips to Anatolia. Fortunately, this situation did not last long – in October 1954, the German High School relieved teachers by almost doubling their salary to 465 German marks.

Re-establishment of the German High School Alumni Association (V.E.S.)

The Alumni Association was re-established in 1954, greatly contributed to by former graduate Selim Dirvana. The opening night of the association was held in Teutonia, where table tennis, billiards and other recreational activities were organized. However, due to frequent changes in the management of the German High School in the 1950s, the school did not pay too much attention to the association, whose activities subsequently slowed down. Only after 1960 would it become possible for the alumni association to be really active.

Expansion Measures in the High School

Due to increasing demand, the German High School increased the number of preparatory classes from 3 to 4 in the 1954-1955 academic year, thus increasing the number of students accepted by the school every year. Every student starting school followed the standard curriculum of preparatory class. This program consisted of 22 hours of German, 3 hours of



1958 Gökşin Dinler and Her Students

Gökşin Dinler, one of the Turkish teachers who worked at the German High School for the longest time. She was its Turkish Deputy Principal between 1990-1992 and also taught Turkish to German students in her first years at the school. We see Gökşin Dinler with her Turkish and German students in this picture, which may belong to the year 1958.

mathematics taught in German and 2 hours of music and physical education lessons per week.

The Great Fire at the German High School

Tenbrock'un 9Böylece onarımların okula maddi bir yükü de olmayacaktı. 1958 yılında, İstanbul Alman Okulu'nun 90 Yılı adıyla (90 Jahre Deutsche Schule Istanbul 1868-1958). Lise'nin 90. yıl dönümüne ithaf edilen, armağan kitapta, giriş makalesini Tenbrock kaleme almış ve bu yeniliklerin hiçbiri gerçekleştirilemedi. 1959 yılında tadilatların yaklaşık 4 milyon Alman markı olması tahmin ediliyordu ve projenin gerçekleşmesi için gereken aletler, makineler ve yapı malzemeleri Türkiye'de mevcut olmadığı için Almanya'dan getirilecekti. Alman Lisesi binasının diplomatik statüsü de olmadığından, 1,5 milyon Alman markı tutan bu malzemelerin ithalatında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti %200'den fazla gümrük vergisi koymuş, bu da tutarı ödenemeyecek kadar yükseltmişti.

Requests from the Ministry of National Education and Preparation of German High School Regulations

The end of September 1955 marked the beginning of a correspondence between the German High School and the Ministry of National Education (MEB) which would continue for months. The German High School Regulations for the 1954-55 academic year were sent to the Directorate of Private Schools with the signatures of Principal Karl Steuerwald and Latif Erenal, who was acting for the Turkish Deputy Principal at the time. This regulation was examined and revised in detail by the Ministry of National Education. On September 29, 1955, the MEB Directorate of Private Schools demanded that the German High School's 2-year preparatory class be reduced to 1 year. Accordingly, students who successfully completed the second grade of preparatory class, which followed the 6th grade in 1955-56, would be considered to have passed to the 7th grade.

According to the new decision, which was issued within two weeks, the regulation would generally be adopted as it was. However, the condition was also set out that the form and method of examination in the last year of school was to be defined by a separate regulation.

From then, correspondence regarding examination regulations was initiated. This took quite a long time, but the new examination regulations signed by Principal Dr. Karl Steuerwald and Turkish Deputy Principal Besim Gürmen were finally submitted to the Directorate of Private Schools Directorate on April 9, 1956 and were officially approved one week later. Besim Gürmen and teacher Dr. Fritz Stern were of great help in the speeding up of this process.

What most significantly distinguished the new Examination Regulation from the previous regulation dated 1930 was that students who were not citizens of the Republic of Turkey had to take their geography exam in German, and that only students who were German Citizens had to take an exam in German history. The first Abitur Exams after the third opening of the school with these new regulations took place in 1956. Reducing Preparatory Education to one year primarily affected the German language education at the school.

The biggest problem for non-German students at the time was the different dialects of the teachers who came from different regions of Germany. Even if the children learned standard German (*Hochdeutsch*) as well as possible during their one-year preparatory class, they had great difficulty following the teachers who lectured in a local accent from Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, the Rhineland or Holstein. The preparation period of two years had been just about enough time for the students to get used to the different dialects and follow them easily.

After Steuerwald: The Term of Dr. Robert Tenbrock

In November 1956, Dr. Karl Steuerwald, who had been the school's principal since its reopening in 1953, passed on the torch to Dr. Robert Hermann Tenbrock.

Following Tenbrock's appointment, the German High School underwent a renewal process in 1957. Tenbrock first overhauled the school building, then had the interior and exterior repairs of the building done. These adjustments were followed by the construction of a new music room and a gym. During the course of the renovations new ideas emerged which led to plans for a major transformation of the school.

Firstly, there was the idea to give a more modern shape to the exterior of the school building, which resembled a Prussian-style military barracks at that time. Subsequently, the need to replace the rotten wooden window frames, which were permeable to water, with aluminum and to renew the waterworks came to the fore. Tenbrock himself took the initiative to ensure that the German State would cover all the expenses of the plan. This meant that the repair works would not be a financial burden for the school. Tenbrock wrote the introductory article for the gift book dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the High School and published under the title "90 Years of the Istanbul German School" (*90 Jahre Deutsche Schule Istanbul 1868-1958*). In this, he discussed the transformation the school had gone through after World War II as well as the further transformation he believed the school needed to go through. He repeatedly emphasized the need for a comprehensive restructuring of the school, noting that the school building was no longer sufficient to meet educational requirements, and that both the classrooms and administrative spaces needed to be increased.

Despite this thorough preparatory work, none of the planned renovations were realized, except for a few minor repairs. In 1959, it was estimated that renovations would cost around 4 million German marks, and the tools, machinery and building materials required to carry out the project would have to be imported from Germany, as they were not available in Turkey.



*Tenbrock, Heuss, Oellers, and Gökay during Heuss's Visit, 1957
The visit of German President Theodor Heuss to the school
in May 1957; Tenbrock to the right, Heuss in the middle, and
German Ambassador Fritz Oellers to the left. Between Heuss
and Oellers we see Istanbul Governor Fahrettin Kerim Gökay.*

Since the German High School building did not have diplomatic status, the Republic of Turkey levied a 200 percent customs duty on the import of the materials worth 1.5 million Deutschmark, which made the overall cost unaffordable.

Henbrock's Opinion Concerning the German School's Standing in Turkey

Tenbrock's transformation plan outlined in the 90th anniversary gift book was not just about physical adjustments, but also included ideas for changes regarding the educational content and methods at the school.

Tenbrock stated that the school's education should be reviewed in light of the transformation in student demographics, which had seen students of the school shifting from a majority of foreign nationals and members of minority groups in the first 80 years, to Turks now making up at least 80 percent of the student population. According

to him, the role of the German High School should be to contribute to the internal and external connection of Turkey, a country increasingly modernizing in line with Atatürk's reforms, to Europe. It was in this respect, he believed, that the school should identify itself and its educational purposes. When further considering Turkey's role in ensuring the security of the Western world and the strength of the Turkish-German friendship, which had survived from the past to that time, it was obvious to Tenbrock that the German High School needed to become a place where Turkish and German culture met and mixed.

Tenbrock's views are important because they express clearly, and for the first time, the German High School's mission and stance which prevails today.

Tenbrock's Efforts towards Educational Reforms

Beyond the views he expressed in the gift book, which we have summarized above, Tenbrock was an educator who also made important contributions in practice to education within the German High School. He attached importance to music and fine arts and used his influence to make possible a greater focus on education in the fine arts in the curriculum of the school. In addition, he worked on coordinating the teachers of parallel classes, which were getting increasingly hard to harmonize since the number of students kept growing. Tenbrock also made an important contribution regarding German language education in developing a layered curriculum for a more efficient education. He also made several adjustments to the classes taken by German students who were temporarily residing in Turkey. In this way, Dr. Tenbrock tried to steer and strengthen the school's education in line with his vision.

Visit of Federal German President Theodor Heuss

On May 11, 1957 German President Theodor Heuss visited Turkey. This occasion marked the drawing to a close of negotiations that had been ongoing since 1952 and the Turkey-Germany Cultural Agreement finally being

signed in Ankara. From there, Heuss came to Istanbul, where he visited the Society of Turkish-German Friendship, the German Church, the German Hospital, the German Archeology Institute and the German High School. German High School students welcomed Heuss, who attracted attention everywhere he went, with applause and flowers at the main gate.

Establishment of the Student Council

On January 27, 1958, a “Student Council” (*Schülerrat*) was established to give students the feeling that they had a say in the management of the school and to enable them to learn to take responsibility. This Council, formed by choosing 2 students from each class, met once a month and took different decisions related to the school. These decisions were implemented by the 5-person “Board” (*Vorstand*) members of the Council. Some teachers appointed to mentor the students accompanied their activities and served as a bridge between the Student Council and the administration. This student structure created a democratic education environment with high student participation.

The Increasing Demand for Foreign Schools

During the 1950s, interest in foreign languages in Turkey was on the rise, paralleled by a consistent annual increase in the number of parents who wanted to send their children to foreign schools. According to a news report from July 16, 1956 published in *Hürriyet* newspaper, the German and Austrian Schools were the preferred schools, followed by the institutions offering education in English. Accordingly, out of 370 students who applied to the German High School, only 65 children who passed the exam were accepted to the school. By 1958, these numbers continued to increase – in 1959, out of around 700 applications (although there is no record of the exact number) only 140-160 students were admitted to the school. In this year, the general demand for schools teaching in foreign languages had increased so much that the Governor held a meeting with the principals of the private schools and asked the foreign schools to open new classes, if their



Tenbrock, Gürmen and the Teachers' Board, 1958
A group picture of teachers and staff, probably taken during the celebration of the 90th anniversary of the German High School in 1958. The first from the left in the front row is Rüştü Altunbay, second is Gökşin Dinler, fifth is Besim Gürmen, sixth is Dr. Robert Tenbrock, and seventh is Heinz Anstock. The first from the left in the middle row is Arthur Kapps.

buildings had the necessary capacity. They were even informed that the Governor's Office would assist them in any way regarding any problems that might arise. But the foreign schools replied that they were unable to open new classes since they did not have the necessary structural capacities, and responded to the request by admitting more students to their existing classes instead.

This literal rush on foreign schools was also reflected in the number of students at the German High School, which totaled 941 in June 1960. At this stage, there were 38 classes at the high school, while the number of teachers was 65 – 42 of them German, 23 Turkish.

Mesut Talaslıoğlu as the Turkish Deputy Principal and Administrative Problems in the German High School

1960 marked a new beginning for the management of the German High School, just as it did for the Republic of Turkey as a whole. Mesut Talaslıoğlu became the Turkish Deputy Director on February 2, 1959, replacing Besim Gürmen, who retired on December 31, 1958.

Simultaneously, Tenbrock's impatient and enthusiastic management style was leading to various conflicts with the School Association and German authorities. Indeed Tenbrock made



Teachers' Council, 1958

A group picture of teachers and staff, probably taken in the context of the 90th anniversary of the German High School in 1958. Besim Gürmen is the fifth from the right in the front row and the sixth probably is Dr. Eugen Löffler. The person on the very right in the middle row is Erwin Birnmeyer. The second from the left in the back row is Arthur Kapps.

the decision to leave the high school earlier than expected, despite the expectation that he would remain principal for a longer period.

This came as a very sudden decision which placed the German High School in quite a troubled situation. At the time, there was no teacher of the professional seniority available to assume the post of principal at the School, in accordance with the Federal German teaching laws. For this reason, and by way of a temporary arrangement, Herbert Rothfritz, who was familiar with the school having worked there as a teacher between 1935-1944, was appointed Principal of the German High School.

Dr. Herbert Rothfritz's Term as Principal: Untying the Gordian Knots

Rothfritz had been director of the Kempergymnasium in Pforzheim since 1952, before becoming the Principal of the German High School. When assuming this new duty on September 19, 1960, he was only granted

one year's leave by the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Culture. But, despite the fact he was appointed as principal suddenly and temporarily and held this post for only one and a half years, he knew the school well and was able to take important, strong and concrete steps. He aimed to resolve the conflicting attitudes and disagreements between the teaching staff, the Board of Directors and the authorities and solve the structural problems created by the school's rapid growth. He deployed his sincerity, warmth, and caring character to mediate between the groups and ensure that they functioned both in relation to each other and internally.

At that time, the 5-year primary school section of the German High School was causing big problems. As will be remembered, Turkish citizens were prohibited from attending primary school in foreign schools, according to the law enacted in 1931. Only the children of German families in Istanbul were therefore attending the primary school of the German High School at

that time. Although the number of children had decreased considerably, it was not possible to close the primary school because there were few other schools for these children to attend. But the running of the primary school, which had very few students, was also becoming increasingly harder. Rothfritz solved this problem by splitting the primary school off from the institutional structure of the German High School. The primary school therefore lost its official character as an institution, solving the confusion caused by the different legal requirements and liberating the German High School administration from a great burden.

Dissolution of the German Colony in Istanbul and Its Consequences

In order to be able to explain the reasons for the decline in the number of German students at this point, one needs to review the situation of the German colony in the Istanbul of 1960s Turkey. After the Pogrom of 6-7 September 1955, actions and policies against non-Muslim began to become more frequent in Turkey. This caused the tradesmen of the German colony of Istanbul to feel unsafe and eventually to liquidate their business in the city and return to Germany.

The Germans still residing in Istanbul were mostly either the representatives of large companies and banks who came from Germany on a temporary basis, or academic staff who temporarily worked as teachers or professors in various educational institutions in Istanbul. Another factor which destroyed the lifestyle of the Beyoğlu German Colony was that Beyoğlu ceased to be a residential area. After the 6-7 September Pogrom in 1955, when non-Muslim residents, particularly Greeks and Armenians, began to leave Beyoğlu, the district increasingly began to be populated by rural families from outside Istanbul. This development greatly damaged the old urban culture of the district.

As a result, the communities that remained from the original colony in Istanbul left Beyoğlu and moved to Etiler, Ulus, the Bosphorus shore or Anatolian districts on the opposite shore such as Kadıköy. Instead of planning their

vacation in centers like Teutonia or via travel associations, they preferred to spend their time in the vicinity of Istanbul or on beaches on the Aegean and Mediterranean coast. As such, social institutions in Beyoğlu like Teutonia and the German High School began to lose their meaning within the life of the colony.

Under these conditions, organizational transformations were inevitable for the German High School. With its increasing Turkish student population, the school was no longer the old social school where Turkish and German cultures met and mingled, but rather a western institution that taught solid German to Turks. It was for this reason that the principals of the founding period were working hard to enable the German High School to regain its old spirit.

Developments in Extracurricular Activities: The Alumni Association and Artistic Activities

The High School was adapting to this changing environment in the colony by developing a corporate identity. Rothfritz, meanwhile, endeavored to strengthen the bond between the association of former graduates (V.E.S.) and the German High School, which was relatively loose at that time. A significant number of these former graduates were made up of Rothfritz's own students from his 1935-44 term. As will be remembered, the V.E.S. was re-established in 1954 in connection with the third opening of the school, but the high school was unable to take care of its former graduates as it had not yet put its institutional structure on track. Rothfritz, on the other hand, made significant efforts to revive the fading relationship between the school and its graduates. After a long hiatus, V.E.S. members again gathered in the school's Aula. Erwin Birnmeyer, one of the high school teachers, was charged with strengthening the relationship of the school with its former graduates. For this purpose, Birnmeyer pioneered the creation of the table tennis and chess groups within the V.E.S.

German High School students experienced quite a colorful 1960-61 summer term regarding artistic and intellectual activities. In February, contemporary Turkish poets and writers came to the school to converse with the students. In May, the students of class 8F staged a fairy-tale play on Teutonia's big stage with great success. At the same time, German High School students had the opportunity to exhibit their paintings and other plastic works of art in the downstairs of Teutonia. Due to the lack of proper handicraft materials, the works exhibited were made from wastepaper and fabric residues. The artworks exhibited included both German and traditional Turkish motifs. In contrast to similar exhibitions organized previously, the number of visitors to this exhibition was quite high. Rothfritz also made efforts to provide scholarships by the Federal Germany affiliated "German Academic Exchange Service" (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD*) to Turkish graduates who achieved good Abitur results. The Rothfritz administration advised the German education authorities to grant scholarships for university education in Germany to class 12A student Armağan Ok and class 12B student Özver Gökten, who had achieved very good results. Rothfritz's efforts were geared towards establishing a culture of unity between students, graduates and the school at the German High School.

As part of these efforts, a School Annual was published for the first time in the 1960-61 academic year. Class excursions, an old German High School tradition, also began to be organized again in the same period.

Reform Regarding Textbooks

A noteworthy reform in this period was that some of the teachers of the school's preparatory program began to author German language education textbooks based on their experiences and observations of the general difficulties encountered by the Turkish students whose native tongue was not German in learning the German language. These books were printed during Rothfritz's term. "We are learning German" (*Wir lernen Deutsch Teil 1* (G. Mahler & Fr. R. Schmitt)) and

"German as a Foreign Language" (*Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (H. Eicke & G. Hoffmann)) were revolutionary in terms of facilitating the learning process of Turkish students.

The Building's Physical Condition

Alongside administrative problems, solutions were also sought for the school's inadequate infrastructure during Rothfritz's term. The school's gym, which had been in use since 1897 and which Tenbrock had wanted to renovate but was unable to owing to cost, had become overly run down and no longer met the school's requirements. As a result, there was no alternative but to have physical education classes with 60 students at the same time. Female students had to do gymnastics in a small space in the attic of the building. Rothfritz appealed to the Federal German authorities concerning the reparation of the gym and also managed to have new departments opened for the 11. and 12. grades, which were becoming increasingly crowded because of the growing number of admissions. Despite all these efforts, the building lacked the necessary structural conditions for the student population and other solutions had to be found.

Teutonia and the School Association

Following the reopening in 1953, the German High School and the Teutonia Club continued to exist as two closely connected institutions. The German High School's stage performances, art exhibitions, fairs etc. took place in the Teutonia building, the school's alumni met at Teutonia, and people affiliated with the German High School were among the Clubs most frequent visitors. Those playing an active role in the high school usually also did in the Teutonia Club.

Klaus Mävers who joined the German High School in 1960 as a teacher for music and English, played an active part in the music events at the Club until the end of his duty at the school in 1966. German colony member Arthur Kapps, who worked as the school's secretary in 1971, played an important role in revitalizing Teutonia. In addition to this, the German High School's kindergarten, which

had been closed in 1944, was opened again in the Teutonia building in 1961. Since 1953, at least two of the School Association's board members were also simultaneously members of Teutonia's board.

The Executive Board of the German High School Association was generally composed of the school's major donors and senior officials of various institutions and organizations. In 1961, after having taken over the post of Association President from Prof. Dr. Friedrich Breusch, Dr. Julius Stern headed the School Association. Bank manager Johannes Posth, the deceased pre-1918 German Embassy Pastor and Director of the Kaiserswerth Protestant Deaconesses Organization Siegfried Graf von Lüttichau, Hans Weidtman and Dr. Eugen Löffler were honorary members of the association. In the previous year, Hans Weidtman, a bank manager and merchant, had donated a bus to the school, enabling primary school students living in remote neighborhoods to travel there.

Dr. Eugen Löffler was part of the "Permanent Conference of Education Ministers" (*Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister*), a key body with respect to German education policies coordinating the ministries of culture in the different states of Germany. Here, Löffler was head of the Committee for Schools Abroad (*Vorsitz der Auslandsschulausschuss*).

Contributions of the Permanent Conference of Education Ministers to the German High School

Possibly aided by Dr. Löffler, the Permanent Conference offered new opportunities to the German High School and its students every year and started to make significant contributions to the school's development. During the 1960-61 academic year, natural science collection was generously donated to the German High School by the Permanent Conference and the Department of Culture (*Kulturabteilung*) under the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The "Education Exchange Service" (*Pädagogischer Austauschdienst*) unit, affiliated to the Permanent Conference of Education Ministers, began to regularly invite eight to ten 10th and 11th grade students of the German High School on six-week summer trips to Germany, starting in 1962. Following the years-long efforts of the German High School administration, Permanent Conference officials conducted a strict inspection of the 1963 Abitur exams, and Turkish graduates (just like their counterpart graduates in Germany) were given the right to enter German universities unconditionally. The grants and support of both the German Foreign Ministry and the Permanent Culture Conference fueled a great increase in the educational equipment of the German High School, particularly between 1965-68. In 1967, the classrooms for physics classes were completely modernized. The school's furniture changed completely; the old-style lecture desks were substituted with modern chairs. The Aula was equipped with a grand piano and Orff instruments, while physics and chemistry classes received state-of-the-art educational apparatuses for conducting experiments. Educational films, slides and the necessary screening and projection devices were acquired for biology, geography, history, and art lessons. All this was made possible thanks to the above-mentioned support.

The Last Principal of the Founding Generation: Heinz Anstock

Heinz Anstock took over the post of School Principal on December 1, 1961, after Rothfritz's one and a half years as temporary principal. Anstock, who had been a member of the Istanbul German colony since 1933, was one of the most important figures in the post-1953 history of the German High School.

As Deputy Principal to Tenbrock and Rothfritz since 1958, Anstock was frequently involved with the school's major problems. This enabled him to take action with confidence in his role as a principal.

The 1961 Constitution, which was prepared after the coup of May 27, 1960, eased the



The School Magazine "Semaver", 1965

restrictions brought about by the directives on foreign schools enacted between 1924 and 1935, and deregulated education and tuition, provided that it remained under the state's supervision and control.

Anstock's First Move: Limiting Student Capacities

The legal environment created by the 1961 Constitution extended Anstock's range of action and enabled him to make more progress. Anstock first focused on the structural inadequacy of the school, which both predecessor principals had made great efforts to resolve.

Since the school building was no longer able to support the increasing number of students, Anstock made the radical decision to reduce the parallel preparatory classes from four to three in the 1962-63 academic year. This would also decrease parallel classes in the higher grades over time. The criteria for

receiving passing grades were tightened in order to reduce the number of students. The lower number of students was intended to counterbalance the structural inadequacy of the building. By catering for a teacher-student proportion that was appropriate for a good school, the quality of education was aimed to be conserved. This radical plan of Anstock worked. The number of classes decreased from 37 in the 1961-62 academic year to 30 in the 1967-68 academic year. Similarly, the number of students decreased from 1057 in 1961-62 to 835 in 1966-67. Although the school's population climbed to 863 in 1967-68 following a rise in the number of German Citizen students and the admission of children of Turkish families who were returning from Federal Germany, this did not pose a great problem to Anstock's plan. As a result of his approach to reduce the number of parallel classes and students, the share of students below 8th grade who failed class was 26 percent in 1962. In subsequent years, the share continued sinking to 23 percent, 17 percent and finally 14-15 percent in 1968. Another dimension of Anstock's policy to scale down the school and increase its quality was to reduce the number of teachers. While a total of 71 teachers (46 of them German, 25 of them Turkish) were working at the school in 1961-62, this number decreased to 62 (41 German and 21 Turkish teachers) in the 1967-68 term. Anstock's efforts to reduce the number of teachers made it possible to save on high school teacher positions. Thus, it also became possible to support the increasingly growing primary school section, which was treated as an external entity.

Student Activities: Project Groups, Semaver Magazine and Art Projects

Moreover, the decreasing number of teachers and students led to improved discipline at the German High School and inspired unity and solidarity among the students. In this atmosphere, so-called "Project Groups" (*Arbeitsgemeinschaften, AG*) were formed in the school. A major educational benefit of these groups that teachers established in various fields, especially Mathematics and other natural sciences, was that they allowed



The School Magazine Semaver - Music Events, 1966

students to develop themselves outside of class hours. But the Project groups' benefit was not limited only to course subjects. Students were able to work in many branches such as music, sports, and arts by establishing groups for different areas of interest by themselves. The choir and orchestra were the original focus of these artistic AGs. Later, additional groups were formed for Turkish folk dance and traditional light comedy. Meanwhile, stamp collectors, chess, basketball, volleyball and table tennis enthusiasts also organized themselves. While some were engaged in technical work such as installing radios, others formed a "Soziale Hilfe" (social assistance) group and did all they could to send course materials and clothes to village schools in Anatolia.

At more or less the same time, in 1964, the student magazine Semaver began to be published. The name of the journal was inspired by the German abbreviation S.M.V. of the Student Council (*Schülermitverantwortung*), which is mentioned below.

These examples show that the school administration had started to support students' extracurricular activities during this period. Its main purpose was to connect the students to the school outside of the classroom through such activities and make the school not only an obligation but a social environment that appealed to all areas of life. This support energized the students and enabled them to assert themselves in various activities. As one example, in April 1963 German High School students performed *Spreading the News* by Irish playwright Isabella Augusta. This performance drew the attention of Cumhuriyet newspaper and the students were subsequently also invited to stage the play in Galatasaray and Notre Dame de Sion High Schools. In 1968, German High School students formed a pop music band in one of the basement spaces of the school.

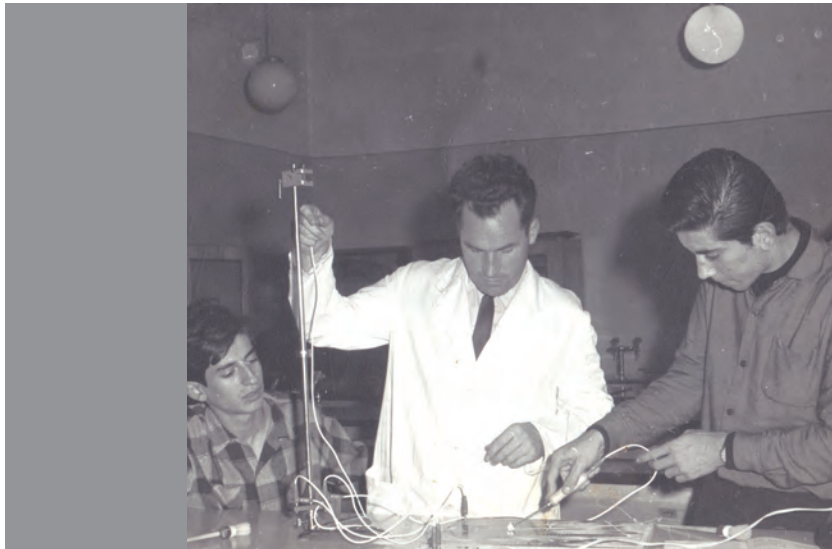
Re-Evaluation of the School's Facilities

During the course of Anstock's solution to the space problem, there was a decrease in the number of classrooms needed and new space became available in the school building. As a result, the school's library was transferred from its old, dark and narrow place to a bright, spacious and large place.

Likewise, two new classrooms were made available to the students, and an additional classroom, other than the Aula, was provided for music education. Another recuperated classroom was assigned to serve a dual function – it was used as a place for parent-teacher meetings in the morning and a study room for high school students in the afternoon. The room, which had previously been used as a kitchen, was transformed into a photo lab, and part of the doorman lodgings was allocated to teachers for art lessons.

Goethe Institute and German Cultural Center

The German Cultural Center (*Deutsch-Türkischer Kulturverein* or *Kultur-Beirat*) also benefitted from this relief regarding the school building. The center was founded in Istanbul in 1956 by German-Swiss Turcologist Dr. Robert Anhegger, who had settled in Turkey in the 1940s and worked as a teacher at the German School for a short time from 1953. In its first years, this institution, which provided financial support to the Munich-based Goethe Institute within the framework of the Turkish-German Cultural Agreement signed in 1957, operated in the Teutonia building under the name "German Library" (*Deutsche Bibliothek*). The name of the German Cultural Center was officially changed to Goethe Institute in 1991. When the Teutonia building became too small for its students, whose number were reaching 1,200-1,300 per semester, the Goethe Institute started to offer some of the German language courses in the German High School building. Thanks to the fact that a classroom had become vacant following Anstock's efforts, the Institute was provided with an administrative space within the school. Finally, another classroom was turned into a 35- person language lab, this time with the support of the Goethe Institute.



Erich Rinnert in Physics Class, 1967

“The School’s Spirit”: Mrs. Erika Anstock

When Heinz Anstock became Deputy Principal for the first time in 1958, he and his wife Erika moved into the school’s lodging. During Anstock’s term as principal (1962-74), teachers stopped residing in the building, with the exception of the School Principal, and the vacated spaces were used for new classrooms. The principal’s residence was located on the top floor of the school building and had a terrace and a garden. Principals sometimes invited schoolteachers there for gatherings.

The Anstock couple in particular would often host newly arriving teachers on their terrace. Mrs. Anstock, a devout Protestant, was always closely involved with Turkish and German teachers, primarily taking care of single teachers who came from Germany without a family, trying her best to prevent them from feeling lonely. Mrs. Anstock, who took a particular interest in young children, became the virtual soul of the school. She was known for organizing various social activities such as lunch/dinner and fairs in the school on different religious holidays, especially Christmas. Mrs. Anstock, who did not sever her ties with the Protestant community in Istanbul after leaving Turkey in 1974, frequently returned to Turkey and continued to support the community’s charity works until her death in 2017.

German Teachers’ Adaptation to the School and Problems Regarding Pedagogical Continuity

In parallel with the German High School’s growing reputation and popularity across Turkey, the number of Turkish students applying for the school’s preparation programs had begun to rise each year. In line with Anstock’s policy of admitting lower numbers of students, only the best were admitted. The student profile at the school had increased so much that it could sometimes even become challenging for the German teachers. But those who came from Germany to teach at the German High School stayed for a limited time. For these teachers, who stayed for only a few years, it was very difficult to get to know the school and the student profile and to make and implement a teaching plan.

An education plan was developed in 1962 in order to ensure pedagogical continuity. Based on this plan, which had been approved by both the German authorities and the National Education authorities, a curriculum specific to the German High School was created and practical instructions and recommendations were created to guide new teachers. The aim was to create an infrastructure that maintained pedagogical continuity despite the frequently changing teachers. A teacher could therefore continue from where another had left off, ensuring that students would not miss anything falling through the cracks.

Harmonization with Turkish Universities’ Admission Exams

In the early 1960s, when German High School students wanted to enter Turkish universities, they faced great difficulties during the university admission exams. This was essentially due to their inadequacy in the field of descriptive and compositional geometry and their lack of knowledge of Turkish mathematical terminology.

In order to overcome these handicaps, working groups were formed at the school in cooperation with mathematics professors from Istanbul University and Istanbul Technical University. After acquiring the necessary

experience and familiarity with Turkish mathematics terminology in these working groups, German mathematics teachers gave special lessons to students at high school level.

Eventually, starting from 1963, German High School graduates who applied to ITU achieved very good results and were accepted. The success of German High School students in Turkish mathematics continued in the following period. In fact, so much so that in 1964, three of the five most successful participants in a mathematics competition organized by the Turkish Mathematical Society were German High Schools students. In addition, between 1962 and 1967, 25 German High School graduates received higher education with various scholarships. Of these scholarships, 19 were DAAD scholarships, 4 West Berlin City Management scholarships and 1 each were Istanbul Technical University and Swiss scholarships.

The 1962 Education Congress and the German High School's Hopes

At first glance, the Education Congress held in 1962 seemed to bring the Turkish and German education systems closer to each other. In the reform decisions taken during Congress, it was emphasized that the approach of teaching an encyclopedic general culture to students had become meaningless given the boom in science.

As a result, the curriculum was reduced in order to support an approach that gave students freedom of choice and opportunities to specialize. These decisions were very similar to the Framework Agreement, which was introduced in Saarbrücken, Germany in 1960 (*Saarbrücker Rahmenvereinbarung*) to redefine the federal German education policy.

Since the German High School tried to adapt as far as possible to the educational reform in Turkey and the decisions were in harmony with the German education style, the school began preliminary works to adjust its own curriculum in line with this approach. But unfortunately, when the decisions made at the Education Congress were not

implemented, the German High School also had to shelve its plans.

On the other hand, some of the educational regulations announced by the Ministry of Education were not deemed appropriate for the German High School and were therefore not implemented. For example, at the end of 1964 and 1967, after long discussions the German High School administration decided not to implement the new regulations on passing classes. Taking these decisions into account, the National Education prepared some specific regulations that allowed the German High School to keep its distinctive class passing system.

Anatolia Trips and Students' Social Consciousness Raising

Werner Brüggemann, Gerd Schneider and Dr. Harald Böhmer were among the teachers working at the German High School in the 1960s. Gerd Schneider was in charge of organizing trips to Anatolia for the upper grades – such as the trip to Iznik which was organized in 1963. Thanks to these trips, students bore witness to the underdeveloped and primitive state of Anatolia and developed various social responsibility projects to contribute to their alleviation. They tried to contribute to the development of Anatolia with activities such as aid campaigns for Anatolian villages and Schools for Tree Planting projects. In 1964, Gerd Schneider made another contribution to the German High School with an attempt to restart the tradition of the school yearbook, which had first been introduced in 1961. Back then, it had not been able to continue. Unfortunately, his attempt also did not yield any results, and the German High School only started to regularly issue school yearbooks from the 1974-75 academic year.

The above-mentioned social solidarity initiatives, the pluralism which was increasing in politics after the 1960 coup and the emergence of radical currents triggered a political conscience raising and questioning in students. The German High School was not isolated from its environment and did not



Anstock, Altunbay and Güney at the Taksim Monument, October 29, 1964

In this picture we see School Principal Heinz Anstock on the far right, to his left in profile Turkish and Religious Studies Teacher Rüştü Altunbay, and Turkish Deputy Principal Osman Güney on the very left placing a wreath at the Taksim Monument on the occasion of the Republic Day of October 29, 1964.

exist detached from the ongoing social and political events in Turkey. On January 20, 1961, a film about the Yassıada Trials was shown to students at the school. Alongside this growing awareness and political tensions in Turkey, the Soviet bloc was rapidly gaining strength and industrializing, leading to some students being drawn towards left currents.

Osman Güney's Short Term as Turkish Deputy Principal

On November 1, 1963, Mesut Talaslıoğlu handed over the duty of Turkish Deputy Principal to Osman Güney. Güney, who remained in this position for less than two years, resigned in August 1965. However, two new openings



*1966 Adnan Tolun and His Students
Adnan Tolun, who served as the Turkish Deputy Principal between 1965-1977, with his students in his first years at the high school.*

occurred in this short period. The first was the opening of the primary school in Teutonia. The primary school, which had been abolished during the Rothfritz period in order to overcome legal problems, was reopened as a branch of the Embassy school in Ankara during this period. The school was built in Teutonia's old garden and catered to children of German families who were temporarily staying in Istanbul. The second was a nursing home for German elders. The history of the nursing home, which is today located in Nişantaşı, dates back to 1964.

Adnan Tolun as Turkish Deputy Principal, Fluctuating National Education Policies and Guest Student Status

Adnan Tolun was the successor of Güney, who retired as deputy principal on August 31, 1965. Tolun held this position until 1976. At the time, radical changes were occurring in the regime of Education Regulations that had been put into effect between 1931 and 1935 and were tying foreign schools to a strict order. As was previously discussed, the laws enacted between 1924-35 contained some restrictions on foreign schools, in line with the nationalist orientation of those years. The 1961 Constitution, which coincided with the start of Anstock's duty as principal, attenuated many of the old restrictions and gave Anstock many opportunities for innovation in the school. However, another source of the problems that were holding back the administrators in their efforts to modernize the German High School according to the requirements of the time was the sluggish Federal German bureaucracy. For example, Anstock, like Rothfritz, had repeatedly applied for financial support for the repair of the extremely antiquated gym. But the government of Federal Germany constantly delayed its response to these applications due to budget bottlenecks. By the time the German state finally sent the 930,000 marks it had allocated, it was too late. In 1965, the Ministry of National Education took a step back regarding foreign schools, enacting a new law, which put emphasis on matters similar to those in the Foreign Schools Directive No.

Bülent Eczacıbaşı
(1949-)

Eczacıbaşı completed his secondary education at the German High School. After completing his university education at Imperial College in London, he received a master's degree in chemistry from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

In 1993, he took over the chair of the Board of Directors of Eczacıbaşı Holding, which he still holds today. Along with his successes in business life, he is also one of the foremost figures pioneering the Turkish business world and the field of art.

Among other things, he is the Honorary Presidency of TÜSİAD, Honorary President of the Pharmaceutical Industry Employers Union, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Istanbul Modern Art Foundation, and Chairman of the Board of Directors of İKSV (Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts). His book *This is My Work: The New Responsibilities of Business People* was published by Yapı Kredi Publications in 2018. He speaks German and English. He is married to Oya Eczacıbaşı and has two children, Emre and Esra.

2584 dated 7 November 1935. In the Law No. 625 on Private Education Institutions, it was stated that “the buildings of education institutions opened by foreigners cannot be expanded, augmented or rebuilt.”

Meanwhile another law, which was adopted only a short while afterwards, introduced an approach that can be considered liberal for German and Austrian students. In 1966, the Ministry of National Education made another move, envisaging the acceptance of German and Austrian students who were studying at the German High School but not Turkish nationals as “guest students”. This ended the obligation for foreign students to take Turkish culture lessons such as Turkish language lessons, geography, sociology and history.

But as a result of this, since the German and Austrian national students were not taking these classes, they were unable to receive a diploma that was valid in Turkey. These students therefore took the German Maturity Exam. While the guest student policy was a practice devised to enable those students who would normally only be in Turkey for a short period of time to continue attending school, in reality, most of these students were children of Germans who came to Istanbul for short-term jobs, because the population of permanent residents of the German colony had decreased.

Until the guest student policy was put into practice in 1968, the curriculum to be applied to German and Austrian students was discussed for two years and a program approved by both the National Education and German authorities was drawn up. Accordingly, the focus would be on German and English education in the lower grades, and the guest students would have the right to choose between Turkish, Latin or French as a compulsory second foreign language from the 7th grade. However, these different curriculums would not mean that the guest students would be separated from the Turkish students – they would still share other core curriculum classes.

German High School in the Centennial of its First Foundation and the Favor of the Turkish Public

In 1968, the German High School turned 100 years old. The school, which had seen two World Wars, had been closed twice and opened three times and had recovered rapidly since its last opening, was recognized by everyone as a highly successful educational institution. According to Gerhard Nurtsch, one of the teachers interested in the school's history, the 1953-1968 period represented the period in which the German High School transformed into a fully-fledged natural sciences Gymnasium school. This transformation was completed in 1968 when the German High School had become fully equivalent to its peers in Germany. At this point one should underline Heinz Anstock's contribution to this transformation.



Anstock, Tolun and Dinler at the 100th anniversary celebrations in 1968. This picture shows the whole staff of teachers including Heinz Anstock, Adnan Tolun, Rüştü Altunbay and Gökşin Dinler during the 100th anniversary celebrations of the German High School held between 20-27 May 1968.

Heinz Anstock
(1909-1980)

Anstock was born in Wuppertal-Elberfeld (North Rhine-Westphalia). He studied Romance Philology and German Language and Literature in Bonn, Munich, Heidelberg and Paris. He was active in the Communist Party in his youth. In 1933, the Nazis temporarily arrested him before he could get a bachelor's degree from the University of Bonn. Escaping from Germany, Anstock first went to Basel, then came to Istanbul at the invitation of the famous Romance philologist and Jewish scientist Prof. Leo Spitzer in 1934.

Anstock, who worked as a lecturer at Istanbul University and as teacher at Haydarpaşa High School, continued to teach under Spitzer's successor Prof. Erich Auerbach, after the former had gone to the USA. Meanwhile, he wrote the famous German for Turks (1938) together with Dr. Julius Stern, who had been dismissed from the school because he was Jewish. During the establishment of the German Language and Literature department at the university in 1942, he played a part in drawing Prof. Brinkmann to Istanbul. In 1943, he received a bachelor's degree in French

Language and Literature from Istanbul University.

In 1944, when Turkey broke off its diplomatic relations with Germany, Anstock was interned and first held in the evacuated building of the German High School, then deported to Kırşehir in February 1945. A while after his release in December 1945, he went to Germany and received his second bachelor's degree in 1955.

Anstock, who started teaching at the German High School in the year he received his diploma, became the Deputy Principal of the School in 1958 and its Principal in 1961. Continuing this task until 1974, Anstock carried the high school to pedagogical excellence in the fields of science and arts by completing the school's post-1953 institutional restructuring process.

The first two wives of Anstock, who spent the last years of his life in Sinzig, were Turkish. His second wife was the famous archaeologist Prof. Muhibbe Darga. His third wife, Erika Anstock, whom he married in 1952, became completely fused with the German High School.

The school's high profile also attracted the attention of parents in Turkey, who saw the high school as one of the few schools that provided modern education in accordance with the expectations of the changing and developing world, and to which they could safely leave their children. One of the reasons why the German High School was able to maintain its reputation and popularity in the Turkish community, despite all the troubles it had gone through, was that in contrast to other elite schools in Istanbul such as Robert College or Saint Joseph, which the public largely identified with the United States or France, the German school was still perceived as a representative of the "old comrade in arms." In fact, one cannot understand the school's popularity in isolation from economic

developments in Federal Germany at the time. West Germany had now largely overcome the devastation of war and entered a period of rapid economic growth. The country started hiring "guest workers" (*Gastarbeiter*) from Mediterranean countries, also from Turkey, in order to make up the labor shortage. Hundreds of thousands of workers from almost every region of Anatolia immigrated to Germany until the end of the 1970s. The *Gastarbeiter*, who knew the country well, increased the prestige of both Germany, with its highly developed economic and social structure, and the German language representing the country. Germany, which was exporting capital to Turkey in connection with these economic developments, established industrial plants in the Marmara Region and other big cities.

Thus, there was a serious demand for competent engineers, operators and other experts with very good command of German who would work in these facilities. Following the commencement of membership negotiations between the Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community (EEC) on September 12, 1963, the share of Germany and other EEC countries in Turkey's foreign trade volume exceeded 50 percent. In this context, Turkey's political and economic elite began to see the country's economic and political future in Europe. In addition to these external factors, it should be noted that the education offered at the school after 1960 was more wide-ranging than before.



Brandt and Anstock, 1969
During his visit to Turkey between 22-28 April 1969, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany Willy Brandt also visited the German High School. In this photo, he is seen with Heinz Anstock.

Due to the school's characteristics and the way it was perceived in the public, the number of students applying to the school for preparatory class rose to 1,050 in 1966-67; a year later this number would further increase to 1,343. 90 percent of these students were eliminated in the entrance exams and only the top-performing 10 percent were admitted to the school. Since the high school was tremendously successful, demand continued to increase and only those achieving the best results in the entrance exams were admitted, gradually making the school's student profile more select. This success led the DAAD to increase the number of scholarships from four to five on the school's centenary. The German High School was also receiving support not only from German authorities but also from

various Turkish and German companies. The library, the megaphone infrastructure, the stereo setup in the Aula and various musical instruments were all acquired by companies who were appreciative and supportive of the school's success.

This support and the AGs (Project Groups), perhaps the most important product of the Anstock era, enabled students to improve themselves in extracurricular areas, motivating them to focus on music, art and sports. According to an article in Cumhuriyet newspaper, German High School students opened an art exhibition in the Turkish-German Cultural Center in May 1970 under the leadership of their art teacher J. Thornstedt. In another article in the same newspaper, it was reported that in 1973, the German High School student orchestra and choir gave an impressive concert to mark the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Republic. German High School students Mine Yaka, İdil Olcay and Lale Ersaraç reportedly attracted great attention with their performances on the piano, as did Aykut Şener with his composition "Hey Dost". The article also praised School Principal Heinz Anstock and other education staff for their contributions to the students' achievements.

The 100th Anniversary Celebrations

The 100th anniversary celebrations of the High School lasted a week. The opening took place on May 20, 1968 in the conference hall of Istanbul Technical University. Here, Anstock gave an opening speech, in which he stated that the destinies of Turkey and Germany were intertwined and that "we have great respect for Atatürk." He also added that the students enrolled in the German High School knew that they were Turks and would continue to be Turks.

After Anstock, the Governor of Istanbul Vefa Poyraz took the floor. In his speech, he stated that "the German High School has done great services in our country" and concluded with the words "long live the Turkish-German friendship".

German Ambassador Host Groepper, Istanbul Provincial Director of National Education Ali Yalkın and Head of the Culture Department of

the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs Dr. Werz also gave speeches at the ceremony. Federal German President Luebke and Foreign Minister Willy Brandt each sent a congratulation message on the occasion of the centenary.

One of the outstanding moments during the celebrations was the awarding of a plaque to businessperson Bülent Eczacıbaşı. Eczacıbaşı had finished school that year with a GPA which remains unsurpassed to this day. He was deemed worthy of the award because of his superior academic performance and to recognize how aptly he represented the values adopted by the German High School. Owing to his services in both business life and civil society, he is today referred to as “the first among equals” (*primus inter pares*) among German High School graduates.

Anstock's Assessment of the School on its Centenary

According to school principal Heinz Anstock, the secret behind the German High School's ability to survive for a hundred years was the school's ability to adapt to changing conditions. Since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in particular, the school's main objective had been to fully achieve integration in Turkey in the course of the reforms and modernization process led by Atatürk, simultaneously taking German and Turkish pedagogical approaches into account. Anstock expressed dissatisfaction that the term “foreign school,” which was commonly used in Turkey, was also used to describe the German High School, indicating that it conveyed a negative meaning and evoked something external that could be of possible harm to the country. Anstock explained that “We Germans are not here as foreigners, we come as friends, hence we have the right to feel at home in this country, in which hospitality is valued so much that it almost lacks comparison,” and stressed that the school belonged to Turkey.

According to Anstock, the German High School was the product of the joint efforts of German and Turkish teachers, which was why it should not be seen as foreign. The

school's pedagogical aim, as defined by Anstock, was to provide young people with the ability to use their freedoms responsibly and to develop an independent attitude in life. According to Anstock, there was no single and standard way to achieve this goal. It was only natural that students and teachers' personalities and abilities as well as cultural values they had acquired from their families would be different from each other. The correct synthesis would be achieved by way of free negotiations based on mutual respect, in which other opinions were valued.

Foreign Minister Willy Brandt's Visit to the German High School

Willy Brandt, the Social Democrat statesman who successfully pursued his *Ostpolitik* policy during the Cold War era to overcome the German division and to regenerate social ties between the two Germanies, conducted an official visit to Turkey on 22-28 May, 1969, while he was still Foreign Minister. On this occasion he also visited the German High School. In his speech to teachers and students during his visit to the school, Brandt stated that “it is important to treat the concept of friendship with care, because friendship is not indissoluble and therefore, particularly in the case of friendship between peoples, must be infused with permanent energy through personal and selfless contributions.”



*Heinz Anstock at the Student Admissions Exam, 1973
Anstock showed a close interest in all matters related to the German High School until his retirement in 1974. In this photo, Anstock is seen personally attending to the children and parents who came for the school's admissions exam.*

A Striking Event in the Context of the Student Council's Operations

The Student Council (*Schülermitverantwortung (SMV)*) was established in 1958, but the question of whether it was truly a platform where students could be represented and, if necessary, exercise their right to complain, became a greater issue following an incident in 1970. In this year, Dr. Horst Müller, who had just started teaching at the German High School, was elected as liaison teacher (*Vertrauenslehrer*) to the S.M.V. by the students of the upper grades because he had previously been involved in student representation issues in his high school in Germany. Dr. Müller accepted the task. Not long after, the S.M.V. student spokesperson consulted Dr. Müller and lamented that the Student Council did not serve any purpose other than occasionally organizing tea dance parties for high school students. They also complained that some of the teachers were treating them unfairly.

The spokes person also mentioned that they were subject to extremely harsh treatment, that the assignments they submitted were given back to them with great delay and that 50 percent of them had received low grades. A few days later, the same student returned with three friends. They expressed their wish to do something about their complaints but stated that they were unable to do so without the support of Dr. Müller. The students suggested a general meeting. Eventually, a meeting was held in the Aula on the afternoon of an arranged date. Anstock did not attend the meeting, but Deputy Principal Adnan Tolun was present. A substantial number of German and Turkish teachers gathered in the meeting hall. Following the S.M.V. spokesperson's courteous welcome and Dr. Müller's brief introductory remarks, the students started bringing forward their complaints. Since the complaints expressed in German were immediately translated into Turkish, both Turkish and German teachers were able to follow. Increasing numbers of complaints were voiced, and they became mainly directed at the Turkish teachers, whose

faces were turning sullen as they listened. Turkish teachers were mainly affronted due to the fact that students were giving concrete examples and openly stating the teachers' name. After half an hour had passed, Tolun jumped to his feet and left the meeting, unable to hold back his anger any longer. Dr. Müller immediately interrupted the meeting and took the matter to Anstock. Anstock responded in a concerned and serious manner, stressing that they were not in Germany and that giving students the right to speak in such an uncontrolled manner was almost revolutionary in the Turkish context, and advised Müller to be more careful in the future. However, Dr. Müller would later be informed by a number of students that this incident had the interesting consequence of a change in attitude among those teachers who had been the subject of their complaints, who had generally started to behave more politely.

A New Factor Shaping the German High School: Returning Expats

The number of Turkish families returning to Turkey from Germany increased markedly in the 1970s. The children of these families chose the German High School because they were born in Germany and had good command of German. There was therefore an increase in this group's applications to the German High School during this period. At the same time some Germans who were married to the Turks who had come to Germany as workers were beginning to arrive in Istanbul, and the German colony in Istanbul started to grow again.

Increasing Difficulties for Teachers to Come from Germany

The German High School, which was getting back on track thanks to Anstock's interventions, offered an exciting environment not only for students but also for German teachers. However, in the 1970s, there was a serious shortage of teachers in Germany and it was not easy for teachers who wanted to come to Istanbul to get a 7- year leave from the federal state governments. However, if they made the necessary and considerable bureaucratic efforts, they could get permission to teach at the German High School.

Helmut Kahmann
(1922-2010)

Kahmann was born in Braunlage (Harz, Lower Saxony). He finished high school in Braunschweig, which was bombed by the Allies. He worked as an English teacher at various schools. Helmut Kahmann succeeded Heinz Anstock as Principal of the German High School in 1974. He was the first principal after the generation of founding principals comprising Dr. Karl Steuerwald, Dr. Robert Tenbrock, Dr. Herbert Rothfritz and Anstock. With his 13-year tenure, he was one of the longest- serving principals in the school's post-1953 history. This period was also a time when Turkey underwent political and economic crises. However, Kahmann was able to keep the high school removed from the political tensions of the period.

With Kahmann's arrival, the environment of seriousness and discipline that had determined the founding period of 1953-1974, gave way to a period in which the German High School's school and student identity took shape, new school traditions came into being and student activities began to stand out.

The first indication of this new era was the publication of the school yearbook without interruption from 1975. Sausage Day was celebrated in the schoolyard for the first time in 1981. In 1983, the tradition of the annual Atatürk Run in the Belgrad Forest was first introduced. Since 1984, German High School students have participated in the Jugend Musiziert competition. Project Weeks were introduced in 1985. In 1986, a German Reading Contest was started among the schools whose language of instruction was German. The Christmas Bazaar (*Weihnachtsbasar*), which had previously taken place at Park Hotel, started being organized at the German High School from December 1986.

After his retirement in 1987, Kahmann spent his time in Braunschweig.

German High School in the Environment of the 12 March Regime

The 1970s were not an easy period for the German High School administration. In the context of growing tensions created by radical political currents that became stronger after 1960 and the politics of the Cold War era, the country's military and civilian ruling elite perceived the left to be getting too strong. As a direct consequence, martial law was declared on March 12, 1971. The tense political atmosphere inevitably had an impact on the German High School. During this period, almost all parties and organizations left of the CHP were shut down, and leftist intellectuals were heavily prosecuted. The government under prime minister Nihat Erim, which had been formed after the coup d'état on 12 March 1971, and the security forces tended to see many intellectual, scientific and educational activities as crimes. In this context, one of the young German teachers who was teaching natural sciences at the German High School was detained by the police who came to his house on the allegation that he was a secret agent. He was accused of being an agent because he was reported to have a suspicious electronic device in his home. This device was actually one of the standard voltammeters used in physics lessons, which the teacher had brought from Germany. Upon learning that one of his teachers was being held in prison, Anstock immediately consulted the colonel- ranking teacher who had been teaching national defense at the school for years and asked him for help. Thanks to the efforts of the national defense teacher, the young natural sciences teacher was released by the martial law authorities.

Another incident that concerned Anstock was a teacher digging into the excavation site of one of the archeological ruins in Anatolia with a knife during one of his vacation trips, although this was prohibited. When the district police detained the teacher for his actions, Anstock was quickly informed about the situation and was able to prevent the teacher from being deported.

Anstock's Retirement and Departure from Turkey

Heinz Anstock, the disciplined but loving and compassionate Principal of the school, had endured most of the difficulties of the founding period of the German High School since the day he took office in 1961 and turned the institution, which had been struggling with bureaucratic obstacles and infrastructural deficiencies, into a popular social structure with proven success. In comparison to his own experience, Anstock, who retired in 1974 and returned to Sinzig in Germany with his wife Erika, left a much more tranquil post to his successor Helmut Kahmann. In the same year, Shell-Germany, in honor of Anstock, started awarding the student with the highest GPA at the German High School with a scholarship for education at a university in Germany. In addition to the five scholarships granted by the DAAD, a sixth scholarship sponsored by Shell-Germany now became available.

Helmut Kahmann's Appointment as Principal

When Helmut Kahmann took over the post of principal of the German High School from Anstock after June 1974, the total number of students in the school was 933. Similar to that of Anstock, Kahmann's term as principal lasted for around 13 years. As the administrators who served the longest term since the school was reopened in 1953, these two directors are among the most prominent figures of the school's recent history. Due to the long duration of their services, both principals left their mark on the school, each in their own style.

The Ministry of National Education's Arrangement of Weekly Course Days and Turkish Course Hours

In the 1974-75 school year, the Ministry of Education made a decision applying to all schools across Turkey to reduce the weekly course days from six to five. This arrangement was part of the tendency, which had already been put into practice in many places around the world, to treat Saturdays as well as Sundays as holidays. However, Kahmann was not happy with this arrangement. According to him, this restriction on weekly class hours

imposed by the Ministry created the necessity of working in a highly concentrated manner in a shorter time, which brought heavy pressure to bear on students and teachers. As Kahmann emphasized, this resulted in a lack of time for students to have extracurricular activities.

Meanwhile on April 17, 1975, the Ministry of Education's Board of Education took a decision regarding the general distribution of courses in foreign schools. According to this decision, Turkish lessons were increased by one, and science lessons to nine hours at middle school level. One hour of logics class and elective courses were added to the curriculum of the high school grades. After this decision, "educational branches" were included in the school curriculum and all courses were divided into the three categories of compulsory, compulsory elective and elective.

Establishing the School Yearbook Tradition

Previously, in 1961 and 1964, during the terms of principals Rothfritz and Anstock, an annual had been issued which had been intended to be turned into a school tradition. However, these attempts were always broken off. Presumably Rothfritz and Anstock had had to dedicate their attention and energy to more vital issues since the institutional structure of the high school had not yet been settled in those times.

When Kahmann became principal, importance started to be attached to regularly publishing a school yearbook. By the time Anstock was retiring, the school was on the right track as an institution in every sense. The German High School yearbook has therefore been published almost continuously since the 1974-75 academic term.

Resignation of Turkish Deputy Principal Tolun and Appointment of Adnan Gökart

With Adnan Tolun's departure from the school in 1977, Ayhan Gökart, who had worked as the Deputy Director of Private Schools in the Ministry of National Education for two years, was appointed to the German High School as Turkish Deputy Principal.

A distinctive feature of Gökart was his fixation on discipline. He even tried to discipline the German teachers. An incident that took place between him and chemistry, biology and sports teacher Hermann Holz, who came to the German High School in 1980, serves as an interesting example in this respect. The weekly class schedule set for Holz sometimes required him to attend chemistry lessons in the hours immediately following his sports class. However, Gökart was very concerned that all teachers entered class wearing ties. Given the short time between the two classes, Holz found his own practical solution – instead of changing the sweatpants he had previously worn in the sports class, he put his white lab coat over the top and entered his chemistry class wearing sweatpants under his coat. This meant he was not wearing a tie. Upon noticing this, Gökart became annoyed and warned Holz that he should wear a tie during lessons.

Shortly afterwards, while Gökart was walking around the building, he caught Holz in his sweatpants under his white coat just as he was about to enter class. As Gökart was about to repeat his warning, Holz took a tie out from his coat pocket and showed it to Gökart in front of the whole class!

Gökart tried to fulfill his duty as a Turkish Deputy Principal properly in terms of his sensitivity to the strict implementation of the official directives and rules specified in the Journal of the Ministry of Education. But the contradictions between some of the codes of discipline and conduct imposed by Ankara and the specific culture of the German High School sometimes produced interesting outcomes, such as that of the referred incident.

Founding of the Istanbul German High School Alumni Association

The Istanbul German High School Alumni Association was founded in 1976 by graduate students Falih Erksan, Mahmut Ekrem Saygın, Ergun Haluk Eronç, İffet Orbay, Uğur Aksoy, Alpaslan Doğuoğlu, İhsan Karaoğuz, Cenap Kuloğlu, Ayhan Paksoy, Müge Asal and Mehmet Özek. The Association, which did not remain active for long, was reactivated in 1984 under

the presidency of Ergun Haluk Eronç and member registrations continued. Later, lawyer Coşkun Kayabaşlı took over the presidency and started working in his own office.

The previous Chairman of the Board of the Istanbul German High School Alumni Association, which has been operating under the chairmanship of Serhat Hacıpaşalıoğlu from 2010 until today, were Ergun Haluk Eronç, Coşkun Kayabaşlı, İlhan Tayman, Tekin Enerem, Hasan Ulusoy, Neslihan Babür, Hüseyin Çolakoğlu, Hayri Araboğlu, Ahmet Ateş, Aykut Arkan and Cengiz Arpacioğlu. The Association, which today has 1,385 members, organizes various activities for the graduates of the Istanbul German High School to reunite and revive their memories and friendship. Among these events, Sausage Day in particular attracts great attention.

At this point, it should be emphasized that unlike the alumni associations of other educational institutions, the Istanbul German High School Alumni Association strives to bring together not only its graduates but everyone who once attended the Istanbul German High School. Moreover, during the presidency of Serhat Hacıpaşalıoğlu, particularly in the last decade, steps have been taken to contribute to resolving certain problems of German High Schools alumni beyond social activities. For example, the various problems caused by due to visa delays experienced by German High School alumni studying at universities in Germany have been resolved thanks to the efforts of the association.

Political Unrest in the Late 1970s

The concomitant instability brought about by the intertwined political and economic crises in the Turkey of the 1970s created social unrest. The 1970s set the stage for the bloodiest clashes between left and right in Turkey. The gunshots fired at the crowd gathering for Labor Day in Taksim Square on May 1, 1977 and the death of 33 people in the resulting chaos led to an escalation of the social tensions.

Less than a week after the incident, anonymous individuals who introduced

Bekir Sıtkı Erdoğan
(1926-2014)

Erdoğan was born in Karaman. He graduated from Kuleli Military High School and finished the Military Academy in 1948. After serving as an infantry officer in field duty in Anatolia for ten years, he was appointed to Ankara. Meanwhile, he received a bachelor's degree in 1957 from the Department of Turkish Language and Literature at the Faculty of Language and History and Geography. While working as a literature teacher at Heybeliada Naval High School and the Naval Academy starting from 1959, he attained the rank of Colonel. After voluntarily leaving the army in 1973, he worked in various private high schools.

Bekir Sıtkı Erdoğan entered the German High School in 1979 and retired in 1991 having worked there for 12 years. Known as a poet in the literary world, Erdoğan's poems have been published in magazines such as Çınaraltı, Yedigün, Şadırvan, İstanbul, Türk Yurdu, Kubbealtı Academy Magazine, Hisar, Çağrı, Milli Kültür, and Türk Edebiyatı. The subject and style of his works were inspired by Turkish poet- singers (âşık) and divan poetry. He also composed the poems "Innkeeper", " My Honeycombed Heart", "Spring in the Barracks" and "The Wind Broke My Branch". The lyrics to the "50th Anniversary March" of the Republic belong to Erdoğan. The German High School published a selection of Erdoğan's poems with their German translations in 1993.

themselves as members of revolutionary organizations and formations called secondary education institutions and famous businessmen and informed them that they would carry out various assaults and killings of children due to the anniversary of the execution of Deniz Gezmiş and his friends on May 6, 1972. According to news in Hürriyet newspaper, politicians, the police and newspapers received notices on the same

day informing them that all the main roads and squares of the city would be bombed. The public was in panic and the German High School management decided to close the school for a day, like many high schools and universities. But this decision seemed to greatly anger government officials because the Director of National Education Servet Develioğlu announced that an investigation was to be opened against "the administrators who surrendered to this atmosphere and temporarily closed their schools." But tension between the German High School and the Turkish State would not last long, and relations would improve in a few years from the 80s.

From Special Admission Exams to a Central Examination System

Both before 1918 and between 1924-1944, as well as in the periods after 1953, the German High School evaluated the applications of students to be accepted to the preparatory program through special exams, which included multiple stages, and selected those candidates with high language learning skills in particular. The exams organized for this purpose and the reading and evaluation of exam booklets one by one in a very short time to finalize the candidate selection, required a great deal of effort and energy from the school's teachers. The growing popularity of the high school caused a further increase in the number of applications to the school each year. The number of applications reached 3,415 in the 1977-78 academic year. Organizing a new admission exam every year became an unsolvable problem for German High School officials.

But the decision taken by the Ministry of National Education in 1979 brought serious relief for the German High School in this respect. As of that date, a central examination system would be applied for admissions to private schools. Although this new system facilitated the student selection process for the German High School administration, the latter was dissatisfied to see that basic knowledge learned by rote and not the language skills of the students had become the main criterion. Nevertheless, the number

of students who applied to the German High School preparatory class, which offered slots for 90 students, fell to 1,343.

However, even though the number of applicants had decreased significantly, it was still too high for the German High School. The number of students in the school kept rising and its classrooms were no longer able to support the student population. According to physics and chemistry teacher Dr. Franz-Josef Gall, who returned to Germany in 1980 after five years of teaching, the 12th graders were not able to find a place to have class in the chemistry room in the 1979-80 academic year. Despite the increasing population, 12th grade divisions were increased from 3 to 4 in 1980 in order to maintain the quality of education.

The Military Coup of September 12, 1980 and the German High School

The Ministry of Education, which came under the control of the military regime after the 1980 Military Coup, obliged German High School students to wear uniforms, as was the case in all high schools. However, as will be remembered, up until then, students had never been obliged to wear uniforms in the tradition of the German High School. Even during the period of 1924-1944 and from 1933 onwards, when the Nazis exerted their influence, students were not obliged to wear any uniform other than a school cap.

Imposing uniforms on a school without such a tradition did not work out well. Due to the pressure from the National Education administration, the school administration notified students about their obligation to wear uniforms. But this obligation was not practiced very seriously by students, who contented themselves with wearing a loose tie around the neck.

Liberal Policies in post-1980 Turkey

12 Eylül Askeri Darbesi sonrasında Türkiye'ye ilk ziyaret yapan Alman Devlet Başkanı, Richard von Weizsäcker olmuştur. 26-31 Mayıs 1986'da gerçekleştirdiği ziyaret çerçevesinde 29 Mayıs günü Alman Lisesi'ne de uğramıştır.



100th Anniversary of Atatürk's Birthday, Taksim, 1981



Photo from the ceremony commemorating Atatürk's 100th birthday, 1981

The first from the left in the middle row is Bekir Sıtkı Erdoğan, the second Saliha Belban, the third Zuhale Göksel, the fifth Helmut Kahmann, the sixth Ayhan Gökart, the seventh Cahide Atakul, the ninth Ayhan Acar, and the eleventh Lütfü Civelek. The first from the left in the back is Aziz Tekin, the second Cabir Sarıoğlu, the third Emin Kutal. The second from the left in the front is Nurten Aktepe, the third Mediha Alp.

Not with standing minor modifications and relaxations, the overall nationalist policy of the founding years of the Republic of Turkey and the statist approach to the economy adopted after 1929 lasted until just before 1980. Turkey's international isolation following its invasion of Cyprus and the 1973 global Oil Crisis made it

impossible for Turkey, which was dependent on foreign countries for energy and technology, to apply an economic accumulation model based on import substitution, i.e. an economy closed to the outside and with high customs walls that was confined to the import of intermediate goods but otherwise restricted imports as far as possible. In other words, Turkey had to liberalize its economy and open it to the outside. The liberalization policies officially announced on January 24, 1980 by Turgut Özal, Undersecretary of Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel, who was the last civilian prime minister before the 1980 coup, meant entering a new era in the history of the Republic.

The change in this new period rapidly influenced the Turkish state's attitude towards foreign schools, leading to the abolition of old protectionist practices and giving foreign schools greater space to operate. The unifying approach that Turkey had pursued since 1924 (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat*) and which involved skepticism regarding foreign schools, eased off significantly and various legal restrictions imposed on the schools began to be softened.

Effects of the 1983, 1984 and 1985 Regulations on the German School

Under the direction of Hasan Sağlam, the Minister of National Education in the government of Bülend Ulusu, Prime Minister of the military regime, some changes were made to the Private Education Institutions Law No. 625 from 1965. This was before the Motherland Party came to power in June 1983. This amendment lifted the ban on building additional buildings for foreign schools. But despite this positive change, the fact that teachers were otherwise banned from establishing unions, organizing and striking reflected the oppressive nature of the military regime.

In 1984, a revision of Article 20 of Law No. 3035 cleared the way for schools opened by foreigners to increase their building, student and equipment capacities to no more than double their size and on their own premises, provided that they did not move beyond the confines of the land they were located on

pursuant to the decision of the Council of Ministers. According to the same law, foreign schools could obtain permission from the Council of Ministers to acquire new lands, on the condition that these were independent from their existing lands, and repair their existing buildings after obtaining permission from the Ministry of National Education.

In 1985 a new regulation enabled foreign schools to benefit from tax exemption and incentive measures. The 1935 ban on opening new branches was subsequently lifted and schools were given more freedom in this respect, provided that they remained within the borders of their existing lands.

Novelties During Kahmann's Term

In this spring-like atmosphere for foreign schools, the German High School adopted a more free and confident approach under Principal Kahmann. Indeed new activities and traditions were initiated at the school.

The German High School folklore group went on a tour of Germany for the first time in 1979. Then, in 1980, a class from the German High School organized a trip to Germany, this time as part of a research group. On July 4, 1981, Sausage Day was celebrated for the first time in the garden of the school, and the School Festival (*Schulfest*) had its premiere in 1982. In 1983, the School Festival and Sausage Day started to be celebrated on separate days. Finally, in the same year, the tradition of the Atatürk Run, which is held every year in the Belgrad Forest, came into being.

Jugend Musiziert Competition

In the 1983-84 academic year the German High School participated in the *Jugend Musiziert* music competition for children and adolescents for the first time, which was first organized between schools in 1964 with the encouragement of federal authorities in Germany. The bands that were successful in the music competitions between regional bands in the first stage won the right to go to Germany for the finals. In this context, the German High School competed with the bands of other German schools in the Eastern

Mediterranean region. Two years later, in the 1985-1986 term, the German High School brought *Jugend Musiziert* to Istanbul, where it organized and hosted the competition.

On the occasion of this competition, the German High School established contact with German schools around the world. In the 1986-87 term, the school participated in the German Reading Competition together with the other schools in Istanbul whose medium of instruction was German.

In the 1985-86 school year, the German High School started organizing “project weeks” (*Projektwoche*) in the last weeks of the school year and following an agreement between the Turkish Republic and the German Federal Ministries of Education in the same year. These project weeks became part of the student exchange programs.

The Gym Issue

Thanks to above-mentioned changes in regulations, there also were improvements regarding the issue of the gym, which had been on the agenda during every period of the school’s life. The school had two main halls. The girls’ gymnasium, which despite the efforts of all principals of the founding period had become available for use only in 1974, was a training room for both folklore and dance. There also was a gym for boys, which had been modernized in 1975, albeit insufficiently. It could therefore be completely repaired in the 1983-84 school year thanks to the opportunities provided by the amendments after 1983. Although sports classes were generally a constant source of distress for the German High School due to the spatial constraints, students were still able to achieve surprising success on the sports field.

Visit of German President Richard von Weizsaecker

The first German President to visit Turkey after the 1980 military coup was Richard von Weizsaecker. During his visit from May 26-31 1986, he visited the German High School on May 29.



Helmut Kahmann at the 100th Anniversary Celebration of Atatürk's Birthday, 1981

Kahmann's Retirement and Franz Lippold's Term as Principal

After Helmut Kahmann retired in 1987, Franz Lippold took over the post as principal of the German High School. This brought to an end Kahmann's term as principal, which had coincided with a time in which Turkey's approach to foreign schools was becoming more favorable.

The Legacy of Anstock and Kahmann: A High Achieving German High School

The German High School had become a well-oiled machine during Kahmann's term. In light of its consecutive academic and social success, its star was on the rise. According to *Cizgi* magazine, which featured articles in both Turkish and German (although mainly in German), which started to be published by the school's students in 1988 after *Semaver* magazine had stopped publishing in the 1980s, the graduates of the German High School had been very successful in the 1988 student selection examination (ÖSS). In

the different weighted score types of ÖSS, German High School graduates achieved the fifth-best score in Science, second-best in Mathematics, third-best in Social, fourth-best in Turkish-Mathematics, fourth-best in Turkish-Social, best in language and the second-best overall score.

German High School offered two diplomas to its students. Students were able to either enter the ÖSS and study in Turkey, or prepare for the Abitur exams and study in Germany. But according to data from the 1988-89 academic year, 62 out of 103 students in the last year of high school chose to take both the ÖSS and Abitur exams. Moreover, students were also successful in the Abitur, just as they had been in the ÖSS – never before had so many students been eligible to enter the Abitur exams. This increase clearly demonstrates that the German High School had raised the academic bar over the years.

German High School students also started to attract the public's attention in the fields of art and music. According to news published in Cumhuriyet newspaper, the German High School Theater Group put Haldun Taner's "The Legend of Ali of Keşan" on stage on January 15, 1988, staging the play in German based on Cornelius Bischoff's translation. The theater group continued to exhibit its success with various performances throughout the 90s. In the cultural festival of Galatasaray High School in May of the same year, German High School students again showed their abilities, this time in the field of music. The school's music group, which took the stage for two days in a row, gave a jazz concert one day and a classical concert the next.

"The Hidden Curriculum": A Possible Factor Behind the Dazzling Achievements

The German High School's rise to stardom among the schools in Turkey has attracted the attention of educational researchers. Fulya Damla Kentli focused on this topic in her doctoral dissertation, which she defended in 2008. Kentli's thesis, entitled "Career Choice of Deutsche-Schule-Istanbul's Graduates: Influences of 'Hidden Curriculum'" is an in

-depth and comparative analysis of graduates' career preferences between 1953-1989.

According to the results of Kentli's study, the graduate profile of this period was characterized by an evident tendency (68.3 percent) towards engineering and architecture. Medicine and economics were the major fields that followed engineering. While these were the trends mainly found in male graduates, the field of business (34.9 percent) stands out as being popular among female graduates. If the figures of the Saint Benoit High School are taken for comparison, it is noteworthy that business was the most prominent field among male graduates (48.6 percent) and that female graduates mainly became housewives (43.9 percent)

Only 3.6 percent of female graduates of the German High School went on to become housewives. It can therefore be said that the German High School guided its female students into the role of independent women who were able to make a living for themselves. Kentli states that German High School graduates tended to gravitate towards labor-intensive work sectors, and attributes this to a Protestant work ethic, which she suggests was likely to lie at the core of the school's educational philosophy.

Pioneering the Field of Information Technology in Turkey

In the 1988-89 academic year, it was once again time for the routine inspections of the Ministry of National Education, which were regularly carried out every three years. The inspection went smoothly – indeed, ministry officials were full of praise. But the German High School was determined to develop the school's structural and technological facilities even further. The German High School, which embraced an education that pushed the limits of the latest trends, was updating both its structural facilities and its education in parallel with the technological developments across the world. It was desired that the computer, which had entered the offices of the school in 1983-84, would also be made available



*Visit to President Süleyman Demirel on May 19, 1996
A student and teacher group from the German High School visited President Süleyman Demirel in Çankaya Palace in 1996 to mark the occasion of May 19, Youth and Sports Day. In the photo, Turkish Deputy Principal Güneş Yetiş is seen to the left of Demirel.*



Piano Recital, 1992-93

to students. As a result, an “informatics lab” (*Informatikraum*), with a total of 17 computers, was allocated to students in the 1989-90 academic year. The German School therefore became one of the first high schools in Turkey to add the subject of informatics to its curriculum.

Once More Problems Regarding the School Building and Space

Within the scope of improving the school’s structural facilities, another issue was the urgent need to repair the old building, which had been put into service in 1897. In 1988-89, the Executive Board of the School Association was in close contact with the German Consulate General to Istanbul and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was still in Bonn at the time, to discuss the issue. The aim was to procure financial resources for the repairs. The other party did not give any definite answers but stated that repairs could be done gradually. The process carried out this way was likely to last for years. The German High School Directorate wrote a letter comprising two items to the Ministry of National Education General Directorate of Private Education Institutions on January 26, 1990, regarding the repairs. The letter detailed the school’s plan to enlarge the gym and to add a conference hall and theater stage by purchasing three houses adjacent to the existing gym. In addition, the penthouse with the library was planned to be enlarged

in order to allow a reading room to be added, and the Turkish and German libraries were planned to be transferred to the library.

Retirement of Ayhan Gökart and Gökşin Dinler as the Turkish Deputy Principal

Ayhan Gökart, who had served as the Turkish Deputy Principal since 1977, retired in 1990. Gökşin Dinler, who was Gökart’s successor, was probably the doyen among the teachers of the German High School at the time and knew the school better than anyone else. He had been a teacher of Turkish and literature at the German High School for 33 years since 1957, and as such had witnessed the terms of Tenbrock, Rothfritz, Anstock and Kahmann, and thus the post-war founding period of the high school, and had fully internalized the educational understanding of this period.

The End of the Cold War and the Reunification of Germany

While the German High School was struggling to find resources for building repairs, a series of radical developments of a revolutionary nature were taking place across Central Europe. Mikhail Gorbachev, a reformist communist, took over leadership of the Soviet Union and conducted successful nuclear disarmament negotiations with the United States in order to be able to carry out internal reforms in his country. When the existence of the Eastern Bloc ceased to be a security problem for the Soviets, the communist governments in Eastern European countries began to collapse one by one.

Among the aforementioned countries, the German Democratic Republic, which had insisted on communism until the very last moment, entered the process of dissolution through the fall of the Berlin Wall. As a result of the Two Plus Four Agreement signed in Moscow on 12 September 1990 between the US, the Soviet Union, Britain and France as the victorious powers of the Second World War on the one, and the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic on the other hand, Germany, which had been divided since 1945, entered the process of reunification. This unification

officially took place three months after the treaty was signed, on 3 October 1990, with the annexation of the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Impact of Reunification on the German School

As a result of the unification of West and East Germany, the German economy started to suffer serious financial difficulties because a serious resource transfer was required to develop the underdeveloped former East Germany as quickly as possible to eliminate the development gap.

This led to setbacks in Germany's responses to the German High School's requests for support in the building repairs. The project for the purchase of adjacent houses and plots to expand the gym had been approved by Federal Germany in 1989 but the purchases had to be postponed until 1995 due to these economic reasons.

A more serious problem was the possibility of cuts in the amount reserved for German teachers' from the German budget. This brought up the question of reducing the number of German teachers, because such a situation might have led to the possibility of lowered educational performance from German teachers, which caused concerns in the school administration.

A Music School within the German High School

One of the innovations in the German High School during the term of Principal Franz Lippold had been the creation of a computer infrastructure and the inclusion of courses in the field of informatics on the curriculum. Another was the establishment of a music school within the school. The increasing interest in music at the school since the high school's first participation in the Jugend Musiziert competition in 1983-84 led the school to take such a step. In the summer of 1992, a formation called "Youth Music School" (*Jugendmusikschule*) germinated within the German High School. This school, which introduced and taught classical music



Turkish-German Cultural Institute, Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 7 May 1993

In 1993, Istanbul hosted the "Youth Making Music" (*Jugend Musiziert*) competition. The opening took place in the Turkish-German Culture Institute. According to the news published in Cumhuriyet Newspaper dated May 7, 1993, the German High School's Folklore Group performed dances from the Artvin region at the opening ceremony.



Turkish-German Cultural Institute, Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 9 May 1993

The German High School hosted the "Youth Makes Music" (*Jugend Musiziert*) competition in May 1993, and also celebrated the 125th anniversary of the high school's founding in the same month. Hürriyet Newspaper reported on the concerts given by students on the occasion of the anniversary of its foundation in its issue of 9 May 1993.

instruments to curious young people in a suitable environment, was strongly endorsed by both the School Administration and the School Management Association.

Gökşin Dinler's Retirement and Güneş Yetiş as New Turkish Deputy Principal

Gökşin Dinler retired from the post of the

High School's Turkish Deputy Principal in 1992 due to his advanced age. Dinler's successor, Güneş Yetiş, had been a teacher of sociology and psychology at the German High School since 1986. He therefore knew the school well.

German Teachers' Reaction Against Rising Xenophobia in Germany

Xenophobia had previously been fairly marginal in German society but it suddenly gained ground after the unification of West and East Germany. On 23 November 1992, far-right racist groups in the town of Mölln in Schleswig-Holstein set fire to a building where Turkish families were living, causing the death of three women.

To protest these incidents, the German High School's German teachers and German teaching staff working at other high schools in Istanbul, issued the following joint statement via Turkish newspapers on November 29, 1992: "We have been guests in Turkey for a long time. The violent incidents and xenophobia in Germany upset us. The most recently committed murder in the town of Mölln horrifies us. We are ashamed. We announce to the public that we condemn all racist activities in Germany, Europe and the world."

The 125th Anniversary of the German High School

The 125th anniversary of the German High School was celebrated in May of the same year that the Mediterranean Jugend Musiziert competition was organized in Istanbul. According to Hürriyet newspaper, German High School students organized various events throughout the week and performed the works of Joseph Haydn and Jemariah Clarke in a concert which they gave in Cemal Reşit Rey Hall. A show of the high school folklore group received great applause from the audience.

German History Competition

The year 1993 was very eventful for German High School students. According to news in Hürriyet newspaper dated October 15, 1993, German High School students participating in the German History contest organized by

Germany chose the topic 'Germany in Istanbul'. As part of this they examined the German colony and the historical buildings related to Germany. Can Bayhan, Anıl Tuluy, Karen Krüger, Emre Yıldız and Sinan Edil received awards from the school for their work.

70th Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic

1993 was also the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey. In honor of this important day, the "Run of Gratitude for the Republic and Atatürk" was organized on the initiative of the Private Tarhan High School. The German High School won the first place in the boys' and girls' races, which was also reported in the issue of Cumhuriyet Newspaper dated 29 October 1993.

Culture and Art Activities in the 1990s: The German-Turkish Cultural Association

During the 90's, the sports, arts and music events of the German High School decorated the newspapers. In May 1991 German and Austrian high school teachers, together with their wives, opened an exhibition of paintings in the showroom of the Austrian Girls' High School which reflected their impressions of Turkey. According to news published in Cumhuriyet newspaper dated 1 May 1991, approximately 70 paintings produced by seven people were exhibited here. In 1993, the *Jugend Musiziert* competition was held in Istanbul. At the opening ceremony held at the Goethe Institute, German High School Principal Franz Lippold gave a speech following on from that of German Consul General to Istanbul Dr. Thilo Rötger. To make the event more colorful, German High School students also performed folk dances from the Artvin region.

From what we have seen so far it can be concluded that German High School students were turning towards both the classical and orchestral music based on German culture while also being interested in folk dances, which were important parts of Turkish culture. While encouraging its students to acquire European music and literature, the German High School did not affect a complete disconnection from Turkey but, to

the contrary, infused the values of Atatürk and national holidays into them.

The German High School Theater Group had already exhibited a great example of this synthesis in 1988 when staging Haldun Taner's "Legend of Ali of Keşan" in German, and this multiculturalism is a trait that the German High School has embraced from its foundation until today.

Roland Stürzenhofecker Succeeding Lippold as Principal

As stated above, since Lippold's term coincided with the reunification of the two Germanies, projects related to the building were suspended. Amid the troubles caused by this situation, Lippold chose to resign earlier önemli sanatçıları arasında da iki Alman Liseli bulunmaktadır. Yekta Kara ve Sibel Tarhan Kasapoğlu bu alanın önde gelen isimleri arasında yer almaktadırlar. Dahası Yekta Kara sanatçılığı kadar sanat yöneticiliği ile de Türkiye'deki sanatsal birikime büyük katkı sunmuş bir isimdir. than expected for personal reasons. He was replaced as Principal of the German High School by Roland Stürzenhofecker in 1993. Although the school's difficulties prevailed during this period, students continued to achieve great success. New procedures were introduced during Stürzenhofecker's term, both at the level of the Ministry of Education and in the context of the School Association.

The Shortage of German Teachers and Its Results

Another financial outcome of the German reunification which became visible when Roland Stürzenhofecker was appointed as the new principal was a significant reduction in the number of German teachers. According to Gerhard Nutsch's assessment, by 1995-96, the decrease in the number of teachers coming from Germany had begun to directly affect the school. As a result, there were no teachers for some classes and other teachers worked with great devotion to fill these voids. According to Stürzenhofecker's annual article published that year, the

Executive Board of the German High School Administration Association supported the school significantly in this regard and played a constructive role in closing these courses.

Teutonia, the Heart of the German Colony

As mentioned previously, the German High School and the Teutonia Club, the two main institutions of the German colony in Istanbul, had been closely linked since the school's foundation. The Teutonia Club was a place for



1997 Stürzenhofecker, Yetiş, and the Teachers' Board

In this picture taken at the German High School, school principal Roland Stürzenhofecker is in the front center; Turkish Deputy Principal Güneş Yetiş and the other teachers of the school are seen on the left.

German teachers to enjoy themselves outside school, socialize with other members of the colony, discuss various problems related to the colony, and develop their personal interests. After 1933, it had also functioned as the center of Nazi activities, even though this was illegal.

As the German colony in Istanbul largely ceased to exist after August 1944, Teutonia had to be closed. Although Teutonia was reopened in 1953, the departure of many people from the German colony in the 1960s



Visiting Namik Kemal's Tomb in Gallipoli in the 1990s

prevented the old club from regaining its former glory and splendor and led to it losing its importance.

However, similar to the music events of German High School music teacher Klaus Mävers in Teutonia in the 1960s, teachers Annette von Manteuffel and Gerhard Nurtsch also organized various activities in Teutonia in the 1990-91 academic year. In collaboration with Istanbul State Conservatory artists, they organized chamber music concerts and stage performances in the Teutonia hall. They also organized an event series called "Sofa Conversations" (*Sofagespräche*), in which members of the old generation of the colony in Istanbul talked about their past lives and experiences. German teachers therefore did not confine themselves to making academic contributions to the school, but also used Teutonia to take the initiative and make constructive contributions regarding the society they were living in. Nonetheless, the role of Teutonia in the educational and social life of students gradually decreased after 1995. While in the past the written parts of the Abitur exams had been held in the great hall of Teutonia and large celebrations were held there at the end of the exams, towards the end of the 1990s exams started to be held in the German Consulate General building and celebrations were moved from Teutonia to entertainment venues along the Bosphorus.

Arrangements Made Regarding the Passing

of Grades During Stürzenhofecker's Term

On the agenda of Stürzenhofecker's first years after becoming principal in 1993 was the issue of changing the course grading system. In the 1994-1995 academic year, it was decided that the prep classes and all classes from 6th to 9th grades should be graded on a scale from 0-10. In addition, the Teachers' Board (Lehrerkonferenz) deemed it appropriate that students would pass or fail classes based on their grades throughout the term. This led to a final decision being made to abandon the practice of final exams (*Nachprüfung*).

Another arrangement was made in 1996 upon the request of the Ministry of National Education. Article 38 of the Istanbul German High School Grade Passing and Exam Regulations was changed, and the awards and disciplinary procedures were brought in, in accordance with the regulations of the Ministry of National Education.

New Students' Achievements in Different Fields of Art

In 1996 and 1997, German High School students showed their skill in the public sphere again with their social activities and earned themselves and their school great honor and respect in Turkish society. A German High School student ranked first in one of the categories in the university entrance exam ÖSS. In addition, 4 graduates were awarded a DAAD scholarship.

Accompanied by an orchestra, the German High School participated in the May Day Festival of Üsküdar American High School in May 1996. In June, a group of 140 German High School students performed Carl Orff's musical *Carmina Burana* at the Atatürk Cultural Center. Within the scope of the *Jugend Musiziert* competition, a competition between the German High Schools of the Mediterranean countries took place in Milan in 1997. Winning in 4 out of 7 branches of this competition, Istanbul German High School won first overall place. This entitled the school to participate in the finals in Germany. Merve Kozakoğlu, Bernhard von Manteuffel, Eberhard von Manteuffel, Monika

von Manteuffel, Cana Nurtsch, Gökçe Benderli, Emre Can Karayel, Çağlar Arslandoğan, Larissa Pauw and Serdar Selamet were part of the German High School group.

Various branches of the arts were kept alive and flourished in this atmosphere, enabling countless students who attended the German High School to occupy important positions and be successful in various fields of the arts in later periods of their lives.

One of the graduates who should be mentioned in this respect is Bülent Eczacıbaşı. Bülent Eczacıbaşı, who has been interested in photography since his high school years, is known for the pioneering support he provides individually and with his family in the field of culture and arts.

If we look at Turkey's leading artists, a great number of German High School graduates stand out. For example, in the field of visual arts, curator Beral Madra and painter Pınar Ervardar are among the first names that come to mind. There are also a significant number of German High School graduates in the field of music, the main hallmark of the school. Indeed, the German High School can look back on a precious musical tradition dating back to Paul Lange. Selçuk Alagöz and Erkin Koray, who still continue to perform music, are important representatives of this tradition. People such as Melih Kibar and Halit Kakinç pioneered the music trends which emerged in the 1970s. Likewise, members of the band Mor ve Ötesi, which is made up of German High School graduates, have continued the musical adventures they started in the 1990s as pioneers of the Turkish Rock movement that had its golden age in the 2000s. Recently, Serhat Hacıpaşalıoğlu, representing Turkey internationally with great success, became the first Turkish artist to enter the US Billboard Dance lists, remained number one on the German dance lists for weeks, and represented a different country, San Marino, twice in the Eurovision Song Contest. In addition, young musicians such as Gülru Ensari are demonstrating the synthesis between Western music and Anatolian



German High School Folklore Group, 1992-93

melodies, keeping to the most advanced musical standards.

There are also two German high school graduates among the most highly regarded opera and ballet artists in Turkey. Yekta Kara and Sibel Tarhan Kasapoğlu are among the leading names in this field. Moreover, Yekta Kara has made major contributions to Turkey's artistic heritage as both an artist and art director.

German High School graduates have also left their mark in fields other than art. Fashion designer Atıl Kutoğlu has made a name for himself not only in Turkey but across the globe. Kutoğlu professionally continued his fashion career, which he started during his years at the German High School by organizing fashion shows and designing clothes worn by his friends, in Austria. He has since become a well-known name in the international fashion world.

The 1997 Regulation on Primary Education that Changed the Structure of the German High School

On August 18, 1997 a law was adopted by the Government of Mesut Yılmaz that changed the educational structure and institutional functioning of the German High School, which had been in place since its third founding in 1953, and was comparable to the regulations of 1931-1935. According to Law No. 4306, a byproduct of the February 28 memorandum, primary schools in Turkey were now meant to cover eight continuous years.

Dr. Cengiz Sezen
(1947-)

After finishing primary school at Göztepe Taş Mektep, also known as Göztepe Pansiyonlu Primary School, he completed his secondary education in German High School.

After graduating from high school, he studied chemistry at the Technical University of Darmstadt, where he also received his doctorate. In 1975-77 he carried out research at the Max Planck Institute of the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz as an assistant. In 1977 he left the institute and went to Hamburg to set up his own company.

He took over management of the family company in Turkey from his aunt Nevhiz Pak on the company's 75th anniversary. He is one of the founders of the German High School Culture and Education Foundation (ALKEV), one of the important institutions of the German High School community. He has been the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the institution for many years. He is married with two children.

This meant that the prohibition on foreign schools to accept Turkish citizen students at primary level education, which had been introduced with the 1931 regulation, was increased from five to eight years. This change was synonymous with the closure of the middle school (Mittelstufe) of the German High School.

As a result, the German High School was now reduced to the status of an educational institution that could only offer high school education. Such a radical change not only meant that the German High School physically shrank, but also brought the danger of a decreasing quality of education, which it had been rightfully proud of in its earlier years. Following the enactment

of the aforementioned law, as of 1998 the German High School started providing only preparatory class and four years of high school education. The Law on Eight Years of Uninterrupted Primary Education constituted one of the most important turning points in the German High School's history since 1953.

Establishment of the German High School Culture and Education Foundation

In 1996, the 72 founding members of the German High School came together under the leadership of Dr. Cengiz Sezen to establish the German High School Culture and Education Foundation (ALKEV). The main purpose of ALKEV was to open high-quality educational institutions and support successful students in order to ensure the continuation of the educational and cultural approach, which had contributed significantly to the founders' own successes, and to convey universal values to new generations. For this purpose, the Foundation built a modern campus with an indoor sports hall, outdoor sports facilities, kindergarten, primary school, secondary school and high school education buildings in Büyükçekmece on a 30-decare plot with a view of the lake and bay, for which a soil survey was conducted. The Board of Trustees of the German High School Culture and Education Foundation consists of 102 members, 72 of which are its founding members.

ALKEV Chairman of the Board Dr. Cengiz Sezen, who has been active in the German industry for many years, was awarded an Order of Merit by Germany for his contributions to the development of Turkish-German relations.

The ALKEV-founded ALKEV Private Schools entered the field of education with a total of 51 students, a number which reached 949 in the 2019-2020 academic year. The school was equipped with an indoor sports hall in 2004 and an additional service building in 2007. Thanks to the contribution of parents and honorary trustees Mesut and Meltem Işıl, it also

received a new conference hall in 2011. In the same year, the Beyhan Eczacıbaşı Library was brought into service following the donation of 10,000 publications by Bülent Eczacıbaşı and Faruk Eczacıbaşı. Also, in 2013, the Demiren family donated the 'Selim Demiren laboratories,' dedicated to the deceased Selim Demiren, to ALKEV on the initiative of his sister Nükhet Demiren, who graduated from the German High School in 1973. Nükhet Demiren became the new Chairman of ALKEV in 2020. In the 2012-2013 academic year, the construction of a new primary school building was started, which was supposed to meet the need both for new classrooms and to strengthen educational activities. ALKEV Private Anatolian High School was opened in the 2013-2014 academic year, and ALKEV Private Science High School started education in the 2017-2018 term.

ALKEV's educational institutions continue to serve an educational approach that encourages sustainability, enriches people, adheres to a democratic culture and adopts the principle of "respect above all else".

Celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the Republic

On June 15, 1998, a great festival was organized by the German High School for the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. In the festival, hosted by Teutonia, music teacher Annette von Manteuffel led the school choir in their singing of the Turkish National Anthem, and sang along herself. Turkish Deputy Principal Güneş Yetiş, who gave the first speech, was followed by German Principal Roland Stürzenhofecker. As part of the festival, the school folklore club performed dances from the Skopje region, and the high school choir sang classical and modern songs. In addition, the school's dance division gave various dance performances.

The Situation at the German High School Before the Law on Eight Years of Uninterrupted Primary Education

According to the German High School's data from June 1998, a total of 38 German (65.5 percent) and 20 Turkish (35.5 percent)



According to a news report in Hürriyet Newspaper dated October 15, 1993, German High School students received awards in the German history writing competition.

teachers were working at the school on the verge of the implementation of the Law on Eight Years of Uninterrupted Primary Education. The Turkish teachers mainly taught Turkish culture courses such as religion, national history, history of the Turkish revolution, morals and logic. Children who completed five years of primary school were subjected to a multiple-choice test, and out of the 150 students who achieved a high score in this test and applied to the German High School, 90 students - 60 boys and 30 girls - were accepted every year. A total of 900 students were studying at the German High School, of which approximately 90 percent were Turkish, while the remaining 10 percent were composed of German and Austrian citizens. Students admitted to the school received 23 hours of German language lessons per week for one year in the preparatory class (*Vorbereitungsklasse*). The students who passed the language exam attended the middle school (*Mittelstufe*) for 3 years and high school (*Oberstufe*) for 4 years. Class size did not exceed 30. Half of the 12th grade students took the higher school entrance qualification examination (*Abitur*), while the other half chose the ÖSS.

Stürzenhofecker's View of the German High School on the Threshold of the 21st Century

In an interview with academic Süleyman Büyükkarcı on January 8, 1998, school principal Roland Stürzenhofecker discussed

the dangers and threats he envisioned for the school's future. Firstly, Stürzenhofecker complained that the school building was old and had failed to be renewed, stating that the financial difficulties Germany faced due to the unification of East and West Germany had led to the postponement of repairs. According to Stürzenhofecker, this had hampered the purchase of surrounding buildings for the enlargement of the gym. Even more worrying was the decrease in the number of German teachers at the school since 1990-91.

Stürzenhofecker also spoke about how political tensions between Turkey and Germany and discussions between NATO and Turkey regarding the EU accession had affected the German School. He indicated that Istanbul's environmental problems had also had a negative impact on the school. One of the major problems, according to Stürzenhofecker, was that the school had had difficulties adapting in the face of the series of educational reforms introduced by the Ministry of Education and was fraying as a result. He discussed the impact of the Law on Eight Years of Interrupted Primary Education. Stürzenhofecker voiced concerns regarding the results of this transformation, emphasizing that, while the school had tried to adapt to the reform and had transformed into a five-year school by adding a preparatory year to the four-year high school education, it was a serious test for the school's future.

Peter Born as Principal Following Stürzenhofecker's Term

Stürzenhofecker himself did not witness the justification of at least some of his concerns, as he retired in 2000 and was replaced by Peter Born. But the article written by the new Principal Peter Born, published in the 2000-2001 German High School Yearbook largely substantiated Stürzenhofecker's claims. Born explained that the 8-year primary education law had created serious problems for the German High School, especially for its students and their families.

Accordingly, students were not only left with the burden of learning two foreign languages (German and English) to a high standard within only five years of high school education, which included one year of preparation, but also faced the extremely difficult challenge of performing well in both the ÖSS and Abitur exams. Moreover, since the skills and abilities required for the ÖSS and Abitur did not at all match each other, students were put through the wringer.

As a result of students being exposed to severe stress, only very brightest managed to pass both the ÖSS and Abitur exam. The remaining students were forced to choose between either the ÖSS or Abitur. Born wrote that the stress many students experienced were creating tensions in their families, which were inevitably having repercussions on the school. He stated that he worried about the future of the school and its students.

German High School Entering the Age of Social Media

The widespread use of the internet in society from the 1990s and the popularization of social media such as Facebook and Twitter since 2000 have generally provided individuals with the opportunity to organize and engage in collective actions within the framework of common issues and problems.

These developments were important for the German High School in two respects. Firstly, since a strong emphasis had been put on individual self-discipline and work ethic at the institution since its very founding, students saw the potential of taking collective initiative to solve demands regarding certain problems. Second, parents became even more determined to put pressure on the school administration in line with certain requests.

The reduction of the education period to five years starting from 1998 resulted in young people entering the school in the middle of puberty. This reduced the internalization of the German discipline and educational culture in these young people to a minimal degree, in comparison to those children who had entered

the school at a younger age in previous periods. From 1998 students were therefore more able to develop independent attitudes.

These factors caused the longstanding kind but firm authority of the German High School management and the School Administration Association to wane. Managerial success in this institution, where the most select and talented students were accepted, now depended on treating students with a combination of open communication, understanding and flexibility.

The German High School's adaptation to the digital age did not remain limited to these social repercussions. In recent years, under the leadership of the Istanbul German High School Alumni Association, the aim has been to follow, benefit from and adapt to various digital developments that can help the school meet its needs. Firstly a web site design that meets contemporary standards has been introduced. Social media accounts have been created and activated so that the German High School is now represented on social media platforms. These professionally managed accounts attract a lot of attention. Indeed, the Instagram account is one of the most followed high school accounts across the country.

Although the Istanbul German High School has a long 150-year history, there had not been any professional or disciplined effort to create a systematic archive until recently. Thanks to the endeavors of Serhat Hacıpaşalıoğlu, the Chairman of the Board of the Istanbul German High School Alumni Association, a significant part of the work to compile and digitalize the archive of the school has been completed, while some of it still continues. The school's current archive and the archive of the German State have been examined meticulously for this purpose.

German Language Diploma

In 2001, the Permanent Conference of Education Ministers made it mandatory to conduct the Sprachdiplom Stufe 2 exam at the German High School. This exam is normally the German Language Diploma exam administered by the Goethe Institute. As

of 2001, German High School students were given the opportunity to take this exam within the school. This meant that every student of the school would at least have a diploma proving their German language skills, even if they did not receive an Abitur diploma.

Preventing the Duration of High School from Shortening: The Division of Prep Classes

An important arrangement made in the period of Peter Born aimed to compensate for the difficulties the German High School faced as a result of the 1998 uninterrupted primary education regime. A plan was made to divide the preparatory classes, starting from the 2004-2005 year, to create small and equal working groups and achieve optimal working conditions with the help of expert educators. The same plan would be applied to the 10th grade, where classes would be divided for German and English lessons. The aim was to eliminate the disadvantages which students were experiencing from starting the learning of foreign languages later due to the regime. For this reason, 10 new teachers joined the German High School in the 2005-2006 academic year. These developments have resulted in a serious increase in the number of students receiving an Abitur diploma.

Macide Kapps: An Important Figure at the German High School

The year 2003 marked the end of one era of the German High School's history. Macide Kapps retired after 42 years at the school. After graduating from Istanbul High School in 1962, Kapps started working at the German High School, where her spouse Arthur Kapps also worked for a while, and continued her duty with a consistency which remains unmatched. Macide Kapps went down in the history of the German High School with the good relations she developed with both the school administrators and the students. She stated that German High School students, whom she described as constantly developing individuals with a go-getter mentality, held a special place in her life. Kapps, who fulfilled many tasks over many years, from preparing students' diplomas to giving them tardy

M. Mithat Cin
(1948-)

Cin was born in Teşvikiye, Istanbul. He continued the profession of his father, who had been a pharmacist, in the pharmaceutical industry. He studied at the primary school of Şişli Terakki High School. The education and qualifications he acquired at the German High School over the years defined him, even though he was forced to leave the school while in his last year due to the death of his father.

Mithat Cin, who received his university education at İTİA Faculty of Pharmacy, later named Marmara University, ended his working life in the pharmaceutical industry, which he had entered immediately after his graduation, in July 2018 at the age of 70 having decided to retire after 46 years. In addition to his education and his career in the pharmaceutical industry, he worked as a translator for sworn, simultaneous, written and oral translations for 50 years. As the Chairman of the Board of the German High School Administration Association, he continues to make efforts for the development of the German High School today. Mithat Cin is interested in many different fields from art to sports, especially painting, opera and tennis. He is married and has a daughter. He is presently working on a book about his experiences.

slips, also collected the balls of students who played ball inside the school when necessary and thus helped maintain discipline. Moreover, she was remembered as a very special person by German High School alumni, particularly since she listened to students' problems, guided them in areas where they were facing difficulties, and provided guidance and counseling during exam periods.

Peter Born's Replacement as Principal by Richard R. Reinhold

Peter Born voluntary resigned from his position as principal on August 31, 2006, before his term expired. Richard R. Reinhold, the successor of Born, arrived from the Rhine-Main basin having previously led a large school in the south of Hessen for six years.

Repairing the Building and Making it Earthquake Resistant

As emphasized above, general renovation to eliminate the structural deficiencies of the school had been on the agenda for many years. As a result of Born's efforts, the repair process finally commenced in the 2004-2005 academic year, starting from the C Block. Since the school building had an almost 110 year history, a large-scale project was necessary to renovate it and make it earthquake resistant. Reinforcement measures therefore encompassed the whole building. Since there was a danger that classrooms would have to be closed and education would be disrupted, the repair was planned to be carried out sequentially, starting from the C Block.

The process of repairing the building and making it earthquake resistant, which started in Born's term, continued afterwards. Except for the facade, the interior construction of the C Block was completed in 2006 and the construction of the A Block was started that summer. As the reinforcement work extended into the winter months, a temporary building (*Interimsgebäude*) was created in the school yard to solve the spatial problems, and some of the lessons were also held in Teutonia. Meanwhile, the offices of the school administration were moved to the buildings next to the school. The modernization of the A Block was finished in 2009. According to the plans for the construction process, it was anticipated that the number of classrooms whose renovations would be completed in 2010 would increase, which would enable the lessons held in the Teutonia building to end. In addition, classes would continue in the temporary building until the end of January 2011 and then gradually be transferred back to the main building. The earthquake reinforcement and

renovation works in the school were completely finished by May 23, 2011. The German High School then started to continue its educational activities in its building, whose appearance was still original but whose foundations and interiors were brand-new.

Certification of the German High School as “Excellent Education Institution”

At the beginning of October 2009, inspectors came to the German High School as part of Germany’s regular inspections of its schools abroad (*Bund-Länder-Inspektion*). Following class visits, interviews with parents, students and teachers and long meetings with school staff, the German High School was awarded the “Excellent German School Abroad” (*Exzellente Deutsche Auslandsschule*) certificate. In October 2011, education quality management expert Prof. Dr. Hans-Günter Rollf’s third and final visit took place and comprehensive investigations into those dimensions of the school which had the potential for further development were completed.

Chancellor Angela Merkel’s Visit to the German High School: Discussing a Turkish High School in Germany

Angela Merkel visited the German High School on 30 March 2010 within the scope of her official visit to Turkey on 29 to 30 March 2010. During her visit, many students had the chance to get the Chancellor’s photo signed. Some students asked Merkel about Turkey’s EU accession process and the German University that was being established in Istanbul and the German Chancellor answered the questions sincerely and to the best of her ability. Minister of Culture and Tourism Ertuğrul Günay accompanied the Chancellor to the High School, where she stayed for about two hours. Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu later came to the school.

Prior to Merkel’s visit, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan had sparked controversy in German politics and press with his demand for the establishment of Turkish high schools in Germany, for which he had cited the example of the German High School. While the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) rejected

A. Serhat Hacipaşalıoğlu (1964-)

Hacipaşalıoğlu was born in Istanbul After Üsküdar İcadiye Primary School, he completed his secondary education at the German High School and then graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Dentistry.

Deciding to seek his professional fortune in show-business, Hacipaşalıoğlu achieved significant success as a singer, composer, producer and presenter. In 1994, he founded the production company END Productions, while also starting his career as a producer and presenter on TRT quiz show *Riziko*. In 1995 and 1996, he won the Golden Butterfly Award in the categories of Best Male Presenter and Best Quiz Show Program for his successful performance on this program. He has been presented with many awards, including the National Olympic Committee Fair Play Grand Prize and the City of Alexandria Golden Key. In 2019, he received the Golden Butterfly Award for his achievements in the international music arena as a Turkish artist.

Today he is continuing his music career, which started with his first single release in 1997 and which has included the release of 9 singles and 1 album. He represented San Marino twice in the Eurovision Song Contest, in 2016 and 2019 respectively. Their ranking of 19th among 41 countries in 2019 was the country’s biggest success in the history of the competition. Hacipaşalıoğlu has been organizing the High School Music Contest through his production company since 1998.

Serhat Hacipaşalıoğlu has been the Chairman of the Board of the Istanbul German High School Alumni Association since 2010 and a Board Member of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association since 2013. Due to the importance he attaches to the development of the German High School’s collective memory, he continues to work on enriching the school’s archive.

this proposal on the grounds that it “impedes the integration of Turks”, the Green Party supported the proposal.

Retirement of Turkish Deputy Principal Güneş Yetiş

After having worked as a teacher at the German High School for twenty-five years and served as the Turkish Deputy Principal since 1992, Güneş Yetiş retired from his position in August 2011. Güneş Yetiş's successor was Dr. Gülseren Aslan.

A Striking Reflection of the Age of Social Media: Student-Management Conflict

As earlier stated, the spread of social media, the five-year education of the students, and the elite profile of the young people admitted to the high school should have led the school management to develop a more democratic and flexible approach. In the first half of the 2010s it became apparent that the school management had not entirely caught up with the new conditions. The only exception was Didem Veyisoğlu, who engaged in dialogue with the students, took care of their problems and won their hearts. The most striking problem that led to tensions between the student community and the school administration was connected with the Abistreich, a school tradition in German-speaking countries, where graduating students joke and perform crazy acts. When 12th grade students wanted to introduce this tradition in the 2011-2012 term, the school administration interfered and restricted them. The students protested this by lighting torches, among other things. In the aftermath of this incident, which was ended thanks to Veyisoğlu's mediation, eight students were sent to the disciplinary board.

Meanwhile, some of the students' complaints that the Abitur exams in English and Physics were overly demanding were not listened to by the school administration, and the students were asked to apologize. The students subsequently wrote a “letter of apology” using obscene language. Veyisoğlu,

who mostly advocated for the students' demands within the school administration during these events, was dismissed from her job at the school in 2012.

Didem Veyisoğlu as Turkish Deputy Principal

These events of 2011-2012 and the treatment of Veyisoğlu were treated with great care by the new Board of Directors of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association. As a result, Didem Veyisoğlu was re-recruited on July 16, 2014 and started her position as the Turkish Deputy Principle.

Principal Axel Björn Brott

Richard R. Reinhold's tenure at the German High School ended when Didem Veyisoğlu became Turkish Deputy Principal. Following Reinhold, whose last years as principal had been characterized by tensions, Axel Björn Brott became the new principal of the school in August 2014. He had previously been principal for six years of the Martinus-Gymnasium in the state of Rhineland-Palatinate, one of the state's most established schools in the city of Linz am Rhein, and made some innovations to the school.

The Handball Team's Success

After eliminating tough competitors, the German High School's handball team earned the right to represent the school in the group phase of the Turkish High School Championship in Istanbul from 14-17 December 2015. After beating Sişli Terakki in the semi-finals, the team came third place.

MINT Festival in Berlin

The educational approach of STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics; referred to as *FeTeMM* in Turkish) is a pedagogical standard which includes combined instruction of students in sciences and mathematics and support for students with creative and application-oriented activities inside and outside of school.

Under the auspices of the Berlin State Minister of Education, Youth and Family Senator Sandra Scheers, a MINT festival was organized

Prof. Dr. Hamide Özden Özkaya Ferendeci
(1973-)

Özkaya Ferendeci was born in Cologne, Germany. She completed her secondary education at the German High School in 1991 and her higher education at the Faculty of Law of Bonn University in 1997. After completing her internship at the North Rhine-Westphalia State Ministry of Justice in Düsseldorf, Ferendeci qualified to become a judge, prosecutor and lawyer in 2000.

In 2003, she successfully completed her equivalence classes and received her undergraduate graduation certificate from Istanbul Faculty of Law. She graduated from Marmara University Social Sciences Institute's doctoral program in 2007. She received the title of associate professor in 2014.

Ferendeci, who was appointed as professor at the Turkish-German University Faculty of Law in 2019, still works as Head of the Civil Procedure and Enforcement and Bankruptcy Law Department and the Head of the Private Law Department at the same university and is President of the university's International Office.

Hamide Özden Özkaya Ferendeci speaks German and English. She continues to be a board member of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association. She is married and has one child.

Ferendeci participated in all recent international meetings on behalf of Istanbul German High School, the 4th oldest German school, and successfully resolved the issue of a lack of representation, which had emerged as an important problem in recent years. Thanks to her activities abroad, the German High School was chosen as center of its region among 144 German Schools, thus attaining the recognition it deserves. Ferendeci also contributed to the re- development of relations between the Istanbul German High School and the Central Agency for German Schools Abroad (ZfA) and the World Association of German Schools Abroad (WDA).

on November 5, 2018 in order to promote this pedagogical standard (MINT being the German abbreviation for STEM). German High School officials and students were invited to this festival as "special guests" (*besonderer Gast*).

Construction of the German High School's Culture and Sports Complex

Due to problems with the building's security, it had not been possible to use the gym next to the historic main building of the German High School for a long time. During this period students had been using temporarily rented halls for both sports and artistic events. In order to solve this infrastructural problem, the idea of using the idle space to create a modern multi-purpose sports complex that could also extend underground was suggested by Serhat Hacıpaşalıoğlu, Chairman of the Board of the German High School Alumni Association and member of the Board of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association. In the following period, more than ten companies participated in the tender for the project and construction works began. However, the process was forced to slow down when historical cisterns were found during the excavations in the location of the old gym, which had been torn down. Since the discovery, excavation machines could no longer be used and the excavation works currently continue manually. After the entire construction site has been excavated, all the remnants uncovered and their archaeological value determined, it will be decided how to proceed.

Composition of the German High School's Teaching Staff

It is worth mentioning a noticeable trend that the German High School has developed in the last two decades before we reach the end of its colorful and checkered 150-year history. When the German High School was established as a Neighborhood School in 1868, its purpose was to give primary education to the children of the Beyoğlu German colony in particular. In time, the Neighborhood School developed and acquired the character of a Bourgeois School. It was officially recognized as a secondary

school (*Realschule*) in 1898 and a high school (*Oberrealschule*) after 1910. During all these periods, the teaching staff was mostly made up of Germans or native speakers of German.

This started to change in the 1924-1944 period. As required by the legislation, there was an increasing number of Turkish teachers who taught Turkish culture lessons. This largely continued after 1953. Until the early 2000s, German teachers were responsible for science courses and courses such as German, English and French, while Turkish teachers mainly gave culture lessons.

After the mid-1990s, this teacher-lesson composition has become difficult to sustain. The unification of the two Germanies in 1990-91 seriously strained the financial resources of the Federal Republic of Germany. As a result, the transfer of resources for German teachers coming to Istanbul decreased. This went hand in hand with a decrease in the applications of teachers from Germany towards the end of the 1990s. In fact, as mentioned above, the teachers at the High School had made sacrifices in order to prevent irregularities in the lessons during principal Stürzenhofecker's term.

These conditions led to lessons which had previously been allocated only to German teachers being given by teachers of Turkish origin or citizenship, who were gradually returning from Germany after 2000. Nearly half of the teachers who were teaching German in the 2018-2019 academic year were Turkish. Although German teachers still continue to be dominant in courses like English, mathematics, biology, and chemistry, approximately one third of the teachers in these areas are now Turkish.

In the 2000-2001 academic year, 33 out of 48 teachers (68.7 percent) were German and 15 (31.3 percent) Turkish, while 52 (62 percent) of 84 teachers were German and 32 (38 percent) Turkish in 2009-2010, and 45 (51.7 percent) of 87 teachers were German and 42 (48.3 percent) Turkish in 2018-2019.

The German High School Successfully Overcoming the 1998 Shock

As will be remembered, Stürzenhofecker expressed concerns in early 1998 that the Law on Eight Years of Uninterrupted Primary Education could have negative consequences for the future of the German High School. However, the measures taken by his successor Peter Born to adapt to the new conditions were quite successful. So much so that, as Born emphasized in the introduction of the 2003-2004 Yearbook, students had managed to adapt to the new system despite the difficult conditions imposed on them by the law. That year, 100 students were entitled to receive Abitur diplomas. In the words of Born, "no other school in Germany [could have] had such a high number of successful students." The fact that the German High School received the "Excellent Education Institution" certificate in the 2009-2011 period officially certified the high quality of its education. Another guarantee of the bright future of the German High School will be the continuation of the democratic communication and cooperation between the school management and students after the disturbances in 2011. In this context, we can say that the German High School has successfully moved towards pluralism and participation.

Functioning and Activities of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association

The Istanbul German High School is one of three high schools providing education in Turkey with official relations with Germany and countries, such as Austria, whose official language is German. The other two schools are Istanbul High School and the St. Georg Austrian High School. Anatolian High Schools also teach in German but are completely subject to the Turkish education system. The Turkish-German University has a special position among higher education institutions. The Istanbul German High School Administration Association, which carries out all its activities in accordance with the Turkish Associations Law, is the official administrative unit of the German High School. The Istanbul German High School

Administration Association is responsible for the school's management, its vision for the future and its relations with Turkish and German institutions. The authorized executive board of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association is the board of directors, which consists of seven members. Each board member is elected for a three-year term at the annual general assembly meeting of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association. The main duty of the Board of Directors is to configure and maintain the administrative processes of the German High School. In addition, the Board of Directors regulates contracts with the Federal Republic of Germany regarding the right to use the school building and land, and, as employer, the employment contracts of all teachers and employees. Apart from this, the board is responsible for all financial issues, maintenance and repair of the school building, investments and continuous and permanent development of education and training. The Istanbul German High School Administration Association carries out its activities with the school's official budget. There is no regular donation mechanism, except for the various special occasions on which the school recommenced its activities. But it should be noted that Nazlı İmre, one of the school's graduates, occupies an exceptional and special position regarding donations. Through her support in helping successful students in need pay their school fees, she is a role model for all German High School alumni.

The tasks undertaken or completed by the current Board of Directors since its appointment can be listed as follows: At the beginning of the 2018 academic year, the furniture of all classes was renewed, and all classrooms were equipped with smart panels to facilitate digital education.

In 2018, Chairman of the Board Mithat Cin and Vice Chair Prof. Dr. Özden Özkaya Ferendeci participated in the education fair in Cologne and conducted many meetings with German authorities in order to find a solution to the problems regarding the employment of

German teachers. Vice Chair Prof. Dr. Özden Özkaya Ferendeci regularly participated in the organizations of relevant institutions (Central Agency for German Schools Abroad (ZfA) and World Association of German Schools Abroad (WDA)) in Germany in order to represent the interests of the school and to establish a communication network with other German schools for the sake of information exchange.

The current Board of Directors of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association consists of the following names:

Mustafa Mithat Cin

Chair

Prof. Dr. Hamide Özden Özkaya-Ferendeci

Vice Chair

Dr. Richard Wittmann

Secretary

Steven Young

Accountant

Dr. Ahmet Münir Gökmen

Member

Ahmet Serhat Hacıpaşalıoğlu






























Member

Kerim Erhan

Member

Within the framework of the German High School's 150th anniversary celebrations, Serhat Hacıpaşalıoğlu, Chairman of the Board of the Istanbul German High School Alumni Association and member of the Board of the Istanbul German High School Administration Association, who coordinated the activities surrounding the anniversary, carried out an enormous project comprising the Abseits der Zeit exhibition organized by German High School alumni artists; the 150th Anniversary History book prepared in Turkish, German and English; Melih Kibar's biography, discography, photo album and an archive CD featuring his best works; the 2019 calendar created with the school's photos taken by Kerim Suner; the biographies of 150 German High Schools Alumni across 150 years in three different languages (the first of which is being prepared for Bülent Eczacıbaşı) and the unforgettable 150th anniversary ball. With

OUR HALL OF

	Bülent ECZACIBAŞI 1968		Mehmet Sevin ULUKUT 1969		Melek Hülya YURTSEVEN 1970		Selami Eşref ARAL 1970		Mustafa Taşçı KOŞUKAVAK 1970
	Mehmet Atilla ÖTEŞ 1971		Mehmet Yusuf ÇİVELEKOĞLU 1971		Ali Kazım İNAL 1971	1972 Graduates with Honours* 1973 Graduates with Honours*			Eligezer KOHEN 1974
	Serdar ÇORUM 1979		Cengiz SELMAN 1980		Faruk Halil BURSAL 1981		Figen ÇEÇELİ 1982		Ohannes Aleks GÖLLÜ 1983
	Zeynep Aslı BATUR 1989		Neslişah TERZİOĞLU 1990		İsmet Orhan KARSLIĞİL 1991		Kerem BÜLBÜL 1992		Burhanettin Erdem ALACA 1993
	Çağlar ERDOĞAN 1999		Belkıs Burcu TUNAKAN 2000		Mete VEYİSOĞLU 2001		Sercan ÇELEBİ 2002		Burak ALTINTAŞ 2003
	Mertcan İPEK 2009		Bilge TAHHUŞOĞLU 2010		Neslihan ŞAŞMAZER 2011		Deniz Cihat AKSEL 2012		Kağan BATUKER 2013



***1972**
Graduates
with Honours

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1- Osman Hazık Babaoğlu | 9- T |
| 2- Mehmet Ali Güreltöl | 10- M |
| 3- Mehmet Selahattin Hakman | 11- H |
| 4- Sezgin Fatma Yüzak | 12- F |
| 5- Necip Celalettin Bağoğlu | 13- Z |
| 6- Adnan Nur Baykal | 14- A |
| 7- Yaşar Enis Ersü | 15- A |
| 8- Nurgün İdil | |

FAME

1968-2018



Ali Rıza
KORAY
1971



Ahmet Levent
MUTAFOĞLU
1974



Mehmet
Derun ÜNLÜER
1975



Saim Meral
ÖZKAYA
1976



Ayşegül
KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU
1977



Yağmur
DENİZHAN
1978



Esen
ÖZKAYA
1984



Ali Emre
ÖNDER
1985



Ayşegül
VAİZOĞLU
1986



Eyüp Mehmet
YÜKSELEN
1987



Ahmet Ender
BURUK
1988



Fatma İrem
KÖPRÜLÜ
1994



Hasan
BERMEK
1995



Can
KILIÇ
1996



Murat
ŞENEL
1997



Ali Kılıncım
ÖZDAĞLI
1998



Selim
AYTANÇ
2004



Kaan
YÜCER
2005



Dicle
EROL
2006



Emine Bahar
AVANOĞLU
2007



Nazlı Gültem
GÖNÜL
2008



Pelin
KILAVUZ
2014



Hayal Deniz
ÖZER
2015



Alp
PAKSOY
2016



Umay Ece
TUĞCU
2017



Kaan
ÇİĞÇİBAŞI
2018

- 9- Turhan Ömer Karabey
- 10- Mehmet Reha Kora
- 11- Hayım Baruh
- 12- Firdevs Tülin Deren
- 13- Zeynep Oya Karamızrak
- 14- Ayperi Savcı
- 15- Alis Züleyman

***1973**
Graduates
with Honours

- 1- Töre Almat
- 2- Fatma Sema Arseven
- 3- Cemil Betanov
- 4- Ayşegül Karamanoğlu
- 5- Hatice Canan Pak
- 6- Cüneyt Uzman
- 7- Peter Ferdinan Vostan
- 8- Osman Bülent Arıkan
- 9- Nafiz Oğuz Mete Baharoğlu
- 10- Zoi Haritu
- 11- Mehmet Faik Kıvanç
- 12- Nuri Aksel
- 13- Ahmet Anbarcı
- 14- Yasemin Baykal
- 15- Fikret Ömer Bayram
- 16- Eli Kohen
- 17- Mustafa Moripek
- 18- Engin Tuncel
- 19- Lale Nigar Bali



OUR PRINCIPALS 1968-2020



**Heinz
ANSTOCK**
1968-1974
Principal



**Helmut
KAHMANN**
1975-1986
Principal



**Franz
LIPPOLD**
1987-1993
Principal



**Roland
STURZENHOFECKER**
1993-2001
Principal



**Peter
BORN**
2001 -2006
Principal



**Richard R.
REINHOLD**
2006 -2014
Principal



**Axel Björn
BROTT**
2014-2020
Principal



**Dr. Hans
BRÜGMANN**
2020 (görevde)
Principal



**Adnan
TOLUN**
1968-1976
Vice Principal



**Ayhan
GÖKART**
1977-1989
Vice Principal



**Gökşin
DİNLER**
1989-1992
Vice Principal



**Güneş
YETİŞ**
1992-2011
Vice Principal



**Gülseren
ASLAN**
2011-2014
Vice Principal



**Sevil Didem
VEYİSOĞLU**
2014 (görevde)
Vice Principal

2020-2021

School Management



Dr. Brüggmann, Hans
EN, FR
Schulleiter



Didem Veyisoğlu
DE, DaF
Türk. Stellvertretende
Schulleiterin



Ören, Hakan
DE, BI
Stv. Schulleiter

Extended School Management



Winkler, Anke
FR
Oberstufen-Koordinatorin
Leiterin der Sek. II



Uttinger, Nicole
DE, EN
Sek. I-Koordinatorin
Leiterin der Sek. I



Emel Lütfüoğlu
DE, DaF
Tr. Stellvertreterin
Schulverwaltung



Melek Yıldırım
DE, DaF
Tr. Stellvertreterin
Akademische Aufgaben

School Development Steering Group



Dartıcı, Emine
MA, KU
DFU
Stunden-Vertretungsplan



Dilem Tosun
T. D. ve E.
PI, türkische Kultur/fächer
Koordinatorin Begegnung



Kahle, Enrico
CH
Projektleiter KUH



Kemmer, Jürgen
DE, DaF, GE, FI, GE
DaF-Koordinator
Stunden-Vertretungsplan



Paulus, Till
MA, SP
Pädagogischer
Medienkoordinator



Richter, Güllüm
DE, DaF, KU
Koordinatorin Stärkung
der Schülerpersönlichkeit



Tarhan, Susanne
MA, DE (GS/HS)
Koordinatorin Inklusion,
Unterrichtsentwicklung



Thedinga, Aiko
EN, SP
ADM-Koordinatorin
Leiter Steuergruppe






Köhle, Kelly
EN
Unterrichtsentwicklung



Pätzold, Mike
MA, PY
Koordinator
Digitales Lernen



Pätzold, Kathrin
MA, PY
DFU-Koordinatorin

										
Ahmet Hamdi Ayan DIN BIL	Akbas, Aylin MA, BI	Albunni, Bärbel KU Fachleiterin KU	Albunni, Maher MA, INF Web-Untis-Koordinator	Arzu Antep Şahin DE, DaF Stunden-/Vertretungsplan	Aylin Artunay SP	Aynur Esen Aykut FEL, PSI, SOS	Becker, Anna DE, EN	Bekleyiş Aksoy DE, DaF	Berna Parnas T. D. ve E.	Bültmann, Rüdiger MA, MU Fachleiter MU
										
Canan Kocakaya SP Lehrerbeirat	Demir, Gizem DE, DaF, PO	Dilara Wiegmann DE	Dilek Bayraktar Coğ	Dr. Dümmler, Bärbel REL, ET	Dursun, Nurcan DE, DaF, EN Koordinatorin Inklusion	Erdem Seçmen T. D. ve E. Lehrerbeirat	Erkan Gündüz SP	Esra Parla T. D. ve E.	Ezgi Çavdar MU	Fatma Türkan Cengiz FEL
										
Geisbüsch, Ursula DE, EN	Gülsen Demir T. D. ve E.	Hasan Eren Çukadar MA	Hatice Selma Yiğit T. D. ve E. Schülerzeitung	İsmail Coşkun DIN BIL Ehrenausschuss	Kriester, Katrin GE, DE Fachleiterin DE	Kriester, Ulf-Armin PY, AS Fachleiter PH MINT-Koordinator	Lale Demirey Deniz DaF, DE	Lange, Thomas DE, EN	Luchte, Juliane MA, FR, FI, FR Studienberatung	Makbule Aras T. D. ve E.
										
Martens, Olaf BI, EK Fachleiter EK	Melek Özbayrak RES	Mesut Durak SP	Mölle, Katja MA, PY Fachleiterin MA	Muazzez Erdem EN	Dr. Müller, Burkhard MA, PY	Özten, Maksude DE, DaF, EN	Pahce, Gabriele RE, ET	Pletschen-Ören, Silke DE, DaF, PO	Serkan Güzey EN	Seyda Babaoğlu EN Schülerzeitung
										
Seyhan Aygün DE, DaF	Sezin Mac Esin Us DE, DaF	Sittart, Laura DE, BI	Tarlhen, Oğuz DE, DaF, EN, TR-B Unterrichtsentwickler	Tuğrul Yakarçelik TAR	Uğur Yıldız TAR E-Okul-Koordinator	Vaillant-Yüksel, Silke DE, EN, ET Fachleiterin EN, ET, RE	Walz, Salome RE, ET	Wenzel, Axel CH, BI Fachlehrer CH	Winkler, Jan-Peter SP, EK, Fachleiter SP Beauftragter Sicherheitswesen	Yasemin Atılgan DE, DaF
										
Dr. Yasemin Baykal CH	Yeşim Atık KU	Yusuf Emrah Uzunca MU	Zaim, Fouad MA, EK, FR Lehrerbeirat	Zeynep Balci DE, DaF	Ziller, Martin CH, BI Fachleiter BI		Berna Tunak Schulpsychologin	Metin Küçükarslan Psychologischer Berater Ehrenausschuss	Dr. Serdar Çurğunlu Schularzt	Arzu Yıldız Krankenschwester

Medical and Psychological Care



Privatschule der Deutschen Botschaft Ankara - Sekundarstufe I und II
- Exzellente Deutsche Auslandsschule -



Our Teachers from Past to Present

Acar, Ayhan
Acar, Sırrı
Achatz, Kurt
Acım, Yeşim
Adler, Susanne
Akalp, Zümrüt
Akbaş, Aylin
Akbaş, Mehmet
Akbulut, Lütfü
Akdora, Lamia
Akgün, Mehmet
Akleman, Nilgün
Aksay, Hıfzı
Aksoy, Bekleyiş
Aksu, Naime
Aktepe, Nurten
Akyalçın, Güzin
Akçakoca, Ata
Alacalıoğlu, Fahrettin
Alan, Naşide
Alban, Dr. Karl
Albrecht, Karl
Alkan, Jale
Allendörfer, Erhard
Alp, Mediha
Alpak, Güzin
Alparslan, Yasemin
Alpat, Güzin
Alpers, Albert
Altay, İhsan
Altınok, Necla
Altunbay, Rüştü
Andaç, Ülker
Anstock, Heinz
Aras, Makbule
Ardanç, Ülker
Arnold, Norbert
Arora-Başer, Rita
Arsuman, Galibe
Artunay, Aylin
Atakul, Cahide
Ateş, Fikret
Atzrott, Elisabeth
Atılğan, Yasemin
Auman, Hermann
Auris, Ralf

Auschat, Detlef
Avcı, Aslı
Avcı, Handan
Ayan, Ahmet
Aybars, Tülin
Aydiner, Ayla
Ayderem, Rıfki
Aygen, Şahin
Aygün, Kemal
Aykut, Aynur
B., Joachim
Baalmann, Bernd
Babaoğlu, Seyda
Baden, Claudia
Baehner, Dr.
Bahr, Edith
Baki, Mehmet
Balban, Saliha
Balci, Zeynep
Balıoğlu, Ali
Balman, Gisela
Banalmann, Bernd
Barkowski, Werner
Barnick, Cornelia
Barthel, Elisabeth
Bartsch, Peter
Bartsch, Willfried
Batman, Suzan
Bauer-İpek, Angelika
Bayer, Sevim
Bayer Bey
Baykara-Erün, Yasemin
Baş, Fitnat
Başaran, Gülşen
Becker, Anna
Becker, Arno
Behnisch, Siegfried
Bellinger, Franz-Josef
Bennert, Reinhold
Benz, Karl
Bergmann, Heidi
Berk, Nick
Betthausen, Gudrun
Beutler, Martin
Bezdek, Herbert
Beşer, İsmail

Bickenbach, Ulf
Bilcen, İhsan
Bilican, Bahattin
Bindreiter, Ignaz
Bingöllü, Canan
Biriken, Seza
Birmayer, Erwin
Bitterich, Berthold
Bloch, Joachim
Blumenstock, Alvaro
Blöss, Anja
Bochnig, Hans
Bock, Harry
Bockmann, Charlotte
Bockmann, Fritz
Bolz, Dietrich
Bolz, Ingeborg
Bookhagen, Wilfried
Boray, Nezike
Born, Peter
Bostan, Maksude
Bott, Adele
Bott, Hermann
Boyacıoğlu, Neva
Brademann, Dr.
Brademann, Dr.Sylke
Branat, Hans-Jürgen
Brauner, Dr.
Breidenbach, Dirk
Brochowske, Gabriela
Broich, Jutta
Brosewski, Hers
Brott, Axel
Bromm, Helen
Brummet, Wolfgang
Brunckhorst, Ernoiu
Brunke, Ursel
Bruns, Hans
Brüggemann, Werner
Brüns, Bernd
Bubner, Claus
Budda, Hilmi
Buinevisius, Tina
Bulut, Margareta
Bunch, Hans
Bunese, Heinz

Burdinski, Klaus
Burfeind, Dr. Harm
Busse, Christl
Busse, Günter
Buttkus, Diethelm
Bäcker, Dr.
Böhmer, Dr. Harald
Bühning, Gische
Caferoğlu, Süzan
Cahide, Atakul
Cambeis, David
Cilasun, Ingrid
Cimşit, Yasemin
Civelek, Lütfü
Conradi, Günther
Conradi, Ingeborg
Cordes, Annette
Cordes, Karl-Heinz
Coşkun, İsmail
Coşkun, Nilgün
Cremer, Klaus
Cronjaeger, Harald
Çalapala, Rakım
Çankıy, Mustafa
Çavdar, Ezgi
Çağdaş, Tevfik
Çağiran, Bülent
Çelikoğlu, Ulviye
Çeliköz, Azmi
Çizmen, Salih
Çukadar, Hasan
Çürük, Mehmet
Çınar, Kaşif
Çınar, Pınar
Daase, Eberhard
Danışman, Gülfer
Dartıcı, Emine
Daur, Dietrich
David, Heinrich
David, Inge
Daxner, Mathias
Dedemeyer, Gerhard
Defne, Zeki
Demir, Gizem
Demir, Oya
Demirci, Oya

Demirkaya, Mine
Demirkıvıran, Sine
Demirkızıdın, Sabahat
Demming, Josef
Deniz, Lale
Denizok, L.
Denzel, Maximillian
Desselberger, Margret
Deuker, Heinrich
Dielnweit, Manfred
Dinler, Gökşin
Dippe, Steve
Dittberner, Jörg
Dokuman, Übhet
Doğan, İbrahim
Doğanarslan, Yasemin
Doğançay, Muzaffer
Drescher, Herbert
Duberny, Anton
Dupper, Martin
Dupper, Sylvia
Durak, Mesut
Dursun, Nurcan
Duyar, Ali
Dziuba, Ruth
Dökmetaş, Murat
Dümmel, Jürgen
Dürr, Kurt
Ehlers, Anke
Ehrentraud, Birgit
Eicke, Dr.
Ekici, Asım
Elioğlu, Füsün
Endepols, Ruth
Engelsiepen, Siegfried
Eraltay, Nükhet
Ercan, Fatih
Erdem Muazzez
Erdil, Turgut
Erdoğan, Bekir
Erenel, Abdüllatif
Erickson, Sven
Erkman, Nedime
Erkmen, Mediha
Erkunt, Rüştü
Ernst, Bernhard

Ersoy, Şahnaz
Eschenbacher, Ingeberg
Eser, Feride
Eser, Saim
Esibatir, Dilek
Esser, Wolfgang
Esser-Theis, Anja
Fahriye, Ülker
Fatsı, Binbaşı
Feiten, Eva
Feiten, Eva-Maria
Feiten, Klaus
Fersahoğlu, Yaşar
Feth, Kurt
Findıkoğlu, Efser
Fiedler, Sabine
Fischer, Peter
Fittschen, Jürgen
Flohr, Aloisia
Frank, Dr. Klaus
Frank, Edgar
Frank, Ursula
Freiling, Egon
Freydank, Dr. Konrad
Friczewski, Joehim
Friedrich, Helmut
Fritschke, Rudolf
Frost, Brigitte
Früstück, Gerd
Fuhr, Michael
Fuß, Friedrich
Förg, Dr.
Förg, Josef
Gaede, Gisela
Gall, Hermann
Galter, Heinz
Ganger, Herbert
Ganka, Sven
Geiger, Beatrice
Gelsbüsch, Ursula
Genç, Arzu
Genç, Cevat
Geyer, Friedrich
Gierhardt, Horst
Girschek, Karl
Godole, Ruth

Goldschmitt, Ursula
Goyert, Wilhelm
Graef, Karl
Graf, Bernhard
Gramlich, Peter
Grebe, Inga
Grimm, Joachim
Gross, Andreas
Gräfe, Jürgen
Grühn, Annika
Gsell, Andreas
Gutjahr, Wolfgang
Gök, Ali
Gökart, Ayhan
Göksel, Isolde
Göksel, Zühal
Gökçe, Mustafa
Gökçora, Ziya
Göllce, Peter
Göske, Manfred
Gülen, Nuran
Gündel, Bernard
Gündüz, Erkan
Güney, Osman
Günther, Dieter
Güredin, Mehmet
Gürmen, Besim
Gürvit, Funda
Gürşenk, Saffet
Güven, Dilek
Güvenç, Binbaşı
Güzelek, Levent
Güzelocak, Recebiye
Güzey, Serkan
Güçlü, Ayfer
Haehndel, Volker
Hagedorn, Else
Hagen, Rolf
Hannemann, Matthias
Haraçek, Hanna
Harder, Michael
Harling, Franz
Hartmann, Hans-Günter
Hartsch, Karl
Haubrichs, Helga
Hauck, Emil
Haupt, Dieter
Heine, Hans
Heinrich, Hauke
Heinsohn, Jan

Hennies, Frauke
Henzler, Alfons
Herbert, Eduard
Herlan, Friedrich
Herold, Werner
Hertel, Klaus
Herzog, Ernst
Hetzer, Walter
Heuser, Friedrich
Heuser, Fritz
Heymer, H. Jürgen
Heyne, Norbert-Karl
Heyser, Manfred
Hiebl, Rupert
Hillenherms, Heinz
Hillenhinrichs, Gisela
Hillenhinrichs, Odilo
Himighöfer, Hans
Hirsch, Andrea
Hirsch, Sven
Hirschmann, Helmut
Hischer, Hans
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